Consuming Identity: Modernity and Tourism in New Zealand

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Consuming Identity: Modernity and Tourism in New Zealand

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SUMMARY

What do visitors to New Zealand seek to gain from their travels, and in what ways are such expectations shaped? This work assesses the relationship between tourism-related discourse and identity, and ideas about distance and difference, by exploring aspects in the promotion and production of tourism products in New Zealand.

Travellers to New Zealand often seek the “unspoilt” in nature, that which represents a beauty and “authenticity” seen to be lacking “at home”. Likewise, infused with ideas regarding “ethnicity” and the traditional (as well as residual notions of the primitive or noble savage), images of Maori in tourism are situated in relation to the “modern” tourist’s self. For many travellers to New Zealand, alongside physical travel with its timetables and ticket stubs is a parallel symbolic journey through Time. Reversing Western narratives of progress and the Fall, the travellers’ quest is to “unwind” the coils of technological - and often “intellectual” - Time.

This work traces the fundamental ideological components of this world-view from the colonial period through to present-day tourism. What emerged in the early period of tourism development was the production and propagation of a pseudo-knowledge surrounding New Zealand’s natural heritage and Maori population. Although the last century has seen changes in styles of tourism, promotion, production, travel and tourist behaviour, it is argued that this prevailing system of representation continues to influence tourist perceptions of New Zealand and Maori in negative ways. The ideas put forward by colonial writers concerning Otherness in nature and culture have remained as essential features of present tourism discourse. These have taken concrete form in a range of tourism related products which tend to promote a specifically modernist perception of place. Such works not only provide potential tourists with practical information about New Zealand as a holiday destination, but they also circulate within wider discursive fields that seek to legitimate ideological projects and further their cause.

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I. PROLOGUE

INTRODUCTION

The creation of myths and fantasies surrounding travel to distant lands has a long and fascinating history and is probably a universal phenomenon. Often accompanying the apprehension of physical distances is a romantic heightening of perceived difference. So too, journeying between those spaces eagerly provokes the production of narrative - of birth and change, death or return. It is with these precepts in mind that I set out to explore the relationship between identity and tourism. “Exotopy”, as Bakhtin has called it - to leave a bounded region designated as “home”, to come into contact with some Other, and to return with some sign of gain (or loss) reflecting the experience (Bakhtin 1981; Harkin 1995) - provides the basis of tourism, one of the world’s largest “industries”. The commodification of distance and difference, and the objectification, re-production and consumption of alterity are tourism’s founding principles. These are also the ubiquitous spaces of identity.

I have chosen to include the much debated term “modernity” within the title of this work precisely because of the range of meanings it evokes. It is generally considered that modernity is associated with changes in social form, away from a perception of “tradition” as the basis of culture, and towards Western capitalism and bureaucracy. However, modernity cannot be defined solely in terms of some Western culture, or simply confined within the so-called Western world. Instead, the definition of modernity I use here borrows from the more diffuse interpretations supplied by Miller (1987, 1994) - provides the basis of tourism, one of the world’s largest “industries”. The commodification of distance and difference, and the objectification, re-production and consumption of alterity are tourism’s founding principles. These are also the ubiquitous spaces of identity.

Leaning heavily on Simmel, and on Habermas’ interpretation of Hegel, Miller (1994: 60) sees the notion of modernity as providing a theoretical model, one that identifies at its foundation a transformation in human consciousness or circumstance. This is seen to give rise to various modern traits. The central trait of the modern subject for Miller (1987: 81) is “objectification” - that which “describes the inevitable process by which all expression, conscious or unconscious, social or individual, takes specific form”. For the self-conscious subject of modernity, any form is always part of a larger form, and thus always part of a still larger process of “becoming”. This includes impressions of both culture and the individual: “Culture is derived as a historical force prior to the existence of any individual subject, but is only realisable through [the] agency [of individuals]” (Miller 1987: 81). It follows that this notion of objectivity as temporal consciousness has profound moral consequences for both social and individual identity. It amounts to the “burden” of modernity: to forge for itself the criteria by which it will live, “knowing that this is what it is doing” (Miller 1994: 62). Harbouring a heightened sense of abstraction, allowing for the development of greater specificity and variability, the individual subject’s modern condition is one of intrinsic dangers. Specifically, since development is seen objectively in terms of “form”, it is always an exercise in self-alienation: “a potential source of estrangement” (Miller 1987: 82).

Miller’s notion of modernity is primarily concerned with ontological process. By contrast, Friedman (1994, 212, 228) emphasises structural aspects within what he calls the “parameters”, and, elsewhere, the “identity space” of modernity. Modernity is here equated specifically with the rise of capitalism and commodification, though it is also discussed in terms of such things as urbanisation, industrialism and democracy. What is important to Friedman’s conception is that, rather than viewing the “traditional” and/or “primitive” as necessarily prior to modernism, all three are viewed collectively as forming the fundamental components of a code internal to modernity. This is represented by way of a semiotic square based upon a fundamental structural opposition between nature and culture. As a hermeneutic framework through which to rationalise the world of socio-cultural difference, this code presents itself to the modern subject as a generative field of identities or system of alterity (Figure 1):

The developmental self control of the sublimating modernist defines the die-hard traditionalist who shuns the deconstruction of previous values and ways of life. It defines as well the primitivist who would free the human libido and spirit from the chains of controlled energy, who would allow for the natural creativity of man [sic]. It also defines its symmetric opposite, the postmodernist, who would defend both the tradition-cum-wisdom and primitivism-cum-the-truth-of-nature against the iron cage of modernist rationality. (Friedman 1994: 228).

Miller’s conception of the alienated modern subject, and Friedman’s “identity space of modernity” are central
Figure 1. The Identity Space of Modernity (from Friedman 1992: 847)

to this work. I argue that they form an epistemological basis for practices surrounding tourism to New Zealand. In its structural sense, modernity is important to tourism in that it provides a system in which difference, alterity, or Otherness are related to notions of self-hood. It also provides a framework through which to conceive of the identities of Others. It is primarily, though not exclusively, on these terms that I attempt to come to an understanding of the representation and presentation of Maaori within the broad scope of tourism - that is, in terms of the perspective of the "modern" subject.

In the perspective taken here identities are not "fixed", but represent a fluid range of identity choices. In view of Miller's (1994) argument - in theory at least - being in a state of "becoming", the modern subject is able to move freely between these choices. In capitalist society this is primarily achieved through consumption. The consumption of goods, distances, and experiences - the business of tourism - inevitably involves the consumption of identity.

The path of this paper is roughly chronological, beginning at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century and ending in the present decade. Chapter One discusses tourism to New Zealand in view of British colonial expansion and modernism (modernism is here distinguished from modernity in terms of Friedman's (1992) formulation; i.e., as an identity "choice" or situation, modernism is internal to modernity). I argue that early travel guides and postcards promoted and reified an ideological view of New Zealand's geography and indigenous inhabitants, one that appealed to the cosmological world-view of modernism - of progress, and the triumph of rationality over the traditional/primitive Maaori, as well as over the "naive" in nature. Early tourism publications are therefore seen to have been part of a larger project in hegemony. While being symbolic in form, they contributed fully to the production of colonial power.

This discussion also introduces the central theme of Time. Drawing on Fabian's *Time and the Other* (1983), I argue that, from the perspective of modernity, geographical space and spaces of identity become infused with ideas concerning progress and evolution. This opening of temporal space is generative of narratives of desire and nostalgia. A "Natural" cosmology, symbolised under modernism in conceptions of Nature, formed the basis of a perceived hierarchy through which the colonial tourist sought to maintain a position of power over nature and Maaori culture and people. "Spacio-temporality", a hallmark of Western modernity, continues to retain currency within tourism discourse. Its more recent permutations are also considered. I suggest that, in recent years, we have seen a shift in tourist behaviour, away from the constraining influences of modernism, towards primitivist and traditionalist "freedoms".

Chapter Two focuses primarily on issues surrounding the presentation, representation and imag(in)ing of Maaori in tourism from the turn-of-the-century to the present day. I begin with a discussion of the colonial essentialisation of Maaori in guide books and postcards dating from early this century. I also suggest that the Maaori cultural stereotype was often undermined, and, in fact, made advantageous by Maaori in the local tourist setting. Raising issues that are taken up again later in the chapter in regards to contemporary Maaori tourism, an example is given by way of the famous Maaori women guides of Te Arawa. Seizing upon the commodity situation of tourism and identity, these women became a considerable economic and political force in Rotorua. This chapter continues to look at the touristic image of Maaori in terms of national politics and ideology. Regarding issues surrounding "nation building", the forging of a pan-tribal identity, and socio-political notions of integration and biculturalism, I argue that within tourism-related texts a continued use of Typological Time (Fabian 1983) contributed to the creation of new and often contradictory images of Maaori identity. These too were largely guided by the hegemony of the dominant, Paakehaa society. Two visions of Maaori identity - the "modern" and "traditional" - being situated on either end of a temporal continuum, forced the ideological envelopment of "Maaori culture" within the "norms" of Paakehaa society.
Chapter Three deals with some contemporary issues in New Zealand tourism, and within tourism studies generally. In particular, the notion of "authenticity" - a favourite amongst theorists and advertisers alike - is placed under scrutiny. I argue that, from within the epistemological framework of modernity, the temporal implications of authenticity and "tradition" have tended toward the reification of modernist essentialisation concerning Otherness. Theorising about authenticity often leads to similar reification, and to a negativity that would undermine tourist experience and the touristic presentation of local identities. However, the concept of authenticity is important to the tourism industry in that it acts as a distancing device, and thus prompts desire and the production of value. Here a further term, "sincerity", is introduced by way of contrast to the notion of authenticity. This is illustrated by corresponding examples of two kinds of Maori tourism: the performance of the past, and marae visits. In "sincerely" cultural experiences, where tourists and "actors" "meet half way", authenticity may be more positively redefined in terms of local values. Furthermore, rather than seeing value as the emanation of an authentic object, the moment of interaction may become the site in which value is generated.

In researching this work I have taken an almost entirely qualitative approach. This has included analyses drawing upon several tape-recorded interviews, written correspondence and a great many casual conversations I shared with a variety of people involved both directly and indirectly in the tourism industry. These participants were, in large part, working in retail and service industries: souvenir shop employees, advertising personnel, postcard photographers and the like. In providing first-hand information surrounding the production and consumption of tourism-related material culture in contemporary New Zealand, this correspondence provided an invaluable augmentation to what is otherwise a largely textual analysis.

The bulk of the work is based on a broad collection of ephemeral tourism "texts". These mainly include travel guide books, brochures and other advertising, as well as postcards, t-shirts and souvenirs. Library archives, especially those at the University of Auckland, the Auckland Museum, and the public libraries of Wellington and Auckland, provided a mine of primary sources dating back over one hundred years. During the course of this research (approximately one year) I became a keen collector of postcards, travel brochures and souvenirs. As well as visiting souvenir shops and travel agents, in some of which I conducted interviews with staff, the search for local tourism paraphernalia took me into a variety of antique shops where what were once throw-away objects have acquired new values based on rarity and nostalgia.

In the following Foreword I explore issues related to advertising practices and photography in travel guides and brochures. These texts are taken to represent a broad discourse surrounding tourism. This discourse is the product of a disparate set of organisations, government departments, enterprises and agencies, and is communicated to and between equally disparate and heterogenous audiences. However, since such discourses extend into wider socio-political and ideological fields - and given the shear complexity of the communication involved - I have made no attempt to systematise the advertising or production process. Instead, my focus is mainly set on the nature of the messages themselves, what they directly and indirectly communicate, and their relation to the ideological fields in which they operate or from which they emerge.

Over the last two decades there has been an explosion of interest in the subject of tourism. Thus far, however, interest in travel to "foreign" destinations has largely emerged out of the academic "centres" of Western Europe and the United States. These views need to be balanced by further studies undertaken from within the so-called "pleasure periphery". In this text I provide a localised view of tourism from the so-called "core" to what Turner effectively calls the "Centre Out There" (1973). It is my hope, therefore, that this research will provide some significant contribution to further studies in New Zealand tourism and go some way towards the demystification of a global industry that seeks to procure other people's realities.

It is an irony that the majority of writings on the "pleasure industry" tend toward the tragic mode. Such is the case in Krippendorf’s *The Holiday Makers* (1987), whose following remarks provide a starting point to this study:

> The techniques are the same as in selling cars, vacuum cleaners, detergent or other consumer goods. But because they deal in desires and dreams, landscapes, people and cultures, travel sellers, one would presume, carry a much greater responsibility. However, they don’t seem to be aware of it - or else they simply do not want to realise it. The ‘producers’ of the item called travel are not charitable institutions but commercial undertakings, a fact that they admit quite openly. Why a journey is undertaken is of no consequence to them - what matters is that it is undertaken. Their primary interest is the short term growth of their own business and not the long term development of a well-balanced tourist trade. It would be naive to censure them for it, because they act in accordance with established principles of the free-market economy. But today we must try to see where the limits of this freedom lie (Krippendorf 1987: 20).
Foreword: The mechanics of tourism advertising

The Government is providing tourism with additional resources for marketing, and through the New Zealand Tourism Board is positioning the New Zealand product in the global market by tightly defining what the country can offer that is unique and appealing (New Zealand Tourism in the 90's. NZTB 1995/96).

If New Zealand is perceived in some ways as being similar to Canada, selection of visuals used in advertising or promotion should concentrate on unique or different attractions (Marketing Plan for Canada 1987/88. NZTP).

Tourism and Totemism: A parade of difference

Tourism is New Zealand's largest foreign exchange earner and fastest growing industry. Estimating the generation of a nine billion dollar income by the year 2000, as well as the production of 185,000 full-time jobs (NZTB 1995/96: 9), it is perhaps not surprising to find that tourism is widely viewed within the industry as the country's great panacea. However, the consistent publishing of such figures within the news media is not simply an innocent declaration of good news: it should also be seen as an act of legitimation on the part of the government, and tourism industry generally. Of course it is likely that most New Zealanders will not reap any direct rewards from a growing tourism industry. Most of its earnings will be swallowed up by the private sector, especially the larger corporate and multi-national players. Nevertheless, New Zealand tax payers support two government organisations - the New Zealand Tourism Board (NZTB) and the Ministry of Tourism - whose primary goal is to guide the marketing and promotion of "our" product abroad. As well as local offices, the NZTB has deployed and employed marketing personnel at 16 offshore offices in what it has identified as seven key market regions: Australia, North America, Japan, the United Kingdom, Central Europe, North Asia, and South East Asia.

Essentially, in guiding the marketing practices of tourism enterprise in the private sector, the aims of the NZTB are twofold. First, it seeks to "position" New Zealand as a distinct visitor destination. Second, through monitoring regional tourism trends and issues off-shore, it strives to ensure that its product range and quality meets or exceeds various consumer requirements (NZTB 1995/96: 4). The result of these two strategies as found in tourist brochures is a multifarious range of versions of New Zealand. While being differentiated by their attempts to appeal to varied consumer groups, they are simultaneously held together through a realist conflation of common product-based images.

Tourism is a parade of commodified difference: much like the annual need to refashion automobiles, there is a constant need to find new and exciting places to visit (Kugelmass 1992: 387). Following this need, the tourism industry has attempted to present New Zealand to potential international visitors as both a unique and interesting product, one that offers experiences that may be gauged in terms of their relative desirability, or that are in some way different to what tourists may expect "at home". "New Zealand is unique! An incredible world of contrasts with an amazing variety of scenery and attractions within two beautiful islands". Thus runs the opening passage of the 1995/1996 season Guthrey's Pacific coach tours travel brochure. It exemplifies one of the many variations of what has become a stock phrase in New Zealand travel advertising, one that cuts directly to the heart of tourist desire. Whether aiming to experience the culturally exotic, the awe or excitement of nature, or simply to "get away from it all", the primary object pursued by most tourists is difference. So, for advertisers wishing to "add value" to their products, New Zealand is not simply beauty or excitement, most of all, New Zealand is "contrast".

For the tourism industry, difference means value. So it is perhaps not surprising to find within the advertising medium a tendency toward polarity and the fixing of "distanced" images. Such distance is constructed on at least three broad and overlapping levels, involving the relationships within and between touring subjects and tourist objects. On the most immediate level, tourism seeks to distance its object from the everyday and thereby cater for the tourist desire to "experience" cultural, geographical, temporal or kinaesthetic Otherness. Difference is also sought within and between products. One could almost picture the tourism globe in a fashion similar to that in which Claude Lévi-Strauss has viewed totemic social relations in his Totemism (1969). This world comprises of a system based on a distinction between "destinations" on the one hand, and related images on the other, and is conceived in such a way that a plurality of nations and a plurality of images (of species, cultures, environments) are placed directly in correlation and opposition.

Resulting not so much from any inherent or "objective" qualities of the destinations represented, the touristic world of difference has become possible in large part through the mechanics of marketing. The Managing Director of Wellington's Saatschi & Saatschi branch, Barry Manly, speaking at the 1992 conference Ecotourism in the Pacific illustrates this totemic quality. Individual nations are paradigmatically linked to their respective imaginal signifiers. These, taken together, are syntagmatically defined through their relation to an entire "global" system: The two most important strategic marketing weapons...
we must employ are positioning and brand image. Brand image is the adjectives that we clothe a brand and its positioning with, to give it personality. Those two fundamentals of marketing are what differentiates one brand from another in our minds. For example, we readily identify the image of tradition with Great Britain, bigness and excitement with the United States of America, design and flair with Italy, friendly Ockers with Australia and precision and thoroughness with Germany (Manly 1992: 7).

At the same time, as many critics of tourism have pointed out (for instance, Turner and Ash 1975; Urry 1990), the tendency towards infrastructural homogeneity - global hotel chains, touring companies, airports and the like - means that tourists may experience difference amid the comforts and familiarity of a strictly circumscribed world. In a “home away from home”, tourists may be protected from the harsher realities of Otherness.

Kiwi-land: Tourism’s utopic vision

Coined from the Greek - ou (not), and topos (place) - and meaning “no-place”, Thomas More introduced the word “utopia” to describe a society locatable in discourse, but unlocatable in reality (Faussett 1991: 12). In his visionary work of the same name, More plotted a closed account of a superficially “ideal” nation. At the time of its publication, More’s Utopia seemed to function so convincingly that it became one of Western history’s greatest hoaxes. Likewise, travel brochures selling holidays to New Zealand also proffer persuasive signifying utopias. How they differ from More’s account is through their moral relation to a “real” signified. More’s Utopia (Adams [trans., ed.] 1992) was written as social critique. Closer inspection of his text reveals that all was not well in Utopia - nor was the state of affairs “at home”.

So too, the fine print of travel brochures may expose the less pleasant social realities of destinations that are otherwise heralded as idyllic retreats from the travails and dangers of contemporary life, providing cavets such as:

The company will not be responsible or liable (for damages, refund, or otherwise) for: Mechanical breakdowns, government actions, weather, acts of God, strikes, compulsory quarantine or other circumstances beyond its control.

Elsewhere, in a remarkably aware statement of textual reflexion, the power of realist illusion is in danger of breaking:

The photographs reproduced and information provided in this brochure depict typical scenes experienced and details on each destination; but the subject matter may not necessarily be seen or experienced whilst visiting in that destination.

However, obligatory legal text and fine print aside (who reads it - or can - anyway?), tourism seeks to construct a realist vision of a utopia that is synonymous with the term’s more common, contemporary usage. That is, “an ideally perfect place or state of things” (Oxford Concise Dictionary). In doing so, it seeks to smooth over socio-political issues, denying its own involvement within them. For instance, many major historical sites included in tour itineraries are also highly contested locally, and are significant therein as sites of conflict. A case in point is Waitangi. Of considerable historical importance to New Zealand as the site of the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi, in recent years it has become emblematic of Maaori struggles for sovereignty and claims over land. Yet, in advertising such places, tourism seeks to deny the contemporaneity of political struggle, often by simply denying such conflict exists. Instead, tourism looks to the nostalgic value of the past and idealises “New Zealand” as a unified present - Waitangi, “the birthplace of New Zealand”.

It is the goal of tour operators to present as varied and distinctive a package as possible and for the organisers of tourism sites to create unique products. However, this is as much the job of marketers as site administrators. Products such as coach tours and adventure holidays are often bought - long before they are seen first-hand - on the basis of a single glossy brochure containing a variety of promises, many of which may be considered tenuous. So it turns out that the Waipu forest, “untouched for thousands of years”, is in fact a maze of roads, tracks and tourist markers. In recent years the Trade Practices Act and corresponding legislation have considerably widened the liability, both civil and criminal, for tourism operators who make misleading statements and engage in misleading conduct. Claims for damages need not be limited to any monetary loss but may include compensation for loss of enjoyment of a holiday (Nelson 1988: 48). Yet, while such legislation protects against patently fraudulent advertising, the preprocessing of sites and holidays into a collection of words and images allows considerable scope for the differential enhancement of a product. Furthermore, insurance may be concealed in the brochure’s fine print: “Fares are subject to change. Participating companies reserve the right to change timings, itineraries, carriers, accommodation and cancel tours due to operational requirements.”

Devoid of poverty, violence or illness - often directly contradicting the socio-economic realities of the localities depicted - tourism advertising consistently presents a stable, middle-class world. As easy on the mind as on
the eye, it is a world of economic comfort and social serenity. While such advertising makes obvious sense from a marketing perspective, it may also be seen tangentially as serving broader political requirements. Form and content in tourism advertising must be seen as a component in emergent systems of administration, production and power, not merely as a response to tourist desire. For example, the NZTB, with its institutional links to both the New Zealand Government and Air New Zealand - itself a former government corporation - is a major contributor to the creation of a unified image in New Zealand tourism advertising. Through its guidance, many brochures are situated at the broad end of a bureaucratic flow of information, acting as textual ambassadors for New Zealand. As we shall see in later chapters, the history of New Zealand travel advertising has shown varied links with local and global political agendas, such as colonial emigration and nation-building. More recently, tourism has been given the task of presenting a "positive image" of New Zealand in the interests of political "positioning" and overseas investment. One Export Business headline provides a case in point: "Let's make overseas visitors salespeople for New Zealand" (Coventry 1987: 30). While the stakes may have changed, there is no reason to presume that such advertising has rid itself of its former political connections.

Realism

Issuing from the discourses of tourism and advertising, therefore, a version of New Zealand is continuously being defined, redefined, and situated within a wider bourgeois "globe". This construction of place corresponds with the materialistic demands of the tourism industry. Products are built with the aim of increased consumer revenue. As we have already seen, advertisers seek to "add value" to tourist products through the production of a certain "image unity", and by ensuring that these collective images remain distinct from those promoting other place-products. Most explicitly, the implementation of marketing concepts such as "positioning" and "brand image" promote a field of common signifiers which are identified, fixed and promotional other place-products. Most explicitly, the implementation of marketing concepts such as "positioning" and "brand image" promote a field of common signifiers which are identified, fixed and promoted to travel shoppers via a variety of media and "regime of sense". As a result of these discussions, focus has shifted away from meaning itself and toward problems in locating the criteria and techniques through which meanings are produced within given epistemological fields. Within the social sciences, criticism focusing on the partial nature of textual accounts, author bias and issues of "objectivity" have resulted in what has become labelled a general "crisis of representation" (Marcus and Fischer 1986). Much of this debate has centred around the various ways in which ethnographers have forced textual solidity upon arbitrarily located and otherwise diffuse and inconstant social groupings. Central to this development has been an attack upon a mode of textual representation which, in more "traditional" anthropology at least, has reigned supreme as the most authoritative, in fact "proper", set of genre conventions and techniques available to writers of culture - "ethnographic realism" (Marcus and Cushman 1982: 29). Tourism is also in the business of building ethnographic texts. Yet, unlike the social sciences - legal requirements aside - within tourist advertising there has been no such "crisis of representation". Advertisers of place present their textual worlds with an authority that leaves little or no room for internal critique - as mirrors of reality.

What has now become apparent is that in undertaking an examination of realist signification we are not dealing with a modus operandi unique to any specifically defined set of institutional operations. Rather, in Foucaultian terms (1970), realism emerged through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries establishing itself hegemonically within the modern episteme as dominant practice in the creation of "objective" accounts evidential of reality. In this way, realist conventions are seen to have cut across a range of institutions and social practices in Western society - in our case, advertising and tourist consumption - in which they have ceased to become clearly visible as conventions. Instead, they seem natural; identical to reality (Tagg 1988: 100). Within the so-called Western world, especially within journalistic and legal practices,
realist conventions are those most typically used in creating "truthful" - and therefore indisputable - representations of the world, and are those through which we most comfortably make sense of it.

Like most ethnography, journalism, and other representational genres, tourist brochures are complex effects achieved through writing and photographic reproduction. As such, they depend upon the strategic re-construction of available detail. This is achieved in two ways. First, through the visual pleasure of photographic montage and a spectacle of colour - part of the rhetoric of advertising which, since the 1950s, has emerged as an integral component of the language of consumption (Lutz and Collins 1993: 94). Secondly, through realist conflation of meaning - including maps, photographs, descriptive captions and the like - readers are persuaded to cease being interpreters of signs. They are instead encouraged to interact more directly with the brochure as a facsimile of "reality", thereby fully playing out their role as consumer. Within brochures, the realist picture - that "vivid representation of a world that seems total and real to the reader" (Marcus and Cushman 1982: 29) - is balanced against the more banal elements of marketing stylistics such as rhetorical hyperbole and layout. The elements overlap considerably and, ideally, fuse to form an easily consumed product image. As one common advertising slogan illustrates: "New Zealand" - in entirety - "a real slice of heaven".

Since its earliest days, the tourism industry has focused primarily on two things in selling holidays to New Zealand: natural heritage and Māori culture. More recently, with the advantages of modern travel technology, New Zealand's relative geographical isolation has also become a selling point. Through the implementation of a realist mode of representation, these three aspects combine and fix themselves into the image of a coherent and holistic "world". As the title of a recent promotional video targeting a German audience states, "New Zealand, a world on its own".

Realism's coercive force rests primarily upon its power of repression. In realist texts the act of textual reproduction. As such, it must also be constantly upheld through reference to other, similar texts. Much of what consumers learn of New Zealand will come as a result of influences emanating from outside the world of advertising. But even much of this will have emerged "second-hand" from "marketing" sources such as state-funded documentaries. It is on these terms that the NZTB seeks to achieve more "effective marketing strategies, with increased co-operation and co-ordination between all promoters of New Zealand tourism" (NZTB 1995/6: 9). The result of this conflation of images and texts is summarised by Tagg (1988: 100):

"What lies 'behind' the paper or 'behind' the image is not reality - the referent - but reference: a subtle web of discourse through which realism is enmeshed in a complex fabric of notions, representations, images, attitudes, gestures and modes of action which function as everyday know-how, 'practical ideology', norms within and through which people live their relation to the world.

For readers of travel brochures, the most immediately arresting and overtly "realistic" content are photographic images. For Barthes (1977: 18-19), the "reality" provided by photographs is primarily distorted by associated texts:

In front of a photograph, the feeling of 'denotation', or, if one prefers, of analogical plentitude, is so great that the description of a photograph is literally impossible...to describe is thus not simply to be incomplete, it is to change structures, to signify something different to what is shown.

Barthes' feeling of "analogical plentitude" corresponds with common understandings of photographs - or at least those considered to be "non-artistic" - as a mirror of reality, and of the camera as an impartial and objective scene-duplicating mechanism. One brochure, 'Contiki New Zealand, 1996/97', has made stylistic use of such assumptions and presented its photographic content within the familiar "polaroid" frame. In Barthes's terms, the "connotative message" there is at least twofold. Not only is the image presented as authoritative in terms of its status as a photograph, but it also poses as one that any consumer of the Contiki product may view through the lens of his or her own camera.

Like Lutz and Collins (1993), Sontag (1977) and Tagg (1988), I reject the conception of photography also discussed by Barthes (1977, 1984), that is, of the Camera Lucida. The view taken here is that photographic images are reflective of more complex realities than their immediate content may suggest. Rather than the innocent "shooting" of scenes, a photograph is also reflective of those behind the lens, from photographers to editors, marketing personnel and graphic designers. Furthermore, it also refers to the context in which it is intended to operate. Photographs are the result of active signifying practices in which the creators of advertisements select,
structure, shape and edit both what is going to be captured on film, as well as what is eventually printed (Albers and James 1988:136). Indeed, the mass-production and proliferation of generic images in travel photography, especially in advertising, postcards and travel books, makes them influential in mediating travel experience. Not only do they direct a tourist's gaze, but they also institutionalise ways of seeing. In this way, photographs used in travel advertising are best seen as cultural commodities. They are constituted - and "read" - under given social conditions and within specific "textual communities", and they are produced with a concern for revenue.

Both writing and photography must be seen as instances in text building and translation, as processes performed within defined contexts and involving specific social practices. Such contexts, as spheres of interest, imbue images with an ideological character and thereby impose upon them a certain "currency". Photographs are constituted meaningfully under certain circumstances of production and are charged with "functional" meaning relating to their eventual consumption within a given social complex. Therefore, in viewing photographs in tourism - as elsewhere - we must ask: whose interests does this image serve? To whom does it speak? And, under what conditions - and by what means - does it operate?
II CONSUMING IDENTITY: MODERNITY AND TOURISM IN NEW ZEALAND

CHAPTER 1
The “Nature” of Tourism Advertising

Nature is New Zealand’s strongest tourist referent and natural heritage is unrivalled in its status as New Zealand’s most lucrative tourist commodity. Increased interest in this area is resulting in an escalation of infrastructural intrusion into, and emphasis on, natural environments as tourism products. There is also an increasing awareness of the damaging effects that tourism inflicts upon these environments. Yet, despite these inevitably destructive processes, tourism advertising consistently depicts tourists in the romantic contemplation of glorious natural features, or coaches, trains, boats and other modes of tourist transport making their way through otherwise “untouched” and spectacular scenery.

That scenic shots make up an overriding proportion of the imaginal content of travel brochures is reflective of both an increased industry focus on nature as a tourist commodity, and of the popular reputation abroad of New Zealand as a “natural wonderland”. Of course the two points are inextricably related. Advertisers of tourism have been instrumental in the fostering of this idyllic image through their media campaigning. Likewise, the international demand for this sort of product has prescribed the tourism industry’s advertising content and itineraries. However, to leave our analysis here - a closed circuit consisting of supply/demand reductionism - merely toys with the redundant question: does the tourist create tourism, or tourism create the tourist? Instead, in attempting to come to an understanding of the treatment of nature in tourism advertising, we must look further into its historical specificity and “functional” capacity, and situate it within the wider ideological fields in which it has been set into operation. It must be remembered that such images do not only reflect the economic goals of their producers, but also are consistent with a variety of social meanings and practices existing beyond the immediate context of tourism. They have efficacy in the maintenance or subversion of power relations therein.

Such are the aims of this chapter. Beginning with a discussion of landscape under the “colonial gaze”, and going on to compare this treatment of nature with contemporary tourism trends, nature is here considered in terms of its narrative force.

It is argued that, within modernity, the idea of an “unspoilt”, prelapsarean nature provides the basis of a spacio-temporal narrative - loosely defined as “progress” - through which communing with nature becomes part of wider processes of identity formation.

Within literature advertising the sale of holidays to New Zealand, photographs depicting the natural environment typically focus on those landforms which provide the most visually striking corollaries to what has since at least the 1940s, become a catchphrase in the advertising rhetoric: “New Zealand! A land of contrasts.” These landscapes most commonly appear in the picturesque mode previously characterised by the classically-inspired early European landscape painters of New Zealand, with extra touristic “actors” - a boat, a solitary onlooker - dropped into the frame. Emphasis is on the spectacular. The South Island’s alpine regions are especially popular: turbulent mountain scenery rising up from a still lake or beach front, or stretching upward, beyond a pastoral flat-land expanse.

As an exemplar of this kind of spectacle of nature, Mitre Peak (Figure 2) has become a central point of focus, a consistent staple for advertisers and postcard manufacturers alike. It will often appear up to five times in a single brochure. Mitre Peak’s towering pinnacle presents an impressive image to photographers and advertisers wishing to capture the essence of a romantic image of New Zealand’s alpine regions. Situated on the edge of Milford Sound, an expanse of water creates a far reaching depth of field. It acts as a mirror in which the scenic magnitude and (always) blue sky doubles upon itself, drawing the viewer into its reflection. In terms of aesthetic capacity for photographic composition, Mitre Peak is ideal. Not only does it present a “perfect” image in itself - Lacan has remarked that a mountain reflected in a lake is the perfect image of a consciousness without ego (MacCannell 1992: 114) - the water from which it rises also provides a convenient space upon which to situate further photographic subject matter. Grand landscapes provide advertisers with an evocative and emotionally charged backdrop upon which to present an appealing version of the “tourist experience”. It is in
these terms that Mitre Peak is most commonly portrayed: a majestic mise-en-scène in which the tourism event materialises.

In such scenes the photographic gaze is expansive, the same dominating monarch-of-all-I-survey stance that Pratt (1988) has discussed in relation to Western travel literature. These images also share an aesthetic continuity with the European artistic landscape tradition recently characterised as “the natural sublime”. As Bazarov suggests, works in this vein inspire in the Western viewer “a sense of the might and vastness of nature, the thrill of the wild and untameable” (1981: 51). But, as Pratt’s analysis suggests, such views also entails a patronising gaze on the part of the onlooker, one that seeks control through understanding. The thread of these representational continuities similarly connects such images with those eighteenth-century depictions made by European artists on voyages to New Zealand, who, trying to grapple with the new and unusual landscape, fell back on familiar artistic conventions. It is in these terms that Pound (1983: 60) has described the work of William Hodges, the official artist on Cook’s second Pacific voyage: “his finished oils for the Admiralty were entirely conventional performances in the classical ideal of Claude, or in the Sublime and picturesque of Rosa.”

An artistic continuity focusing on “the natural sublime” landscape can be traced through the work of artists such as Hodges, to turn-of-the-nineteenth-century postcard photographers such as the Dunedin-based Muir & Moodie, Burton Bros., and Christchurch’s Ferguson, Taylor & Co.. Like Hodges - albeit with a new technology - these artists also sought to “capture” for a European audience a vision of nature based on “the sensational, the extraordinary, the enchanting” (Clark 1994: 95). Muir & Moodie, Burton Bros. and others, were part of a fast growing trade of postcards centred in Europe, sending their prints to Germany for cards to be reproduced by the photolithographic process. Also, from within New Zealand many postcards - especially the scenic views - were sent back to Britain by their colonial purchasers to show relatives and friends “at home” the outstanding scenery in the “new country”. By the mid-eighties, many of the Muir & Moodie and Burton Bros. photos were already becoming “world”-famous, as is shown by their employment of an active London sales agent from 1884 (Jackson 1985: 3). Alongside other tourism-related publications, the enormous effect these works have had in prescribing New Zealand’s natural environment to Europe cannot be overlooked. By 1903, just as the postcard collecting mania was getting under way, 1,453,463 postcards were posted in New Zealand and received from abroad. The numbers posted increased spectacularly in each of the following years, reaching a peak of 8,049,808 in 1909 (Jackson 1985: 20).

There can be little doubt that this artistic “tradition” has enriched the contemporary vision of New Zealand’s natural heritage. The photographic and aesthetic continuities are pervasive. They may be found, for instance, in the popular photographic works of Craig Potton, James Siers and Richard Silcock, to name a few, as well as in environmental posters, television

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Figure 2: Images of Mitre Peak: (left) 1971 tourist brochure, New Zealand Tourist Association (1902). (right) 1996 Postage stamp.
advertisements and all manner of tourism products. Corresponding with several contemporary New Zealand postcard and brochure photographers by letter and asking, "I am interested in hearing about the kinds of images and subjects you are including in your postcard photography, [and] your reasons for choosing these subjects", I received replies that would seem to support this claim:

The best sellers remain the likes of Mitre Peak, Mount Cook etc., so I believe things have changed little since the era of the Muir & Moodie cards of a century ago which I still much admire.

I sell a lot of postcards of my photos presumably to tourists who want a more "arty" image of NZ icons...it's more Germans, Brits and Americans who buy them (from per consumer feedback [sic]).

Undoubtedly my images portray only one element of New Zealand - namely, the protected landscapes - the land without humans - a weird concept but nevertheless a metaphysical or spiritual idea resides behind - the "otherness" of nature is important.

1.1. Nature/nature

By the turn-of-the-century, "modern" tourism in New Zealand was becoming firmly established as an "industry". Several major tour companies had come into being during the mid to late nineteenth-century, including Fullers, Newmans, Mt Cook Co., L. D. Nathan and Co., and Thomas Cook from Derbyshire in England (Watkins 1987: 15). Also, in 1902, being the first government to do so (Collier, 1991), the state-run Department of Tourist and Health Resorts was established. By 1909 this was merged with other larger departments, forming the Department of Agriculture, Commerce and Tourists. It is around this period that tourism advertising publications began to appear regularly, many from the press of the government offices. However, a more prolific source of tourism literature was travel accounts, such as those published locally by Whitcombe & Tombs and A.H. & A.W. Reed. These also commonly included many single page advertisements. The circulation of these publications, as far as I can make out, focused mainly on the "homeland" of England, and appeared as part of a wider corpus of colonial propaganda encouraging the emigration needed to boost what was seen by many to be a shrinking New Zealand population (Figure 3). Other volumes were published within England for local consumption, but perhaps the widest distribution was achieved by the shipping and trading companies, such as Burns, Philp & Co., which also serviced the other Asian and Pacific colonies. Formed in 1883, Burns, Philp & Co. emerged in the early twentieth-century as one of the first tourism companies to operate in the Pacific region. They produced a range of tour books, such as the Picturesque Travel series, which did not act strictly as advertising, but were made to appeal to a general interest readership.

What is clear is that such works acted entirely within the reaches of the British Empire. Like postcards, they propagated a pseudo-knowledge of the colony based on constricted stereotypes of place made visible, cheap and readily available. As such, they were part of a wider body of literature situated within a hegemonic strategy. No less effective for being symbolic, this extensively circulated corpus of printed matter came to stand as evidence of the accomplishments of imperialism and participated fully in the multifarious violence of colonialism. Furthermore, they continued an already established tradition found, for instance, in the writings of Herman Melville and Frederick Manning, that sought not merely to justify the imperial project, but to naturalise it.

It is possible to identify a range of generic landscape images in this literature, including the traditional hunting grotto, teeming with life, and the fully "won" colonial city and township scenes - enclaves surrounded by landscapes in transition. The more overtly "natural" landscapes fall broadly into two main varieties reflecting a division outlined by Ross Gibson (1993). Gibson suggests that the image of the Pacific provided by publishers such as Burns, Philp & Co is somewhat paradoxical. Not only was the "bright new world" seen to harbour generosity and availability - a place of undetermined, uncomplicated profusion, a region rich for futurity - it was also a world of wild and enchanting nature, a world "both savage and regulated" (Gibson 1993: 31). I would suggest that this apparent contradiction emerges from an imperial desire to control and visually colonise the landscape; to achieve dominance over nature, and, at the same time, to define a modern identity through valorising those forces of Nature of which progress was seen to be a part.

A good example of this categorised landscape comes from the New Zealand Tours and Excursions (New Zealand Department of Lands and Survey 1897: 36), in a passage describing Lake Mapourika on the South Island's West Coast:

From the Forks, the southern road follows the eastern banks of the Okarito River, which charms many travellers by the Scotch-like appearance of its brown waters, with the alternations of foaming rapids and seething linn. Near Mapourika Lake the valley widens, until, on arriving at the old "landing", one of the most delightful giving scenes meets the eye. In the foreground the placid waters of a lovely lake, on either hand
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gradually-receding hills clothed with folds of forest
down to the very brink, bosky peninsulas, reedy
shallows, glittering wake of startled wild-fowl, flax
grown shoals; on the far side a gently rising plain on
which the forest roof looks level and even as a field
of ripe wheat; on the left, the massy snow-crowned
heights of Mount Downe; beyond, the clefts and
gulches of Mount Mueller; behind these, the snow
domes and ice-fields of the Kaiser Fritz Range; behind
these two, the white gleam of the Franz Joseph Glacier,
and far, far away, and high over all, the pure peak of
Mount Tasman, backed by the tender blue of a
cloudless sky. Such a landscape, duplicated in the
tranquil lake, has hardly a rival anywhere. There is a
comfortable hostelry here, Cloher's, close to the lake
and in the midst of sunny pastures.

Upon arriving at “the old ‘landing’”, movement is
arrested and the narrative takes the form of a static and
categorised landscape “picture”. This arresting moment
signals the arrival of a monarch-of-all-I-survey scene
(Pratt 1988:201). The sight is transformed into a balanced
carefully painted broken up into three densely meaningful units
centring on the “placid waters” of the “lovely lake”. Value
is constituted as aesthetic pleasure. On “either hand” lies
a woodland and lake-side playground, an inviting and
luscious - yet significantly peripheralised - site of leisure.
Identified by the presence of a game bird and easily
accessible from the “comfortable hostelry”, this space is
set aside, quite literally, for the popular tourist sport of
hunting. On “the far side”, directly confronting the
viewer’s gaze, is an unclaimed space of economic
potential. The “forest roof looks level” (emphasis added),
and is easily transformed by the writer’s imagination into
a “field of ripe wheat”. Collectively, these two scenes,
with the addition of the already domesticated “sunny
pastures” of Cloher’s hostelry, are evaluated in terms of
their material capacity and are co-opted in the name of
colonialism. Like the “Scotch-like” river, they are
rhetorically transformed and familiarised into that
“Brighter Britain of the South” often found in government
immigration pamphlets. In sum, the scene embodies an
ideological allegory: not progress over nature, but
progress as nature, a temporal narrative described in
geographical terms. The colonial gaze looks nostalgically
back at the romantic and distinctively English hunting
grounds. The present is characterised by the colonial
space. Looking forward, again quite literally, future
prosperity is anticipated in the transformative space on
the “far side” of the lake.

The scenic components discussed so far represent,
in aesthetic terms, an ideological version of nature
constituted as materially and socially valuable to an
incoming culture. This pliant landscape is foreground to
another, more timeless, vision of nature represented by
the mountains and contrasted with the “tender” sky
Nature as an omnipresent force. Here, comprehension of
Nature represents the apotheosis of Western subjectivism.
For instance, in the writings of Immanuel Kant, it is
precisely that “negative pleasure” found in the
apprehension of Nature - “the prospect of mountains
ascending to heaven, deep ravines and torrents raging
there, deep-shadowed solitudes that invite to brooding
melancholy” (Kant, quoted in Beiner 1993: 285) -
measured against “our” own “supersensible” powers, that
gives rise to feelings of sublimity and of superiority. The
experience of sublimity generates respect, not for any
natural object that is only relatively great, but for the
moral nature of humanity, which alone is absolutely great;
the greater the display of Nature’s power, the more intense
is the feeling of supremacy over nature (Beiner 1993:
279-280).
The sign of Nature in tourism writings, therefore, contributed to the justification of colonial ascendancy over the material in nature, a process which sought to force the "naive" into maturity. A scene from *The Summit Road* (Bougham 1914b: 10-12) illustrates this (see also, Figures 4a and 4b):

We are here some fifteen hundred feet up in the air; the outlook is almost a circle; and before a view so vast, a sigh breaks from one’s lips - a sigh of satisfaction and relief. Man was meant to take wide views, there is no doubt of it. No wonder that this generation dreams of tracts higher even than our Summit Road, and of journeys through the air...As a matter of fact - or of imagination if you will - in the company of all these summits, quiet though they lie, there really is always a sense of cataclysm and shock...they come strolling upwards out of the plains so gradually and smoothly...rear up all of a sudden so sharply...stop so short...then fall so sheer down towards the harbour. It is not only the outer frame of nature that is here so vast, you get a continual hint of her illimitable power as well. Partial peeps at the city we have had, it is true...but now, all of a sudden here is the whole of it spread beneath our feet - its windows flashing in the sun, its curls of smoke glittering up into the air, its roofs of red and grey, its spires and domes, trees and green garden spaces diversifying the plain. Beyond it, to the right, opens the fair blue of Pegasus bay; past it, straight ahead, stands the sublime purple and white of the mountains; about it sweeps the plain. It is Man’s contribution to the landscape, and as much a part of it now as the unalterable Alps themselves, though, sixty years ago, where it now lies there was nothing but tussock and swamp...The presence of the cape to Cairo bridge, for instance, amid the very spray of the Victoria Falls, takes nothing away from nature’s impressiveness, but emphasises it, instead - doubles her declaration of power, by setting next to her own triumph of “inanimate” creation, the triumph of that other creation of hers - her son.

What is particularly revealing is that landscapes which fall under the colonial gaze as “magnificent” or “awe inspiring” are not generally considered by the writers in the literature discussed to be of material or economic value. They are instead endowed with symbolic value, into which the transforming power of Western “progress” is sublimated and, thereby, naturalised. The enchantment of nature as an omnipresent force is simultaneously the valorisation of colonialism. Like the battle of progress over the more “naive” and feminised nature - that fertile space of the native - this omnipresent Nature is constantly at war with itself.

The onset of organised tourism in New Zealand roughly coincided with the beginnings of what has been characterised as a general Western “back to nature” movement (Clark 1994: 179, 182). Throughout the late
nineteenth and early twentieth-century, under the instrumentalist and totalising narratives of "science", Nature became increasingly valued as the unifying force of the universe. Industrialism and progress were not, however, viewed as somehow "above" Nature, but each was seen as part of the other's driving force. Such views were anchored within both popular and scientific concerns over origins, time and development. Those decades spanning the turn-of-the-century also reveal movements towards the reconstitution and radical separation of Natural spaces from industrial space. As large scale industrialism swept through New Zealand - farming, forestry, and mining especially - further destroying those signs of Nature's power and fecundity, the more industrial society was bound to conspicuously reconstitute Nature as its "visible" foundation (Clark 1994: 162). The large-scale reconstitution of Nature within intentional ecological space was realised institutionally in 1887 when the government took its first steps towards preserving vast tracts of territory as National Parks (Watkins: 201). Nature was increasingly being absorbed into the codifying practices of the leisure industry: a spectacle counterposing the urban-industrial, and a representative of foundations, truth and the past. It is significant that, even today, these environments are not commonly viewed as constructed or "cultured", but as raw or "untouched".

1.2. Nature, Time and Modernist Identity

In his essay 'The Past in the Future: History and the Politics of Identity' (1992), Friedman delimits a somewhat procrustean, yet useful, set of parameters in which to view Western modernity (Figure 1). Within this "identity space" four broad categories are defined in terms of two sets of polar relations: modernism/postmodernism and traditionalism/primitivism. Friedman forwards this scheme in order to define a hypothetical field of available identifications specific to modernity, thus allowing for an understanding of variations from "modernism" as internal to it (1992: 847). This semiotic square is useful in that it establishes a context in which to classify identities, one through which they may be viewed in relation to each other. Furthermore, rather than defining identities as fixed, the formulation encourages the interpretation of possible ambiguities between the four points. It allows identities to be seen in movement. In applying this scheme to tourism publications and the "social actors" presented therein, it will become apparent that the discourse of tourism is part of the process by which identities are formed.

Major socio-political and hegemonic changes over the last one hundred years have triggered a shift in the relative "value" placed upon the identities available to Western modernity. This change may account for some current trends in tourism - and elsewhere. As Friedman suggests, "the processes that generate the contexts in which identity is practiced constitute a global arena of potential identity formation" (1992: 94). Friedman's version of Western modernity's identity space provides a basic structure through which to read the discourse of tourism. Historically, it is within this space that tourism in New Zealand most firmly lies.

Clark (1994) has shown that, instead of being opposed to contemporary ecological thought, the rationalist and instrumentalist movements characteristic of modernism define the moment in which the fundamental components of current discourses which seek to "re-enchant" nature are made possible. As we have seen, Nature - with a capital "N" - was no less valorised by tourists of the late colonial period than it is today by the so-called "ecologists" (Clark 1994). However, while the essential imaginal features surrounding the natural sublime in tourism advertising have remained fairly consistent over a period spanning more than two hundred years, changes in the discourse of tourism reveal shifts in the way in which (Western) tourists have been encouraged to interact with the nature represented by landscape images and provided by tourism. In the remainder of this chapter I argue that the differentiation between contemporary and turn-of-the-century advertising rhetoric concerning tourists and their communion with nature is reflective of an epistemological change within the identity space of modernity. Under colonial discourse, tourists were encouraged to identify themselves as thoroughly "modern", and so sought to distance themselves from the "primitive" in nature. Contemporary tourists often seek to transcend the conditions of modernism in order to enter the identity space of the primitive, thus interacting more fully with nature. One way of achieving this transcendence is through the "traditional". In contemporary New Zealand tourism this projected identity has come to be represented by Maori culture.

In 1902, readers of the Thos. Cook and Sons publication New Zealand as a Tourist and Health Resort (1902: 127) were asked to:

Visit New Zealand! See its Lovely, Picturesque Lakes, its Magnificent Waterfalls and Rivers. Visit its Great Fiords and Sounds. Climb its towering mountains, majestic in their immensity, and hoary with perpetual snow...Visit the home of the Tattooed Maori Warriors and their handsome, dusky daughters. Visit this wonderful country, with its endless variety of beautiful and magnificent scenery which charms the senses, inspires the imagination, and challenges comparison.

Such rhetoric reflects the pervasive colonial tendency
to distance nature from the “viewing” subject. From this standpoint, nature is situated under a voyeuristic gaze, and so becomes internalised through an act of removed contemplation. Communing with nature involves a process of contact through rationalisation, and avoids physical or material interaction. It is, in the same instance, an act of self definition: the creation of an identity made within a logocentric system of thought that would separate the rational from the instinctual, the modern from the primitive, the subject from the object.

While the Western viewing subject and their “modern” world were seen to be as much a part of Nature’s design as the world of the “uncivilised” native, Maaori were positioned within that “naive” nature over which colonialism sought - and in large part achieved - hegemonic authority. An integral part of the Imperial project was to strip indigenous cultures of their intellectual integrity and to constitute them as “people without history”, as entrenched in “myth” and as acting primarily on those basic instincts provided by Nature as the minimum requirement for survival.

One further way of defining the modern self was to achieve mastery over nature through categorisation. This is consistent with the colonial touristic practice of collecting scenery which was manifested in the then popular “specimen tours”. The removed viewing and intellectual collection of nature was characteristic of a strategy which sought to define the modern identity as both separate from, and superior to, what was considered to be, by turns, the “primitive” or “traditional” Maaori.

As Friedman (1992: 847) suggests:

Modernism embodies a strategy of distanciation from both nature and culture, from both primitive and biologically based drives and what are conceived of as superstitious beliefs. It is a self fashioned strategy of continuous development in which abstract rationality replaces all other more concrete foundations of human action.

Under the rubrics of Linnaean classification and the evolutionary schemes of Lamarck and Darwin, all the world’s populations were divided up and placed on a scale of human progress in relation to a prescribed table of phylogenetic characteristics and socio-technological achievements. Needless to say, the upper-middle class European or American tourist was placed at the fully “civilised” peak of this global conception. In the descriptive passage that follows, the categorisation of two Maaori figures into differing racial “types” - reflecting a perceived “racial” difference between Maaori and Maaoriori - also defines the (imaginary) tourist. The phylogeny moves from the “flattened-nose” and “thick-lips” of the squatting “savage”, to the “tall” and “dignified” (traditional) “noble savage”, ending with the contemplation of the modern seer. This act of self identification through the opening of difference also becomes the space of desire, what Nicholas Thomas (1993: 46) has called the “exoticist attitude”. Two Maaori guides, representative of nature, are sensitised under the patronising gaze of the traveller and are made to respond to their distracted desire. “He” is caught within a subjective conflict of his own creation, desiring both intimacy with, and authority over, the exotic natives. Finally, the paradox is subsumed and denied through objectification. Desire is confined to voyeurism which makes way for the distanced and controlling gaze of authority. Taken from the Whitcombe & Tombs publication, A River of Pictures and Peace (Baughan 1914a: 23-24), the scene is a canoe trip down the Wanganui River:

Passengers to their places amidships!...we are off - off to the real river! Tipi, strong, muscular, and of the Melanesian-Maori type, with flattened nose and thick lips, squats on his heels at the bow, and digs his short paddle into the water; Paora, tall, dignified, graceful, a true Polynesian, steers astern with a paddle somewhat longer. The sun is shining on the forested summits up yonder...it is a delight to watch our men, so sure and dexterous is their management - and a second delight to hear their voices singing out directions to each other in mellifluous Maori.

This episode clearly reveals an example of the Western mode of categorisation that Fabian has labelled “Typological Time” (1983: 23). Typological Time refers to the classification of the world’s human populations in terms of an unequally distributed quality of states, and in relation to (temporal) intervals between predefined socio-cultural events:

Typological Time underlies such qualifications as preliterate vs. literate, traditional vs. modern, peasant vs. industrial, and a host of [other] permutations....In this use, Time may almost totally be divested of its vectorial, physical connotations (Fabian 1983: 23).

In the interests of both itself and Empire, tourism made use of - and continues to make use of - a conception of Time which works to create distance between constituent subjects and objects. Such distance is constituted as socio-cultural value. The imaginal promotion of “unspoilt” nature in terms of Naturalised Time is made to operate within Typological ideas of social “progress” and alienation from nature. The “sciences” of natural history and anthropology, always allied with tourism, gave to tourism one of its most potent sources of adding value to its object, just at the same time as it gave to European politics, as Fabian puts it (1983: 17),
the intellectual justification of the colonial enterprise. In view of Fabian’s thesis, I would propose that “modern” tourism in New Zealand, and elsewhere, took shape under the same epistemological conditions as ethnology and ethnography, and, likewise, became inextricably linked with colonialism. This world-view comprised a belief in the absolute superiority of the masculine over the feminine, the modern and progressive over the traditional and primitive, and the historical over the ahistorical (Nandy, 1983: xi). As we shall see, within contemporary New Zealand tourism advertising, Typological Time and ideas of spatio-temporality are mutually supportive. They form a double narrative which functions as a means of adding extra value to both the natural and cultural heritage industries. Through the former, physical distance is endowed with a value that is realised in the latter.

1.3. Modernity and Tourism’s Māori Other

You will see glow worms, rare native birds, volcanoes, Māori, thermal wonderlands, waterfalls... (1996 Tourist Brochure, Naturally New Zealand Holidays)

Johannes Fabian’s work, Time and the Other (1983: 1), shows how anthropology has constituted its object - “the savage, the primitive, the Other” - by placing it conceptually within the past. While he mainly discusses this “device” of temporal displacement within the discourse of ethnography, he also shows that, rather than being situated within anthropology in particular, a general “denial of coevalness” emerged out of the secularisation of Judeo-Christian ideas of history showing its full force within the nineteenth-century evolutionary paradigms of theorists such as Lyall, Darwin, Tyler and Morgan. Fabian’s argument is that evolutionism, the informing paradigm, rested on a conception of time that was not only naturalised and secularised, but was also thoroughly spatialised. This conception is seen as resting upon two important elements:

1) Time is immanent to, hence coextensive with, the world (or nature, or the universe, depending on the argument).

2) relationships between parts of the world (in the widest sense of both natural and socio-cultural entities) can be understood as temporal relations (Fabian 1983: 11-12).

The rhetoric of contemporary tourism advertising consistently confuses geographical distance with temporal schemes. In this way, as Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has suggested (1994: 7), it is able to promise idyllic escapes to destinations where time “stands still” or the past lives on, untouched by modernity. This is brought about in two ways. First, the attribution of primordial status is achieved through situating New Zealand geographically, by way of relation, as peripherally distant - “New Zealand. A World on its Own”. Here the point of reference is the home to which the concept of authenticity belongs: the Western world, the seat of progress, the industrial “core”. Secondly, this geographical conception is then subjected to time. Following this process, those in the centre come to represent the “modern”, and, simultaneously, the technologically triumphant and fallen from nature. Conversely, the periphery is oppositionally distanced as Other, as “primitive”, and as exemplary of what the world was like “before” the assault of progress and modernism. Following this scheme, all contemporary societies and geographical spaces are “irrevocably placed on a temporal slope, a stream of time - some upstream, others downstream” (Fabian 1983: 17).

That members of the tourism industry make conscious use of this narrative - although many may not be aware of its implications - and are implementing it within what would appear to be its most saleable location, is made fully apparent in the New Zealand Tourism Department’s (NZTD 1990/91: 17) Market Brief for West Germany:

Selling Idea.

Primary - Scenery/Nature

New Zealand is worth visiting because there is no other country that has so much beautiful unspoilt nature that is at the same time accessible and safe (from terrorists and/or wild animals etc). In New Zealand nature is the overpowering force, not man. Europeans are able to experience here in our country, what the world was like before man started changing the face of the earth. (Italics mine)

When situated within such advertising rhetoric, landscape images become imbued with symbolic meanings which simultaneously position the viewer and the photographic subject within a temporal and geographical narrative structure. The marketing of New Zealand’s natural environment as a “place product” often implies the construction of “another world”; an “untouched” and “timeless” Eden; a natural time-capsule that has somehow been miraculously preserved in an original and pristine form. This construction of place is positioned and made identifiable by way of its opposition to an alterior conception, what is construed as the more “complex”, industrialised West: the world of the Euro-American tourist. In promoting this image of place - which is, as we shall see, a great way of adding value to the “place product” - New Zealand’s geographical isolation rather than being seen negatively by the tourism
industry, becomes a selling point: “For the growing number of travellers seeking destinations that are different, New Zealand’s comparative remoteness is part of our appeal” (NZTB 1995/6: 30).

I have suggested that within the modern ideology there is more to “getting back to nature” than a kind of conceptual time travel. It also implies an existential transformation, a different way of interacting with the environment. As we have seen, tourism advertising of the colonial period used a discourse which sought to separate the touring subject from the object of its gaze. This discourse involved the denial of complete physical interaction with the environment and the radical separation of the modern from the primitive. Indeed, throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries the fear of “going tropo” was a genuine concern of European communities in the Pacific (Thomas 1993: 34).

Increasingly, and somewhat conversely, tourism is marketing entirely kinaesthetic “experiences”. In contemporary advertising, tourists are encouraged to immerse themselves more completely in nature. The aestheticising of nature, characterised by turn-of-the-century advertising practices, has given way to the marketing of physical experiences involving all the senses. In terms of the identity space of modernity outlined by Friedman, Western tourists are turning away from the constraining influence of modernism and towards both the primitive and the traditional. Friedman characterises this position as “postmodern”. In this conception, postmodernism is positively inclined to all forms of wisdom, libido liberation, creativity, lost values and communion with nature (Friedman 1992: 847).

EXPLORER CONNECTIONS ECO ADVENTURE
HOLIDAYS enable you to discover what the real New Zealand experience is about. Encounter the grandeur and untamed timeless beauty of New Zealand’s extraordinary landscape: snow-capped mountains, volcanoes, fiords, thermal regions, beaches, rainforests and renowned National Parks. Challenge your senses - see, feel, smell and hear things you’ve never encountered. View magnificent whales and geothermal wonders, touch the delicate fronds of a silver fern or listen to the sweet melodies of native birds. Learn about ancient Maori traditions and discover the true spirit of New Zealand people. (Tourist Brochure 1996)

The range of modernist identities spanning the (Typological) evolutionary scale is not conceived of in terms of a complete separation. Rather, the framework of Western ideology that surrounds the primitive and the modern connects them as the basic features of a single genealogy. Within this framework lies the assumption that, beneath the artificial surface of that ever increasing complexity that is the “developed” and the “industrial”, members of the “modern” world possess the same essential features of their still yet undeveloped cousins. This basic evolutionary framework becomes the source of a nostalgic poetic in A River of Pictures and Peace (Baughan 1914a: 12), serving to subjugate and envelope the native within the “naive” and malleable space of nature:

Man, the pain-ploughed, the passion-distracted, you [nature] can make for a moment into Man the Seer! and for a few moments at least, we know ourselves to have been part of that Peace which passeth understanding...All day long we have been sharing its [nature’s] frank, friendly life; and now to share so naturally the naive life of the brown man continues, do you not feel? the same melody in another key... New Zealand is always sure of the Nature-lover’s heart. Some of her aspects move one to the love that is almost worship, that excites, and that reveals unknown depths and heights in oneself. Here, however, she is all soothing, tranquil...maternal almost...very lovable!

Here, it is to the regret of “Man” that the more “naive” nature has been left behind. However, more recently, under the allegory of the universality of the human spirit, the sale of New Zealand’s natural heritage involves more than the prescribing and marketing of an authentic Other. It is also the marketing of an authentic self - that of the reader. At the “forefront” of the story of the timeless and spiritually pure primitive is a parallel story of alienation from nature, fragmentation and loss. This is what Tyler (1992: 1) has called the “modernist fable of technology triumphant, the rise of civilisation from savagery, and the surpassing of the life-world of common-sense...by science and technology.” We may also look to Baudrillard’s (1983, 1993) notion of the “hyperreal”: a mass-media produced “post-modern” situation in which reality has lost sight of its referents, which have themselves become more real than reality itself. Such conceptions carry the very connotations that Fabian’s analysis of Typological Time seeks to demystify, but he too is interested in placing them epistemologically within “our praxis” (1983: 165). For Baudrillard (1993: 137), “Desire” is an integral part of “our reigning prohibition, its dreamt materiality becomes part of our imaginary,...it remains the promise of a savage naturality, the phantasm of an objective, liberatory pulsion energy to be liberated.” This is remarkably akin to Friedman’s notion of the postmodern within modernity (1994: 228). Likewise, for a number of other social theorists of modernity, such as Tyler, Ricoeur and Bourdieu, what characterises late-capitalist being is a nostalgic desire erupting from the idea (feeling) that the world (post-industrial, Westernised) has somehow outgrown nature. If this is so, for the “modern” consumer of tourism, the temporal and spatial
distance of authenticity may simultaneously manifest itself as a typological distance related to self. If the tourism advertising is to be believed, a few hours of cushion-seated flying will bridge the span of this nostalgia - it will even take you "back in time". It would seem that, in the "natural wonderland" that is New Zealand, the fallen technocrat may purchase the lifestyle of the primitive.

This allegorical formulation functions as an orienting principle within the realist encapsulation of place presented in tourism advertising. Temporal narratives seek to "realise" a certain formulation of the world, a world that "works" (Stewart 1993: xii). Yet the reasons why this narrative of time and space appears so popular within tourism advertising does not only depend on its ability to create a holistic sense of the world, or to ascribe to New Zealand's natural environments a sense of authenticity. It further seeks to make authenticity valuable by placing the prospective traveller within that world, thus making the fantasy a "dreamt reality". Of course, authenticity is valuable only where there is perceived unauthenticity. Such is the "plastic" world of the consumer. Enamoured by the distance of authenticity, the modern consciousness is instilled with a simultaneous feeling of lack and desire. It erupts from a sense of loss felt within "our" world of mass culture and industrialisation, giving rise to possibilities of redemption through contact with the naturally and spiritually "unspoilt". On these terms, upon reaching the authentic through contact with the naturally and spiritually primitive.

It has been of deep concern to the Maori that the Maori image has been used as a marketing tool in the promotion of the tourist industry for over a hundred years. Maori are also critical of the way they are stereotyped into guides, entertainers, carvers, and as components of the natural scenery. This has been without consultation and with little commercial benefit to the Maori people. There is a notable undercurrent of bitterness about this which could easily turn into anger. This means the industry must rethink its present tendency to stereotype the Maori role in tourism and the goods and services the Maori are attempting to provide.

Whether the message of the Taskforce has failed to get through to tourism advertisers, or whether it has simply been ignored, a cursory look at tourism advertising and associated productions reveals that an image of a "quintessential Maori" has developed since the turn-of-the-century and remains as the prevailing stereotype. What is particularly noteworthy is that the notion of Maori as close to nature, is being continuously promoted as part of the essence of Maori culture. Within the rhetoric of tourism advertising Maori are frequently presented as a natural feature of New Zealand's landscape. According to one 1996 brochure, "You will see glowworms, rare native birds, volcanoes, Maori, thermal wonderlands, waterfalls...". Photographic imagery on postcards and in travel brochures consistently upholds this image. Either Maori are depicted in their role as performers where culture becomes spectacle and therefore "unauthentic", are photographed amongst carvings where culture becomes tradition and assigned to the past, or they are photographed within the context of "unspoilt" nature - the pre-modern dream.

In 1996, the turn-of-the-century image of Maori in many ways continues to hold currency within tourism advertising. This version of Maori identity is not confined to tourism alone. Neither, as we have seen, is it simply an identity created by the West on their behalf, or appearing as the result of the kind of spontaneous "invention" suggested within the sensationalised debates of Hanson (1989) and others. Instead, I would assert that negotiation between dominant and oppositional knowledges is integral to the production of socio-political relations and identities in contemporary societies. The refined conceptualisation of Maori culture in tourism has emerged through such a process, occurring both within, and outside of tourism. And it is on these terms that, in pursuit of a saleable "self-as-product", previously defined stereotypes have been co-opted by many Maori tourism operators, resulting in an identity derived, at least partially, from images of the self-as-Other.

It is a current trend in contemporary tourism for Maori operators to take hold of Western notions of the traditional and primitive Other, turning them to their advantage. As suggested by Friedman (1992: 837), "Self-definition does not occur in a vacuum, but in a world already defined". Here I quote from a 'Situation Analysis of Maori Management & Marketing Issues' published in Hikoi (1996: no page number given), a report that makes considerable use of both the "traditional" and "primitive" positions:

For internal strengths we have the assorted concepts of:

Maori being the indigenous culture which is quite unique to New Zealand.

Maori people are natural hosts displaying a warm
friendly attitude towards customers, thus capturing the market.

The attitude of the Maori to the Natural World - there is an interdependence between the people and their environment which creates a sense of belonging to nature rather than being ascendant to it.

Successful iwi (tribal) based ventures such as Whakarewarewa and Kaikoura whale watching can only be advantageous for Maori products. With so many iwi in New Zealand, it can be a possibility for other tribes to apply the same line of thought and open their own venture. The interest shown in these iwi based ventures leads to a regeneration in awareness, interest and pride in the Maori culture among the local people.

Finally traditional, cultural and conservational values that Maori people possess can only enhance the tourist product.

As this analysis suggests, the image of the Maori guide is a continuing component of New Zealand tourism. As such, within tourism, Maori are not merely ambassadors of a culture or a country, they are also perceived as “spiritual” guides to nature. Increasingly, Maori are positioning themselves within the tourism industry in correspondence with Friedman’s “identity space of modernity”; as the authentic “culture” post-modern - plus culture and plus nature. In the kind of discourse presented above, Maori are viewed as having a special relationship with nature, one that the “dispossessed” may learn from: as opposed to modernism, “there is an interdependence between the [Maori] people and their environment which creates a sense of belonging to nature rather than being ascendant to it” (Hikoi 1996, italics mine). If tourists are increasingly seeking an authenticity of experience in nature, and a similar “sense of belonging”, then it is through the guidance of “culture” that this may be achieved.

The new found value of the “post-modern” Maori identity within tourism, I would suggest, has been made possible partially as a result of recently occurring changes lying at the heart of the identity system of modernity. A prevailing feature of this world-view has been the emergence of a gradually increasing lack of faith in the modernist project within a global situation of receding Western hegemony. “There would seem to be a growing scepticism in our identifications, while “they” are busy identifying themselves and making their own histories”, writes Friedman (1992: 846). Once, under the rubrics of modernism and the strategies of Empire, those “ethnic categories” were being dispossessed of their histories, lands and local knowledges. In the current “crisis of modernism” the West would seem to be experiencing a feeling of lost “ethnicity”. But, the tables have been only turned superficially. It is the identity space of “modernity” - a Western hegemonic principle after all. The metanarrative of progress remains the underlying feature of such conceptions, and, in the final analysis, it is still a process in the maintenance of relations of power. What is occurring globally is a situation in which the ethnicities of “Others” are being valorised under the same terms and conditions in which they were forced into subjugation by the West, and all the while the political and economic dominance of the West over the “rest” continues.
CHAPTER 2
Representations of Māori Identity in Tourism

Beginning with the American Photographic Company in the late 1860s and 1870s, images of Māori became increasingly available to tourists and colonists in the form of photographic prints, postcards, advertisements and travel books. Along with scenic prints, these were widely circulated throughout New Zealand, back “home” to Europe, to America, and to the other colonial enclaves. Such images tended towards over-inscription and stereotype, rendering the already classified yet ineluctable difference of the Māori Other conspicuously visible within a tightly circumscribed “regime of signification”. In this chapter I will examine various manifestations of this practice, and relate them to political and ideological issues occurring in New Zealand over the last century. Within tourism today, this is continued as one aspect of the legacy of colonialism. By the early 1900s many of the fundamental components that would make up Māori culture’s contribution to New Zealand’s tourism industry were being identified, if not yet realised. It was made to fill that space within a Eurocentric world view as the traditional and/or the primitive Other.

2.1. Colonial Identity and the Māori Other

In the decades spanning the turn-of-the-century, Māori identity was consistently fixed under a patronising and sensualising colonial gaze, and situated as distant within a specifically nature-bound stereotype. Within the emerging field of anthropology there occurred a romanticisation of “native bodies” that in many ways mirrored those being produced under tourism. In fact, as far as New Zealand is concerned, tourism and ethnography have been allied from the beginning. The transfer of exotic trophies, totems, ritual lore and legends from Māori custody to newly established Pākeha museums, private collections and literary anthologies was well underway by 1900. As Blythe (1994: 50) points out, not only were these trophies excellent devices for attracting tourists (and ethnographers) to New Zealand, but they also provided a reservoir of images on which to build the burgeoning postcard industry and early tourism films. These collecting practices were largely predicated by a “salvage” mentality and narratives of science. The profusion of “Māori Belle” photographs promoted an erotic and desirable image to consumers in accordance with Western aesthetic ideals (Te Awekotuku 1991: 91). Likewise, “Warrior” portraits showed another side of the noble savage, the darker side of “primitive Man” (Figure 5).

The photograph, as an instrument of validity, provided a new technical means for the production of a “realism” based on counterfeit and redundancy. In the form of postcards and photographic prints, within guide books and emigration pamphlets, the “Māori Belle” model was rendered both exotic and domesticated, and placed under a kind of scopophilic surveillance. Subjected to the controlling gaze of the colonial photographer, she was stripped of her local identity and presented, saturated with meaning, as a double of an “original” - the ideal “type”. Such representational practices were imposed upon indigenous women the world over. As Malek Alloula (1986: 17) writes in her discussion of the representation of Algerian women by colonial photographers:

In her semblance on the postcard, the model is simultaneously the epiphany of this absent woman and her imaginary takeover. The perfection and the credibility of the illusion are ensured by the fact that the absent other is, by definition, unavailable and unable to issue a challenge.

The Māori “Belle” or “Warrior” was recreated on the photographic surface under a new criteria of truth, one that sought to define the discourse that could be held
Figure 5: Maaori “Maids”, “Belles”, “Chiefs” and “Warriors” (Main 1976).
about them. The individual disappears and is replaced by a “model” made credible, accessible and profitable (Alloula 1986: 18).

It should not be suggested that these images were not a part of the “real”, or that they existed somehow “above” the lives of those imag(in)ed. They were not entirely extra-human and phenomenologically disconnected constructs. As Te Awekotuku points out (1991: 91), the images of Māori women in colonial photography reflect both the assumed expectations of the tourist and the extent of Māori participation in this aspect of tourism. Of course Māori were themselves active in the negotiation of this identity, as indeed, many Māori were positioning themselves powerfully with regards to the emerging tourism commodity system. The example of Māori woman guides at Rotorua provides a case in which Māori women were able to challenge the production of stereotypes regarding their identity.

In her graduate thesis entitled Colonials in Wonderland: The Colonial Construction of Rotorua as a Fantasy Space, Philippa Galbraith (1992) has shown that, while Māori women posed as objects of a Western fantasy, they did not always do so passively or without personal gain. The famous guides of Te Arawa, such as Rangitiaria Dennan (Guide Rangi) and her forebear Margaret Thom (Guide Maggie Papakura), were astute business women and influential in both Māori and Pākehā aspects of the Rotorua community. As such, they were keenly aware of their roles as mediators between Māori and Pākehā worlds. At a peak time of tourist popularity in Rotorua several Te Arawa women became highly visible both on the marae and in the Pākehā community through self-consciously and profitably catering to the demands of colonial tourists. In doing so, they contributed to making Te Arawa a comparatively wealthy tribe (Galbraith 1992: 16; Te Awekotuku 1991: 81). Contrasting with the profusion of “Maori Belle” images in one significant respect, photographs depicting these guides were usually accompanied by a caption indicating their professional name and occupational status. As individual personalities rather than mere generic constructs, therefore, the more popular guides were touristic attractions in themselves, and of substantial economic value to the Rotorua industry:

The stereotypical productions of the guide as a passive ‘native princess’ - a fantasy object created by Pākehā and tourist desire, and therefore an impossible and distorted representation of the Māori - belie the subversion of these Western symbols of authority and knowledge of the Other, which the Māori used to place themselves in a powerful position over the tourist commodity. (Galbraith 1992: 16).

Upon reaching Rotorua, tourists would have often met with actualities contradicting the counterfeit chimera imag(in)ed on postcards and in photographs. And of course these redefined images of the Māori Other could also be delivered abroad, along with the counterfeit - either in the stories of tourists returned home, or inscribed on the back of a postcard. Rummaging through a pile of old postcards at the Auckland shop, Rare Books, I chanced upon a good example of such contradiction (Figure 6):

My Dear Matt

This lady we were speaking to her yesterday - she is a lady Māori guide - she wears the lovely European clothes - with a flashy diamond ring on her finger...this dress is her native dress.

Love - Charles

In this case the tourist perceives in “Guide Bella” a dual image. As a mediator between worlds she is hybridised as both “native” and richly “European”, exemplary of what was often described as “The Māori of the Transition Period”. While many contemporaneous texts valorised these women, acknowledging their skills and status, they were also often careful to point out hybridity in biological terms (eg., Adlam 1907: 17).
Apparently, tourists to New Zealand were increasingly going in search of that “authentic” native which had by now become a familiar pictorial image, only to find the imagined ideal undermined. One popular 1907 travel account written by Alys Lowth Adlam and published by Whitcombe & Tombs, entitled *Emerald Hours in New Zealand*, recounts such an episode. The writer takes the position of tourist-as-voyeur. Disappointed - even offended - to find the approaching Māori attired in European clothes, the observer nevertheless continues the act of scopophiliac investigation. The Other is dangerously close to becoming the Same:

I hid myself in a corner whence I could see everybody who came to Ohinemutu without being too much in evidence myself, and very soon they began to arrive. Some of them almost came up to my preconceived ideas of what a Māori proper should look like, ideas so sadly disabused since I had met them. But only a very few came anywhere near my hopeful expectations. I had imagined soldierly-looking men and graceful, houri-eyed women, whereas most of them proved to be unwieldily fat, and the women pretty only while they were young. And the European dress, adopted almost universally by both men and women, emphasised the peculiarity of their figures, the very short backs and short legs, which would probably not be noticeable in their native attire. But this they only don nowadays on special occasions and when they want to be photographed, when they put it on over the European clothes! (Adlam 1907: 18)

Upon reaching Rotorua - by now a “world”-famous destination, as both a spa town and “Home of the Māori”

- the European tourist somehow expects the magical emanation of the photographic print - the “Māori proper” - to come to life. Instead she is met with the full force of the power effects of identity. As if to dissolve these effects, just as the native object begins to threaten the observer’s “modern” identity space, a new image is formed. The sensualised “noble savage” - “soldierly men and graceful, houri-eyed women” - becomes the comic Other, that absurdly hybrid figure of “Uncle Tom”. (Figure 7a and b)

Then, as now, the tourism ventures of various Māori groups, such as those at Whakarewarewa and Ohinemutu, resided somewhat paradoxically within Western notions of authenticity and Otherness. At the hands of colonial tourism promoters, and at the level of representation, Māori had been forced into those ostensibly exotic categories of modernity - traditionalism and primitivism.
Recreated to fit the Western knowledge system, such images served to reinscribe a polarisation of identities based on both power and desire. Yet these categories are simultaneously subverted and eventually denied at the local level of socio-economics with a refusal by those such as Guides Rangi and Bella to occupy “in reality” what Homi Bhabha has called “that past of which the white man is the future” (1994: 238). Behind the voyeuristic image of the guide lies the disseminating power of Māori in colonial tourism, and their powerful position as prime attractions and land holders in Rotorua’s burgeoning tourism industry (Galbraith 1992: 12). Yet in large part, looking further afield than Rotorua, the ideological and economic dominance of the colonists and “modernism” was maintained during this period, and representation in tourism literature was a contributing factor. It provided a space in which the power-encrusted identities and narratives of modernity - the progressive, superior modern “man” and the nature-bound, sexual native - were officialised, made visible, and transmitted back into that “textual community” from whence they were issued.

The positioning of the Māori cultural Other in contemporary tourism advertising similarly reflects Western desires and expectations, with many of the same essentialised features that were attributed to Māori culture during the colonial period continuing. These points reside in a margin created in articulation with cultural imperialism. They have been taken up by Māori in the so-called “cultural renaissance”, and belong to a discursive strategy in the conceptual dominance of the Other. As suggested by Young (1990: 55):

Cultural imperialism involves the universalisation of the dominant group’s experience and culture, and its establishment as the norm...[while] as remarkable, deviant beings, the culturally imperialism are stamped with an essence. The stereotypes confine them to a nature which is often attached in some way to their bodies, and thus cannot be easily denied.

Certainly, in the early period of New Zealand tourism, up until the Second World War, Māori were being defined by colonial pamphleteers in terms of an opposition to the “modern”. This definition has been seen as a construct promoted under a specifically Western system of hegemony; as integral to the simultaneous acts of socio-political domination and self-fashioning within the identity space of modernism. This was the formation of a modernist identity based on difference and on power - subject over object, progressive over backward. The radical typological and temporal separation of the modern colonial tourist from the primitive/traditionalist Māori in Western ideology seemed to naturalise that power. Under the rubrics of a totalising science, these identities, ethnicities, or “cultures” were largely subsumed into biogenetic ideas of “race”, polarising as various stages on an evolutionary ladder. If the Māori race was dying out, this was seen by many as a matter of course. Progress, Time and Nature would triumph over the “naïve” in nature.

As if to pay testimony to this supposed inevitability, in the entrance to the Māori Room of the Christchurch Museum stood “...three wax figures - a Māori man, woman, and girl - very life-like.” (Andrews, Batty & Co. Ltd. 1925: 211)

2.2. From Nature To Culture

However, modernism’s narrative of progress, with its anticipations of a Māori decline into extinction, was at that same time being undermined by the tenacity of Māori life and culture. In fact, the Māori population was increasing: from an estimated low point of 42,113 in 1896, it rose to 45,549 in 1901, 56,987 in 1921, and 115,676 in 1951 (King 1992: 286). At the same time, while the dominating system of European discourse and ideology was busy producing a specifically representational identity for Māori, Māori were involving themselves in the processes of defining and redefining identities for themselves. Likewise, throughout the mid-century, political and ideological movements towards the establishment of a national identity that sought to envelop Māori culture into Pakeha “norms” gained wide-spread acceptance amongst the majority of New Zealanders. This section is concerned with tracing some of these local socio-political factors in terms of their contribution to a particular definition of the Māori “culture” which, by around 1970, became the staple of tourism advertising and widespread in the touristic performance of Māori culture both locally and internationally. It asks, in what ways was Māori culture variously defined and produced in relation to tourism discourse? And, how did these conceptions and representations relate to wider ideological projects, both Māori and Pakeha? The following section continues this discussion, tracing a parallel shift in the way in which this conception of culture has related to Western temporal schemes.

In the decades preceding the war, an assertion of Māori leadership and initiative made it increasingly difficult for New Zealand’s governmental institutions - and to a lesser degree, Pakeha society at large - to overlook Māori social, economic and cultural issues. Also, throughout the depression of the 1930s, following a continuing loss of land, there began what would by the 1950s become a large-scale movement of Māori people away from their home communities. While initially migration in search of work or pleasure remained
focussed on urban communities, with people adopting
the identity or kawa of their hosts or the family into which
they married, during and after the Second World War
increased urbanisation saw an acceleration in the growth
of a Maori identity over tribal identity (King 1992: 286).
In terms of these movements, the fear was no longer of a
dying “race” but of cultural decay, culture being an
essence determined from the Western perspective to
include “arts and culture” in the narrower sense. As Blythe
(1994) has pointed out, these were those practices
considered anthropologically to be entirely specific to
Maori, those that supposedly marked them off as
authentically different from Paakehaa. Now that these
were dying out, salvage was necessary. So by reviving
carving, tukutuku ‘weaving’, songs and dances, decay
could be arrested (Blythe 1994: 107).

As an aspect of this “salvage”, movements towards
the maintenance of Maori cultural activities were to
become increasingly institutionalised. In Rotorua a Maori
Arts and Crafts school had been in operation since 1926
- part of an early revival stimulated largely by Apirana
Ngata, then Minister of Maori Affairs, the writings and
lectures of Peter Buck, and Princess Te Puea in the
Waikato (Metge 1976: 274). Maori culture clubs were
also being formed from the 1950s with the aim of
perpetuating interest in Maori singing, action songs,
oratory and arts and crafts (Walker 1992: 504). Furthermore, throughout the ‘50s, the teaching of Maori
arts and crafts was being institutionalised as part of the
school curriculum all over the country, involving in-
service training for teachers, and the involvement of local
Maori as tutors and participants. The Government Printer
issued a set of instructional books and audio tapes for
both consumption by the general public and teaching in
schools (Metge 1976: 274; Mataira 1968: 207). Notably,
in 1951, 57% of the Maori population was twenty years
old or younger (as against 34.8% of Paakehaa) (King
1992: 305). Therefore, many of today’s performing artists
and teachers associated with tourism may well have
drawn on these teachings. By October 1963, an act was
passed in parliament leading to the establishment of the
New Zealand Maori Arts and Crafts Institute. This opened
in Rotorua in February of 1965 operating under the
control of a board containing representatives of the
Maori people, the Department of Maori Affairs, the
Tourism and Publicity Department and the municipal
authorities (Stafford 1993: 5; Metge 1976: 274).

These new institutions were not primarily aimed at
developing a cultural tourism product - if at all. Indeed,
with the outbreak of World War Two - also, to a lesser
degree, throughout the depression of the thirties - tourism
activity had all but ceased. The urgency of the crisis left
little or no space for the frivolity of travel for leisure, and
little point in trying to entice pleasure seekers from
abroad. Furthermore, the conditions of war required a
new, hard-headed realism and inspired a sense of social
urgency set firmly in the present (Blythe 1994: 79). So
too, the romantic and nostalgic narratives of the “noble
savage” retained little currency. Touristic images of
Maori culture would, however, reappear with new vigour
in the 1950s, after the nation and world had resettled into
relative peace. However, the social awareness and self-
consciousness engendered in the war-time period, as well
as the expanding Maori cultural revival, would render
these images significantly changed. Likewise, post-war
introspection placed a new emphasis on the project of
nation-building and an attendant re-evaluation of the place
of Maori within New Zealand society. Images in tourism
would come to reflect these changes.

Importantly, in contrast to the pre-war period, culture
in this milieu was beginning to be perceived as something
detachable from the body and its associative term “race”.
While racial stereotypes persisted, “culture” was
increasingly perceived in a more abstract and
disconnected sense: as a non-biological set of social
norms taken up within local social contexts. In the so-
-called Bсоssian school of American anthropology, for
instance, as found in the popular ethnographic works of
Margaret Mead (1966 [1928]) and Ruth Benedict (1947),
culture was beginning to be viewed as a shifting category
independent of “race”. Within New Zealand politics of
the 1950s and ‘60s, in accordance with such ideas, a
notion of social “integration” was promoted which sought
to encourage the development of cultural relations based
on a concept of “one nation, two cultures”, with “Maori
and Paakehaa combined into one nation but with Maori
culture remaining distinct” (Walker 1992: 503). Within
this, there still remained a general feeling that if Maori
were to survive in the “modern” urban world they would
have to engage more fully in Western forms of activities
such as work and economics. Maori “culture” was
increasingly being viewed as unchanging and simply
“traditional” - as a valuable survival from the past, but
nevertheless inappropriate to economic, political and
bureaucratic life. In sum, the spread of the idea of a pan-
Maori identity, alongside the development of a notion
of culture as extrinsic to biology, allowed for the
development of a new view of Maori culture. Here,
Maori culture was perceived from the outside as a
uniform whole from the past, held on to in piecemeal
fragments in the present. It was often viewed as something
a person does, rather than being identified in terms of
cultural values and world views, or as something someone
is. Of course, throughout this time, Maori arts were being
employed within a variety of sites of identity formation.
These included the “imagined community” - that “post-
colonial” national identity perceived within the concept
of integration, and later biculturalism - in which both
Maori and non-Maori were positioned in the still
relatively new category of “New Zealanders”. Maori
artforms were also being positioned as sources of Māori pride and identity in the present, and as a way of keeping in touch with traditions and ancestors both in the present and in the past. Depending on the context or occasion, they articulated both local and pan-Māori concepts and were projected both internally and externally. For many Māori, the production of arts and culture provided a source of income, as well as an important way of articulating identity both within the Māori community and to the wider New Zealand public, or travellers visiting from abroad.

While its many positive results cannot be overlooked, the post-war struggle amongst many Māori to create a unified identity upon which to form a pan-Māori site of resistance to dominant ideology, is now seen to have achieved both gains and losses for Māori. It is the “well-beaten Maori trail” alluded to in the Media Constructions of the Maori “race” as the Black Other (1995), that the so-called Māori renaissance rested on a construction of identity derived from those same oppositional terms provided by colonialism and modernism. As a base for consolidating resistance, it tended towards a refined and predefined notion of Māori culture as unchanging, stable and holistic:

What has been reproduced [during the Māori renaissance] is an image of the quintessential Māori, embodying attributes such as an inner holistic spirituality and ties to the extended family/tribe and the land. The remodelled Māori identity has been constructed in opposition to Pakeha: what is traditional (ie. pre-European) is depicted as Māori, whereas all that is ‘modern’ is perceived to be Pakeha...A consequence of the construction of the quintessential Māori, is an identity which, although formulated as identity derived from those same oppositional terms provided by colonialism and modernism. As a base for consolidating resistance, it tended towards a refined and predefined notion of Māori culture as unchanging, stable and holistic:

Central to the resurgence of Māori “culture” during the renaissance was an emphasis on artistic and creative activities conceived through the secular humanism of Western art aesthetics and universal history. As Blythe (1994: 108) points out, this model is essentially realist in form:

...it presupposes that “Māori culture” could be identified analytically, and then, working backwards, the sources of inspiration could be represented to the parties most interested in saving it.

What was important for the tourism industry was that the dominant Pakehaa view of Māori culture, as generalised by Metge (below), was beginning to fit the industry’s marketing criteria of a unified, clear image. These views were derived in part from the previous effort by colonial Europeans to define Māori vis-a-vis modernity, and through the emphasis on language, ritual traditions and the arts in popular definitions of “culture” - a way of doing rather than of being, thinking or feeling. While many Māori groups and individuals were demonstrably innovative and participated in a wide variety of artistic fields and genres, there emerged throughout the middle decades of the twentieth-century a set of defined genres in New Zealand popular culture collected within what was generally called “traditional Māori arts and crafts”. Through the guidance and financial support of the government’s tourism and publicity departments - including the “arts and culture documentaries” of the National Film Unit, as well as the ventures of both Pakehaa and Māori tourism operators - these art-forms were also being tailored to meet the demands of a strengthening tourism industry. The development of a combination of colourful, vibrant, active and distinctive song, dance and costuming produced for tourism an easily identifiable and, therefore, saleable product. Visually, these images primarily rested upon those previously defined in the colonial period, which persist as the staple in a menu served up by tourism advertisers today.

In 1976 Joan Metge (44-5) gave the following description of the stereotypical Pakehaa perception of Māori culture:

If asked what Māori culture means to them, most Pakehaa begin by mentioning the Maori language and the distinctive Māori arts and crafts - action songs, wood carving, painted scroll-work (kowhaiwhai), reed panels (tukutuku) and weaving. Then, after some thought, they add certain ‘customs’ that are demonstrably derived from pre-European (‘Classic’) Māori culture: the making of earth ovens (hangi), the use of carved meeting-houses, mourning wakes (tangihanga), and the observing of tapu. This view of Māori culture sees it as belonging to the past rather than the present, and to the private, leisure-time sector rather than the whole of life...Most Maoris intuitively reject this view of Māori culture with its emphasis on the past and a few ‘occasional’ activities...Most importantly, it includes not only outward visible forms but also deep inward feelings and values, which are relevant to and expressed in all they do.
2.3. New Zealand Society and the Performance of the Past

From early this century, Maaori culture was increasingly presented as an important aspect in the formation of a national identity. For example, Maaori culture was strongly represented at events such as the royal tours and exhibitions held in Christchurch (1906) and Dunedin (1925), and the centennial exhibition of 1940. However, as Michael King (1992: 304) has suggested:

...in focusing on carving, costume, and action song the exhibitions probably conveyed little of the strength of Maaori values for those committed to them.

While many Maaori were participating and contributing to the cultural "revival" in a variety of contexts, the cultural image presented to the still largely European audience within tourism tended more and more towards the performance of the past. Thus the participants in these performances were continuously seen from the outside as temporally displaced from their traditions; as merely re-enacting the ways of their pre-European forebears. In marked contrast to the turn-of-the-century view of the indigenous culture shown in tourism-related texts and contexts, the production of cultural images and performances was tending towards physical anachronism. Previously defined as naturally tied to the body in the present - as opposed to the "modern" tourist in terms of Typological Time - more often, culture and tradition now appeared to Western audiences as fragments from the Maaori past served up by "modern Maaori" performers (Figure 9). Time in this redefined sense has since become of central importance to the tourism industry, most importantly as a mode of objectification and authentication. Through defining tradition as some kind of central importance to the tourism industry, most Maaori past served up by "modern Maori" performers (Figure 9). Time in this redefined sense has since become of central importance to the tourism industry, most importantly as a mode of objectification and authentication. Through defining tradition as some kind of extra-human and continuous phenomenon it is rendered both extractable and quantifiable. Time is used to create a concrete Maaori object. Meanwhile, performers of tradition are "allowed" to share in the historical contemporaneity of the modern tourist, and, as modern individuals, are not directly implicated within the past in which that tradition is situated.

An examination of tourism-related texts spanning the 1950s and 1960s reveals the ambiguities apparent in the sharp transition concerning conceptions of Maaori culture in relation to Time. Predominantly, travel guides of the 1950s describe Maaori in a contradictory manner, advertising both the spectacle of "real" Maaori life and the performance of a past culture. Such contradictions are reflective of the tourism industry's attempt to present the previously defined - and still desirable - image of the "authentic" Maaori alongside a new and contradictory national image of social and cultural equality. In a publication by A. H. & A. W. Reed produced in association with the Government Tourist Bureau, tourists are directed to Whakarewarewa, "a compact thermal region with added attraction as a Maori centre":

The Maori community at Whakarewarewa uses the hot pools both as kitchen and bathroom. Maori children relax in the warm waters. In other pools the women deal with the family laundry. Meals are cooked in cauldrons like the "Kings Head", where the crystal clear water is always at boiling point.

Overlooking the spluttering furry of this geyserland is the Rotowhio model pa, a reconstruction of a fortified Maori settlement of ancient times. The carved gateway at the entrance depicts the love story of Hinemoa and Tutanekai (Hardingham 1959: 58).

In a later section, entitled 'The Maori People', this complicated image is clarified in terms of the political discourse surrounding the government's integration policy. Of course, cracks in the myth of integration are there from the outset. Ultimately, Maaori are to be described vis a vis Paakeha - a one-way process. Also, in providing separate chapters to describe Maaori, in effect, it is segregation that these texts practice:

European and Maori share a common destiny in New Zealand. They enjoy complete moral and legal equality. In all salient respects, the two races work and play side by side in mutual respect...Perhaps the most remarkable feature of the Maori is the rapidity with which he has adjusted himself to European standards and concepts within the space of little more than a century. Although a few quite primitive settlements may still be found in the depths of the back country, no present day Maori lives as his ancestors did. He wears European clothes, shares European education from primary school to university, follows European occupations, lives, for the most part, in European houses and eats European food, though with a traditional affection for such delicacies as Kumara (sweet potato), mutton-bird and shellfish.

Today the visitor may see two Maori peoples. He will rub shoulders with the Maori as he goes about his day to day affairs in town or country. Off the beaten track, at special Maori ceremonies or at tourist centres like Rotorua he may also glimpse something of the culture and splendour of the past (Hardingham 1959: 118).

Within this construct, things European are not merely elevated as dominant and progressive. Rather, they are defined as the measure of normality - of "day to day affairs" - and, further, as the fundamental components of a new national identity comprised of "New Zealanders"
who “share a common destiny”. Conversely, things Maori are made conspicuously “Other”. They are confined to the “public” domain as tourist spectacle, and otherwise exist merely as “private” “special occasions”.

The temporally defined dichotomy between essentialised notions of Maori and European ways of life, as expressed here, represents a wider political discourse that sought to establish “European standards” as the preferred social norm. Here, cultural “adjustment” is a purely one way process in which Maori are seen to have made a remarkable temporal leap upward, into the modern European present. Ascribing adaptability as yet another Maori essence, the text valorises and celebrates on racial terms a people who have miraculously survived the brutality of evolutionary Time. It also relates an eschatological narrative: the Fall from Eden, Utopia regained.

The recontextualisation of Maori into the frame of a new national identity based on “equality” and biculturalism - a bringing to the centre of the nation that which had been peripheralised - is careful to include only what is described, in a later example, as the “best of the old Maori culture” (Mackenzie 1971: 6). It is the retention of “language, music, dancing, carving and weaving” in the face of the “melting pot” effects of integration and inter-marriage for the benefits of the commodification of culture circuits that renders Maori admirable:

In a world beset with conflicts of race, colour and culture, New Zealand is internationally recognised as a nation where harmony has largely been achieved between races of different colour and vastly different cultural backgrounds. Maoris and Europeans intermingle at every level of professional and other employment, and in recreation and cultural activity. Inter-marriage is high and is increasing. Despite the emphasis on integration, the Maoris still retain a fair measure of their own traditional culture in terms of language, music, dancing, carving and weaving. Whilst the Maori loves to participate in these activities for the benefit of overseas visitors and their mutual enjoyment, it should not be thought for a moment that Maoris run around in grass skirts as they did 150 years ago (Mackenzie 1971: 13-14).

I suspect that it is not primarily the adaptive powers of Maori that are being valorised here, but the liberating and incorporative paternalism of the West, or, more specifically, of New Zealand’s own celebrated liberal society. Since it is the West that is seen to give value to Other cultures through reproducing them within its own system of values, ultimately, it is the encompassing nature of the “new society” that is celebrated.

Within tourism of the 1960s and 70s, the perceived temporal disjuncture separating “traditional” Maori and “progressive” European socio-cultural forms becomes radically apparent. Advertisers continued to uphold an “authentic” version of Maori culture as being located in the past. At the same time, advertising was often characterised by attempts to promote an image of local social advancement, of a happy biculturalism and ideal race-relations made possible by the “modernisation” of the Maori community through “adaptation” to work and education. These divergent attempts to uphold a dual and contradictory identity saw Maori textually situated as the inhabitants of two temporally opposed worlds. It was the textual removal of “culture” - taken as a set of actions - from the body that made this schizophrenic act possible.

A 1962 example from the internationally popular American magazine National Geographic - which, as both “armchair travel” and a consistent vehicle for tourism advertising, should be considered a major piece of tourism ephemera - containing a story by the New Zealand author and journalist Maurice Shadbolt, entitled ‘New Zealand: Gift of the Sea’ (1962: 477), provides a good example - and one that would have achieved considerably high circulation:

**Natural Cauldron at Rotorua Cooks Food Maori Style.**

Demonstrating the method, 15-year-old Turangi Rikihana holds a cord attached to a kit containing mussels, potatoes, and pork. If the food remains in the water too long, it acquires a sulphur flavour.

Seemingly bottomless, the Parekohuru Basin supplies most of the hot water needed at Whakarewarewa, a model village where Maoris preserve their ancestors’ ways.

The dichotomous conception of the Maori as both Other, and as fully integrated and “modernised” citizen, is frequently supported by the photographic content of 1960s tourism texts. Two generic Maori figures appear with remarkable consistency over this period. Firstly, the Maori as a performer of tradition - as discussed above - provides the most frequent image, especially within smaller pamphlets and advertisements such as those appearing in popular overseas magazines and newspapers. Here, the “modernised Maori” “acts” the sensualised native (Figure 8). The four images most commonly depicted are: the cooking scene, poi dancing, the haka, and the Maori “Warrior” or “Belle” (for instance, Figure 8). This is not surprising. It is these “traditional” aspects of Maori culture that held most currency within the tourism industry.

The second generic photographic image is of the “modern Maori”. In this scene, a smartly dressed and usually conventionally attractive young man or woman is juxtaposed against a signifier of the “traditional past”, generally represented by a carving of “ancestors” upon which they take a nostalgic “look back” (Figure 8). The
conceptual temporal split between a traditional Māori past and a modern Māori present becomes increasingly apparent throughout the 1960s, coming through clearly in the numerous travel guides produced in association with the New Zealand Tourist and Publicity Department (now the New Zealand Tourism Board).

From its earliest days as the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts it would seem to have been the objective of the government's tourism arm to produce a positive image of New Zealand abroad. This has not only been in the interests of the tourism industry, but has also been used to promote New Zealand, by turns, as an appealing home to prospective immigrants—"the tourist, the health-seeker, and the home-seeker" (Figure 3); as ripe for business investment; as technologically and industrially progressive; and as socially advanced (Figure 8). It is the latter two projects which characterised the politics of tourism advertising in New Zealand throughout the 1960s. Both of these, within little more than a decade, would be almost entirely removed from tourism advertising. What follows is an extract taken from the 1971 New Zealand Tourist Association's travel guide, This is New Zealand, produced with assistance from the government's National Publicity Studios. In this example it is not only natural adaptability and intelligence, but also the phylogenetic, biological and psychological characteristics of "race", that facilitate the modernisation of Māori. Indeed, Māori are able to act like Westerners, but, in order to do so, they must also look like them.

The Māori brought to New Zealand his early Polynesian culture, which is still much in evidence. Even today in the march of modern education, the old Polynesian arts are not forgotten and the best in the old Māori culture is encouraged. The Māoris' myths and legends are poetically beautiful and stirring; their dances have rhythm and grace, and their customs and rites are imbued with the wisdom and fantasy of their forefathers. Their social system was well ordered, if feudal, and in war, which among the tribes was almost continuous, the Māori fought fiercely and intelligently. Today, the stories and legends are told with the songs chanted to the rhythms of their dances only on special occasions, or when there are great tribal gatherings or entertainments. Then the Māori dons traditional dress and steps back into the past.

The Māoris are recognised as one of the most advanced of coloured races. In the main they are tall, with good physique; their hair is black and waved, not lank or

Figure 8: "Modern Māori Examines the Masterpiece of his Ancestors. Mr Kingi Tahiwa, noted Radio Artist and Scholar looks back into the past" (MacKenzie 1971), and above Cover of the 1996 "New Zealand–Rotorua Sightseeing Map".
fuzzy; their eyes are brown, their noses usually aquiline and their lips clean-lined. They are intelligent and adaptable, and in present day New Zealand have fitted into modern ways of life with a natural aptitude.

In education, as in all things, the Maori has equal status with his European, or pakeha contemporary. All state primary and secondary schools and universities are open to him. Social standing in New Zealand has no relation to colour, and the Maori youth of today lives much the same sort of life as the European (New Zealand Tourist Association 1971: 6).

The utopic vision of happy biculturalism is underscored by notions of culture in Time: “the march of modern education”, the “old Polynesian arts”. This contributes to the rhetorical establishment of Western socio-cultural practices as the preferred norms. Two visions of Maori are situated at either end of a temporal continuum, in which the contemporary - the yard-stick of “equality” - is posited as the world of the European. Here, exemplifying the implications of all formulations of authenticity in regard to the cultures of Others, authenticity attributed to culture carries an attendant notion of culture in Time: “the march of modern education”, the “old Polynesian arts”. This underscores by notions of culture in Time: “the march of modern education”, the “old Polynesian arts”. This contributes to the rhetorical establishment of Western socio-cultural practices as the preferred norms. Two visions of Maori are situated at either end of a temporal continuum, in which the contemporary - the yard-stick of “equality” - is posited as the world of the European. Here, exemplifying the implications of all formulations of authenticity in regard to the cultures of Others, authenticity attributed to culture carries an attendant notion of culture in Time: “the march of modern education”, the “old Polynesian arts”.

Colonial tourism created an authentic object of the Maori as Other by typological distastion. Throughout the post-war period, this distance was increasingly articulated in terms of a distinction between the pre-contact primitive/traditional and the newly “modernised” Maori. Through employing this temporal scheme, and in view of a new popular view of “culture” as separable from the body and psyche, tourism advertisers were able to promote two versions of Maori. The image of the “modern Maori” was part of a political strategy which sought to promote a vision of liberal New Zealand’s enlightened social equality. This was manifested in the drive to create a national identity which would reinforce the dominance of Western social, economic and political structures against an insurgence of Maori “activism”. At the same time, “culture” - that which pertains only to that pre-European past - became increasingly indexical and visually consumable. In the masquerades of integration and, later, biculturalism, presided the old functionalist notion of Empire: the dominant culture permits the Other in the interests of maintaining its own equilibrium, and in order to give colour to its own history.

By the mid 1970s, it is evident that this construction of authenticity was becoming increasingly difficult to maintain. Maori cultural productions in tourism - and especially those in Rotorua - became contested to the point where advertisements promoting New Zealand tourism began to show signs of scepticism. In the politics of creating “modern natives”, the rhetoric of tourism had begun to undermine its valuable authentic object. The question was, if authenticity is detached from the “performing” Maori body and psyche and confined to an irredeemable past, how can this possibly emerge as a “reality” in the present? Or, in other words, how can Maori, as an object of the tourist gaze, be both thoroughly “modern” and yet significantly “traditional” - and still be considered authentic?

Significantly, this kind of questioning was not sustained for long. Instead, tourism set about finding new ways of ascribing authenticity to its Maori “product”. The most successful attempts have been those undertaken by Maori tourism operators and communities. Since the 1980s, there has emerged a strong critique of the prevailing system of representation of Maori in tourism-related discourses. However, despite criticism surrounding the use and abuse of Maori images by mainstream tourism advertisers, by-and-large, these and other image-makers have reverted to upholding the modernist stereotype of the “quintessential Maori” - the objectivist vision of a pre-European, nature-bound primitive-traditionalist. As such - whether its goals are now seen to have been achieved, or through some change in agenda - overt attempts to “promote” Maori as a part of some unified “modern” nation have all but ceased. As I will be discussing in the next Chapter, contemporary images of Maori have begun to reflect, again, more historically popular Western views concerning the “authenticity” of Others.

More positively, however, the increasing strength of Maori criticism is related to new developments and growth in Maori sectors of New Zealand’s tourism industry. In 1983, recognising opportunities in tourism now being realised, Kara Puketapu of Maori International wrote:

The Maori has land - people - culture - some cash resources. But it is not participating in either the control or management of New Zealand tourist ventures. The Maori has a high potential to participate in the tourist industry in a way not previously perceived by New Zealand developers. The Maori has inadequate managerial experience in tourism. There is no Maori tourist corporation or major
company. The Maori has little organised investment directed towards the tourist industry (Puketapu 1983: 13).

In the years following, direct Maaori involvement in the tourism industry has steadily increased. Including the Maori Tourism Development Board, Nga Whenua Rahui, Tuwharetoa Tourism and the quarterly periodical Hikoi - to name a few - as well as training programmes such as the Diploma of Maori Development in Travel and Tourism offered by the Auckland Institute of Technology, there now exists a range of institutions and funding agencies open to Maaori participating in, or entering the tourism industry. This growth has been accompanied by a diversification of Maaori-based tourism products entering the market. As I suggested at the end of Chapter One - and foreseen in the above quote - Maaori tourism operators have primarily focused on their cultural heritage and the booming "nature tourism" market. This is not surprising. As well as having a rich history in cultural tourism, with various iwi regaining ancestral lands through Waitangi Tribunal and other court proceedings, nature tourism has become an inviting financial option. Many land trusts are charging trampers and other tourists fees for the recreational use of their land as a way to pay for costs that land has incurred (Te Maori News April 1992: 9). Other organisations are becoming more directly involved, offering a range of experiences to tourists. For example, content for a proposed "marae stay" venture at Kawhia include:

...historical guided tours, sale of traditional crafts, involving tourists in the preparation of a traditional hangi and gathering of seafood, fishing trips which include traditional methods of fishing, bush treks, horse treks and 4WD trips, plus traditional and modern waiata could all be part of the stay (Kia Hiwa Ra Nov/Dec 1993: 23).

Of course, as tangata whenua, Maaori participants in these new ventures may well possess a spiritual connection with the land, and be willing to share this with visiting tourists. In the context of the tourism industry, the connection between nature and culture is a valuable one. From the perspective of modernity that I have been discussing here, one way of grasping nature is by way of the autochthon. Furthermore, both nature and indigenous cultures represent an authenticity which may become a source of transcendence.

It is possible that, from the perspective of Western modernity, these movements may merely reify notions of the Maaori as representing some idyllic pre-modern dream. However, as I discussed in the final section of Chapter One, there would seem to be occurring a re-evaluation of such notions - albeit, for the moment, somewhat superficial. Also, within cultural tourism, new visions of the authentic are emerging, some of which will be discussed in the next section. Cultural authenticity is often no longer seen as simply lodged within things or actions: song, dance, ritual, traditional dress. Rather, these "things" are perceived as the outward and symbolic projection of a more essential conception of authenticity which relates the inner Self to the outer world. On these terms, notions surrounding the authenticity of "Others" in tourism, as elsewhere in popular ideology, are coming into line with Western notions of authenticity of the Self. Therefore, there is perhaps less danger of Western tourists continuing to view Maaori in terms of Typological Time - as a representation of that conception of culture-as-natural that is perceived from the modernist position as somehow "prior", and therefore "backward". Furthermore, since this Maaori tourism "back to nature" movement is now more commonly predicated on self-definition, rather than re-presentation from outside, "modernist" positions, these temporal constructions may become more difficult to maintain.
CHAPTER 3
Tourism and Authenticity

...the whole notion of authenticity...is one that comes to us constructed by hegemonic voices.
Sneja Gunew (Spivak and Gunew 1993: 195)

Beginning with MacCannell (1976), the issue of authenticity has become a central focus of tourism studies. This is not surprising; authenticity has become the philosopher’s stone for an industry which procures other people’s “realities”. In tourism, authenticity poses as objectivism. It holds both the powers of distance and “truth”. Through authenticity, value is doubled. Claims to authenticity may be believed or disbelieved, but nevertheless they make reference to a conception of the world that is deemed both singular and truthful. In academic discourse surrounding studies in tourism, this notion has set the agenda for lively debate and analyses concerning the manifold ways in which authenticity has been produced by a variety of advertisers, entrepreneurs, interpretive guides, institutional mediators and the like (eg: Hughes 1995; Pearce and Moscardo 1986; Littrell, Anderson and Brown 1993; Adams 1984; MacCannell 1976, 1992; Urry, 1990; Cohen, 1988; Silver, 1993). As a result of this, there are at least as many definitions of authenticity as there are those who write about it. This section seeks to clarify some of the many uses of the term in relation to tourism in New Zealand.

3.1. The Burden of Authenticity

Erik Cohen (1988: 373), referencing Appadurai (1986: 45), Berger (1973) and Trilling (1972), has stated that “Authenticity is an eminently modern value, whose emergence is closely related to the impact of modernity upon the unity of social existence.” Weigert (1988), however, has suggested that discussions of authenticity (and the related idea of sincerity) are centuries old, but took on a modern cast about 70 years ago. In fact, Trilling too would contradict Cohen’s claim since he has argued that both authenticity and sincerity had been referenced long before the oft-cited works of Shakespeare (eg. “To thine own self be true,” “All the world’s a stage”) (Erikson 1995: 123). Indeed, the idea of placing (moral) value upon the singular originality or inner “truth” of things was an integral feature of neo-Platonic and Judeo-Christian thought - ie. the Garden of Eden, the Abominations of Leviticus. Nevertheless, the modernist permutation - that which would bestow authenticity upon Others - certainly belongs to the West. Becoming tied to notions of Time, it has been recruited as part of a larger archaising system. As Clifford (1988: 222) suggests, cultural or artistic “authenticity” in the West “has as much to do with an inventive present as with a past, its objectification, preservation, or revival.”

Benjamin’s discussion of ‘The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction’ (1968 [1936]) provides particularly relevant insights into authenticity that can be applied to the modernist treatment of culture in tourism and tourist advertising. The version of “authentic” culture that tourism brings to consumers is in many ways equivalent to practices within the Western art world. Most explicitly, as traced in the previous chapter and as discussed by Metge (1976: 44-45, see quote, pp. 60-61), visual aspects of culture make up the predominant focus in tourism productions. Cultural performances, including costuming and “props”, are situated within a single and unified artistic tradition, and are commonly placed under an objectifying gaze.

Moral: The presence of the original is the prerequisite to the concept of authenticity (Benjamin 1968: 220).

Within tourism, as elsewhere, it is conventionally the past which contains the space of authenticity. In this way, tourist sites, objects, images and even people are not simply viewed as contemporaneous productions, or as context dependent and complex things in the present. Instead, they are positioned as signifiers of past events, epochs or ways of life. In the case of tourist productions and advertisements containing Maori material, the space of this authentic past is most often seen to reside within impressions of pre-European New Zealand.

Attempts to locate “true” Maori culture in the pre-European past have been evident in a variety of social institutions, including museum practices and anthropology, as well as tourism. Such projects seek to “realise” a certain romantic formulation of the world based on a narrative structure of distance. Specifically, the capacity of the narrative of authenticity to generate a significant Other based on temporal distance opens a space of desire. The direction of force in such narratives is always future-past, or, as Stewart has put it (1993: x), “a deferment of experience in the direction of origin, and thus eschaton.”

This narrative of authenticity, when applied to culture, finds its corollary and model in the experience of modernity. It is made to correspond to a perceived death
in the Western psyche which has abandoned its authenticity in the quest of progress and technology, thus becoming enmeshed in the rigours of Time. The significance of Māori culture in such narratives does not appear on its own terms but is a means of reconstituting the Christian eschatological narratives of sin, sacrifice and redemption. "They" become the lost sacredness of Western culture, they become its Other, and they are ascribed a spiritual and physical authenticity which the "materialist" West has somehow lost (Lattas 1991: 312).

The ideological foundation of this construct in the Western tradition is the meta-narrative of progress - a physical and technocratic conception of Time emerging from ideas of socio-cultural evolution. In fact, in the most extreme version of this story - which due to its language of reduction is continuously upheld in tourism advertising - it is proposed that European explorers introduced Time to the Other. Before the "discovery" of New Zealand, Māori culture is seen to have existed in a vacuum, as a holistically defined and static form of social organisation. As Anne Salmond (1983: 317) has succinctly put it:

The implicit equation of "traditional" with a "precontact" way of life is based on the assumption that the key event in Māori history was the arrival of the European.

With its attendant notions of origins, purity and "depth" when applied to culture, the concept of authenticity - which is virtually synonymous with "tradition" in its popular usage - tends towards the reification of stereotypes concerning the primitive Other. In light of this, we may now read Cohen's statement (1988: 373, see above quotation) somewhat differently: in predominant Western ideology authenticity does not so much "emerge from the impact of modernity upon the unity of social existence", as remain as a feature of that perceived unity until such time as it is exposed as unauthentic.

Moral: The authenticity of a thing is the essence of all that is transmissible from its beginning, ranging from its substantive duration to its testimony to the history which it has experienced. Since the historical testimony rests on the authenticity, the former, too, is jeopardised by reproduction when substantive duration ceases to matter. And what is really jeopardised when the historical testimony is affected is the authority of the object (Benjamin 1968: 221).

The capacity of authenticity to create distance between viewing subjects and consumable objects is an important addition to the value of tourist sites and destinations. Equally important is the parallel attribution of uniqueness to objects deemed authentic. The scission of authentic objects from the more banal world of reproduced goods opens a space for the generation of desire, and, therefore, value. Such objects are imbued with a "gift-like quality" (Pearce and Moscardo 1986: 122), or, in Benjamin's terms, with an "aura" (1968: 222).

Moral: We define the aura of an authentic object as the unique phenomenon of a distance (paraphrase of Benjamin 1968: 222).

The tourist commodity system has become increasingly regulated in terms of emergent notions of relative authenticity. As a result of this development, the role of realist evaluation in tourism advertising has transformed into a complex rhetoric of authentication, employing an ideologically-situated system of Time through which to take social, cultural and artistic productions out of our time into a timeless, pre-modern past. The system of authenticity classifies objects in a semiotic sense, through which it assigns them relative value (Clifford 1988: 223). Movements towards authenticity create positive value. This is important for the tourism industry in that it provides an avenue through which to add value to tourist products. The emergence of distinctions between the authentic and unauthentic provides a means to authenticate tourist sites. In the world of tourism, therefore, sites are commodified and made valuable according to a predefined criteria that may not necessarily match ideas of "quality". Through advertisements selling holidays to New Zealand, tourists are often tempted by and directed to sites or objects in terms of varying degrees of authenticity.

This particular narrative of authenticity and the tale it seeks to tell is both tragedy and farce. In tourism, it is the burden of "ethnic" Others to bear witness to this. Yet ultimately, the authenticity of a thing - perceived as an objective quality based on the continuity of some kind of "essence" - is located in the eye of the beholder. Authenticity is subjective; it is largely defined by ideology and negotiated by the media. Ironically, in the case of culture, where authenticity is defined by virtue of its resistance to modernity and historical change, the arrival of the tourist at the site of the authentic exposes the contradiction. Tourism may destroy the very authenticity it seeks to create.

3.2. "Staged" Authenticity

In a highly ironic chapter entitled 'Cannibalism Today' (1992), Dean MacCannell proposes the terms "ex-primitive" and "performative primitive" to designate what he calls "a special ethnological class or category". MacCannell's "ex-primitives" are a peculiarly hybrid
form: "formerly primitive peoples whose special adaptation to the contingencies of modern existence is to act-primitive-for-others".

On the surface the institutionalization of primitive-performances-for-others appears as a simple hybrid form. Such performances seem to combine modern elements of self interested rational planning and economic calculation with primitive costumes, weapons, music, ritual objects and practices that once existed beyond the reach of economic rationality. Ideally, this particular assimilation of primitive elements into the modern world would allow primitives to adapt and co-exist, to earn a living just by 'being themselves,' permitting them to avoid the kind of work in factories or as agricultural labourers that changes their lives forever. But on witnessing these displays and performances, one cannot escape a feeling of melancholia; the primitive does not really appear in these enactments of it. The 'primitivistic' performance contains the image of the primitive as a dead form. The alleged combination of modern and primitive elements is an abuse of the dead to promote the pretence of complexity as a cover for some rather simple-minded dealings based mainly on principles of accounting. (1992: 19)

In the 1990s, for MacCannell (1992: 286), cannibalism is a feature of capitalism, itself a nouveau savage that would make a metaphorical feast of the "ex-primitive" Other whose special adaptation to the contingencies of modern existence is to "act-primitive-for-others". The West has created the primitive, thereby teaching "them" how to act. Furthermore, the cannibalistic drive of tourism - and capitalism more generally - has created a schizoid subject by way of dissection:

...these ex-primitives could not possibly continue to possess the consciousness of 'authentic primitives,' i.e., of the beings they are supposed to represent on film or in ethnography. Nor would they necessarily think in the same ways as the merely modern crews that are filming them... (MacCannell 1992: 286).

Such a view - echoed in the recent New Zealand Herald headline, 'Tourism driven by dollars will cannibalise itself' (9 September 1996: 17, italics mine) - provides a somewhat sophisticated version of what forms the basis of a critical stance taken towards tourism and its effects on culture. The argument emphasises socio-economic processes of commodification and globalisation as primary factors in what is seen as the destruction of local authenticity.

This stance is one that is commonly held by internal critics of the tourism industry, where it has become synonymous with the current "eco" debates. For example, Konai Helu-Thaman (1992: 25) of The University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji, speaking at the 1992 conference Ecotourism in the Pacific held in Auckland:

Pacific societies and cultures have and are undergoing rapid change. Although many of these changes offer great prospects for a better way of life for many of us, at the same time they threaten to destroy some very important aspects of our cultures - those shared meanings and associations which, in our view, make each of our cultures unique and upon which Tourism (deliberately with a capital T) largely depends... Where tourism is concerned, commercial profitability would probably take precedence over cultural considerations.

Or, David Barber (1992: 19) in the Pacific Islands Monthly:

Maintaining a balance to preserve the region's natural state for today's tourists and future generations is the challenge for us all. It is a challenge that poses its own dilemma, especially for the indigenous peoples of the Pacific - how to cash in on a tourist boom and enhance their economic positions while preserving a traditional way of life and conserving the natural resources that are integral to it.

While the concept of authenticity is not directly referred to in statements such as these, here "change" implies prior stability - a "natural state". It is within this perceived stability - also the space of "ritual" - that authenticity is seen to belong. Such formulations tend toward the reification of temporal schemes relating to "progress" and Darwinian-derived notions of social evolution (see earlier discussions). First industrialisation, then tourism and an attendant process of commodification, are seen to contribute to a situation in which the list of endangered natural species is extended to include "endangered cultures". Like nature, therefore, culture too is under attack from the evils of late-capitalism. In this view, the cultures of the world - and here "culture", like "ethnic", refers solely to Others - are seen to thrive within "natural habitats". In order to remain natural, such habitats should also remain "untouched". Furthermore, endangered species and cultures require "protection".

The critical point to such arguments is that commodification and modernisation place tradition and "authenticity" in jeopardy. More specifically, tourism's tendency to "reproduce" culture in staged settings - to produce "ex-primitives" - is identified as a major contributor to this danger.

Moral: That which withers in the age of mechanical
It has been MacCannell’s thesis that, for Western tourists, the primary motivation for travel lies in a quest for authenticity: “Touristic consciousness is motivated by its desire for authentic experience” (MacCannell 1976: 101). But, for MacCannell, this quest is always doomed to failure. In his analysis there is no salvation in tourism. At best there is the creation of a “false touristic consciousness”, the product of a commodity-driven tourist industry that would trick tourists into accepting that contrived attractions are, in fact, “authentic” (Cohen 1988: 373). Furthermore, as these Goffmanesque performances come to be exposed as false, the tourist industry seeks to create ever deeper forms of “staged authenticity” by drawing tourists into more deviously contrived “back regions”. These “false backs”, for MacCannell (1976: 102-3), are the most insidious:

...a false back is more insidious and dangerous than a false front, or an unauthentic demystification of social life is not merely a lie but a superlie, the kind that drips with sincerity.

Several questions need to be asked here. Firstly, what makes “unauthenticity” dangerous? And, perhaps more importantly, just who does it place in a position of danger? It seems to me that any adequate answer to these questions must be preceded by a further question. That is, who should hold the power to define the authenticity of a cultural experience?

What the falsificatory argument represented by MacCannell fails to recognise is its own implicit engagement in the politics of other people’s identity. What needs to be recognised is that tourism situates people within zones of contact. What the notion of “staged authenticity” denies is the “reality” of this contact, and that identities important to the so-called “performers” are...a false back is more insidious and dangerous than a false front, or an unauthentic demystification of social life is not merely a lie but a superlie, the kind that drips with sincerity.

Any discussion of authenticity takes place within a certain “regime of sense”. In Western modernist discourse the notion of authenticity is complicit with a social practice of representation based on a particular logic of “truth”. This is precisely the paradigm that MacCannell adopts in using the work of Goffman (1959) as part of his analysis of authenticity. The basis of this strategy is the enforcement of a clear division of space between the real and the represented (Friedman 1992: 849). In arguments against the authenticity of culture and identity - which nevertheless subscribe to a predefined notion of what authenticity is - this division is expressed as a distinction between subject and role. As Friedman points out (1992: 855),

...the division between subject and role (identity) [is also] reflected in the division between private and public and expressed in notions, such as representativity, in which symbols “stand for” something other than themselves, as opposed to a situation in which they are immediate realities...Modernity implies the separation of symbol from that which it refers.

The split between subject and role, or the real and the represented, that accompanies performances of culture often carries with it the implication of a lapse in time. It is this separation that largely brings about the condemnation of tourist events as unauthentic. From the perspective of the culture on display, such stagings are decried for what Kirschenblatt-Gimblett has described as the “museum effect”. As she suggests, “Human shows teetertotter on a kind of semiotic seesaw, equiposed between the animate and the inanimate” (Kirschenblatt-Gimblett 1991: 398). It is precisely the tendency towards objectification found on the stage - that which would “kill” the culture on display - that has prompted Waatara Black of the Maori Tourism Heritage Board to insist to one reporter, “we’re a living culture, not museum pieces” (quoted in Sharp, 1995: 73).

Black voices the similar concerns of many Maori involved in tourism: [She is] critical of some tour companies who dictate that Maori culture should take on a ‘show business element’. ‘International visitors to this country come here for two things [she says] - the scenery and to see something of the indigenous culture. Therefore its important that Maori culture is presented with dignity and not just as monkeys in cages’ (‘Treaty Tourism Launched’. Te Maori News, Haratua 1995: 4).

In the modernist critical tradition, culture “on stage” is viewed as culture out of context. It is the “privacy” of culture that such stagings violate. In the context of the hotel dining room, they come to stand more for the economic dealings of tourism than for culture itself. The moment that culture is defined as an object of tourism, or segmented and detached from the “private” sphere and introduced to the “public”, its aura of authenticity is reduced. Modernity, the public sphere, “touches” the prelapsarian ideal. The severing of culture from its imagined space of authenticity is accompanied by a sense of lack, or, in MacCannell’s terms, “Melancholia” (1992: 36)
3. 3. Authentication and Sincerity

As this paper has pointed out, the (self-)promotion and commercialisation of “native bodies” has been a feature of life for many Maaori since the colonial period. Maaori individuals and groups have always been aware of their position as commodities within New Zealand’s escalating tourism industry. Today the commercial and personal value of cultural “authenticity” seems to be as salient as ever. In fact, it would appear to be increasing. A new wave of Maaori tourist operators have emerged over the last decade providing tourists with an ever wider variety of experiences in culture. These range from locally operated “marae visits”, to the more structured “heritage trails” and “cultural experience evenings”. Otherwise, “cultural content” for most short-term visitors to New Zealand - typically characterised in the brochures of the major tour companies as an “authentic” or “traditional” “Maaori cultural experience” - will most often appear as a small part of a larger itinerary such as the North Island “Maori cultural experience” - will most often appear as a major tour companies as an “authentic” or “traditional” “Maaori cultural experience”.

In these shows, which commonly take place in the hotel environment, allowing for little personal contact to take place between guests and their Maaori hosts, the danger of tourist products to rely on caricature, stereotype and essentialisation is greatest. As a general rule, the more structured the event - and the shorter the visit - the less opportunity tourists have to make “sincere” contact with local communities. However, as this section suggests, local Maaori communities and larger Maaori operators are increasingly taking matters into their own hands. Rather than being seen as a threat to cultural values, the growing interest in the “genuine” and the “authentic” shown by tourists is viewed as positive interest. In taking hold of themselves as a tourist commodity, many Maaori are seeking to undermine the “authenticities” provided by a Paakehaa-dominated tourism industry by providing their own.

In the discussion below I look at two rather different forms of tourist encounters with Maaori identity. The first is of the overtly “staged” kind, that which appeals to modernist views regarding the “authenticity” of Others. In the second, the marae visit, a so-called “staged back-region” approach is taken by local Maaori operators in which the point of contact is made to revolve around issues of sincerity as well as authenticity. The notion of sincerity, rather than being a “superlie” (MacCannell 1976: 103), implies an interactive sharing of experience between participants within the tourist encounter. Rather than solely playing on “authenticity”, with its attendant essentialisation of Maaori as a mythological pre-contact society, cross-cultural tourist encounters based on sincerity allow for the communication of more localised identities. In doing so they may undermine such essentialisation and communicate important local values.

3. 3.1. Staging culture: Authentication by mimesis

Until very recently, visitors to New Zealand could expect to come into contact with Maaori culture in one of two places: the museums found in any of the country’s major cities, or at Rotorua, the so-called “Maori Capital of New Zealand”. Most of the major tour companies covering the North Island continue to include Rotorua as the destination at which to include Maaori content, where they usually make an overnight stop. For instance, Newmans offer an “authentic Maori cultural experience”, and Australian Pacific Tours, a “traditional Maori concert and ‘Hangi’ dinner”. In their ‘New Zealand Coach Holidays’ brochure, Guthreys Pacific concisely articulates Rotorua’s value to the coach tour industry:

“Rotorua is one of the world’s few active thermal areas, with geysers, boiling mud, and relaxing thermal pools. This is also a center for Maori traditions, and you have the opportunity to see the skills, along with music and dance, that have been proudly handed down by elders to the young men and women of today.

From an endless range of possible alternatives, the type of “cultural experience” that such advertisements represent is of a kind that is probably the least challenging to international tourists. Typically including a Haangii for dinner and a performance including poi dances, haka and some action songs, tourists are denied contact with the performers who remain on stage. Such shows transmit the over-signification of an identity of difference, a repetitious inscription of essentialised “Maaori-ness”, all made within the comforts of the familiar - the hotel restaurant (Figure 9). The colonial enclave has been transformed into enclave tourism in which cross-cultural understanding is discouraged in favour of voyeurism through the clear demarcation between the tourists and the locals, the hotels and the homes (Palmer 1994: 795).

Here the tendency is for Maaori to be portrayed as performers inextricably tied to tradition and sacred lore. Most explicitly, the consistent use of the terms “authentic” and “traditional” accompanying what are identified as ritual performances tends to down-play cultural contemporaneity. Ritual and tradition are identified as keys to the past, as distillations of a holistically-defined Maaori essence. Indeed, there is a sense that “culture” is a thing of the past. Perpetuating the integration mindset, culture is “interesting” or even “fascinating”, but trivial
You will be welcomed onto a traditional Marae (sacred meeting place) and entertained by your hosts. Enjoy songs and dances and participate in cultural activities before sitting down to a delicious Hangi cooked dinner.

Figure 9: Advertisement for Quality Hotel– Rotorua, and "Authentic Maori Cultural Experience" from brochure from Newman’s Holidays– New Zealand 1995/6.
Experience the Spirit of ancestral MAORI

Tour Includes
- Pick up from accommodation.
- Four-coach with commentary on route.
- Maori guide to instruct you on protocol.
- Traditional concert.
- Traditional Hangi (meal).
- After a wonderful evening, we deliver you back to your accommodation.

All for $52

TAMAKI TOURS

TRAVEL CENTRE

Figure 10: Brochure for Te Karanga – The Calling
in the context of the "real world". The emphasis on spectacle heightens this disjuncture through which tourist productions appear as a kind of "salvage" ethnography. Indeed, such was the view taken by Ken Alexander working with Fullers Northland: "If it wasn't for tourism, half of Maori culture would be gone" (quoted in Shannon, 1995: 25). Ritual and tradition are preserved by tourism in ways that were characteristic of New Zealand's early anthropology. But here they are preserved for the purpose of filling leisure time with pleasant distraction.

One popular Rotorua attraction - a regular feature on many coach tours - is the 1994 winner of Rotorua's Top Tour Award, Te Karanga - The Calling. The production's features - preliminary instructions in "protocol", a "Traditional concert" and "Traditional Hangi (meal)" - are much the same as those found in any number of hotel performances or other shows in Rotorua. However Te Karanga does it with a difference.

Te Karanga offers added "authenticity" by expanding its boundaries to include the stage environment of performance (Figure 10). The performance takes place in a totally reconstructed context, a pre-European Maori village. The performance space has all the attractions of a "primitive" setting: small whares made from ponga and roughly thatched with twigs and branches, an open fire, a few carved figures, and completed with discrete lighting which cast eerie shadows over the entire mise-en-scène. Emphasis is on the mythological - "calling", "fierce", twirling", "haunting". The dead is brought to life.

There is also an attempt to erase the present. Instead, guests "Experience the Spirit of ancestral Maori", a timeless essence of Maori-ness. In MacCannell's terms, the production is thoroughly a "front region" staging in which the theatricality is overt. However, the aim of this front region is not to hide a more "real" back. Indeed, in such productions there is little sense of connection with the world existing outside the performance site. Rather, the allusion is towards an internal holism completed through total physical and temporal displacement.

Welcome to a world of ancient Maori and proud warriors.

A world that unfolds before your eyes as you journey back in time through the Maori village of "Te Tawa Ngahiri Pa".

Experience the pre-European lifestyle and customs of our ancestors as the village comes alive with tribal songs, dances and activities.

Be a witness to the emotional experience of myths and legends from the heart of the old through the lives of the young.

Enjoy a life of truly authentic, traditional culture and entertainment. Join us in a time of sharing and feasting to a selection of foods cooked the traditional Maori way on hot stones in an authentic earthen oven.

The way it was.

In this case, authentication is ostensibly achieved through simulation and mimesis. In Kirshenblatt-Gimblett's (1991: 389) terms it is the production of an ethnographic object in situ:

In-situ approaches to installation enlarge the ethnographic object by expanding its boundaries to include more of what was left behind, even if only in replica, after the object was excised from its physical, social, and cultural settings. Such displays, which tend toward the monographic, appeal to those who argue that cultures are coherent wholes in their own right, that environment plays a significant role in cultural formation, and that displays should present process and not just products. At their most mimetic, in-situ installations include live persons, preferably actual representatives of the culture on display.

In Te Karanga the ethnographic objects are present in the entire display, from the costumes and props, to the wider virtual environment and further into the surrounding bushes, to the actions and dances of the performers - even the performers themselves. Authenticity is seen, felt, heard and digested.

The version of Maori culture presented in the coach tour itinerary - and Te Karanga - is typically one that has already been prescribed in all manner of tourist markers. Such performances, which seek to retain a previously defined image of "authenticity", contribute to a regime of signification which posits the Otherness of Maori as both exotic and knowable. As such, "ethnic" sight-seeing becomes an act of re-creation. The voyeuristic impression on the postcard prescribes, reinscribes and modulates what is seen first-hand. Indeed, the known-ness of the cultural Other is important to tourism. Tourists can be sure to get what they expect.

Within tour brochures and on postcards, almost without exception, Maori appear in the standardised, contemporary version of ceremonial costume and are posed in accordance with the gender constructs of Maori maiden/Maori Warrior made fashionable at the turn of the century: a Maori woman, identified as such with captioning, inscribed as such with costume, poi and hei-tiki, sensualised in a pose of distracted passivity with coloured feathers behind her ear (Figure 9). Ngahuia Te Awekotuk reports the incongruity of one such scene that has been constantly repeated and never questioned, the cooking scene: "Woman bedecked in ornate regalia, kiwi feather cloaks, long piupiu, and rich taniko,
pensively suspend a basket of raw food into a steaming pool" (1991: 91).

In stage shows, advertising literature, postcards and under the auspices of realism, there is a sense that what is being presented is the "personality" and lifestyle of all Maori, of all time. There are no regional or tribal differences, nor are there individual personalities. Photographic subjects are never named, nor are they identified in terms of iwi affiliations. This is in the interests of a marketing strategy that seeks to define its object in terms of concepts such as "brand image" and "positioning". In marketing, a good product is one that is easily identified, distinct and knowable. As such - probably often unwittingly - the practices of the tourism industry continue an imperial strategy that defined Maori identity for the purposes of what could, and still can, only be called exploitation. As a spokesperson from the organising committee of the 1996 Maori Performing Arts Festival held in Rotorua stated:

It is fast becoming recognised that our Maori cultural and intellectual property is far too accessible for misuse by those with a lesser appreciation or ulterior motive. ('Biggest Event on the Maori Cultural Calendar' Te Maori News, Pepure, 1996: 12).

However, it was the aim of the preceding chapter to show that this image of essential "Maori-ness" has not been an entirely non-Maori construct. Nor has it simply been imposed upon Maori from the outside. Indeed, many of the ventures that present the prevailing touristic mode are operated by Maori who are probably fully aware of the value of stereotype, or, at least, are caught by its constraining influence. In fact, the boundary between negative stereotype and lived identity can be a very thin one, and is largely dependant upon the context of performance. What happens, for instance, when a hotel performance group takes items from the same programme to a Maori audience, be it at a national or local cultural competition, or a hui?

For the vast majority of international tourists to New Zealand, Maori culture will be presented to them in the form of "staged authenticity". Such stagedness, which ultimately denies contact between tourist and local identities, tends towards the reinscription of an already overinscribed image of essential "Maori-ness". In the absence of any sustained dialogue, ethnic subjects become "strangers" whose concrete existence and reality are denied. The oft repeated images too commonly found on other tourist markers - travel brochures, postcards and other media representations - are thereby certified, duplicated and returned with a new found validity. In the end, it is the validity of modernism and the privileged position of technological reproduction as the primary source of both "truth" and awareness that is enshrined.

3.3.1. Sincere encounters

We didn't want to offer visitors just the memory of a culture, with haka, dance and painted faced [sic]. We show visitors a new perspective of the region with its rich archaeological and Maori culture history. We also offer them an insight into a living culture of our people in the '90s.

Waatara Black of Maori Heritage Tours, quoted in Te Maori News (Oketopa, 1996)

In contrast to performances of the kind discussed above, tourists are now also able to partake in what are being variously labelled "cultural exchanges", or "interaction experiences", within local marae contexts. These ventures aim to provide tourists with a "real" cultural product, one that is significantly more "genuine" and educational than those more commonly provided by tourism. The impetus for this new approach to cultural tourism has been twofold. Firstly it involves the demands of tourism. NZTB statistics, for instance, show that growing demands for different cultural experiences are a major world trend (see discussion Chapter One). For this reason the NZTB is "positioning" Maori culture alongside natural environment as New Zealand's primary selling points (NZTB 1995/96: 30). However, rather than simply viewing culture from a distance, it would seem that tourists wish to become more "absorbed" within the cultural experience. New Zealand Tourism Consulting Ltd. head, Owen Ormsby, has suggested that as the awareness of indigenous peoples around the globe gathers momentum, "people coming to Aotearoa are wanting to relate to Maori in their own environment rather than in a hotel or museum. They want to see our protocol and experience our hospitality" (Quoted in 'New marae venture offers plenty to inbound tourist'. Kia Hiwa Ra September, 1994: 14). Secondly, and of primary importance to many Maori, are the socio-political opportunities that such ventures open up. Apart from the economic benefits of locally operated enterprise, by welcoming tourists onto marae and engaging them on more personal and interactive levels, Maori operators and communities provide an appropriate forum in which to redress the proliferation of negative images and stereotypes propagated by the tourism industry and media at large.

In 1987, as the result of the Manaakitanga Hui held in Rotorua throughout December 1985, a Maori Tourism Taskforce Report (1987: 47) took a critical stance against the Maori image employed in tourism, the definition of which it saw as being completely out of Maori hands:

The Task Force is...concerned with the danger of simplifying the Maori experience and therefore its
delivery. This means that the promoters of a specifically Maaori tourist experience need to bear firmly in mind that the Maaori culture is tribal. This means that it will vary from tribe to tribe and this diversity needs to be positively encouraged. At all costs any attempt to homogenise Maaori culture must be resisted. The great danger is the creation of a well-beaten Maaori trail that has culled out any tribal diversity.

It is this critique of the homogenising effect of tourism that has, in part, prompted the recent (1993) establishment of the Maaori owned and operated Maaori Heritage Tours in the Tamaki region. Its founder, Waatara Black (Te Maori News, Oketopa 1996: 1), has stated:

We were driven by a passion to see our people keep moving...We were aware that justice was not being given to the interpretation of Maaori history in the Auckland region, so decided instead to do something about it. Our cutting edge is our uniqueness and the authenticity of our operation and the services we provide.

In contrast to Te Karanga - The Calling (discussed above), marae visits produce authenticity through appealing to sincerity and the "genuine" in communicative experience. In fact, a distinction needs to be made between the terms authenticity and sincerity, since their conflation is a common definitional mistake in writings on tourism (for instance Pearce and Moscardo 1986). The notion of sincerity is significantly different from that of authenticity in that it occurs in the zone of contact between participating groups or individuals, rather than appearing as an internal quality of a thing, self or Other. Under the concept of sincerity, the subject is always referring to an "Other" in terms of "a congruence between avowal and actual feeling" (Trilling 1972: 4). Erikson (1995: 124), following Trilling, summarises sincerity as follows:

...sincerity refers to whether a person represents herself truly to others; it does not refer to being true to oneself as an end but as a means. The concept of sincerity thus says little about authenticity - that is, one's relationship with oneself.

When Owen Ormsby, speaking as both Maaori and tourism consultant, has said, "There is a need to make tourists and international guests more aware of who we are as people and look at our culture from our outlook" (quoted in Kia Hwa Ra, Nov/Dec, 1993: 23), he was making an appeal for sincerity in tourist encounters. What is important for many Maaori involved in tourism is the communication of values deemed important to themselves. By introducing the notion of sincerity, experiences in culture may be stripped of the temporal connotations implied by the concept of authenticity. Instead they become tied to selves in the present, both local and tourist.

Sincerity demands a shift away from objectification, towards negotiation. It is on these terms that Maaori Heritage Tours involve tourists in an "Auckland Visitors Treaty Ceremony", symbolising the communicative nature of their marae visits. The "treaty" is designed to be both "fun" and "educational" (Te Maori News 'Heritage Tours promote historic Maaori Tamaki Makaurau', Oketopa, 1996: 1). As well as giving an explanation of the Treaty of Waitangi, the document, which is signed by the tourist, also has its own three articles promising visitors "a vibrant cultural experience, fun and adventure, and the warmest of memories" (Te Maori News 'Treaty Tourism Launched' Haratua, 1995: 4). The ceremony is both a re-enactment and an enactment. Tourists are encouraged to recognise their own position as consumers of culture. By employing the notion of sincerity above authenticity, operators may blur the boundary between who is on display and who is consuming the event. As such, they may move away from the objectificatory mode of more overtly "staged" events. Tourists are made to reveal themselves also. The gaze is returned.

Marae visits commonly incorporate the overt staging of authenticity, while at the same time striving to produce sincere encounters. In such instances it may be difficult to draw a line between the stage and the spontaneous moment, the public and the private. I have not been suggesting that the notion of sincerity replaces authenticity. It is not its opposite, nor does it entail a way of getting over problems attending the authenticity concept. However, the aims behind marae visits show a sensitivity to the various issues surrounding cultural performance and authenticity. In sincere cultural experiences, where tourists and "actors" "meet half way", authenticity may be redefined in terms of local values. Furthermore, rather than seeing value as the emanation of an authentic object, the moment of interaction may become the site in which value is perceived.

The marae is generally considered by Maaori - especially those within the tourist industry - to be the most appropriate place in which to welcome guests, not only to "Maoridom", but to New Zealand. The term "false-back" underestimates the importance of these spaces, especially the marae, to local communities. Interpretation of touristic events that take place in such contexts as "staged" is similarly degrading. Such views would deny the possibility of an exchange of sincerity passing between the participants involved in a given tourist encounter. Furthermore, in seeking to undermine the "authenticity" of these events - which is, in any case, a construct of Western modernism - critics merely
continue a tradition of “splitting the Other”. If, as MacCannell suggests, the back region “drips with sincerity” (1976: 103), this is in many ways preferable to overtly staged affairs in which culture is infused with the desires of modernism.
Souvenir means "to remember", and remembering is a distinctly personal form of displacement. Souvenirs also re-member: as concrete fragments of intangible experiences or abstract wholes, the physical presence of the souvenir seeks to awaken the dead, to bring to life some extraordinary past. In its association with travel, this past is tied to a geographical distance. There is, therefore, an important distinction to be made between souvenirs and momentos. The function of the latter is to aid the recollection of experiences other than travel (Gordon 1986: 137). As proof of having "been there", it is temporal and geographical associations that give the souvenir currency. As with tourism more generally, the value of the souvenir is the value of a distance related to self. This is why, for those who share their local setting, souvenirs will usually be little more than kitsch. More often they are considered with scorn. However, despite their generally "tacky" quality, souvenirs may be powerful communicators of multiple identities - local, group or personal. This section touches on issues regarding the production of souvenirs in relation to such identities.

**The “New Zealand” Tiki**

Primarily, souvenirs signify by way of reduction and synecdoche. Whether pictorial images, linguistic messages, local products or a "piece of the rock", souvenirs function as metonymic signs. They are a partial representation or an actual piece of some abstract or physical whole (Gordon 1986: 139). In fact, perhaps the
most effective souvenirs are those that communicate multiple messages. Such is the status of one of New Zealand’s most famous souvenirs, the plastic tiki, which has come to signify both the idea of “New Zealand” and of “Maori-ness”, while at the same time appealing to some with its apparently child-like and “tacky” nature. As more than one souvenir shop employee has told me, “everyone wants a tiki!”. Of course, as in the case of the tiki, many souvenirs reduce and manipulate aspects of other peoples’ identities. Often, the local significance of the sign or object is overlooked in favour of the commercial drive to create new and interesting products. In such cases the fusion of cultural images into functional souvenirs may result in the circulation of insidious flirtations with local identity. In recent years the tiki image has appeared on ashtrays, been emblazoned on nappies and tea-towels, produced as soap and candles, and transformed into door-knockers and swizzle-sticks (Figure 11). Such productions are not only “bad taste”, but they also fail to recognise the significance of the tiki as an important Maori taonga. Similarly, images of the heads of Maori chiefs have been printed on such objects as cushion covers and handkerchiefs, in total disregard for their status as tapu (Te Iwi o Aotearoa 1989: no page reference given).

In fact, the whole issue of image consumption and identity runs into wider moral and legal conundrums related to the ownership of intellectual and cultural property. In New Zealand intellectual property legislation has, over the last two decades, increasingly recognised Maori cultural property rights, which are defined as “…all taonga inherited and conceived by Maori” (Moon 1996: 4). Under the Resource Management Act 1991, creative works considered to be taonga have what is called an “integrity right”. That is, its owner has the right to object to the derogatory treatment of their property (Moon 1996: 6). However, in many ways such legislation merely pays lip service to Maori concerns. Formal protection is often thwarted by the problematics of legal definition. In this absence of adequate legal protection, where cultural intellectual property is treated in a derogatory manner, it is often public pressure that intervenes. Such was the case when Air New Zealand ceased the production of plastic tikis, and their distribution to customers as flight souvenirs. In fact, the production and distribution of plastic tikis by Air New Zealand occurred while the company was still a state-owned enterprise, and was a result of prompting from the NZTB. Through the proliferation of these items, the plastic tiki has come to be identified as an icon of “classic Kiwi culture”. For instance, printed on a t-shirt produced by the local company, “Global Culture”, it appears alongside other such “icons”: a Janola bottle, Vegemite jar, buzzy-bee etc. The Maori challenge to Air New Zealand’s tiki production demonstrates the contested political and symbolic significance of a souvenir within a local context. What was at stake for Maori - and, in fact, still is - was the significatory power of an iconic expression of cultural identity, both in its “degrading” status as airport kitsch, and through its subsequent appropriation into the imagery of Other, national and corporate identities (Figure 11).

Souvenirs and the Narrative of Distance

The necessity for adventurers and explorers to obtain some tangible proof of their exploits has long been a feature of travel. Nicholas Thomas (1991: 143) has pointed out that, as representations of personal achievements, experience and mastery, the curiosities brought home by early European explorers of the Pacific came to be imbued with meanings somewhat at odds with their “scientific” significance. Susan Stewart’s (1993) analysis has made clear that souvenirs do not merely act as metonyms of other places, people or events. Rather, it is the contact of the possessor with that Other that the souvenir would attest to. Just as the status of the souvenir as a product of labour is secondary to its mnemonic and narrative function, the souvenir need not necessarily be deemed “authentic” or even effectively signify the Otherness of the Other. But, in order to be an effective “souvenir”, it must signify or recall some form of relationship between its possessor and a perceived Otherness.

It is perhaps for this reason that the picture postcard - one of modernism’s more striking appendages - has remained an integral part of Western travel culture for well over a century. It is undoubtedly the most popular form of souvenir. So popular, in fact, that, hanging on postcard racks outside souvenir shops, they are used as “bait” to draw in purchasing customers. In Sherry Ortner’s terms (1973) - for reasons more than popularity alone - the postcard may be considered a “key symbol” in tourism. Postcards capture and convey the synchronous experience of travel to what Victor Turner calls the “Center Out There” (1973: 212). This implicit meeting of difference is expressed, in miniature, on the opposing sides of the postcard, which act as a distillation of the touristic process. On one side is the printed image which is conventionally a highly idealised or glorified representation of some aspect of “Otherness” in the tourist destination. Symbolic appropriation takes place within a specifically modernist frame - photograph, caption, stereotype. This frozen “snap-shot” is then personalised and enlarged to include the experience of the sender through the hand-written inscription on the back. The postcard’s journey is simultaneously a return “home” and a journey “Out There”. As such, it eagerly repeats the liminality of travel. It is constantly both out of place and out of time.

While postcards attest to the fact of one having “been
there" (Vercoe 1996; Beard 1992: 507), it often does so only nominally. In many cases, the scenes and images depicted will not have actually been visited or experienced by the sender of the postcard. (For instance, one souvenir shop operator with whom I spoke related that, while she sold a great number of postcards depicting Māori cultural performances, she found that many of these purchases were made by people who had not gone to such an event - and had no intention of going to one.) Rather, postcards are made to correspond with a wider circulation of touristic images propagated within the world of mass-media. Like many other souvenirs, postcards tend to conform to the pre-scribed range of images that emanate from within the structures of that diffuse “system”, the tourist industry. In this way, being part of the process that MacCannell has called “sight sacredization” (1976: 43), the production of souvenirs is an integral component of the tourism industry in that they reify a destination’s touristic value. Further, through a proliferation of geographical and cultural stereotype, they tend to uphold the more pointedly advertised ethos of place. Indeed, many brochure manufacturers draw upon the same archive of photographs as those producing postcards. By delivering such knowledge with a “personal touch”, postcards do much to conflate the realism of tourism’s “New Zealand”.

Since the late 1960s the t-shirt has emerged alongside the postcard as the souvenir par excellence in its multiple capabilities as a sign vehicle. In particular, as an “open text”, a t-shirt may communicate a variety of messages about the wearer, his or her experiences, attitudes or social status (Cullum-Swan and Manning 1994: 421). Within tourism, the t-shirt, already associated with leisure, has become an important consumer item. Through them, tourists are able to flaunt their travel experiences to others by way of what they wear. Of course it cannot simply be said that “you are what you wear”. Any status claim to which the t-shirt attests remains problematic in that it may not be validated by the t-shirt alone (Cullum-Swan and Manning 1994: 422). Nevertheless, t-shirts have become an important non-verbal means of expressing an identity - or the desire for that identity by association. As a tourist souvenir, the t-shirt speaks of the experience of the wearer in another place. In doing so, what is also expressed is some form of relationship between the wearer and what that place represents.

As has already been discussed, in terms of global “positioning”, New Zealand has in many ways become associated with “clean green”, with “unspoilt” nature and with the ecologically (and politically) “correct”. Since the mid to late 1980s especially - for instance, during the Rainbow Warrior affair and international political debate surrounding New Zealand’s anti-nuclear policy - this image has been drawn on considerably by the media. Similarly, New Zealand’s National Parks and forests have provided the setting for several major film and television companies wishing to capture, as the NZTB (1990/91: 17) have stated, “what the world was like before man
started changing the face of the earth”. Not surprisingly, the utopic marriage of “New Zealand” with “unspoilt” nature has become a frequent imaginational subject for designers of t-shirts aiming to capture the tourist market in New Zealand. One example comes from the provocatively named chain-store “Global Culture”, whose central range of garments display images of nature - wildlife (principally endangered species), scenic images, “eco” slogans - on “natural” (un-bleached) fabric. The t-shirts display what one shop employee explained as a “New Zealand feel”. This, he told me, “plays on conservation and environmental themes”, including “a little bit of Maaori design, a little bit of ecology mixed in, and a little bit of New Zealand - flowers and plants...endangered species”.

Elsewhere I have discussed the touristic “escape” to nature and/or the realm of the Traditional Other as involving a pilgrimage into the “real”, where one may recover a sense of authentic self-hood. In fact, travelling is often thought of in this way: process in the search for vitality and inner values - the “real me”. As one writer in the travel agency STA’s monthly publication, Escape, suggested, travel to distant places provides an opportunity “to discover who we really are” (Spencer 1996: 32). In these terms, shirts carrying the sign of nature are a uniquely potent form of souvenir. Through them, a wearer may express claims to this form of transcendence through markers of experience they are also markers of self, and possessors as they do of their context of origin. As discriminators of t-shirts aiming to capture the tourist market, the t-shirts become a sign of personal. According to Stewart (1993: 147), “to have a souvenir of the exotic is to possess both a specimen and a trophy”. The Otherness that the souvenir represents marks it as exterior to the world “at home”, which is itself equated with the mundane and the ordinary in time and space (Gordon 1986: 136). At the same time, as the object arises out of the immediate experience of its possessor, this distance is charged with intimacy. Space and time is transformed into interiority - “personal” space (Stewart 1993: 147). In this way, souvenirs speak as much of their possessors as they do of their context of origin. As markers of experience they are also markers of self, and thereby communicate to others a certain identity desired or attained by the possessor. “At home”, where the possessor is in place and the souvenir is estranged, the latter speaks of the former’s capacity to accommodate Otherness. As Stewart (1993: 148) has put it, “it is the possessor, not the souvenir, that is ultimately the curiosity”.

Concluding Remarks

Travellers to New Zealand often seek the “unspoilt” in nature, that which represents a beauty and “authenticity” seen to be lacking “at home”. Likewise, infused with ideas regarding authenticity, “ethnicity” and the traditional (as well as residual notions of the primitive or noble savage), images of Maaori in tourism are situated in relation to the “modern” tourist self (Figure 12). Alongside the physical journey, with its timetables and ticket stubs, is a parallel journey through symbolic Time. In a reversal of the narratives of progress and the Fall, the travellers’ quest is to “unwind” the coils of technological - and often “intellectual” - Time. As Curtis and Pajaczkowska (1994: 199) have put it, referring directly to tourism:

The historic past in all its sedimented inevitability is sought in relation to the personal, pre-emptive moment - the Arcadian prelude to industrialisation, the innocent hedonism of the primitive, precolonial world, and the unity of self which preceded adulthood and modern self-consciousness.

In this paper I set out to assess the relationship between tourism and identity by exploring aspects of the promotion and production of tourist products. In particular, the concept of modernity characterised by Friedman (1992, 1994) - an internally apprehended system of identity - has been used as a model through which to examine discursive practices surrounding tourism to New Zealand. As such, I have taken his Identity space of modernity (Figure 1) to represent a centrally informing paradigm and epistemological basis of mainstream tourist-related practices. Defined in a loosely structural sense - as a generative field of alterity - modernity provides a way of adding value to tourist objects. Not only does it supply the modern subject with a system through which to conceive of Otherness, it also places difference in relation to notions of self-hood. Whether it be cultural, geographical, temporal, kinaesthetic or otherwise, value in tourism emerges primarily as the product of distance and difference.

The coincidence of “modern” tourism in New Zealand with the institutional establishment of anthropology as a discipline is a notable one. In many ways they have shared the same concerns. One such concern has been with the ideological constitution of an “object” - the Other - by way of temporal distanciation. On these terms - as an extension of Friedman’s model - Fabian’s (1983) thesis concerning the various uses of Time in anthropological practice has here accounted for issues of temporality in tourism. Fabian (1983: 147) states that:
by allowing Time to be resorbed by the tabular space of classification, nineteenth century anthropology sanctioned an ideological process by which relations between the West and its Other, between anthropology and its object, were conceived not only as difference, but as distance in space and Time.

Likewise, the classificatory and tabular space of identity - represented by Friedman's model as an internal fragment of modern epistemology - becomes significantly temporalised within tourism. This is consistent with the popular ideology which rationalises notions of the primitive, the traditional and the modern - and respectively, the natural, the pastoral and the technological/industrial - in terms of temporal relations. Within tourism, and elsewhere, such notions operate as a way of making sense of the world of distance and alterity.

I have argued that the fundamental principles of this world-view - that which enables "somewhere", or "someone", to be simultaneously apprehended in terms of a "somewhen", or "nowhen" - have been present in New Zealand tourism since the colonial period. What emerged in this early period was the production and propagation of a pseudo-knowledge surrounding New Zealand's natural heritage and Maaori population. This took concrete form in a range of printed matter - postcards, travel guides, advertisements, emigration pamphlets, adventure stories and the like - promoting a specifically modernist perception of place. Such works not only provided potential tourists with practical information about New Zealand as a holiday destination, but they were also circulated within wider discursive processes that sought to legitimate the colonial project and further its cause. This was largely achieved in dialectical fashion, involving a temporal structure of self-Other relations based upon ideas of evolution and progress. Specifically, the production and reproduction of stereotypes of the "native" Maaori Other was coefficient with a reification of the dominant modernist position of the colonial tourist and immigrant. The ostensible superiority of modernism was also symbolised in representations of the Western viewing subject's apprehension of Nature as a sign, and of the distancing of nature - "naive" and pliant - from the "modern" self. Self-perceived conceptions of the supremacy of the Western viewing subject in colonial tourism were, therefore, underpinned by what Fabian (1983: 23) has identified as the notion of "Typological Time": the modernist effort to construct self-Other relations as a structure of power, by apprehending socio-cultural difference as temporal distance.

Of course, as has always been the case, images of Maaori propagated in tourist literature throughout the early twentieth-century belied other social myths and realities. Not the least of these was a growing dependence on Maaori as a tourist commodity. As I have shown at a local level through my discussion of Maaori women guides of Te Arawa, the active participation of Maaori in tourism produced socio-economic conditions that would contradict the claims of modernism.

As the Maaori population and culture began to regain strength, and following a major economic depression framed by two world wars, tourism discourse was bound to change its representation of the Other. However, being tied to political issues of nation-building and the maintenance of Eurocentric hegemony, within these discourses Maaori identity continued to be represented in terms of a temporalised system of alterity. In Chapter Two this was shown to have polarised around notions of "culture", with Western culture being posited as in the present and thus entitled to dictate public "norms". Throughout the '60s and '70s, the double bind of Maaori envelopment within the political concepts of integration and biculturalism came to be variously reflected in tourist-related forms of representation. As newly "modernised" subjects, Maaori were "allowed" to share in the contemporaneous "privileges" of Western education, technology and so forth. Conversely, Maaori "culture" was increasingly represented as a spectacle of the past - the modernist's pre-European dream.

The argument that began with a discussion of the colonial tourist's understandings of nature finally led to notions of authenticity that appear in tourism-related discourses today. Although the last century has seen changes in the style of tourism promotion and production, travel and tourist behaviour, in many ways there has been little impact on the epistemological features underlying the prevailing system of representation. The ideas put forward by colonial writers concerning Otherness in nature and culture have remained as essential features of discourses in New Zealand tourism.

As Said (1978), Kabbani (1986) and - with particular reference to tourism - Palmer (1994) have so powerfully illustrated, the continuing legacy of colonialism is not only political and economic domination, but also the creation and recreation of myths, stereotypes and fantasies, shaping the West's view of Others. From colonial tourism and the politics of looking, to present touristic imag(in)ings and politics of authenticity, we have seen that issues of power - underpinned by notions of Time and the Other (Fabian 1983) - have held a central place in tourism to New Zealand. That these ghosts continue to haunt us renders claims that would attribute to New Zealand the status of a "post-colonial" nation both problematic and premature.
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