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HOW MĀORI CULTURAL TOURISM BUSINESSES CREATE  
AUTHENTIC AND SUSTAINABLE WELL-BEING

BY CHELLIE M. SPILLER

A thesis to be submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Management and International Business,  
The University of Auckland, 2010.



## **ABSTRACT**

This research shows how Māori cultural tourism businesses create authentic and sustainable well-being. Understanding this is important for these and other businesses that want to succeed economically and realise their potential to contribute to all their stakeholders. Addressing this question involved critiquing the reifying tendencies in the tourism marketing and production system and exploring ways in which authenticity and sustainability, two of the most prominent themes in academic tourism discourse yet rarely engaged with together in academic literature, might conjointly contribute to creating well-being through cultural tourism within explicitly Māori terms. This supply-side perspective has not previously been explicitly explored.

Informed by Māori research principles and sharing features with the grounded theory approach, four holistic, in-depth case studies of Māori cultural tourism businesses generated a relational Five Well-beings map and twenty-five practices to demonstrate how Māori cultural tourism businesses create authentic and sustainable spiritual, cultural, social, environmental, and economic well-being.

The Well-beings map offers an explicit, cosmological, and holistic analysis that describes how mauri ora, meaning conscious well-being, is achieved through reciprocal relationships of respect that are informed by Māori values, and applied through praxis that transforms tourism contexts into sites of multi-dimensional well-being. The key facets of this approach are that: authenticity and sustainability are reflexively constructed in relationship; a spiritual outlook is central; wealth is an outcome of well-being; a Māori mode of exchange is operational; a relational approach militates against the forces of reification; and value is embodied in relationships which create added value for the firm.

The Well-beings approach is illuminated further using the wider literature, bringing an ethic of care and respect framework together with a stakeholder theory of the firm

focussed on the intrinsic value of stakeholders, and drawing on Heidegger's concepts of being-in-the-world and care.

Māramatanga, meaning enlightenment, is depicted as the realisation of ever-present potential and is the tupu, the unfolding of each person's potential, that can occur through the transformational power of Māori cultural tourism in which customers, employees, suppliers, and other business stakeholders including social, cultural, and environmental communities experience how Māori cultural tourism businesses create authentic and sustainable well-being.

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this thesis to

my Grandmother

*Wikitoria Puhake Te Taite Atkinson*

and to my parents

*Monica and Tony Stockdale*

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### Mihimihi

Ngā mihi nui ki a koutou katoa, ngā mihi mahana ki a koe  
Extensive greetings to you all, a warm greeting to you personally.

Ko Takitimu te waka	My canoe is Takitimu
Ko Ngāti Kahungunu te iwi	My tribe is Ngāti Kahungunu
Ko Ngāi Tahu te hapū	My sub-tribe is Ngāi Tahu Matawhaiti
Ko Taumutu te maunga	My mountain is Taumutu
Ko Mangatahi te moana	My ocean is Mangatahi
Ko Mangapoike te awa	My river is Mangapoike
Ko Ngā Tohorā Tokowhitu ngā kaitiaki	The seven whales are my guardians
Ko Tahu Potiki te rangatira	Tahu Potiki is my ancestral chief
Ko Hamo Te Rangi te whaea	Hamo Te Rangi is my ancestral mother
Ko Iwitea te marae	My marae is Iwitea
Ko Chellie Spiller taku ingoa	My name is Chellie Spiller

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## GLOSSARY

While values, concepts, and terms may have a standard ‘definition’ they were very much subjectively understood and expressed differently by each person in this study. The definitions used to compile this glossary reflect their general use in the text and have been drawn primarily from Benton (2004), Durie (2003), Henare (2003), Marsden (2003), Mead (2003), Orbell (1995), Porter (2009), Shirres (1997), Māori Language Commission (1995), Walker (2004), and the Williams dictionary (2004).

<b>Te reo Māori</b>	<b>English</b>
atua	god, supernatural being
akoranga	learning
ao marāma, te	world of life and light
Aotearoa	Traditional name for the North Island that over time has come to be accepted as the official Māori name for this country.
aroha	love, kindness, respect, compassion
atuatanga	divinity
awa	river
haka	dance
hākari	ritual feast
hāngai	relevant
hāngi	earth oven
hāpai	lift up, raise
hapū	sub-tribe
hāpuku	groper
harakeke	flax
hau	vitality of human life, vital essence of land
hauora	health, spirit of life, vigour
hōhonutanga, te	the research principle of deepening knowledge
huanga	production
hukahuka	tags, tassel
ihi	power, authority, essential force
inoi	prayer, entreaty
Io	supreme being
iwi	people, tribe, larger tribal group
kai	food; to eat
kaihau	eating the hau; greed
kaitiaki	guardian, keeper, preserver, conservator, foster-parent, protector

kaitiakitanga	guardianship, preservation, conservation, fostering, protecting
kanohi i kitea, he	a face seen
kaiārahi	leader
kaimoana	seafood
karakia	incantation
karanga	call, summon
kaumātua	elder or elders
kaupapa	plan, scheme, proposal
kaupapa Māori	Māori centered
kete	flax basket
kete aronui	the knowledge of what we see, the natural world around as apprehended by the senses
kete tuatea	the knowledge of spiritual realities, realities beyond space and time, the world we experience in ritual
kete tuauri	the knowledge which understands, 'stands under' our sense experience
koha	gift (to be reciprocated), contribution
kōhanga reo	Māori language early childhood education centres
kōrero	address
kotahitanga	the principle of alliance; unity
kuia	female elder or elders
kura kaupapa Māori	Māori-language-medium primary and secondary schools
kūmara	sweet potato
mahi	work
mana	spiritual power, power, authority, sovereignty
mana (manifold)	authority drawn from various sources
mana atua	authority vested by the Gods
mana tangata	human authority
mana tatai	authority vested from genealogy
mana tūpuna/tīpuna	ancestral sovereignty
mana toto	authority vested from blood kin
mana whenua	authority vested from ecosystems
manaaki	show respect or kindness to; entertain
manaakitanga	often translated as hospitality, however denotes reciprocal recognition of mana
manuhiri	visitors and guests
marae	enclosed space in front of a house, courtyard, village common
māramatanga	enlightenment
Matangi-reia	the original house of learning
mātauranga Māori	Māori knowledge
matua	esteemed elder
maunga	mountain

mauri	life force, life principle, bonding element of universe; awake, conscious
mauri ora	awake, conscious, well, in health
mihi (mihi)	greet
moana	sea, lake
moko, ta	tattoo
mokopuna	grandchild; descendant
muka	prepared fibre of flax
noa	balance, neutrality
ora	alive; well, in health
pā	former name for marae complex
paiheretia	the principle of integrated goals
Pākehā	a person of Anglo-European descent
pakihi	enterprise, business
paepae	bench
papakāinga	residence, village settlement
Papatūānuku	Earth Mother
pēpeha	charm, proverb, witticism
pāua	abalone
pipi	cockle
pito	section of the umbilical cord nearest the baby's body
piupiu	a type of skirt made of flax
pono	true to the principles of culture
pōwhiri/pōhiri	welcome
pūkeko	swamp hen
pukuhoe	humour
pure	purification ritual
pūrotu	the principle of transparency
rāhui	ritual prohibition; non-interference
rangatira	Māori leaders
Ranginui	Sky Father
rawaka	adequate, enough, sufficient
reo	voice; speech, utterance; language, dialect
rerekētanga	innovation
rongoā	medicine, Māori medicinal plants
rūnanga	assemble, council
takoha	gift giving
tamariki	children
Tāne (Mahuta)	God of the forests
Tāngaroa	God of the sea
tangata (pl. tāngata)	man, human being
tangata whenua	people of the land

tangihanga/tangi	funeral and burial ceremony
taonga	a highly prized object
taonga tuku iho	gift of the ancestors, precious heritage
tapu	sacred, being with potentiality
tautoko	support
Tawhirirangi	the eleventh sky
te ao Māori	the Māori world
Te Ao Hurihuri	revolving, changing world
Te Ao Mārama	the world of light
tīhei mauri ora	the sneeze of life
tika	just, right, correct, appropriate behaviour
tikanga	custom
tino rangatiratanga	self-determination
tohu	mark, sign, proof
tohunga	priest; skilled spiritual leader; expert
tupu	to unfold, to unfold one's true nature
tupuna/tipuna	ancestor, grandparent
tūhono	the principle of alignment
tūturu	genuine, permanent, enduring
uri	offspring, descendent
utu	reciprocation, revenge, recompense
wāhi whenua	place, location, area
wāhi tapu	a place designated as sacred
waiata	song, chant
wairua	soul, spirit
wairuatanga	spirituality
waka	canoe
wana	inspire fear, awe; sublimity
wānanga, whare	Māori tertiary institution
wehi	fearsomeness
wero	ritual challenge to visitors
whakaaro	thought
whakapapa	genealogy
whakapono	trust
whakarite	respect
whāriki	anything spread on the ground or on a floor
whānau	family group; family; familiar term of address to a number of people
whanaungatanga	relationships
whānuitanga, te	research principle of expanding knowledge towards light
wharehau	big house
whenua	earth; placenta

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Matua Pereme, who is known by the title of matua for his status as an esteemed elder, is sitting beside me at The University of Auckland Business School. Our chairs are facing toward a tree-covered hill called in Māori, Pukekawa, also known by others as the ‘Domain’, the central park in Auckland, Aotearoa New Zealand. Matua has a rich, deep voice and he is widely regarded as a very fine orator. As we gaze to the horizon he is sharing with me a story given to him by his elders. The story is of Kupe, the great East-Polynesian navigator-explorer. Kupe, in his mighty seafaring waka, an ocean-going canoe, was crossing Spirits Bay off the coast of northern Aotearoa. As the waka plied the waters, Kupe turned to greet the land. He reached up, clenched his hand, called out “kapowairua”, and grasped the spirit of the land. Matua Pereme reaches up, calls “kapowairua”, and his fist holds that energy. It is an electrifying moment. To hold the spirit is to belong<sup>1</sup>.

As with Kupe’s journey, this research is a quest. The primary research question of this thesis is how Māori cultural tourism businesses create authentic and sustainable well-being. Underpinning this research question is a search for māramatanga, which means understanding and enlightenment. As I embarked upon this journey, my aim was to create, with the participants in this study, a kete mātauranga, a basket of knowledge that captures the spirit of how Māori cultural tourism businesses create authentic and sustainable well-being.

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<sup>1</sup> This conversation was held 9 September 2009, at the University of Auckland Business School, 12 Grafton Road, Auckland, New Zealand.



### 1.1. The research problem

I want them to take back that Māori people are a gift to the world, really that we still have what some cultures have lost in terms of oneness, a linking together, a feeling of belonging to each other and the world.

In this quote, the speaker, one of the research participants from a Māori tourism business, has seized the spirit of authenticity and sustainability in this study of Māori cultural tourism by highlighting that a feeling of belonging to each other and the world is at the heart of well-being. By demonstrating this belonging to each other and the world, Māori, through cultural tourism businesses, are giving tourists insight to a quality that has been lost in some cultures. However, this crucial quality of belonging is often distorted by stereotyped images of Māori cultural tourism that are communicated around the globe as a sales strategy for what is presented as a purchasable ‘product’. Relationships that begin to be formed in such reified tourism spaces are at risk of failing to communicate the importance of ‘belonging’.

Cultural tourism is defined as “those cultural dimensions that enable more depth of interaction with, and understanding of, our people, place and cultural identity” (Tourism Strategy Group, 2001, p. 29). Implicit in this definition is the importance of relationships, however, relationships amongst people, and between people and place, become distorted through the reifying tendencies in the tourism marketing and production system whereby tourism spaces are pervaded by abstracted realities that come to represent a place and its people.

The process of reification, discussed in depth in this study, is briefly described here as an outcome of the tourism production system which manufactures micro-realities by fragmenting the wholeness of a people and a place. These micro-realities are infused with certain compelling meanings in order to appeal to tourists, however, these micro-realities may come to epitomise the whole reality of a place and its people. Endowed with a material existence of their own, these fragmented micro-realities are symptomatic of what

Whitehead (1926/1938) calls a “fallacy of misplaced concreteness” (p. 66), or, reification.

The process of reification in tourism distorts relationships between people, and between people and place, until such relationships take on a ‘thing-like’ nature. Symptoms of reification that are explored in this study include objectification, stereotyping, instrumentalisation, materialism, and typologising of others and place. With tourists increasingly acculturated to reifying processes, what once were authentic experiences may become ever more individuated and a matter of personal internalisation, achieved independent of context, or devoid of the quality of belonging. Reifying tendencies can also rupture the multi-dimensional relationships necessary for a sustainable approach in tourism. In reified tourism, Māori become part of a production system. In contrast, the pakihi, the Māori businesses, in this study, resist belonging to tourism in reified terms within reified spaces. Instead, they focus on belonging through being in partnership with customers, suppliers, and other stakeholders. By focussing on belonging, pakihi seek to engage with cultural tourism in a way that creates authentic and sustainable well-being.

Ways in which authenticity and sustainability might conjointly contribute to well-being in cultural tourism have not previously been explored within Māori epistemological and ontological terms. Such terms include understanding and explaining what is “essential, distinctive and important about the Māori world” (Royal, 2007) in Māori cultural tourism settings. For example, how Māori customary protocols and values inform processes and guide decisions at work and in communities of interest, how scholarly and popular literature by Māori authors can inform the analytical process, how individual Māori engaged in cultural tourism respond to and interpret events, and how these individuals may draw upon Māori epistemologies (including story, myth, legend, whakapapa – genealogies, and experience) as they engage in cultural tourism.

Exploring how Māori cultural tourism businesses create authentic and sustainable well-being invites much discussion about authenticity, sustainability, and well-being. Avenues of exploration in this study include: seeking to better understand the purpose of Māori

cultural tourism businesses in terms of what they aim to achieve through their involvement in tourism; understanding the role of Māori values; looking at the broader relationship between businesses and communities; understanding the nature of the collective aspirations of Māori for development through tourism. These matters are at the heart of the work of other scholars who have considered what it means to be a ‘Māori business’ including in terms of authenticity (Durie, 2003; Henare, 1994, 2004; Knox, 2005; Sharples, 2007; Wolfgramm, 2007), of sustainability (Henare, 2007; Jones, 2000; Loomis, 2000; Loomis & Mahima, 2003), and of general Māori business engagement in the economy (Bargh, 2007; Frederick & Henry, 2004; Henry, 2007; Reihana, Sisley, & Modlik, 2007; Ruwhiu, 2009). There is a wide body of tourism scholarship that has delved into the nature of Māori tourism (for example, Barnett, 1997, 2001; Benton, 2004; Hall, Mitchell, & Keelan, 1993; Hinch, McIntosh, & Ingram, 1998; Mahuta, 1987; McIntosh, Zygadlo, & Matunga, 2004; Ryan, 1999; Stafford Group, te Hau, & McIntosh, 2000, 2001; Ulrich Cloher & Johnston, 1999; Zygadlo, McIntosh, Matunga, Fairweather, & Simmons, 2003). Together the contributions of the scholars mentioned here, and others, contribute to the research quest of understanding how Māori cultural tourism businesses create authentic and sustainable well-being.

Authenticity and sustainability are two of the most prominent themes in academic tourism discourse, yet, are rarely engaged with together in academic literature (Cohen, 2002). Additionally, both authenticity and sustainability are vague terms but, at the same time, are hardly neutral terms (Cohen, 2002; Taylor, 2001). I discuss these themes comprehensively in the context of my research, notably in Chapter Two and throughout the empirical chapters.

Creating authentic well-being, characterised by a sense of belonging, requires that customers, employees and other stakeholders experience authenticity. The recognition of the importance of authentic experience is highlighted by DaCruz (2006) in a journalistic piece on the scope of Māori cultural tourism, where she notes that some industry experts suggest that the very success of the industry rests on the ability to deliver “authentic experience to the savvy travellers”, especially in a competitive world of “limitless global

choice” (para. 2). The New Zealand Tourism Strategy 2015 (Tourism Strategy Group, 2007) echoes this theme:

The demand for authentic Māori products is increasing, particularly those that combine traditional values and knowledge within a contemporary product. This means there is huge potential for greater Māori participation in the sector, by infusing Māori cultural elements across the whole range of tourism products. (p. 23)

Tourism New Zealand<sup>2</sup> CEO, George Hickton, has observed that despite capitalising on Māori imagery for over 100 years, the “export environment” is more “sophisticated” and there is increasing demand for “authenticity” (as cited in New Zealand Trade and Enterprise, 2005). He has also noted that Māori cultural tourism businesses need to “get progressively better at providing that authentic experience” (as cited in DaCruz, 2006). By enabling better understanding of the nature of an authentic experience from a Māori perspective and how this contributes to authentic well-being, this study will help meet the challenge described by Hickton, and help meet the aspirations of the pakihi, the Māori businesses in this study, for delivering authentic experiences as they define it.

Creating sustainable well-being requires that customers, employees and other stakeholders experience sustainability. In a tourism context, this includes environmental, social, and cultural sustainability. However, business is often regarded as contributing to a reduction in sustainability and there is a call for business to actively contribute to sustainability. A Māori worldview sees the cultural, social, environmental and economic domains, along with the spiritual, as inherently one, these domains are all part of an holistic expression of practice. Grounding this research from within a Māori epistemological and ontological worldview draws a relationship between all elements of a situation. When a worldview becomes cultural it is because the values and behaviours that comprise the worldview have been subscribed and assented to by a “community of

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<sup>2</sup> Tourism New Zealand is a Crown Entity established under the New Zealand Tourism Board Act 1991. Their principal objective is to “ensure New Zealand is marketed internationally as a visitor destination in order to maximise the long term benefits for New Zealand” (Tourism New Zealand, n.d.-a).

believers” (Marsden, 2003; Royal, 2002). Whilst perceptions and understandings are held unevenly throughout a culture (Royal 2002) there remains a “corpus of basic convictions about reality and life” which provides a “thread of continuity” (Marsden, 2003. p. 56, see also Wolfgramm, 2007).

Given the large size and influence of international tourism to Aotearoa New Zealand, a greater focus on sustainability would be an important contribution. The Tourism Strategy 2015 (2007) encourages “sustainable tourism”:

The best kind of tourism for New Zealand is sustainable tourism, that is, tourism that delivers maximum value — economic, social, cultural, and environmental — with as few unwanted effects as possible. (p. 14)

Whilst welcome, this call often fails to explicitly take account of how Māori cultural tourism business define and practice sustainability thereby limiting potential effectiveness. For example, a series of sustainable tourism guides released by the Ministry of Tourism (2008a) does not examine or explain sustainable tourism from the Māori worldview. This study seeks to address this gap.

## **1.2. The value of the research**

The motivation for this study arises from a concern acquired from my observations during a 23-year career spanning different aspects of the tourism ‘industry’. In general terms, I have observed the role of Indigenous peoples, including Māori, as often being confined to ‘bit players’ or ‘clip-on’ roles in tourism. This limited mode of participation fragments holistic cultures into purchasable, consumable pieces, and limits the influence that Indigenous peoples can meaningfully have on important areas, including tourism policy, curriculum development, business approaches, supply chain participation, and promotion.

Tourism research, and the tourism industry, more generally, often focusses on the ‘demand’ side, what customers want and do; this research also offers the ‘supply’ side story, what Māori want and do. The recognition in this research of a Māori pattern of authentic and sustainable business directly challenges assumptions that the conventions of business are universal, with normalised protocols that exist outside of particular cultural values and norms.

This study provides a theoretically defensible and empirically-grounded articulation of how, from a Māori perspective, authenticity and sustainability conjointly contribute to well-being. This study has the potential to contribute to the wider field of understanding between Indigenous and other academics about these two important tourism themes.

A further potential of this research to inform curriculum development to better serve the interests of the Māori community, through guiding students towards a deeper understanding of how those engaged in cultural tourism at all levels can contribute to the well-being of Māori communities. The importance of responsive educational strategies and pedagogies that address the complex contexts in which Māori management students will work, and executives currently operate, has been identified by Māori educators (for example, see Smith 1997; 2003; Zapalska, Brozik, Dabb, & Keiha, 2002) and other Indigenous educators (for example, see Begay, 1997). A culturally relevant curriculum can help address the under-representation of Māori in employer, managerial, or decision-making roles within tourism through articulating processes and delivering a teaching pedagogy in a way that makes sense to Māori.

This research has value for Māori cultural tourism businesses and their stakeholders by demonstrating how they can all increase their well-being through Māori cultural tourism. This includes helping those engaged in the sector conceptualise issues in order to more effectively develop business models that meet Māori ideals of authentic and sustainable well-being. This study also shows how forming successful alliances, both intra-industry and across industries, can increase a Māori cultural tourism business’s value proposition in the market, and contribute to greater economic sustainability by sharing resources.

This research has empirically-grounded potential to assist shared understanding between Māori cultural tourism businesses on how to effectuate these alliances. The insights from this study can assist these businesses to create more successful partnerships with stakeholders, including employees, customers, and suppliers, along with their social, cultural, and ecological communities. At a very broad level Māori cultural tourism business at this stage of the enquiry is a business that offers Māori cultural tourism experiences, and the four case studies offer a variety of conceptualisations: Māori owned and operated; a joint venture between Māori and Pākehā, and Pākehā owned with Māori employees. Accordingly, this study gives a “voice” (Gilligan, 1982, 1995) to Māori employees in cultural tourism who work for owners that are Pākehā, meaning people of Anglo-European descent. It also provides a voice for Pākehā who contribute meaningfully to the cultural tourism sector. Within all businesses that offer Māori cultural tourism experiences, this research has the potential value of assisting the development of stronger workplace competencies that are culturally grounded.

More generally, this research has the potential to assist Māori businesses in other sectors to develop business models more closely aligned to Māori ideals of how to create well-being. Indeed, the research may also assist Pākehā business to better understand how they can adopt a multi-dimensional, holistic, and developmental approach in their activities thereby creating more well-being.

This research has value assisting Māori and other policy-makers to develop appropriate policy that meets the needs of Māori enterprise. It can also provide direction for culturally appropriate sustainability indicators. It also has the potential to assist with the development of a culturally appropriate authenticity mark to complement, or supersede the embattled “Toi Iho™”, a registered trade mark used to “promote and sell authentic, quality Māori arts and crafts” and “authenticate exhibitions and performances of Māori arts by Māori artists” (Toi Iho, 2009). This research may serve to contribute to the formation of a Māori sustainable tourism certification programme alongside, or in lieu of, ‘global’ certification programmes such as the World Tourism Organization recommendations (2003). There is high value to be gained from transmitting context-

responsive insights to help form more relevant promotional material issued by agencies such as Tourism New Zealand that better captures peoples' experiences. The research can also assist policy-makers to deliver training and mentoring programmes for tourism executives and business owners that focus on encouraging business models grounded in Māori precepts.

In cultural tourism the host society ought to define their culture, however, more often than not it is the dominant society that defines Indigenous participation in cultural tourism, accomplished in myriad of subtle and not so subtle ways. The negotiation of the relationship between 'them' and 'us' is a constant and on-going dynamic, as Indigenous peoples resist being constructed as the Indigenous 'other' by the hegemonic discourses of dominant societies (Said, 1978/1995). The Secretariat of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2004) defines Indigenous communities, peoples, and nations as those who:

... having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them. They form at present non-dominant sectors of society and are determined to preserve, develop and transmit to future generations their ancestral territories, and their ethnic identity, as the basis of their continued existence as peoples, in accordance with their own cultural patterns, social institutions and legal system. (p. 2)

On 13 September 2007, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples, a landmark declaration, signed by 143 member states that outlined the rights of the world's estimated 370 million indigenous people. At the time of ratification, New Zealand abstained, along with Australia, Canada, and the U.S. The declaration "emphasizes the rights of indigenous peoples to maintain and strengthen their own institutions, cultures and traditions and to pursue their development in keeping with their own needs and aspirations ... their right to remain distinct and to pursue their own visions of economic and social development" (United Nations, 2007, p. 2). An outcome of this study is to contribute towards a Māori vision of economic and social



development in keeping with Māori needs and aspirations and the spirit of the Declaration on Rights of Indigenous Peoples.

Developing a model of sustainable business from within Te Ao Māori, a Māori worldview, meets the call for Indigenous responses to the crisis of sustainability which is having tremendously negative impacts on Indigenous communities (Butler & Hinch, 2007; Cajete, 2000; Johnston, 2006; Loomis, 2000; McLaren, 2003; Ryan & Aicken, 2005; Zeppel, 2006). Indigenous responses to the crisis of sustainability have been a focus at a number of international Indigenous forums including the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues' Declaration of Indigenous Peoples on Climate Change (2000), the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs in preparation for the 7<sup>th</sup> session of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2008), and the World Ecotourism Summit (2002). A key feature of the Indigenous response is the wish to participate in tourism in ways that meet their own cultural ideas of development. These responses have expressed "profound disagreement" with many of the "basic assumptions" where Indigenous peoples have been defined "as targets to be developed" (Oaxaca Declaration, Mexico, 2002, as appended in Benton et al., 2003) in advance of the Québec Declaration on Ecotourism (2002, p. 55).

### **1.3. The literature journey**

It is important to establish that this thesis is an unfolding journey whereupon the theoretical framework is built up from field insights; in other words, the theory is built from case study research which uses four companies and their stakeholders as the subjects of study. Accordingly, the literature supports the data, akin to Eisenhardt's (1989) notion of "enfolding literature" by presenting information in a way that embraces the continuous cycle of engagement between the emerging practices identified in the field and existing literature. Thus, as would be expected in a work of this nature the theoretical framework emerges iteratively with the field-work and culminates in Chapter Eleven.

Chapters Two and Three draw upon critical theory, which engages with and challenges the status quo, to expose problems associated with cultural tourism. This meets the challenge issued by Ateljevic, Pritchard, and Morgan (2007) for tourism researchers to adopt a critical perspective so that the wider implications and impacts of a research project are brought into sharper focus.

In Chapters Two and Three, Bewes (2002), Honneth (2008), and Lukács (1923/1971) support critical insight into processes of reification. Reification is linked in this study to manufactured tourism realities, which can distort and disconnect relationships, symptoms of which include: stereotyping of Māori; prototyping of tourists; intensified individualisation; instrumental and objectifying treatment of others and place. This study particularly explores Honneth's trajectory of theorising that reification occurs through misplaced praxis, which results in a loss of reciprocal relationships of respect, and can be restored through empathetic recognition of each other, and place. The decision to draw upon reification as a critical theory lens, as opposed to threads such as emancipatory or post-colonial literature, emerged as a response to the field-research insights which highlighted the importance of reciprocal relationships of respect. As noted later in Chapter Four which discusses methodology, grounded theory does not presume a theoretical framework prior to engagement in the field, and indeed, the decision to use reification came during an 'ah ha' moment, some time after analysis, when reviewing Honneth's work. Building upon this critical theory framework of reification, this study then provides an historical account of Māori cultural tourism. It illustrates the profound way in which tangata, meaning people, and wāhi whenua, meaning in this study holistic place, were reified through colonising production methods that built faulty foundations for Māori cultural tourism today.

The purpose of using critical theory is to 'problematise' and 'contextualise' the discussion at a broad level in Chapters Two and Three which provide a philosophical overview. Critical theory has emerged from a Eurocentric tradition and, from a Māori perspective, rests on some faulty assumptions, notably that its "emancipatory concerns should always take precedence over other practices" (Fitzsimons & Smith, 2000, p. 28).

The bulk of this work's theoretical framework, Chapters Five to Ten, is located within a reflexive framework that engages with the field of practice (Māori cultural tourism organizations) and Māori literature. Chapter Five lays out the meta-themes of the research and presents significant contextual detail and discussion. In Chapter Five the Five Well-beings map that emerged from the field research is introduced, and crystallises the empirical chapters that follow. Although Chapter Five is presented before the empirical chapters, it is not suggestive that this framework existed *a priori* the field research, the decision to present the Five Well-beings map before the empirical chapters is to assist the reader with orienting to a Māori worldview within which the empirical discussions are situated. The Five Well-beings map is thus situated with a body of scholarly Māori literature.

Māori literature is drawn upon to ground in a Māori worldview the discussion and research insights from the field of practice. This Māori literature includes, scholarly and popular works written by Māori, institutional reports that evaluate Māori activities and responses, or strongly Māori themed texts that contribute to understanding and explaining the research insights. A key theme from this literature and a central tenet of this study is the theorising of praxis by Smith (1997, 2003) and Fitzsimons and Smith (2000). This involves a dynamic, flexible, and responsive process of reflection and action grounded in Māori experience (Smith, 1997). Smith (1997) re-theorises praxis as a process that is reflexive, interactive, iterative, and transformative. His notion of “transformative praxis” aligns with what Giddens’ (1990) reflexivity which refers to an on-going state of monitoring behaviour and contexts – a “thinking about thinking” – that is “recursive and non-linear” (Fitzsimons & Smith, 2000, p. 38).

In Chapter Eleven, the Five Well-beings map and its relationship to the field of practice in Māori cultural tourism is situated in a wider body of ‘Western’ philosophical and organisational literature. Again, as in the case of critical theory, this chapter does not set about to ‘prove’ the Māori theoretical framework of Chapters Five to Ten, but serves a purpose of further illuminating the theory emerging from this research. This involves

combining an ethic of care framework (Gilligan, 1982, 1995) together with a stakeholder model (Donaldson & Preston, 1995; Freeman, 1984, 2008; Leana & Rousseau, 2000; Post, Preston, & Sachs, 2002), and aspects of Heidegger (1962, 1971) notably being-in-the-world (*Dasein*) and care (*Sorge*). An appealing aspect of Heidegger in that he is hard to ‘categorise’ in terms of ‘position’. This is also an appealing aspect of transmodernity (Ateljevic, 2009, p. 15) in Chapter Eleven, wherein transmodernity “transcend[s] all (post)essentialist contradictions and treatments of race, gender, tradition, culture, economy... to provide us with a theoretisation that can give us a ‘ground zero’ of biosphere politics with no inherent domination and superiority of one over another.” Avoiding categorising tendencies clears a space in this work for exploring a Māori outlook without being forced into a category of position.

#### **1.4. Research process**

A commitment of this research is to be informed by Māori research principles to ensure it is culturally appropriate (Bishop, 1996, 2008; Smith, 1998; Te Awekotuku, 1991). These principles include the selection of a research topic that provides tangible benefit to Māori communities and placing at the centre of the research Māori values, ways of knowing, attitudes, and practices. This research uses qualitative methods which are necessary to address the research question that requires gathering fresh insights about Māori business to ensure Māori-lived experiences are expressed in the voice of research participants, to more effectively enable researcher responsiveness to context and to avoid biasing insights through preconceived notions of Māori business approaches in cultural tourism.

This study also shares features with the grounded theory approach founded by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and advocated by Locke (2001) and Suddaby (2006). Grounded theory is described as a “practical method for conducting research that focuses on the interpretive process” accomplished by “analyzing the actual production of meanings and concepts used by social actors in real settings” (Suddaby, 2006 citing Gephart, 2004, p. 457). Suddaby decries researchers who cite the use of Grounded Theory as a pretext for

avoiding “close description or illumination of their methods” and this study provides high levels of detail in Chapter Four as to how data was collected, interpreted and analysed. It also provides descriptive detail of the researcher’s engagement with the field to illuminate Māori research principles in practice.

Using grounded theory in tourism research is valued for its responsiveness to context, and for its potential to achieve holistic, in-depth understandings of complex tourism phenomena (Jennings & Juneke, 2007). Grounded theory addresses Hardy’s (2005) observation of the limited attention given to the relationship between stakeholder analysis and sustainable tourism and Jennings and Juneke’s (2007) comments that grounded theory can reveal new understandings of concepts such as authenticity in tourism settings.

A weaving metaphor frames the holistic, in-depth case studies of four Māori cultural tourism businesses. The metaphor of a kete mātauranga, a basket of knowledge, is used to represent the emergent theory derived from content analysis of the field research. Each harakeke leaf (participant information) drawn from pā harakeke, the groups of flax (case study businesses), forms the basis of the metaphoric kete. Each harakeke leaf ultimately becomes an identifiable, integral, interwoven part of a whole complex of leaves known as the kete. Ensuring the integrity of each harakeke leaf (participant information) is maintained through the use of narrative to convey the voices of the participants and enliven their settings, and locating these narratives and discussions within a Māori worldview, allows the reader to also ‘see’ into the field. The whāriki, the woven mat, upon which the weaving of the metaphoric kete takes place, is the Māori worldview (Bishop, 1996), in response to the challenge by Jahnke and Soutar (2001) that Māori researchers should describe and explain the world in ways that make sense to Māori people.

As the investigations of this thesis progress, what constitutes a Māori cultural tourism business will evolve. For example, the discussion in Chapter Three of definitional issues, the descriptions in Chapter Four of the businesses, the symbolic representation of a Māori cultural tourism business in Chapter Five, and the setting out of practices and reflections

from the field in Chapters Six to Ten build up a comprehensive picture of Māori cultural tourism businesses, culminating in a detailed analysis in the conclusion of the key features of a ‘Pakihi’ (a Māori cultural tourism business). In the conclusion it is stated that Pakihi are ‘well-being creating’ across five dimensions (spiritual, cultural, social, environmental, economic), and this would be the definitional pou, stake, that an explanation would rally around. What actually constitutes well-being, mauri ora, is the conscious, reflexive engagement with the field of practice and its many communities, and a Māori worldview, notably the practice of values that emerge from that worldview.

What is important in this study is that it is not an attempt to define what is a Māori cultural business, rather, this study is a reflection of the field through the case narratives. These reflections are submitted to analytical enquiry through a transparent approach so that readers, academic and practitioner alike, can draw their own definitional possibilities. The twenty-five practices associated with the Five Well-beings map do not constitute a prescribed list of practices that must be fulfilled in order to be a Māori cultural tourism business. Practitioners especially are encouraged to reflexively engage with their own communities to create their own praxis within a Five Well-beings conceptualisation (and indeed they may add or delete well-beings according to their own reflexivity to the field).

Furthermore, it is important to note at this point, that the person writing this thesis and engaging upon a discussion on Māori worldviews is doing so from a deeply personal and subjective position. Assertions such as ‘Māori believe’ or ‘Māori view’ sit uncomfortably as one cannot purport to speak on behalf of all Māori, and not all Māori will agree with the points made. Additionally, the company narratives presented in this thesis arose from the views of individuals as they engage with cultural tourism, and these views cannot be said to be a representative view of Māori communities or other Māori in the tourism industry. That said, drawing on Mouly and Sankaran’s (1995) organisational ethnography of R&D teams, the Five Well-beings map forms “a defensible first step towards generalization of [these] findings from the study” (p. 125), in this case, of four Māori cultural tourism businesses.

## **1.5. Organisation of the thesis**

This thesis is organised across twelve chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the key ideas contained in this research. Chapter 2 discusses philosophical perspectives of tourism and identifies key issues surrounding authenticity and sustainability. Chapter 3 provides an historical account that demonstrates how many of the current problems in cultural tourism are a continuation of processes that began with European colonisation. Chapter 4 provides a comprehensive discussion on the research methodology and methods. Chapter 5 introduces the meta-themes emerging from the case studies and presents them in a theoretical framework derived from the field research. Chapters 6 to 10 present the empirical evidence for the practices that create authentic and sustainable well-being with each practice grounded in Māori literature in a ‘tell’ then ‘show’ format followed by a discussion of how the practice can help create authentic and sustainable well-being. Chapter 11 locates the defining characteristics of the theoretical framework in the wider literature. Chapter 12 sets out the conclusions, main contributions, and areas for future research.

## **1.6 Terminology and style notes to guide the reading of this thesis**

Different ownership forms and types of organisations were studied, all of whom I describe as ‘Māori cultural tourism businesses’ and are called pakihi, meaning Māori business, throughout this thesis.

Aotearoa is the ancient name of this country that came about when Kupe’s wife saw the North Island for the first time. New Zealand is a relatively recent name given by settler society. In this text I use: Aotearoa when referring to Māori conceptualisations of this country; Aotearoa New Zealand when discussing the country in an inclusive sense; and New Zealand when the discussion might centre on a topic or feature of life that Māori are likely to disagree with. For example, I used ‘New Zealand’ when explaining above that this country abstained from ratifying the Declaration of Indigenous Rights, because many

Māori would have ratified the Declaration (it has since been supported by the New Zealand Government) .

Translations are provided in the text when a Māori word appears, however, translations are not necessarily provided each time a word appears due to the repetitiveness of that approach. I have exercised discernment as to when to translate. A full glossary is provided in the preface.

When a Māori word or concept appears in this text it precedes the English interpretation, reflecting a commitment to grounding the study in Te Ao Māori, a Māori worldview. These translations are provided within the text when they occur, however, from time to time the English translation may appear in parentheses alongside the Māori word, particularly when using lists of words, terms, values, and concepts.

Citations of quotes from texts that use Māori words receive a macron, whether the original text featured a macron or not. The practice of putting a macron on all Māori words where appropriate reflects the University of Auckland Business School policy (cf. Henare) of enabling readers of Māori words to see how these words ought to be presented.

Narratives have been edited for reader ease with utmost care and diligence and any author-inserted words are in square brackets [ ].

Whilst the attributes discussed in this thesis are widely accepted by many Māori it must be acknowledged that not all iwi, hapu, whānau and individuals share these accounts of Māori reality. Māori are not all alike, and there is no one static way of describing them.



## CHAPTER TWO: PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVES OF CULTURAL TOURISM

### 2.1. Flatland

Edwin Abbott's (1884/1978) story of *Flatland* is instructive in metaphorically illustrating the key points explored in this chapter. *Flatland* is a society of creatures that inhabit a two-dimensional surface. These inhabitants cannot conceive of worlds beyond their two-dimensional experience. One day, however, a sphere enters *Flatland* and invites a square to consider the possibility of multiple dimensions. Given the limited dimensionality, the square is unable to fully recognise the sphere, let alone comprehend what the sphere is suggesting. In *Flatland* the square can only see the sphere as a circle; to the square, the sphere has no interior and no thickness. Because all inhabitants of *Flatland* exist on a two-dimensional plane, they cannot conceive of depth so when the sphere tells the square to go 'upward', not having any experience of upward, the square can only draw upon his familiar experience with a compass direction of 'northward'.

Eventually, the sphere takes the square out of *Flatland* into a three-dimensional world. Now the square can see directly what he had previously been unable to comprehend, he can see that his worldview was based on a reality experienced on a two-dimensional surface that was narrow and limited. Because of his experience beyond *Flatland* the square undergoes a transformation of consciousness and he is able to recognise the sphere for who he truly is.

To apply the story of *Flatland* to tourism, the tourist is the square who populates two-dimensional tourism spaces that offer a limited, narrow view of the worlds that are visited. Bauman (1997) and Cohen (1972) both capture the ethos of *Flatland* in their 'bubble' analogy, and in the following text from Bauman's reflections I have substituted 'bubble' with 'Flatland':

First and foremost [tourists] perform the feat of not belonging to the place they might be visiting; theirs is the miracle of being in and out of the same time ... It is as if each of them was enclosed in [Flatland] with tightly controlled osmosis; only such things as the occupant of [Flatland] admits may leak in, only such things as he or she allows to go, may seep out. (pp. 89-90)

Within these *Flatlands* Māori have been cast as a stereotype and the tourist as a prototype, neither fully comprehended. Māori, the local hosts, can be viewed as spheres, who in order to participate in tourism must enter the two-dimensional space (*Flatland*) constructed and controlled by the global marketplace. Tourism is an industrial system fettered to the neo-liberal “market ideology” which places overwhelming importance on tourism as an economic force (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006, p. 1193) wherein the power of the market has a grip over the whole range of cultural production, including cultural tourism (Hall et al., 1992). *Flatland* is used in this study to contrast the vitality of a relational Māori worldview that reflexively engages in reciprocal relationships with the natural world, each other, tūpuna, the ancestors and atua, the gods. Thus, a tourism *Flatland* is not some mythical other place, it conceptualises a ‘Western’ worldview which is based on Anglo-American industrial ontology. *Flatland* is a complex space that imposes a dominant framework upon a Māori worldview provoking both challenges and opportunities.

If tourists remain in the confines of tourism *Flatlands* they will achieve a very limited understanding of the places they visit and the people they encounter. If Māori can only participate in tourism on terms governed by the power of the market, then tourism can only ever achieve extremely limited results as a force for change and not fulfil its promise as a vehicle for peace and understanding between peoples (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006; McLaren, 2003). Given the industrial ontology of tourism *Flatlands* it is hardly surprising little evidence exists, as Robinson and Boniface (1999) suggest, that tourism has contributed in any meaningful way to international peace.

In this chapter I explore how cultural brokers<sup>3</sup> manufacture reified two-dimensional spaces through processes that negotiate the realities of a place in order to appeal to the consumptive appetites of tourists. The tourism production system manufactures micro-realities that are infused with certain compelling meanings that may come to epitomise the whole reality of a place and its people. The process of reification distorts relationships between people, and between people and place, until such relationships take on a ‘thing-like’ nature. Increasingly acculturated to reifying processes, authentic experiences become ever more individuated and a matter of personal internalisation.

Engaged, empathetic relationships where people genuinely seek to recognise each other through holistic participation with others and place seem no longer requisite for authentic tourism experiences. Bereft of meaningful relationships, the spiritual, cultural, social, and environmental worlds are becoming redundant to authentic experience as authenticity can be achieved entirely within the delimited, reified spaces of tourism *Flatlands*. Similarly, engaged, empathetic relationships fundamental to creating sustainable well-being are also distorted by the reifying tendencies in cultural tourism. Reality in its wholeness recedes behind a reified façade, a façade populated by characters that belong to no place in particular and exist only to service touristic selves besotted with their internal narrative.

Reification is linked, following Honneth (2008), to a loss of reciprocal relationships of respect, which can be restored through empathetic recognition of others and place. Māori values advance a relational view of the world that rests upon a profound commitment to developing reciprocal relationships of respect, in which the intrinsic worth of all aspects of creation is recognised. Unlike the Cartesian split of “I think therefore I am”, the worldview of Māori seeks to close gaps of separation, not promote separation, and the saying “I belong therefore I am” (Henare, 2004), holds greater validity, and could be extended to reflect the process of ‘I belong therefore I am, and so we become’. In a ‘belonging’ outlook, humans achieve authentic existence through relationships and multi-

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<sup>3</sup> A “cultural broker” is used by Adams (cited in Ateljevic & Doorne, 2002, p. 662). In the context of this study this term refers, for ease of reading purposes, to represent the “supply chain” comprised of travel agents, tour wholesalers, and bureaux that “represent” international tourists.

dimensional sustainability is likewise achieved through relationships between people, and between people and place. Tourism is more than an industry (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006) and can be a creator of well-being across many dimensions. Māori cultural tourism experiences have the potential to facilitate sites of well-being which promote relational recognition of the intrinsic worth of self, others, and place. In doing so, pathways for multi-dimensional sustainable well-being are created or, in other words, pathways out of *Flatland*.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine reification at a conceptual level and map the philosophical territory of tourism, before progressing in the next chapter to a more detailed analysis of how reification has affected Māori cultural tourism in particular. This chapter begins with an overview in section 2.2 of tourism production processes that induce reification, followed by a discussion of tourism literature on authenticity in section 2.3. The examination of authenticity highlights a rupture in relationships between self, others, and place wherein authenticity is not co-constituted but independently, individually self-constituted. The implications of de-coupling of authenticity from place and people, and from relationships of reciprocal recognition, are explored in the sections that follow.

I progress the position of this thesis in section 2.4 by questioning the concept of the sovereign individual. I develop the argument that “sovereign-individuals-turned-consumers” who inhabit the contemporary “*culture of consumption*” (Featherstone, 2007, p. 13) are the subject of, and subject to, rationalistic practices governed by materialistic objectives. The discussion advances the notion that the consumer, that is, the tourist, is merely the chooser of prescribed, manufactured realities and is deeply enmeshed in business logic, persuaded by the illusion of choice to an uncritical acceptance of status quo *Flatland* realities. In section 2.5 the notion of typologies is introduced, wherein people learn to recognise themselves and others through the lens of typology. The implications are then examined for another staple in the tourism diet, that of the ‘other’, the local hosts who, as shown in section 2.6, have been dissolved into a myriad choice of others, but an ‘other’ nonetheless. The reified other may no longer be solely limited to an

homogenised stereotype but remains as an incorrigible, yet now heterogeneous, other still conceived of in instrumental terms. The final section 2.7 explores how place can be rendered as inexorably substitutable, reduced to a typological tourism backdrop. Reifying tendencies can deny genuine interpersonal recognition and reduce people, and place, to mere types.

The consequence of these explorations of economic, social, and environmental reification exposes that, in the *Flatlanding* of tourism realities, tourists may not authentically experience anything other than, at best, a reverberation of their own worldview. Tourism *Flatlands* compromise the tourists' capacity to have a fully conscious understanding of cultural tourism offerings because they do not leave the constructed realities of *Flatland*. Tourism *Flatlands* likewise compromise the hosts' ability to appear holistically (as a sphere). The bearings of tourism *Flatlands* are oriented in modern business transactional terms and in that world spheres are two-dimensional circles and there is only one direction: economic growth.

## **2.2. Reifying realities**

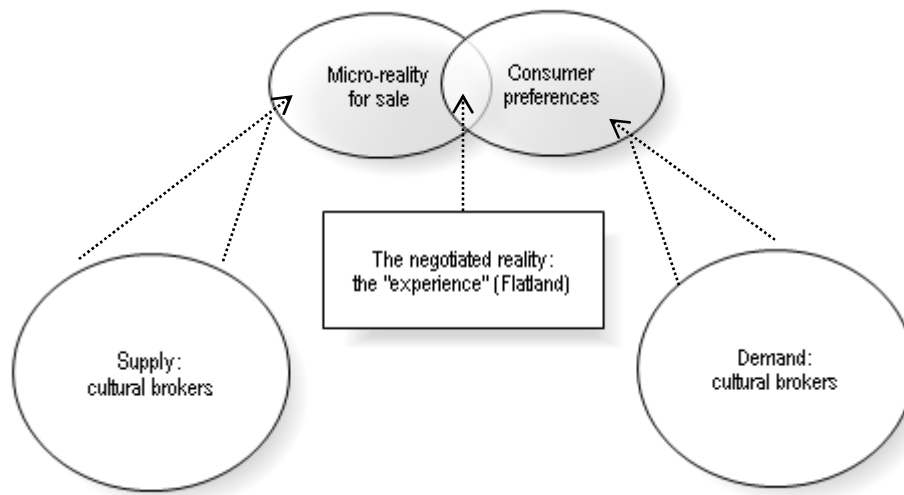
In manufacturing a tourism destination for sale, the 'realities' of a place are inspected, assessed, and re-produced as a series of micro-realities. According to the promotional logic of tourism, countries are "invited to produce, affirm and label itself with an identity in the form of an affirmation of itself on behalf of ... tourists, who project onto their hosts their own demands, motivations, and wants" (Lanfant, Allcock, & Bruner, 1995, p. 32). Cultural brokers project a host society comprised of a "fabric of meanings" (Lanfant et al., 1995, p. 21) and, consequently, tourists are attracted to a destination not "because of the destination per se ... but because of their perceptions of what that destination has to offer" (Collier, 2003, p. 20). Places, talent, and products are selected and combined in certain ways that will have some necessary meaning for a potential customer, the tourist, and must be compelling enough that tourists will want to purchase that perceived 'reality'.

In taking a ‘total’ reality as the cultural broker views it, the reality of a place is deconstructed, interpreted, and put back together as an assemblage, portraying what the cultural broker considers an ideal representation. How reality is represented is premised upon what the cultural tourism broker believes will be compelling enough to sell to particular tourists, based on their expert market knowledge often obtained through sophisticated surveying techniques. It is a systematic re-construction and re-arrangement of the ‘truths’ of a place as they are situated in moments of inspection.

Tourism representations, or micro-realities, are achieved, therefore, by objectifying the place (or places) and its people, deconstructing them, and then re-creating segments of that reality and putting them on sale. These micro-realities are transformed into images or signs (Cohen, 1987; Baudrillard, 1988) in the form of marketing collateral, including photos, texts, podcasts, videos, websites, and CD ROMs. Reality in its wholeness is carved up into purchasable micro-realities, which are transferred to brochure racks and websites around the globe.

The tourism production process is an ongoing manufacturing of projected, fragmented micro-realities, infused with certain compelling meanings that may come to epitomise the whole reality of a place and its people. Berger and Luckmann (1967) argue, “as soon as an objective social world is established, the possibility of reification is never far away” (p. 106). These realities, endowed with a material existence of their own, are what Whitehead (1926/1938) calls a “fallacy of misplaced concreteness” (p. 66), or reification.

Figure 1 provides an illustration of how realities are reified through tourism production processes. On the demand side, consumers and their mediators, the cultural brokers, submit their preferences to the marketplace. On the supply side, local hosts and cultural brokers assemble aspects of reality designed to appeal to these consumer preferences.



**Figure 1: Negotiated realities**

During the process of assembling the negotiated reality, which is comprised of abstracted images and projected preferences, a false impression of reality can be constructed. According to Lanfant et al. (1995), tourists and hosts may be engaged in a “process of reciprocal misconstruction” and locals are asked to present a tradition, or preserve a purity to fulfil tourist expectations (p. 36). Reality is fragmented to comply with tourist preferences (Urry, 2002). The reality of people and place can become a mere mirror of the aggregated, reified desires of tourists wherein “the Other reflected back to them is their own imaginary projection” (Bruner, 1991, p. 244). Accordingly, tourist expectations can insist upon the construction of illusions that are then mistaken for reality, as Boorstin (1962) evocatively stated:

We tyrannize and frustrate ourselves by expecting more than the world can give us or than we can make of the world. We demand that everyone who talks to us, or writes for us, or takes pictures for us, or makes merchandise for us, should live in our world of extravagant expectations. We expect this even of the peoples of foreign countries. We have become so accustomed to our illusions that we mistake them for reality. We demand them. And we demand that there be always more of them, bigger and better and more vivid. They are the world of our making : the world of the image. (p. 17)

In the constructed world of image, some postmodern theorists, suggests Macleod (2006), are now “unconcerned with issues of authenticity, which are anachronistic” and they posit a new vision of the world, one that is “simultaneously real and inauthentic and the traditional boundaries that existed between the real and the fake have dissolved” (p. 181). What are the implications of the ‘new’ world for a Māori approach to cultural tourism? Have so-called traditional boundaries, between real and inauthentic dissolved? Is there an irredeemable dissolution of relationships with the natural world, and of relationships with each other, with the tūpuna, the ancestors, with the atua, the gods? The answers to these questions are a consequence of the resistance and response by Māori, and are presented and explained in later chapters. Meanwhile, in the following section I explore this ‘new’ authenticity further.

### **2.3. The de-coupling of authenticity**

The concept of authenticity has been well mined and a milieu of authenticities has emerged, pervading tourism literature with typologies including: false-back authenticity which takes tourists to the back regions where ‘real’ life away from tourism occurs (MacCannell, 1973); distanced authenticity wherein authenticity can be achieved “even when the event is staged in a place far away from the original source of the cultural tradition” (Chhabra, Healy, & Sills, 2003, p. 702); historical authenticity which equates authenticity to an origin in time (Wang, 1999); primitive authenticity where native populations “act-primitive-for-others” (MacCannell, 1992), which is closely associated with “natural state” authenticity where non-western cultures thrive within “natural habitats” (J. Taylor, 2001). Cohen (1979) classified modes of authenticity into: the recreational tourist who adopts an entertainment-seeking approach to authenticity; the diversionary tourist who is seeking to escape routine and boredom in a “meaningless” fashion and, like the recreational tourist, is unconcerned with issues of authenticity; the experiential tourist who seeks to re-enchant themselves vicariously in the lives of others; the experimental tourist who experiments with a range of others and is the perpetual



“seeker”; and the existential tourist who seeks answers in other cultures, and ultimately makes a “switch” to inhabit the other.

The theorising produced by Moscardo and Pearce (1999), Wang (1999, 2000), and Wang (2007), contains insights regarding authenticity that are of particular interest to this study. Wang (1999, 2000) charted authenticity, as it occurs in tourism, into three core types. The first type is object-related authenticity and is concerned with toured objects. The second is constructivist, which is a constituted relationship between what tourists and travel agents project onto toured objects in terms of their own beliefs, expectations, and preferences. Wang’s conceptualisation of authenticity resonates with Moscardo and Pearce (1999) who argue that authenticity of a tourism setting is not tangible but is a judgment or value projected by the tourist. The third authenticity in Wang’s (1999) theorising is existential authenticity, which refers to an authenticated state of being when individuals are true to themselves in the sense of discovering their authentic self.

Existential authenticity is not necessarily constituted with object-related authenticity: the individual does not require a tourist site, object, or event in order to have an authentic experience. Wang (1999, 2000) suggests that the non-reliance on the authenticity of objects provides a more powerful explanation of a tourist experience. Wang (2007) argues the case for “customized authenticity”, a state that can even be experienced in “overtly staged or constructed” contexts (p. 789). These conjectures propose that ‘being true to oneself’ is the source of authenticity.

A conclusion drawn from this theorising is that authenticity has become highly individualised, internalised, and achievable independent of object, context, or relationship. The contemporary mode of authenticity theorising has been critiqued by C. Taylor (1991/2003), because, he argues, it builds on earlier forms of individualism and disengaged rationality promulgated by philosophers such as Descartes and Locke. C. Taylor explains that even Rousseau and Herder, who both aspired to encourage linkages with communities and nature, nevertheless also promulgated an individualised notion of

authenticity whereby to be authentic a person turns inward and follows their own inner voice, resolutely seeks to be original, and resists conformity.

Contemporary authenticity has come to be understood in a way that centres on the self and people are increasingly distanced from meaningful relationships wherein it is surmised that the tourist's construction of what constitutes 'meaningful' occurs in a reified space detached from the peoples of a place, and the place itself. Yet, as the empirical chapters show, many tourists engaging with Māori seek to reflexively connect and, not only understand a Māori worldview, but also come to understand themselves and be transformed by their experience. In contrast to the theorising of authenticity above, the search for meaningful relationships concurs with C. Taylor (1991/2003) who argues that there is a misunderstanding that meaningful relationships such as those with history, nature, and society are less important, less significant, than the pursuit of self-fulfilment. According to C. Taylor, relationships matter very much. Without relationships people become increasingly atomised, anthropocentric, and even narcissistic, and adopt an instrumental view towards their communities, nature, and the past. In the instrumental state, "horizons of meaning" are weakened and, if people lose a sense of meaning and belonging to a wider web of relationships which recognise and affirm identity, then the world loses intrinsic value:

In a flattened world, where the horizons of meaning become fainter, the ideal of self-determining freedom comes to exercise a more powerful attraction. (p. 69)

The postmodern twist in tourism authenticity theorising begins to look like *Flatland*, a flattened world in which, as C. Taylor (1991/2003) suggests, inhabitants forsake and forget what gives authenticity meaning: that is, meaningful relationships with others, including the past, and nature.

If meaningful relationships are supposedly not requisite to an experience of the authentic, as is proposed in recent tourism theorising, what then are the implications for sustainability approaches that advocate a holistic, intimate, and relational view of the

world? With this question in mind, the economic terrain of tourism *Flatlands* are examined in the next sections to better understand the context in which tourism participants are seeking to provide, and receive, authentic and sustainable experiences.

#### **2.4. A question of sovereignty**

One of the problems in the misconstruction of tourism realities is an often unquestioned logic that demand determines supply. As previously noted, tourism realities are modeled upon customer perceptions, expectations, and desires. The tourist is the ‘sovereign consumer’ whose satisfactions must be fulfilled, which is of course paradoxical as very few have any deep understanding of what a Māori worldview experience actually is. The purpose of this section is to highlight that the tourist as a ‘sovereign consumer’, upon whose choice these realities are constructed, is persuaded by dubious practices that mediate choice so as to make notions of informed choice highly questionable.

An embedded tenet of tourism is that customer satisfaction is an economic imperative. Collier (2003) advises, “probably the most critical factor which will determine the nature of the product(s) offered to the tourist is tourist demand. For any business to succeed, regardless of nature, it must meet or cater to defined consumer needs” (p. 39). Failure to live up to expectations, he says, may result in litigation either against the local tour operator or the cultural broker who sold the tour. Sir John Egan (as cited in Collier, 2003), CEO of the British Airport Authority, noted, “in working for customer satisfaction, the customer is the final arbiter of success” (p. 27). The majority of tourism undertakings include a process of matching supply to demand whereupon “supply components should be created or modified to match consumer demand and not vice versa” (Collier, 2003, p. 40). Krippendorf (1989) notes the entrenched belief of customer power in tourism processes that locals must adapt to the market:

The locals are given to understand that they have to conform to the market, i.e., the requirements of the tourist trade and tourists if they want to get on the bandwagon. All this, of course, is in perfect agreement with a basic principle of marketing: produce what sells. It is the locals then, who must adapt to tourists and not the other way around. (p. 45)

According to the logic of tourism, the 'sovereign consumer' expresses their preferences and exercises their free will through choice and the market responds to the patterns of choice. Anderson's (2006) observations of the recent global consumer market highlight a shift from the era of "one-size fits all" to a "market of multitudes" (p. 5). Building on Raymond Williams' (1958) pronouncement, there are no masses per se, only ways of seeing people as masses, Anderson suggests that the market of multitudes represents not so much a fragmentation but a "re-forming along different dimensions" (p. 191). According to Andersson-Cederholm and Hultman (2006), "experiential notions of authenticity open up endless variations of the tourist product" (p. 302). The "market of multitudes" and the opening up of "endless variations" may be problematic in what Schwartz (2004) describes as debilitating, even tyrannizing, "endless choice". Whilst having no choice may be "unbearable" a multitude of choices, he says, is not necessarily liberating either:

... as the number of choices keeps growing, negative aspects of having a multitude of options begin to appear. As the number of choices grows further, the negatives escalate until we become overloaded. At this point, choice no longer liberates, but debilitates. It might even be said to tyrannize. (Schwartz, 2004, p. 2)

Instead of creating meaning in lives, this tyranny of endless choice can consign humans to inhabiting a "flattened world" devoid of meaningful choices accompanied by a loss of critical choices. In this flattened world (*Flatland*) says C. Taylor (1991/2003) people may learn to conceive of themselves as atomised without need for sympathetic engagement with the wider community. Without such meaningful relationships, life choices may each be rendered with equal value, and thus choice becomes meaningless and authentically trivial.

The loss of meaningful choices opens up opportunities for manipulating meaning to gain control of consumer choice. A “*culture of consumption*” (Featherstone, 2007, p. 13) has become pervasive, and Ateljevic and Doorne (2002) posit that class differentiation, previously based on the political and economic capital of production, has given way to consumption-based classes of the global cultural economy. The shift to consumption-based classes signifies, they argue in a later work (Doorne, Ateljevic, & Bai, 2003), that heterogeneity is redefining homogeneity (p. 9). Within the ‘new’ milieu of heterogeneity, cultural brokers are faced with an intensifying need to eliminate the risks inherent in consumer choice.

Increasingly, the tourist economy is less about people and resources but is one of “managing meaning” (Godbey, 2004, p. 8) to gain control of choice, and prominent in tourism is the attributing, and consuming, of symbolic meaning (Ateljevic, 1998). Managing meaning includes persuading the consumer, and to persuade the customer is to know the customer, and reflects processes, that Morgan and Pritchard (as cited in Ateljevic & Doorne, 2002) describe as “grounded in relations of power, dominance, and subordination which characterize the global system” (p. 649). In mature capitalist economies, knowledge and the application of it, has come to represent the locus of economic power and advantage (Foucault, 1972; Godbey, 2004; Strange, 1994) and in these economies supposedly sovereign consumers struggle to retain true sovereignty.

The rational, autonomous, self-conscious and indivisible sovereign individual of John Locke (1690), endowed with a continuity of consciousness, appears as a tentative proposition in today’s culture of consumption. Is the tourist-as-sovereign-consumer truly exercising choice through free will, or has the tourist-as-sovereign-consumer disappeared into a morass of innumerable discursive devices that expand yet ever sublate critical choice? Are the realities of tourism continuously and more intensively being reformed to the extent that ‘sovereign choice’ is moribund?

In contemporary culture, the so-called ‘sovereign individual’ is regarded as both subject of and subject to modernity. The sovereign individual is the subject of reason, knowledge

and practice and, yet, is simultaneously subjected to these processes (see Hall et al., 1992, cf. Foucault). Tourists, as sovereign consumers, endowed with a deep belief in the rationality of their own choices, bear the consequences of endless efforts by economic actors to use rationalistic practices to gain control of choice. The sovereign consumer, at the centre of knowledge-manufacturing processes, is, therefore, both the subject of, and subjected to, highly refined rationalistic techniques.

In tourism, choice can be controlled through reconfiguring reality and appealing to the aggregated 'pulse' of the target market, and this appeal is accomplished via persuasive communication techniques. To know the customer entails extracting relevant aspects of information regarding customer preferences, with a view to reflecting them back to the customer, arranged in appealing packages for consumption. Discourse, Foucault (1972) detected, was the real power behind forms of domination, including through the classifications of science and scientific discourse that reify (see also Bullock & Trombley, 2000).

Knowledge manufacturing practices using positivistic methods such as statistics, quantitative classifications and measurement, focus on aspects of risk in order to control choice. Foucault's (1972) examination of power revealed that objectification of the 'subject' can take various forms - perhaps the most pervasive being what he called "dividing practices". Ewen (1976) studied the rising of knowledge systems within business and observed that:

Beyond standing at the helm of the industrial machines, businessmen understood the social nature of their hegemony. They looked to move beyond their nineteenth-century characterization as captains of industry toward a position in which they could control the entire social realm. They aspired to become captains of consciousness. (p. 19)

The captains of consciousness moved behind a veil of imagery, an ephemeral world, leaving as their front-person the brand, a negotiated reality and carefully cultivated illusion arrived at through rationalistic marketing methods melded with psychological interpretations - a discursive set that drills deep into the social fabric to reflexively

engage the consumer with their own wants, needs, and desires. In this world of abstracted symbolism sustained reflexively by modernist consumers, the sovereign consumer can be said to become a chooser of goods, not necessarily a critic of consumerism. The lack of critical examination accords with the argument of Ateljevic and Doorne (2002) that "... hegemony is maintained by consent and coercion, rather than by domination" (p. 651) a state in which Bruner (1991) notes, the "hegemonic is always striving" (p. 242). The hegemonic narratives of tourism strive to persuade consumers to purchase 'their' reality.

Persuasion of the consumer comes at a price, and is a price that companies and governments are willing to pay so their tourism products and attendant realities are preferred. International tourism is the world's largest export earner and represents approximately 11.8% of total global exports in 2006. The World Tourism Organization<sup>4</sup> predicts that international tourist arrivals will grow by an average of 4.1% annually to 2020. Cultural tourism is being highlighted as a strong growth sector for the tourism industry globally and accounts for 37% of all tourist trips. Globally, government expenditure on the Travel and Tourism industries was expected to total 3.8% of total spending, and forecast to grow to 4% in 2016. Capital investment by the private and public sectors was estimated to be 9.3% in 2006, growing to 9.6% by 2016 (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2006).

Given the scale of global tourism, government agencies and corporations have a significant vested interest in the persuasive marketing of tourism realities. Sovereign choice becomes a highly suspect concept when one considers the enormous resources deployed to persuade consumers, underscored by a "profit-driven approach to tourism publicity" (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2002, p. 658). Finding out what is extant in the market means putting it there through highly sophisticated marketing methods informed by 'knowing' the population.

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<sup>4</sup> The World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) is a United Nations' agency dealing with issues relating to tourism.

## **2.5. A typology of the tourist**

Habituated to the commodity mode of exchange, people relate in utility terms and situate themselves in reified relationship with others, and with the environment. The commodity mode of exchange is not the only form of exchange and Biggart and Delbridge (2004) have theorised other forms such as the associative, communal, and moral modes, and Henare (1994, 2003) has theorised an economy of affection specifically with regard to a Māori mode of exchange.

Lukács (1923/1971) argued that reification takes place under the pervasive influence of capitalism, wherein relationships between people “take on the character of a thing and this acquires a ‘phantom objectivity’” (p. 83). For Lukács, then, reification is symptomatic of a totalising rationality that distorts relationships through commodity exchange mediation, and is highly seductive in that it “seems so strictly relational and all-embracing” (p. 83). Consequently, people may deduce relationships in terms of rational calculation of benefit. The cultural, social, and environmental dimensions of life, and even personal characteristics, come to take on the same ‘thing-like’ quality as commodities, rendered in the same objectified and detached terms, and readily available for instrumentalisation (see also Honneth, 2008, pp. 22-25). Given these reifying circumstances, people may learn to recognise themselves, others, and the environment, predominantly through the lens of a typology.

Laying the blame for reification squarely upon the shoulders of capitalism, however, is found insufficient in terms of Honneth’s (2008) argument that reification occurs not as an economically induced phenomenon but from a failure to recognise others and engage in relationships of reciprocal respect. Kohn (2009) agrees with Honneth in surmising, “all forms of reification cannot be explained by the capitalist economy” (p. 311). She points out that not only did pre-modern societies objectify but there are also examples in contemporary society of forms of exploitation and misrecognition that cannot be attributed entirely to economic processes.



Honneth's pursuit of re-defining reification as a loss of recognition of others and place, supports the conceptual development of my argument wherein reification signifies a loss to authentic and sustainable well-being. Honneth (2008) seeks to expose reification "as an atrophied or distorted form of a more primordial and genuine form of praxis, in which humans take up an empathetic and engaged relationship toward themselves and their surroundings" (p. 27). Owen (2008) extends Honneth's deliberations and opens up a new area for inspection wherein "reification consists in (mis)construing recognition entirely in typological terms" and the opportunity to experience "genuine interpersonal recognition" is denied (p. 582). In Honneth's view then, people have 'forgotten' how to empathetically engage with each other because of misplaced praxis, which helps induce reification. Consequently, in Owen's view, people may become acculturated to treating each other, and themselves, merely as a 'type' of person.

Recognising people through the lens of a type is rife in tourism and reveals the highly calculative, commoditised nature of relationships. Building on the earlier discussion of rationalistic, knowledge-acquiring techniques, information gathered about tourists often targets aspects of a person. For example, The Ministry of Tourism for New Zealand describes how they 'constructed' their target market, the "Interactive Traveller©", through information gathered that includes ethnicity, country of origin, age, gender, how people feel about an issue, and purchasing preferences (Ministry of Tourism, 2007). These aspects are then separated into cells of data which can be drawn upon, not in their entirety necessarily, but in respect of their usefulness to the goal at hand, and these aspects make up an aggregated 'profile'. The re-constructed information is transformed into a way of 'knowing' the population, premised upon rationalistic measurement and calculative practices, and is used to determine, for example, an aggregate of tourists' likely 'attitude' (both now and in the future) or an aggregate of their 'class'.

Information gathered about people-turned-tourist becomes a particular form of knowledge that is manipulable, calculable, and reducible to a multiplicity of aspects based on why and for whom the manufactured knowing is required, pertaining to the usefulness of aggregated tourists to a desired goal (cf. Foucault, 1972). Humans

themselves become reified, no longer people but objects, aggregated into typologies and re-assembled as a 'target market'. In short, the human being has become a 'type of tourist'.

Tourism discourse abounds with tourist typologies. The World Tourism Organisation (as cited in Collier, 2003, p. 7) has classified travellers into traveller, visitor, tourist, and excursionist categories, within each of which are sub-classes. Typologies are even trademarked, such as the aforementioned target market for New Zealand, the "Interactive Traveller©" (Tourism New Zealand, 2007b, December). Other frequently encountered typologies are eco-tourists, adventure tourists, wine and food lovers, heritage lovers, package tour tourists, cruise tourists, gay tourists, new age tourists, representing a prototyping of every conceivable type of tourist. Cultural tourism typologies include McKercher's (2002) oft-cited five types of cultural tourists: the purposeful; the sightseeing; the casual; the serendipitous, and the incidental cultural tourist.

In contemporary online culture, including tourism, there is now "crowd sourcing", where consumers self-assemble into their own typologies, adopting prescribed identifications depending on their interests, with consumer peer reviews to influence choice (Anderson, 2006, p. 219). Such developments may, at first glance, herald new-found consumer sovereignty, empowered by a belief that they are autonomous agents of free choice, the aforementioned sovereign consumer. However, if there has indeed been a fundamental deviation of recognition, of which typologising is symptomatic, as Honneth (2008) and Owen (2008) have argued, "crowd sourcing" may well be an intensification of the typologising phenomenon.

## **2.6. Dissolving 'others'**

Just as the human has dissolved into aggregated tourist typologies and become enmeshed in a tyranny of choice delimited by the boundaries of consumerism, what then of the 'other' that was once a central character in tourism's story? Has the 'other' been liberated

from being “constructed by hegemonic voices” as the “object of knowledge” and the “salve [of] conscience” (Spivak & Gunew, 1993, pp. 195, 196, 198)? Have the compelling arguments of Said (1978/1995), Ateljevic and Doorne (2002), and J. Taylor (2001), wherein colonialism shaped the West’s view of others through tourism’s creation and recreation of myths and stereotypes, now dissipated with the arrival of an existential authenticity that does not need to feed off the ‘other’? Said (1978/1995) provided a compelling argument in his critique of Orientalism, exposing the relationship between the West and the Orient ‘other’ as an exercise in a form of power linked to the monopolisation of resources and group conflict, which in this study is associated with tourists, cultural brokers, and governments.

The redundancy of the ‘other’ may seem to be a good development as ‘othering’ processes have long been derided. Said (1978/1995) is a notable critic of how the impaling of the ‘other’s’ identity was conducted in order to distinguish oneself, often in an exemplary way, by contrasting oneself to another, or recovering a past lost through modernity (see also Doorne et al., 2003; Hall, 2005; MacCannell, 1973, 1992; Taylor, 2001). The ‘other’, I suggest, is not so much redundant, as ever more subtly welded into discursive identities. The ‘new other’ has detonated into shards of heterogeneous cultural identities, and is re-bonded together by a commodity glue. The endless choice of ‘others’ falsely reassures the consumer, who may mistakenly subscribe to a belief in their own hegemony, that they have liberated the ‘other’ from their homogenous overcoat, seemingly evidenced by a corresponding increase in heterogeneous ‘others’. For example, Tourism New Zealand (2010) advise that “although the traditional aspects such as kapa haka [performance] remain important parts of Māori life - and tourism - today there is a much wider range of tourism products that incorporate a Māori element”. Thus, whilst the shedding of the homogenous overcoat is welcome, it is important to be mindful that an increase in ‘Māori product’ continues to largely occur within a commodity exchange *Flatland* paradigm whereupon market demand, heavily influenced by those in control of resources, determines the nature of supply.

The way in which destinations project multiple identities onto the global marketplace is a reflection of mature capitalist economies, whereby a consumerist-based culture has intensified, and tourism consumption is deeply embedded in these processes (Featherstone, 1990, 1995). Building on the earlier discussion that heterogeneity is redefining homogeneity (Doorne et al., 2003), the beguiling heterogeneity of tourism offerings is implicit in Ioannides and Debbage's (1998) observation of major wholesalers, who, seeking to minimise risk, "rarely practice drastic product differentiation. Rather, any new product they decide to adopt is likely to be an adaptation of an existing theme" (p. 141). They also note that, in order to reduce risks, tour operators promote holiday types in such a way that destinations are substitutable with each other in order for the operator to maintain profits by eliminating dependency on any particular destination.

The way in which a "cultural framework" influences tourism was described by MacCannell (1992) as a cultural-economic framework that "finds aggressive attempts to universalize *exchange value* to the exclusion of all other values" (p. 169). Biggart and Delbridge (2004) have emphasised that the Anglo-American-style economies are organised around the price system of exchange wherein "strangers compete primarily on price (or quality as a proxy for price)" (p. 36). In the price system of exchange actions are generally motivated by self-interest and are largely unaffected by social or moral considerations. The dominance of the economy in tourism has been emphasised by numerous commentators (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2002; Barnett, 1997; Gee, Makens, & Choy, 1997; Hall, 2005; Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006; Krippendorf, 1989; MacCannell, 1992; Sharpley, 1995/2003; Yuan, 2001) and as Ioannides and Debbage (1998) have highlighted, price is of paramount importance in tourism.

*Flatland* is the global marketplace and what remain unchanged are the habits of consumption and the economic-cultural paradigm in which business occurs. Whilst there are more and more variations of *Flatland*, they are economic, profit-dominated *Flatlands* nonetheless. The 'other' knocks on the door of *Flatland* and instead of being seen as a multi-dimensional sphere is perceived as a flat circle with no interiority. The other is still not comprehended as a sphere. 'Otherisation' remains an endemic part of the reification

process (Adams & Markus, 2001; Said, 1978/1995). In the discussion so far I have highlighted how reification has induced a context whereby individuals come to believe the only reliable relationship is the one they have with themselves, and even this relationship with self, incessantly mediated by economic persuasion, is cast into doubt.

## **2.7. Perceptions of place**

Whereas many Indigenous peoples view nature as kin and appreciate the intrinsic value of nature, many people in Western societies, however, have been influenced by the philosophical separation of nature and society since the 17<sup>th</sup> Century. The human relationship with the environment, once seen as indissoluble, ruptured and nature became externalised, objectified, and a thing to be dominated (Hughes, 1995; Lash & Urry, 1994). In the externalised, separated view, nature is widely understood in terms of instrumental value.

Honneth (2008) argues the relationship with the natural world has also suffered the same disjuncture in relationships as those between people (p. 61). He suggests, however, unlike the reification that refers to relationships between people, relations with nature are considered reified in an “indirect or derivative sense of the term” (p. 63). Unwilling to “abandon the idea of reification of nature completely”, Honneth proposes that the “recognitional conditions of human interaction be extended to our dealings with the natural world” (p. 64). Owen (2008), drawing on a typological mode of explaining reification, argues that the same reifying processes that produce human typologies also occur with regard to nature, and results in a loss of appreciation of intrinsic value:

... when we reflect that to construe the character and value of our relationship to nature as, in principle, fully specifiable in terms of classificatory systems (e.g., of types of sunset) is equally to fail to attend to, or be capable of comprehending, the experience of our relationship to nature in its expressive singularity as a source of intrinsic value. (p. 582)

The failure to recognise the intrinsic value of nature, and the disconnection with a relational worldview, has implications for the philosophy, practice, and experience of authenticity and sustainability. The importance of place as intrinsic to authentic experiences has dissolved, according to Andersson-Cederholm & Hultman (2006). They posit a theory of experiential authenticity, whereby:

... the actual nature that is the setting for the experience could be anywhere in the world, as long as it has a local flavour and is represented as being far from modern society – at least in a discursive sense, if not a geographical one. (p. 299)

In this fracture, nature is instrumentalised, objectified, and typologised as a substitutable brand of place that exists discursively. In Andersson-Cederholm and Hultman's (2006) view, "people of Origin are important, but the local nature and culture in question could be localised anywhere in the world" (p. 299). It is not the place that is important, they suggest, but the sense of place, and how place is packaged for consumption:

... place might not be the most important aspect of nature experiences. Instead, it is the way in which experiences are discursively constructed and packaged that matters most for tourists' appreciation of nature. (p. 298)

The disconnection from physical space, whereby place becomes a discursive construct, is significant for experiential notions of authenticity and sustainability. Andersson-Cederholm and Hultman (2006) argue that the shift from nature as "place" to nature as "globalised locality" (p. 293) can relieve environmental pressure on place by moving away from the connection to physical place. They reason that disconnection to physical place means less vulnerability due to the disarray caused by environmental impacts. The disconnection also offers increased risk mitigation for tour operators in that they are less dependent on a physical place that has been destroyed, for example, through global environmental climate change.

In the touristic version of 'nature', places are crafted and imbued with a host of images, feelings and experiences; recognised and appreciated primarily for their underlying

economic value. “What can now be discerned”, say Andersson-Cederholm and Hultman (2006), “is the formation of new touristic discourses and practices related to nature, whereby tourism operators are in the process of situating nature in a new global cultural economy” (p. 301). Cultural brokers imbue meaning upon nature “and this meaning is transformed into cash flows through tourist practices” (p. 295). The predominant rationale, then, for the decoupling of tourism experience from ‘dependency’ on place is to ensure profit is protected under the pretext of protecting place.

Paradoxically, discursive place supposedly protects physical place by forsaking a relationship so tourism can continue despite the impacts of global environmental change. Place, like the ‘other’, has become reified, and assembled into a multitude of discursive sets that, strangely and paradoxically, exist beyond place. According to Hughes (1995), nature has ruptured upon two lines: the scientific and the politico-economic. Such ruptures, he argues, “fragment the wholeness of qualitative human experience” and in the objectifying constructions of economic interests, “even the experiential character of tourist interaction with the landscape is reduced to defining land as a ‘tourism resource’” (p. 53). As a medium of experience, ‘authenticity’ in this discourse does not require a relationship with place in particular, and nature as ‘sustainable’ is left for management by science.

Also rendered as a medium of experience, nature becomes a vicarious backdrop. In this reified domain, the places of nature have become “soul-less”, says Relph (1976), signifying a movement towards “placelessness” - spaces that are devoid of any local meaning or indigenous culture. The individuals who consume the soul-less spaces, he proposes, are culturally and authentically impoverished, unable to form empathetic relationships with place, and its people, and are distanced from the ancestors of place and from ancient traditions. These soul-less places are tourism *Flatlands*.

## 2.8. Conclusion

The concept of reification explored in this chapter has revealed how relationships between people, and between people and place are distorted through the reifying tendencies in the tourism production system. Authentic experiences appear to be increasingly individualised, personalised, and internalised. The distortion of relationships through reifying processes also affected notions of sustainability, compromising people's full recognition and understanding of each other and nature. Using the metaphor of *Flatland*, I exposed a number of key points to establish a basis for progressing towards a deeper understanding in upcoming chapters of how Māori cultural tourism businesses create authentic and sustainable well-being.

The discussion on reifying processes in tourism showed how tourism spaces are pervaded by abstracted realities that come to represent a place and its people, offering limited dimensionality of experience. In reifying reality in this way, the implications for what now constitutes an authentic experience were explored, highlighting the seemingly separate, disconnected nature of existential authenticity. The understanding that object, place, and others may not be requisite for an authentic experience also raised implications for sustainability approaches, which, I maintain, is based upon a relational outlook that encourages empathy and reciprocity of respect.

The limited dimensionality of *Flatland* also illustrated another key point of this chapter; that direction is limited and there is often only one direction in tourism *Flatlands*; economic growth. The pervasiveness of economic logic can lead people to conceive of themselves, others, and place in predominantly instrumental terms, revealing the élitist, hierarchical nature of *Flatland*. Abbott (1884/1978) intended his work to critique the inhibitive class structure of Victorian England. The ethos of his critique is brought to bear upon modern economic realities, where the consumer - a square (a prototype) - is not as sovereign as is perhaps widely accepted, and the 'other', the local host - a circle (a



stereotype) - enters *Flatland* on strictly economic terms. In this reified world, neither the circle nor the square can be recognised in a multi-dimensional manner.

Abbott (1884/1978) hoped to inspire people to take a multi-dimensional view of each other and his story raises questions about the nature of recognition. He encouraged a transformation of consciousness, as the narrator (the square) in his story explains:

Yet I exist in the hope that these memoirs, in some manner, I know not how, may find their way to the minds of humanity in Some Dimension, and may stir up a race of rebels who shall refuse to be confined to limited Dimensionality. (p. 107)

“One of the most powerful forms of protest is to capture a space and transform it into something else” says Māori economic activist Tuiono (as cited in Bargh, 2007, p. 128). Honneth’s (2008) argument, that reification represents a loss of reciprocal, empathetic recognition of others, offers a pathway out of *Flatland* and a challenge for Māori cultural tourism operators to offer transformed spaces.

Through fully recognising self, other, and place, a relational outlook is cultivated that resonates with Indigenous perspectives that stresses kinship with all of creation (Cajete, 2000; Marsden, 2003; Royal, 2002). A relational view, whilst not disregarding that colonisation is a reality for Indigenous peoples, suggests Royal (2002), recognises that ontological and epistemological unification with the natural world is what truly unites Indigenous peoples (p. 29). Ultimately, this is a “spiritual exchange”, a deep belief in what Cajete (as cited in Royal, 2002) calls “co-evolution”: that humans did not evolve only in relationship to each other, but that all entities co-evolved together in spiritual exchange (p. 64). Cajete’s view aligns with a multi-dimensional “woven universe” as described by Marsden (2003), in contrast to an enmeshed world, where individuals are deeply embedded in rationalistic, materialistic economic logic.

Adopting a multi-dimensional and multi-contextual process reflects the active search that many Indigenous peoples have begun for a creative paradigm which is more in-line with their cultural and spiritual ethos. Cajete (2000) calls for changes in response to a crisis of

sustainability, which he attributes to the global application of a predilection for an unfettered “progress” with little regard for social, cultural, and ecological consequences. He suggests that the development of this knowledge be guided by spirituality, ethical relationship, mutualism, reciprocity, respect, restraint, a focus on harmony, and an acknowledgement of interdependence. Indigenous science, he argues, is a tool and a body of knowledge that may be integrated with ‘Western’ science in new and creative ways that serve to sustain and ensure survival rather than perpetuate an old dysfunctional paradigm. Rather than use the term “integrate” other scholars prefer terms such as “interface” (Durie, 2004) or “collaborate” (Bishop, 1996).

Yet, as the next chapter shall reveal, reifying processes have drastically affected Māori. An historical account of these processes is examined in the next chapter, before progressing in the chapters thereafter to understanding how the Māori cultural tourism businesses in this study are seeking to transform tourism spaces today.

### CHAPTER THREE: CULTURAL TOURISM IN AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND

In Chapter Two, I explored how tourism manufactures reified spaces within the context of the global marketplace. Following Honneth's (2008) argument that reification reflects a breakdown in reciprocal relationships of respect, I posited that the loss of empathetic connectedness to others and place severely compromised attainment of authentic and sustainable well-being.

To better understand Māori business responses to present-day concerns with authentic and sustainable well-being in cultural tourism, it is crucial to realise that the current context is a continuation of reifying processes that began with European colonisation. Reification is both a mechanism and a consequence of colonisation, resulting in tourism *Flatlands* that have emerged from the grand narratives, and practices, of 'Empire' which contrasted 'us' to a Māori 'them'. In cultural tourism the host society ought to define their culture, instead Empire society strived to define Māori identity, which had an crushing impact on cultural tourism.

In the previous chapter, I emphasised how cultural brokers negotiate the realities of a place in order to appeal to tourists. In the first section of this chapter, I examine how cultural brokers strategically assembled a particular reality of Aotearoa, first to appeal to settlers, and then to tourists. The nature of the reality these cultural brokers produced had distinct ideological underpinnings intimately tied to particular notions of economic rationalism, science, religion, and social structures focussed on producing a 'civilised' society. Māori identity was contrasted to notions of Empire and reified to the extent that, even today, a significant number of contemporary visitors to New Zealand do not recognise Māori unless they fit the reified stereotype. Settlers, and the tourists that followed, were profoundly preoccupied with their own identity, an ideological identity that projected onto both Māori and place a counter-identity in a process Said (1978/1995) has described as 'othering'.

Wāhi whenua is used in this chapter to denote a holistic view of ‘place’ which encompasses the natural environment, land, ecosystems, and habitats: in summary, the dwelling places of each aspect of creation including human dwelling places.<sup>5</sup> The holistic appreciation of wāhi whenua suffered the same process of reification as tangata, meaning people. Wāhi whenua was reduced to a notion of land as a utility, taking on a ‘thing-like’ mantle such as ‘idle’ land that was redeemable and could be made productive, ‘waste’ land that was unredeemable and left for Māori and, eventually, ‘protected’ land that was annexed into conservation estates whereon Māori, and settlers, were granted visitation rights. Reified notions of wāhi whenua became increasingly disconnected to reality to the extent that, today, New Zealand’s reputation as a ‘clean’ and ‘green’ paradise often does not align with what actually occurs. Through reifying processes, tangata and wāhi whenua, people and place, were first decoupled then juxtaposed alongside each other as a collage to suit tourism purposes.

The early reifications of tangata and wāhi whenua became synonymous with the way the outside world viewed the colony, and these reifications remain firmly entrenched to the present day, highlighting how reification can take on a “misplaced concreteness” (Whitehead, 1926/1938, p. 66). These reifications are linked in this study to a sustained loss of the reciprocal relationships of respect that occurred during the colonising period, and continue today, compromising two critical components of successful cultural tourism enterprise - authentic and sustainable well-being.

Modes of huanga, translated as production, and the way in which Māori were increasingly disenfranchised from the economy are then explored. In this section, I highlight how Māori styles of huanga, which emphasise the importance of reciprocal relationships of respect was eventually overwhelmed by the mechanistic mode of economic activity introduced by settlers.

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<sup>5</sup> Some tribes may view wāhi as meaning a part, small, or little. Wāhi as it is refers to place in this thesis draws on the Williams dictionary (2004) which offers a translation of wāhi as “place, locality”.

The outcome of the disjuncture in empathetic relationships between the colonising society with tangata and wāhi whenua, and the intrusion of the mechanistic commodity mode of exchange of production that subsumed Māori economic approaches, limits tourists' capacity to have a fully conscious understanding of Māori cultural tourism offerings. If tourists fail to fully recognise Māori, and their spiritual, cultural, social, and environmental outlook in the context of cultural tourism, as defined by Māori culture, tourism experiences offer very limited dimensionality. The systematic processes of colonisation, that attacked the systems of exchange (social, cultural, spiritual, and economic) and construction of Māori identity, have built an industry that creates separation of self, others, and place, and has implications for the development of industry frameworks today.

### **3.1. Reifying Aotearoa**

From its inception as a British colony, 'New Zealand' had projected upon it the hopes, aspirations, and ideals of all that was considered progressive and civilised from the vantage point of 'Empire'. Making the new colony operated in a similar fashion to the making of tourism realities in Chapter Two (refer to Figure 1). Making 'New Zealand' involved taking a total 'reality', deconstructing, interpreting, reinterpreting, and putting it together as an assemblage in order to portray the kind of image that would be compelling enough, in the first instance, to appeal to settlers to undertake the journey. 'New Zealand' was presented as a 'tourist' destination long before the first official tourist arrived; it was marketed as a 'destination' from its very inception as a colony.

The relationship these settlers had with New Zealand was with a reified promise based on ideals that constituted 'Empire'. Aspiring settlers rallied around the reification and a new sovereign community was imagined into existence (cf. Anderson, 1983). The notion of imaginative geography in the context of an invented and constructed geographical space is examined by Said (2000) concerning the "Orient". His deliberations of "Orientalism"

provide an account of processes that are apt for describing the invention and construction of place that came to be called 'New Zealand'. As Said notes, "scant attention [is] paid to the actuality of the geography and its inhabitants" (p. 181). Voyages of geographical discovery, such as Cook's journeys to the South Pacific, were, he says, not only motivated by "curiosity and scientific fervour, but also by a spirit of domination" (p. 181). The image constructed was of a promised land – crafted to present an alluring picture of isles that would persuade settlers to travel across the world. There was a wilderness to be tamed, natives to be civilised, and a nation-state to be formed.

Intense cultural brokering of Aotearoa New Zealand's image has roots that reach deep into the country's colonised history. Early international marketing campaigns between the 1830s and the 1880s projected an image onto the European stage in what Belich (1996) has dubbed "crusading". The purpose of the campaigns was to attract settlers and this was accomplished by persuading vast numbers of settlers that economic opportunity awaited them in New Zealand's abundant landscape. Colonising the country was a "self-contained economic system from which many hoped to profit" (p. 280) and provided an enticing incentive for cultural brokers comprised of company leaders, politicians, publicists, emigration exponents, and money lenders.

In their rush to exploit the opportunity, the brokers strived to project an alluring picture of the colony, says Belich (1996). Accordingly, New Zealand was superlatively heralded as the Land of Promise, Utopia, El Dorado, Arcadia, the Eden of the World, an Earthly Paradise, the Land of Milk and Honey, Merrie Olde England, and the Britain of the South and, thus, migrants were:

... not so much pushed out of Britain by actual and immediate costs, or pulled in to New Zealand by actual and immediate benefits, as prised out of their British contexts by powerful myths and prophecies. (p. 279)

The formation of the new colony involved deconstructing, interpreting, reinterpreting, and assembling stories and images of people, and place, which were packaged in order to appeal to the settler marketplace. These activities formed the platform from which

tourism activities emerged, and these processes will be investigated in detail in the following sections around the three themes of tangata, wāhi whenua, and huanga (people, place, and production).

### *3.1.1. Producing people*

Alongside the imaging of nationhood went the imaging of Māori who were systematically compared to notions of Empire. The tendency towards making comparisons was grounded in eighteenth century modes of philosophising, explains Robson (2004) and an example was how explorer-naturalist Reinhold Forster, who joined James Cook's second voyage to the Pacific, methodically compared Pacific peoples to each other. Forster also drew comparisons and formed theories relative to Greek and other classical and Western cultures. Ryan (2002) observed that Christian missionaries compared Māori in another way; they were heathen souls awaiting salvation by the "Godly".

In addition to comparisons of Empire and its attendant notions of what constituted civilisation, Māori were also contrasted to other Indigenous peoples, whereupon they were generally declared to be better natives in that they were considered "tameable" (Barnett, 1997) and "very well behaved" (Cholmondeley, as cited in Belich, 1996, p. 311). These judgements determined that some Indigenous races were better than others and, thus, some colonies better and more hospitable for settlers than others. Underlying these comparisons, explains Howe (2006) was a concern with identifying how the peoples of the Pacific fitted into the hierarchy of humans promulgated at the time, with Caucasians at the top and Mongolians and Ethiopians at the bottom. Pacific peoples were assigned to a middle position alongside Malays, on a par with American Indians.

In the hierarchy of humans promulgated by prevailing 'scientific' comparisons between peoples, Māori fitted notions of a noble savage 'other'. The idea of a noble savage grew out of an eighteenth century Romantic tradition that gained prominence from the writings of Rousseau. As Robson (2004) explains, Rousseau envisioned a middle state between

the wild and the civilised, and this middle state was the happiest in which existed an innate goodness that had not yet been corrupted by the influence of ‘Western’ civilisation. Attributes of the noble savage included: living in harmony with nature; innocence; moral courage; physical health; and a lack of sexual inhibitions (p. 163). The Romantic idealising gave ‘lustre’ to New Zealand as an exotic land.

The expansion of the Empire also had a broader mission of reclaiming, and civilising, those souls that had wandered far from the centre of civilisation. Diffusionist thinking of the day (which continued right through to the 1930s) held a belief, explains Howe (2006), that whilst humans may have shared a common origin the further they drifted from “centres of civilisation” in the Mediterranean region the more degenerative they became. All was not lost for these peoples, however, because contact with outside civilising forces could arrest degeneration.

The predilection for classification, comparison, categorising, civilising, and colonising belied a tremendous self-absorption whereupon the ‘other’ served to build the grand narrative of Empire, and citizens of the Empire came to understand themselves as better through the ‘other’. The motivation and process of creating ‘others’ has been well examined by Said (1978/1995), who argues that racist imperialism motivated the ‘Western’ search for knowledge. Reification can take the form of “construction of the other” (Adams & Markus, 2001; Said, 1978/1995) and Māori served to contrast British ideas of refinement through being cast as the exotic ‘other’: “noble savages”, the “heroic veteran”, “erotic-exotic”, and the “South Sea Maiden” (Barclay, 2005; Barnett, 1997; McClure, 2004). The construction of the Māori ‘other’ was well entrenched by the time tourism to the nation gained a stronger foothold.

It was into an existing reified space that tourism to New Zealand took on a more official status in the 1870s, observes Te Awakotuku (1981), with Prince Alfred’s visit to the Pink and White Terraces marking a new era. McClure (2004) notes in her historical account of tourism in New Zealand that “Māori resistance had been subdued and tourists followed in the wake of British imperialism to gaze on the Empire’s wonders” (p. 8). In Europe travel



was being redefined by mass tourism with the advent of rail, meanwhile, tourism to New Zealand was largely for “well-to-do members of a privileged class who could afford to circle the world for six months” (p. 9). The opportunity to develop the nascent tourism market to New Zealand was quickly ripening.

A new contingent of cultural brokers emerged to encourage the promotion of tourism as a key economic opportunity for the country alongside agriculture (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2002; Diamond, 2007; McClure, 2004; Ryan, 1997). The contingent continued to build upon the reifications of predecessors. Ryan (1997) highlighted the considerable influence of individuals such as Augustus Hamilton, Director of the Colonial Museum in Wellington and C.E. Nelson the Manager of a hotel in Rotorua, who wielded the power to determine how traditional Māori culture ought not only be presented, but ought not to be deviated from. Another influential individual was Thomas Donne, who was installed as Superintendent of the Tourist and Health Resorts Department in 1901. He oversaw a shift in political and economic priority of tourism with the establishment of a dedicated tourism department that had previously been subsumed under the Railways Department (McClure, 2004). Donne, says Diamond (2007), was “an amateur ethnographer, with definite views about how Māori should be portrayed” (p. 15). As McClure (2004) observes, Donne’s tourism department appeared to give “little thought to how Māori villagers felt about living in a formal viewing site, on stage throughout the day, their customs reinvented as a tourist commodity” (p. 42) giving the example of Whakarewarewa Thermal Village in Rotorua.

As key individuals brokered the tourism image of New Zealand, their personal interpretations of how Māori should be packaged for tourism purposes further entrenched Māori into a reified, homogenised stereotype. The reified images of Māori still served to contrast and validate the positioning of settler society as civilised. Through extensive analysis of Māori images, Ryan and Knox (1998, as cited in Ryan, 1997) affirm that Victorian travellers to New Zealand were confident in their role as arbiters of the civilising influence of the Victorian Empire. For visitors, says McClure (2004), “their experiences of a different, more exotic people reinforced their own sense of refinement;

they had come to another world to affirm their own” (p. 13). Similarly, Ateljevic and Doorne (2002) highlight how early tourists who appeared in promotional images were “exclusively white, [and] elegantly dressed”, typically offset by backdrops of majestic scenery and Māori artefacts or maidens incorporated as elements of the landscape (p. 655). The positioning of Māori for the purposes of tourism was not under Māori control, and not a reflection of how many Māori wished to be portrayed.

Leading Māori figures of the period expressed their unease about the negative impacts of tourism upon the Māori community, notes McClure (2004), and even as these leaders worked hard to advance Māori, their efforts were undermined by touristic idealisations of the past (p. 42). Although Māori were proud to act as guides for auspicious occasions, she observes, these opportunities were very different from providing a daily spectacle on home ground for tourists. Dr Maui Pomare, the first Native Health Officer, encouraged Māori not to participate in what he saw as a soul-destroying way of life and he is quoted as saying that he “would rather have my Māoris live, than that they should satisfy the curiosity of the passer-by and die” (McClure, 2004, p. 43). Sir Apirana Ngata, a Māori Member of Parliament, told Parliament in 1908 that “we are rather resenting the fact that on every possible occasion we are asked to trot out our Māoris to be exhibited for the entertainment of tourists and we want to put a stop to that” (as cited in Diamond, 2007, p. 62). Sir Eruera Tirikatene, another Māori Member of Parliament, commented that it was “one thing to transform an area” but consideration must be given to what would happen to its people and the culture:

... the world should know what we have in way of culture, but I do not believe it should be exploited by having the people merely perform whenever they are called upon to do so. There should be some consideration for what we hold dear. (in McClure, 2004, p. 219)

Focussed on their personal travel narratives, most tourists did not develop reciprocal relationships of respect with Māori, nor seek to understand the reality of Māori life. Te Awekotuku’s (1981) detailed historical account of tourism in Te Arawa highlighted how the narratives of early travellers reflected their highly judgemental and moralising

accounts of Māori life. As McClure (2004) points out, tourists were largely oblivious to the issues raised by Māori and, in fact, she observes, tourists were more inclined to complain that their expectations of stereotype were not being met. Along with complaining about poor dancing and substandard souvenirs, tourists also complained that Māori wore ordinary dress and appeared to have been modernised. In his study of early tourism encounters, Diamond (2007) notes in 1863 that Reihana Te Taukawau, on a trip to England, had already vocalised his resistance to wearing Māori kakahu, cloaks known then as “mats”, to comply with hosts’ expectations (p. 15). Māori culture was not static and Māori society was not afraid to embrace change that was deemed beneficial to them, yet the reifying images which tourism promoted of Māori as a tourist object quickly created a gap between expectation and real life.

The reifying, stereotyping tradition marched inexorably on through to the 1920s with various prominent intermediaries seeking to instrumentalise and ‘manage’ Māori cultural tourism. For example, Bathie Stuart promoted the Pacific to wealthy American women’s clubs. Her version of the Pacific was, however, highly reified and she advocated glamour that extended to insisting female performers in Māori cultural shows were young and slim exotic maidens (McClure, 2004, p. 120). In his biography of Makareti, Diamond (2007) observes that despite her early promotion of a South Seas Maiden ideal, when returning home after many years abroad, her writings reflected a woman who had “moved from being a willing object of tourist curiosity” (p. 149). Makareti had become disillusioned with tourism.

Reification continued through to the 1960s. The famous Guide Rangi militated against the pressure to conform to the stereotype when she announced that when those who criticised Māori appearing as a modern people would wear vintage England clothing she would wear traditional Māori attire (McClure, 2004, p. 216). McClure points out that although the Tourism Department had never officially insisted on traditional dress, councils such as the Rotorua District Council “were driven by the principle of pleasing tourists”, as summed up by an edict in the regional *Truth* newspaper in 1967, “coddle our tourists or lose them” (p. 217). The coddling of tourists and attendant persuasive

economic arguments, coupled with the Māori need for economic betterment, co-opted many Māori to deliver on the image promised, yet with little financial gain.

The situation of the lack of control and benefit to Māori from participation in tourism became untenable. A task force set up to examine Māori tourism in 1985 stated in their final report that:

It has been of deep concern to the Maaori that the Maaori image has been used as a marketing tool in the promotion of the tourist industry for over 100 years. Maaori 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 Maaori people. (as cited in Mahuta, 1987, introduction page)

The reified world begotten in the British Empire's original self-absorption and pursuit of self-advancement had little to do with genuine engagement, reciprocal respect, and empathetic understanding of Māori. Given the importance of authenticity and sustainability to tourism today, it is a profound paradox that present-day travellers to Aotearoa New Zealand struggle to recognise anything other than the stereotyped image, an image that they helped create. As tourists yearn for the authentic and the sustainable, they become ever more distanced from it.

### *3.1.2. Producing place*

Just as Māori were juxtaposed to settlers, and then tourists, as 'other-human' so, too, did the lands they inhabit become juxtaposed alongside ideals of civilisation as 'other-place'. Wāhi whenua, depicted as holistic place, was dichotomised into civilised and primitive views. The civilised version was rendered in "crusader literature" to evoke "paradise" and "progress" (Belich, 1996). The titles of books in the 1850s and 1880s reflect the process of manufacturing a new place: Land of Promise; the Wonderland of the Antipodes; The Wonderland of the World; An Earthly Paradise; The Future England of the Southern Hemisphere; The England of the Pacific; The Britain of the South; and Brighter Britain! (p. 299). Settlers were encouraged to envision what Park (1995)

described as a European predilection for “... stepping ashore into a pre-prepared paradise of benevolent nature” (p. 324). Underscoring this literature was a collective aspiration to produce a civilised place out of wāhi whenua, which was generally considered as wilderness and wasteland.

“‘Picturesque’ beauty and heavy industry were born together”, writes Park (1995) of the forging of place in the early colonial history of New Zealand (p. 142). He explains that in the brief period of the mid-eighteenth century the “[Western] culture’s way of looking at the non-human world turned a corner”, influenced by painters like Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa who shaped a style incorporated into the design of parks and gardens, particularly in England. These styles evoked “the very definition of beauty itself”. By the mid-nineteenth century, says Park, “the Picturesque” had spread to the new colonies to “become a term on nearly every traveller’s lips for describing strange beauty” (p. 142). Mythologist, Mircea Eliade, believes that “Paradising is the key to understanding the Western sensibility in strange, new environments like the 19<sup>th</sup> century Pacific” (as cited in Park, 1995, p. 323). New Zealand became a civic planning palette to epitomise the stylistic interests of the times.

New Zealand’s civic planning featured “dream cities” with “gardens as prominent as fortresses” which affirmed gentility in the face of the encroaching and “frightful forests, savages and their sparse cultivations” (Park, 1995, p. 324). Wāhi whenua was dichotomised into two versions of place; one view became associated with Empire building and that version of place was glossed as ‘picturesque’ for sensory pleasure and ‘utility’ for economic gain. The other view was associated with Māori, and that version was ‘wild wasteland’, land that was remote, chaotic, untamed, and not considered viable for economic development.

The dichotomising of wāhi whenua also had roots deep in biblical beliefs (Belich, 1996; Morgan, 2008; Park, 1995). Wild wasteland is often depicted as a place where one is outcast in soul-searching suffering, contrasting the concept of a Garden of Eden (Joel 2:3 New King James Version). Taming wāhi whenua was Godly work and Reverend Richard

Taylor, an influential CMS Missionary, envisioned a New Zealand landscape where “Every valley shall be made plain, every hill shall be made low ... for our God” (Park, 1995, p. 304). Edward Gibbon Wakefield proselytised that “God has empowered man ... to fashion nature ... as to draw from her hidden elemental forms of far greater beauty and utility than, in her present state of imperfection, are offered to us by nature herself” (as cited in Park, 1995, p. 324). Petrie (2006) explains that reconciling Christianity with capitalism, property rights, utilitarianism, and colonisation meant that maximising economic benefit from the new colony was a “highly virtuous undertaking” (p. 82). Consequently, Wakefield’s “hidden elemental forms of far greater beauty” were supposedly drawn forth into the orderly pastures of agriculturalists, the parks and gardens of towns and cities, and the formation of scenic spots that dotted the countryside.

Utility of the environment was undertaken on a scale previously unseen in the country, says Park (1995). He provides an example of the mighty Kahikatea tree, an ancient survivor from “a birdless, flowerless world in which huge ammonites stalked the sea-floor and pterodactyls the air”, which once flourished across the country (p. 36). Thomas Kirk, in 1899, declared there “could be no more striking sight ... than a virgin Kahikatea forest”, yet, just fourteen years after Kirk’s accounts, a 1913 Royal Commission authorised the clearance of the last of the Kahikatea forests on the plains for dairy farms. This authorisation occurred despite awareness that same year by the Department of Agriculture who were noting “the depletion of virgin fertility ... the greatly increased toll of wealth being extracted from New Zealand soils ... the prodigious and alarming” waste (p. 304). By the 1930s, notes Park, most of Aotearoa’s Kahikatea had been removed.

In the economic push, birdlife also suffered greatly through the loss of wāhi whenua, their habitat. Parks’ account described how Charles Heaphy, a nineteen-year-old draughtsman on the New Zealand Company’s ship *Tory*, recorded in 1878 that before the rush of settlers in the Hutt Valley in 1840 the place had been:

... teeming with birds. Of twelve or fourteen species ... then to be seen in every wood, only the tui, the fly-catcher, and the wren, with the sand-lark, in the open, are now (1878) common, while the robin, the bell-bird, the titmouse, the thrush, the popokatea, the tiraweke, and the riroriro, are rarely seen or have entirely passed away. (p. 85)

The losses were tremendous, yet the impacts from ‘civilising’ place were of limited concern. Within two generations of 1840, Park (1995) argues, there had been “created a landscape whose people had virtually no contact with nature; who believed, what’s more, they no longer needed it” (p. 306). In 1893 Reverend Walsh highlighted the loss of relationship with the holistic scope of place when he said; “We are familiar with the blue-gum and the *Pinus insignis*, with the Norfolk pine and *macrocarpa*. But of the indigenous vegetation most of us know very little indeed” (as cited in Park, 1995, p. 306). Indigenous place was of no great consequence.

Eventually the government established a Scenery Preservation Commission in 1903, headed by S. Percy Smith, who had “an eye for the Picturesque”, says Park (1995). The Commission’s task was to protect hundreds of places that would otherwise have been cleared. Also part of the Commission’s task was to attract tourists as “there was money to earn from the tourists who were crossing the world for the picturesque sights of other lands – but it needed wild waterfalls, gorges and cool, wooded riverbanks”. Although he was an ethnologist conversant with Māori language and custom, Smith did not appear to express concern for the “Māori spiritual landscape” but was more inclined towards reserves for the “interests of tourists and other travellers” (pp. 142-143). Only a particular kind of place was acceptable for tourism ‘consumption’.

The conservation project annexed land, placing management in the hands of ‘experts’ and further alienating Māori from wāhi whenua. Place came to be seen primarily for its utility use and the relationship that most settlers had with land was one that primarily recognised instrumental value. Whilst conservation estates were designated, these were based upon a relationship, much like a zoo, premised on visiting rights and appreciation of the aesthetics of the environment, where genuine, intimate understanding of sustainable living with nature is severely limited in its dimensionality.

Conservation estates arose as a reaction to the separation of people from place and settlers developed a relationship with a version of the environment that reflected their desire to be affirmed as genteel, civilised, and economically successful. Their relationship with the environment became largely defined with agriculture and industry. Pleasure was associated with picturesque garden and scenic wonders. Just as Māori identity was ‘othered’ to serve as a counter-identity to affirm gentility, wāhi whenua too suffered the same reification.

The holistic appreciation of the environment suffered the same process of reification that isolated and promoted a particular view of Māori identity to the colonial, and then tourism, marketplace. Wāhi whenua was reduced to a notion of land as a utility to serve economic objectives, and habitats were destroyed on a vast scale. The emphasis upon economic gain usurped the intrinsic right to well-being of Māori and wāhi whenua. The economic processes that pervaded colonial life produced a particular approach to tourism that was highly distorted, unrealistic, and reified. Colonial approaches to the economy had drastic impacts for Māori economic well-being. The next section will highlight how Māori styles of business, which emphasise the importance of reciprocal relationships of respect and was an influential and successful strategy in the ancient and early-colonial economy, were eventually overwhelmed by the mechanistic mode of economic activity introduced by settlers.

### *3.1.3. Production*

The mechanistic approach to economic activity emphasises an instrumental view of people and place, as I have detailed in the previous two sections, and seeks to operate independently of spiritual, cultural, social, and environmental ties.

The traditional Māori economy was embedded in society, inextricably interwoven with spiritual and cultural values (Henare, 1994, 2003; Mauss, 1950/1990; Petrie, 2006). Henare (1994, 2003) describes the Māori economy as an economy of affection with clear



modes of huanga, meaning production, which largely rallied around kinship ties and delivery of social services. The economy of affection, he explains, can also be considered an economy of mana, broadly translated here as ‘authority’. Mana was a central concept around which Petrie (2006) conducted an analysis of traditional Māori enterprise. Both these views support the idea of an economy based on reciprocal relationships of respect.

Within two or three hundred years of arrival in Aotearoa, small whānau, meaning family groups, had formed larger hapū, broadly interpreted as sub-tribes, and had established “rules and conventions for the conduct of trade, fishing, agriculture and warfare” (Durie, 2003, p. 15). Bartering goods between tribal areas was a typical feature of the economy. Tribes exploited the natural advantages of their regions by trading resources, and certain areas were known to specialise in produce such as eels or preserved birds, and other regions in resources such as greenstone, basalt, or bull kelp which was used for food storage. Gifts of resources underpinned the pre-colonial Māori economy which had stable, well-established protocols (Mauss, 1950/1990). Through gifting resources that were plentiful, and accepting resources that were not, an exchange system based on the concept of utu, which is a complex concept that refers to reciprocity and has punitive, regulatory features. Utu laid the regulatory framework for trading relationships as King (2003) explains:

Utu determined that relations among individuals, and between families, communities and tribes, were governed by mutual obligation and an implicit keeping of social accounts: a favour bestowed, which increased the mana of the donor, required an eventual favour in return from the recipient; and an insult by one, real or imagined, also activated an obligation to respond in kind. (pp. 81-82)

The late 1770s to mid 1840s marked a period of enormous change as Māori engaged with the European migrants. Māori displayed a “capable and competitive” entrepreneurial ability (King, 2003, p. 127) and embraced new technologies, adapting them for their own social purposes and absorbing the introduction of a market economy into their tribal society (Royal, 2007, p. 31). The 1840s and 1850s, in particular, signified the “golden age” of Māori enterprise, says Petrie (2006), and during these decades Māori responded

enthusiastically to trading opportunities and were major players in coastal shipping, the postal service, and wheat-based production. Drawing on collectivised strength, many tribal groupings organised themselves to participate in the new market:

... Māori were quick to adapt their communal tribal organisation and economic production to take advantage of trading opportunities presented by the new arrivals. The first fifteen years after the Treaty saw a period of economic expansion and prosperity for many tribes, especially those close to Pākehā markets. (Walker, 2004, p. 99)

Economic exchanges featured relational ideals that rallied around reciprocal rights, such as the right to participate in the whaling industry as crewmen, harpoonists, recovery and processing of whale meat in exchange for land, and the right to establish whaling stations (Belich, 1996; Petrie, 2006; Walker, 2004). Establishing enduring reciprocal relationships was a key feature of economic life.

Māori showed a deft uptake of ‘Western’ economic systems, and its attendant processes of accounting, marketing, and inventory control, says Petrie’s (2006), and her comprehensive historical analysis of Māori trade also showed they simultaneously managed and operated their business affairs according to their distinctive customary patterns. Her study of Māori economic approaches highlights the importance of relationships, which were spread across a wide field of activities, from diplomatic relations with political entities, strategic alliances with economic partners, and both spiritual and strategic engagement with missionaries. Winning business could be viewed as largely a matter of winning through, not over, others. Values such as *manaaki*, meaning to show respect and kindness, not only cemented good relations but also ensured these relationships were conducted in a respectful and caring manner.

The full impact of Te Tiriti o Waitangi was becoming alarming. As Theodore and Porter (2009) explain, on 6<sup>th</sup> February 1840 rangatira Māori leaders had gathered at Waitangi and extended the hand of citizenship to Queen Victoria and her subjects, by nightfall, however, Māori had become the subjects. What was intended to establish a reciprocal relationship of respect and understanding between equal parties was persistently being

violated. The country was governed on the English conceptualisations of government, which assumed a cession of sovereignty, and not on the understanding that rangatira had set out in Te Tiriti o Waitangi and which the majority of rangatira signatories had signed. The rangatira had no doubt as to their sovereignty; and their ‘right’ of citizenship was not vested in a sheet of parchment. Far from being a partnership that encouraged and sustained reciprocal relationships of respect, the relationship became one marred by social marginalisation, political disenfranchisement, alienation from land, and economic decimation of Māori.

The ‘Western-based’ capitalist mode of economic exchange rested on an entirely different outlook from a reciprocal relational mode, it was a mechanistic approach that gradually gained a strong foothold as settler numbers overwhelmed Māori. Where early traders had largely conformed to the Māori economic system, later settlers, argues Petrie (2006), came with the view that colonisation was a capitalist venture. In the mechanistic mode human labour was valued largely for its economic contribution alongside capital and material resources. Based upon the precepts of Adam Smith, individuals were encouraged to believe that they could best serve society by meeting their own self-interested needs and consequently economic activity was dis-embedded from social relationships and atomised individuals were rendered as sole agents in pursuit of personal prosperity (see also Henare, 2003; Petrie, 2006). The impact of a self-interested mode of economic exchange that separated people from a concern for collective well-being rested upon an entirely different values system that, as a striving hegemony, was devastating for Māori.

The flourishing Māori economy was besieged by land confiscations, and shifts away from industries Māori had invested in, and many Māori were reduced to “subsistence living, gum-digging and wage labour on farms, road-making, bush-felling and shearing” (Walker, 2004, p. 312). The Māori economy however, says Belich (1996), remained a kin-based subset of the national economy, and their approach to the market continued to aspire towards acquiring benefit for “the immediate subtribal good” (p. 155). Walker (2004) also observes that this era was concerned with “maintaining the distinctive

objective of the Māori economy as the common weal of the collective” (p. 312). Although besieged by the pervasive economic system a Māori mode of exchange continued to survive, however, further upheaval was underway.

Despite a reconstructed farming sector that consolidated fragmented land titles, it was not enough to support the Māori population and, eventually, over 70% shifted to urban areas. Māori were integrated into the workforce, predominantly observes Walker (2004) as “waged labourers, drivers, machine operators and skilled workers” (p. 312). During this period of intense urbanisation, Māori found employment largely at the unskilled end of the economy. Disparities continued and social indicators, says Durie (2003), pointed to a Māori population who were “poor, unhealthy, housed in sub-standard homes, more likely to offend, less likely to succeed at school” (p. 91), and the situation was not about to improve in a way that benefitted Māori as a whole.

Economic restructuring and the introduction of free trade in 1975 again redefined New Zealand’s economic landscape, observes Durie (2003). Under free-market restructuring, higher levels of unemployment indicated that Māori suffered greatly in the economic reformation. As sizeable Māori corporations began to appear, so, too, he observes, did new classes appear with the emergence of a wealthy minority and poor majority. As the gaps grew, Māori communities became increasingly uneasy.

A nascent Māori cultural tourism, as determined by Māori, began to emerge. A few entrepreneurial tourism companies were established, notable for their ingenuity and ability to initiate successful and enduring businesses without a financial base and little support from banks. One example was Whale Watch Kaikoura, who started their business with \$35,000 from personal savings and from four families mortgaging their houses to launch, equip, and market their first boat - a small rubber dinghy which held 10 people. Just over ten years later turnover was estimated to have stood at \$3 million a year, with assets worth \$2.5 million and shareholders’ funds \$2 million (Lake & Erakovic, 2005; Oram, 2002).

Another example was the Tamaki brothers who financed their fledgling enterprise in 1989 from the sale of a motorbike. Today their enterprise is one of the most successful private Māori tourism enterprises in the country, hosting more than 100,000 people each year, employing 120 staff in their Rotorua project, and turning over in excess of NZ\$8.5 million (Manukau Courier, 2008; Tamaki Tours, 2009). Whakarewarewa Thermal Village has continued their tradition as the stalwart of Māori tourism since the early 1800s, and broke free from Government control in 1997 becoming an independent entity. The handful of operators, however, was the exception and, as Mahuta (1987) points out, overall little commercial benefit had accrued to Māori from tourism

Traditionally, Māori had an existing economic framework with regulatory features to meet the needs of the individual and the collective, along with distribution systems to secure and maintain trading relationships. Māori involvement and influence in the early colonial economy was strong, recognised, and organised. As the number of settlers swelled, combined with the corrosive, debilitating effects of land confiscations, disease, and political disenfranchisement, Māori modes of huanga, meaning production and economic engagement, were sublimated.

The mechanistic approach to economic activity, which emphasised an instrumental view of tangata and wāhi whenua, that is, people and place, became hegemonic, and presented as a universal economic 'truth'. Contemporary approaches to tourism have been built upon these mechanistic, reifying foundations and the effects are examined in the following section.

### **3.2. Reification today**

Tourism in New Zealand, as I have shown above, was conceived amid ideological, political, religious, and economic forces that emerged from a society that thought of itself as an 'Empire'. A systematic process of reification occurred, where Māori, and wāhi whenua, were classified, categorised, abstracted, objectified, and projected to facilitate

Empire society's affirmation of itself. An appreciation of the intrinsic worth of the 'other people' and 'other place' was largely lacking in how relationships were established or maintained.

The systematic reification of Māori identity by Empire society shaped tourist expectations to such an extent that it led the Chairman of Tourism New Zealand, Wally Stone, of Kati Kuri descent, to observe in 2000 that "... Māori imagery used overseas has portrayed a race of people who are stuck in a time-warp, rather than the reality of a living, breathing, contemporary culture" (as cited in Collier, 2003, p. 332). Stone also points out that some international visitors expect to see people wearing piupiu (flax skirts) in the city centre doing the haka (dance). These components of Māori culture need to be in context and, says Stone, it "is not advantageous for New Zealand. It makes visitors expect New Zealand to be behind the times, and Māori culture to follow suit" (as cited in Collier, 2003, p. 332) and creates many false expectations.

Research has shown that the separation of Māori identity from context hardly resembles the reality of modern-day Māori life (Ryan & Pike, 2003). Indeed, the stereotype projected on the global stage is even more removed from what was projected in the 1890s when images portrayed a more varied way of life (Ryan, 1997), and little is done to challenge such stereotyping even today (Ryan, 2003; Wilson et al., 2006; Zygodlo et al., 2003). As tourists often have limited prior knowledge of culture, and what they do know is often based on stereotypical images, they will seek to consume experiences that confirm the signs of stereotype (Ateljevic, 1998; McIntosh et al., 2004; McKercher & Du Cros, 2002; Wilson et al., 2006). Additionally, they often do not even recognise Māori cultural products which are not the traditional form promoted (Wilson et al., 2006, p. 6). As Ateljevic and Doorne (2002) argue, the tourism marketing board touted multiple identities to suit different consumer groups, with the consequence that "the tourism product identifies more with the consumer context than the culture of the country itself" (p. 660) and appears to be an especially virulent approach taken with regard to Māori culture and imaging.

In a significant way, Māori continue to be ‘othered’ to suit economic and ideological purposes that focus on the concept of an ‘exotic other’ as a marketing strategy to differentiate New Zealand from other peoples and places. Wilson et al.’s (2006) research reveals a “tick box” approach; once a Māori experience has been consumed, it does not need to be consumed again (p. 58). We can construe from this phenomenon that Māori cultural experiences remain so reified, and the culture perceived as so narrow and homogenised in its offering, that tourists are led to think that experiencing one is as good as experiencing all.

Along with the inauthentic rendering of Māori in tourism that bears little resemblance to daily life, the image projected of the environment also fails to reflect reality. In 2008, New Zealand was considered by the World Wildlife Foundation (2008) conservation group to be the sixth worst country in the world in terms of the demand per capita that its residents place on natural resources, showing deterioration from a position of ninth worst in 2006.

The 450-page Environment New Zealand 2007 report, produced by the Ministry for the Environment (2007), and marking a decade since the first report in 1997, found that environmental pressures were increasing from a growing population and economy, and changing lifestyles were polluting the purity of Aotearoa New Zealand’s soil, air, and water. The quality of fresh water, fish stocks, and numbers of some native species appeared to be getting worse. Co-leader of the political party, ‘The Green Party’, Russell Norman, said of the Government:

Not only have they failed to solve the problems threatening New Zealand’s biodiversity, which were the key problems identified in the 1997 report, we now have the addition of major problems of environmental degradation caused by land use intensification and increased roading transport, which are also driving water quality problems and greenhouse emissions. (Houlahan, 2008)

Environment spokesperson for the then opposition political party ‘National’, Nick Smith, says New Zealand is going to have to “significantly lift its environmental performance to

live up to the tourism industry's '100 per cent pure' branding" (as cited in Houlahan, 2008).

Paradoxically then, in 1998 the national tourism marketing board embarked on a campaign promoting New Zealand as the "last place like this left on earth - a destination which is clean and environmentally friendly, open and hospitable, remote and mysterious, mystical and almost spiritual" (NZTB 1998, as cited in Collier, 2003, p. 415). In 2008 this line of promotion continued with a Forever Young campaign that lauded New Zealand as "the last habitable land mass on earth to be settled by humankind", and being a young land mass "makes it the best place to enjoy life as it should be" (Tourism New Zealand, 2007b, p. 18). The campaign implies a purity assumed lost elsewhere in the world. As Belich (1996) points out, "there are echoes in New Zealand's portrayal of itself in the present ... evidence of the myth's deep bite" (p. 311) and, so, the promulgation of the 'lost' now 'last' paradise continues.

Bob Frame, a science leader with Landcare Research's science and society group, believes "New Zealand has been complacent, caught up in the 100 per cent pure, clean, green image it pushes overseas", and "only now is New Zealand realising that everyone is playing the green game and the nation risks being left behind on delivering the promise" ("Pure but", 2007). Meanwhile, the CEO of Tourism New Zealand admitted their campaigns were now "placing less focus on the traditional 'clean and green' landscape view of New Zealand" ("NZ just a youngster", 2007) which suggests how far the intransigent promise has become distanced from reality, and new discursive packages are being formed to accommodate lack of meaningful change.

It is not only the environmental promise that lacks sustainability. Despite international tourism's economic influence in New Zealand, worth NZ\$6.2 billion (down from NZ\$8.3 billion in 2006) in the year to June 2008 (Tourism New Zealand, 2008), Māori are decidedly under-represented. The tourism industry as a whole directly employs 10.3% of New Zealand's total workforce and supports one in ten jobs, or 172,000 full-time equivalent jobs. Of this workforce, 11% are Māori, of whom 91% are employees, only



9% are employers, there are relatively few Māori in managerial or decision-making roles within tourism, and Māori earn 14% less than other workers (Ministry of Tourism, 2004, 2008b; see also Colmar Brunton, 2004; The Stafford Group et al., 2000, 2001; Mahuta, 1987).

Cultural tourism is highlighted as a strong growth sector for the tourism industry and the Tourism Strategy 2015 (Tourism Strategy Group, 2007) states that:

The demand for authentic Māori products is increasing, particularly those that combine traditional values and knowledge within a contemporary product. This means there is huge potential for greater Māori participation in the sector, by infusing Māori cultural elements across the whole range of tourism products. (p. 23)

Over half a million (567,200) tourists participated in Māori cultural experiences in 2006, representing 80% of international tourists, and a growth of 6% per annum since 2001. 86% of international tourists experience Māori cultural activities in one city, Rotorua (Ministry of Tourism, 2008b). The concentration of activity in Rotorua highlights how the benefits from tourism accrue to a relative few.

What a Māori cultural tourism business actually is remains unclear. A substantive body of literature has rigorously examined, and debated, definitions of Māori cultural tourism. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide such a definition, however, typically the Māori tourism experience is rendered in terms of ‘control’, ‘rights’, and ‘product’, or some combination of these three aspects.

Mahuta (1987) highlights control and regulatory aspects, as do Hall et al. (1993), who argue for restoration of rights based on the Treaty of Waitangi. Barnett (1997) maintains issues of control are at the core of Māori cultural tourism and are a focal point of concern for Māori. Emphasising the ‘product’ dimensions of defining Māori cultural tourism is the Aotearoa Māori Federation (as cited in Barnett, 1997) who describes the sector along four dimensions of: entertainment, art and craft, history and artefacts, and guided tours. The Colmar Brunton report (2004) proposes a specific list of Māori cultural products. In

their introductory guide for businesses, Tourism New Zealand (n.d.-b) predominantly discusses tourism activities in terms of a product-based approach. For example, they encourage businesses to consider aspects of product such as doing “product comparisons” with other businesses, identifying what products customers consume, how product is packaged and presented, and quality standards of product (p. 12). The Ministry of Tourism (2004) distinguishes between Māori in tourism (those Māori employed or involved in tourism activities that may not have an explicit cultural component), and Māori cultural tourism (where there is an explicit cultural component). Their definition draws a dividing line based on the provision of cultural product.

Another body of theorising emphasises a combination of ‘control’, ‘rights’, or ‘product’. Ryan (1999) tenders a perceptual map of three axes consisting of (1) the size and ownership of the product; (2) the duration or intensity of the visitor experience; and (3) the degree to which Māori culture forms the core of the product on offer (p. 229). Bennett (2001) argues that definitions need to have two aspects: that they provide a Māori tourism product, and that majority ownership is with Māori.

Whilst not exhaustive, the range of definitions discussed here raises questions. For example, McIntosh et al. (2004), Ryan (1999) and Wilson et al. (2006) highlight the complexities of attempts to define the sector, and questions include, “When a Māori working in tourism shares cultural information, on an ad hoc basis to tourists who are interested, ought it then be counted as a Māori cultural tourism experience?” There are also questions about how visitors might perceive of an experience *vis-à-vis* Māori. Or, how much culture is required before a Māori business can be classified as a Māori cultural business? If a business is classified Māori by a “majority” measure, i.e., 50%, what then for businesses not owned by Māori who employ Māori and the sharing of these people forms the majority of the experience? Are Māori not Māori when working as a hotel receptionist, but Māori when working as a cultural guide? Is seeking to define within the parameters of measurements for political or economic purposes a perpetuation of forces that are counter-effective for Māori? Many more questions emerge. The purpose here is not to answer the questions, rather to highlight definitional issues.

Issues of ‘control’ and ‘rights’ are extremely important from a Māori perspective, and closely align with the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi and the right to manage resources and other cultural taonga according to Māori preferences. In addition to these two important concerns, another field of theorising provides further insight into Māori cultural tourism. Maaka and Fleras (2000) highlight the relational aspects of tino rangatiratanga, often translated as self-determination, when engaging with Te Tiriti o Waitangi. They emphasise the importance of relations between equal partners, co-existence, belonging through difference, and that tino rangatiratanga includes “Māori control over Māori things within a Māori value system”. McIntosh et al. (2004) advocate a values-based perspective which calls for a Māori-centred approach, which they argue is essential for sustainable, self-determined development. The Tourism Strategy Group (2001) provides a relational-based view in their explanation that cultural tourism dimensions are “those cultural dimensions that enable more depth of interaction with, and understanding of, our people, place and cultural identity” (p. 29). A supply-side view that proposes a values and relational conceptualisation accords with McIntosh’s (2004) exploratory research that suggests the majority of tourists are seeking relationships and interconnection with Māori in informal settings.

There is a body of theorising then that tends to focus on values-based relationships, and the nature of those relationships. Māori businesses entering the industry might consider, alongside ‘rights’ and ‘control’ concerns, and alongside or instead of, product-focussed issues, questions such as: What kind of relationship do I wish to build with stakeholders? How can I facilitate this relationship? What values will help me express these spiritual, cultural, social, environmental, and economic relationships? What activities will help express these values? How can I produce well-being as a result of these relationships? How shall I build a Māori cultural tourism business as a site of relationships where Māori have control over Māori things within a Māori value system? How do I manage the tensions between acting with spiritual, cultural, social, environmental, and economic integrity whilst engaging with market expectations and demands?

### 3.3. Conclusion

Examining tangata, wāhi whenua, and huanga, broadly interpreted as people, place, and production, the challenges that face Māori tourism businesses today are cast in sharper relief. Reification occurs not only because of capitalistic activity but also ideological, political, and religious forces. These forces have contributed to a breakdown in relationships, and a failure to recognise others in a genuine, empathetic way, following Honneth's (2008) argument.

Early explorers, settlers, commentators, politicians, business people, missionaries, scientists, anthropologists, and ideologists took a keen interest in Māori; however, this interest was largely a self-absorbed exercise that served to affirm notions of Empire, and of self as a member of Empire. In this chapter, I have traced how early crusaders and cultural tourism brokers seized upon particular aspects of Māori identity in order to appeal to settlers and then to tourists. These aspects were infused with certain compelling meanings that over time have come to epitomize Māori identity in the international market.

As Bewes (2002) explains, the other exists as a sort of self-that-I-am-not. The other is conceived of entirely within a framework of reference of the self who is doing the 'othering' and, within the context of this chapter, it is a self-that-I-am-not within the grand narrative of Empire:

Empire is a power structure which has no outside, no other – or rather, the other of Empire exists within it ... (Hardt & Negri, as cited in Bewes, p. 249)

As explored in Chapter Two, and noted in the activities of cultural brokers as they marketed New Zealand from the outset, demand is ultimately formed not from the reality of people and place, but is simply a mirror of the aggregated, reified desires of first settlers, and then tourists. The phenomenon of self-other conceived of in the framework of Empire is a "conceptual apparatus [sic] of ideologies" says Gabel (as cited in Bewes,

2002) that leads to a form of schizophrenia, a false consciousness characterised by an absence of dialectical thinking, and by subjective immersion in an “egocentric” moral universe (pp. 158-159).

At the same time as wāhi whenua is promoted as 100% pure, clean and green, the reality of place follows a trajectory of unsustainable practices. Nature is constructed and imbued with emotive embellishments designed to sell, a process through which place then becomes “placeless” (cf. Relph, 1976), reified through time to reflect the projections of fluctuating desires: picturesque; scenic; adventurous; clean; green; youthful.

The examination of huanga identified sources of how Māori modes of production were fractured, and helps explain why even today, many Māori cultural tourism businesses must continuously struggle to counter the pervasive opinion that business is somehow a universal economic truth, notwithstanding it was formed in a distinctly Eurocentric paradigm (Henare, 2003; Petrie, 2006), which in this study, is equated with a commodity mode of exchange, and capitalistic enterprise that has a sole focus on profit-maximisation. Peet (2006) notes that, dominant among present-day Pākehā, that is, New Zealanders of Anglo-European descent, institutions, people are viewed as “independent, rational, self-interested, utility-maximising individuals” (p. 91) which is a particular outlook of a particular type of business, not a universal standard.

Having examined the reifying processes upon which modern-day cultural tourism is founded, in the next chapter I discuss how I set about obtaining insights from the field to reveal how Māori cultural tourism businesses adopt business models that promote a relational view of the world. The Māori businesses, in this study, resist belonging to tourism in reified terms within reified spaces. Instead, they focus on belonging through being in partnership with customers, suppliers, and other stakeholders. By focussing on belonging, they seek to engage with cultural tourism in a way that creates authentic and sustainable well-being.

## CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY

### 4.1. Kete mātauranga - basket of knowledge

Nau te rourou  
Naku te rourou  
Ka ora te tangata  
With your basket [of knowledge]  
And my basket [of knowledge]  
The people will be assisted  
(as cited in Puketapu-Hetet, 1989)

In this chapter, the metaphor of weaving a kete describes the research design, data collection and analysis process. According to Bishop (1996), weaving is a popular metaphor amongst Māori researchers, favoured for its holistic associations of bringing parts into a whole, the creation of unique form, problem-solving, and is a mode of explanation that makes sense of the world in a Māori way.

This research is represented as a kete mātauranga, a basket of knowledge, which is grounded in mātauranga Māori, Māori epistemology. Mead (2003, p. 305) describes mātauranga Māori as a “super subject” that encompasses “all branches of Māori knowledge, past, present and still developing” and he cites philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, language, history, and education as some of the many aspects that comprise mātauranga Māori.

The acquisition and use of knowledge as a sacred undertaking, and captured in the story of Tāne<sup>6</sup>, one of the children of the first parents, Ranginui, the Sky Father, and

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<sup>6</sup> There are various versions of this myth, some tribes, for example, my own Ngāti Kahungunu, have Tāwhaki ascend the skies. The sources for Tāne’s journey are predominantly taken from Marsden (2003), Orbell (1995), Reed (1972), Shirres (1997), Smith (1998), and Walker (1990). As such it is composite.

Papatūānuku, the Earth Mother, is asked by Io, the Supreme Being, to journey through the twelve heavens to retrieve the knowledge which will guide human existence on earth. The knowledge he received came in the form of three kete mātauranga, baskets of knowledge, along with two stones for assimilation of knowledge to ensure that what is selected from the kete is used wisely.

The knowledge Tāne sought was on behalf of everyone, and, as Smith (1998) highlights, while knowledge in each of the kete is highly specialised, each aspect is essential to overall well-being. Following Smith's explanation, although the knowledge contained in this thesis is specialised and pertains to the field of cultural tourism, its ultimate purpose is as a metaphorical kete mātauranga that has benefits for the Māori community as a whole, and other communities, beyond the tourism sector itself.

## **4.2. Locating the harakeke**

To a Pākehā, harakeke is simply a plant. To a Māori, it is a descendant of the great god Tāne-mahuta. (Patterson, 1992, p. 18, cf. Puketapu-Hetet, 1989)

To the weaver, explains Bishop (1996), the whāriki, the woven mat, they sit upon is the paradigm within which the weaving takes place and, for researchers, represents the paradigm within which they are “socialised”; it influences how they move and make sense of their experience (p. 233). The whāriki upon which this research is located is within a Māori worldview in response to the challenge by Jahnke and Soutar (2001) that Māori researchers describe and explain the world in ways that make sense to Māori. This whāriki is woven together with Māori epistemologies (drawn from a wide variety of knowledge sources such as story, myth, legend, pepehā proverbs, as well as scholarly contributions) and influenced by other epistemologies, such as ‘Western’ philosophical, institutional, and organisational theories. This whāriki position is supported by the wisdom of Sir Apirana Ngata, who in 1900, encouraged rangatahi to set their net between European and Māori fishing grounds, where fish can be seen intermingling (Royal, 2007). This body of work, situated within a Māori worldview and intended to make sense

to Māori, intermingles with other bodies of knowledge, just as the Māori businesses in this study bring ‘Western’ business practice together with Māori practice. Smith (1998) similarly argues that Māori research “weaves in and out of Māori cultural beliefs and values, Western ways of knowing, Māori histories and experiences under colonialism, Western forms of education, Māori aspirations and socio-economic needs, and Western economics and global politics” (p. 191). The implications for this research is its intermingling of theory, analysis, and diagnosis that weave between the Māori and Western, which thus has consequences beyond Indigenous landscapes. The discussion is structured throughout in such a way that the intermingling, like weaving, is clear – and not a ‘blend’ of perspectives that loses the integrity of epistemology.

The whāriki upon which this research, and I, sit is not a static, rigid, and unchanging paradigm, indeed it is itself being continually woven and retextured. As noted in Chapter Six, the temporal concept of the “eternal present” links ancestors and events of the past with people today (Shirres, 1986, p. 18), however, this does not mean being stuck in the past, because culture is very much a “matter of present experience, a living and lived-in reality” (Metge, 1976, p. 45). The “eternal present” is situated in an understanding of a greater reality wherein “the universe is not static but is a stream of processes and events” (Marsden, 2003, p. 21).

I also change in response to the world, including my own understandings of what my cultural inheritance of being Māori means. The self is reflexively made, and as Giddens (1990) says, this task is accomplished amid a puzzling diversity of options and possibilities; it is a dialectic between sustaining a coherent sense of self, yet continuously revising our biographical narrative. Identity is formed and transformed continuously in relation to the social and natural environment, through mediating a meaning for the self from the many realities being produced.

As Māori scholar Rachel Wolfgramm argues “Māori continue to see themselves as agents in an evolving cosmological community, and use whakapapa [genealogies] to actively interpret relationships in order to bring the sacred to the centre of being” (2007, p. 80).



She notes the “propensity to label Māori society as primarily communal and to then construct an orientation in which collectivism is over emphasized may be simplistic and flawed” (2007, p. 46), indeed, a more appropriate term might be ‘connectivist’ society, in which, drawing on Henare, “I belong therefore I am... and so *we* become”. This is a relational view of the world, where we are called into being through our relationships, through the interaction with kin, genealogies, and current day events (cf. Fitzsimons & Smith, 2000).

For example, every time I engage on a marae, with my elders, in conversations with my whānau, as a kaiako, teacher, of Māori economic development, I am evolving my own ‘Māoriness’, I am myself a site of “transformative praxis” (cf. Smith, 1997). Through my father I whakapapa to English, Danish, and French origin, and through my mother I whakapapa to largely Māori and Irish origin. I consider myself ‘the face of Te Tiriti o Waitangi’, that is, on the one hand I am tangata Tiriti and on the other hand I am tangata whenua, a person bound in a reciprocal relationship with Māori through the Treaty of Waitangi, and a person bound in reciprocal relationship through my tribal origins and whānau that connect me to the land and all of creation right through to Io. I am ever reflexively, interactively, and transformationally engaged in praxis with the world, to draw again on Smith (1997), with being Māori – a ‘beingness’ that is created relationally. I elaborate further on my research journey at the end of this chapter in section 4.9.

A commitment of this research programme is to be informed by Māori principles and to ensure the research is culturally appropriate to Māori. I am informed by the contributions that Bishop (1996, 2008), Smith (1998), and Te Awekotuku (1991) provide for Māori researchers, which includes:

- Placing at the centre of the research Māori values, ways of knowing, attitudes, and practices;
- Ensuring Māori-lived experiences are expressed in the voice of the research participants;

- Sharing the research process with the research community during the course of the research;
- Eventually sharing the findings in a way that is culturally appropriate;
- Undertaking critical analysis of unequal power relations in society;
- Challenging the terms and concerns that pervade research methodology discourse including validity, replicability, trustworthiness, credibility, and coherence which belie attempts to authorise research in a post-positivist paradigm;
- Establishing and being governed by the same protocols used to establish relationships among Māori when working with the research community;
- Respecting and protecting the rights, interests, and sensitivities of the people being studied at all times;
- Providing tangible benefit to Māori communities;
- Being guided and mentored by Māori elders.

The research principles explained above resonates with approaches advocated by other Indigenous scholars such as Foley's (2004) Indigenous standpoint theory, Cajete's (2000) advocacy for native science approaches, and Meyer's (1998) comprehensive study of Hawaiian epistemology which advocate for a subjective engagement with Indigenous communities guided by research praxis informed by cultural principles relevant to those communities.

### **4.3. Contemplating the harakeke**

It is important to me as a weaver that I respect the mauri (life-force) of what I am working with. Once I have taken it from where it belongs, I must give another dimension to its life-force so that it is still a thing of beauty. (Puketapu-Hetet, as cited in Patterson, 1992, p. 18)

In addition to being informed by Māori research principles practice, this study also shares features with the grounded theory approach founded by Glaser and Strauss (1967) and

advocated by Locke (2001) and Suddaby (2006). The features of the research methodology in this study that specifically draw on grounded theory include:

- The purpose of eliciting fresh understanding about patterned relationships and how these relationships and interactions construct reality (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Suddaby, 2006). The choice of research question, ‘How Māori cultural tourism businesses create authentic and sustainable well-being’, supports the purpose of illuminating how authentic and sustainable well-being is constructed within the field of Māori cultural tourism. The research question is broadly scoped to allow such insights to emerge;
- The focus of the research is concerned not only with the “subjective experiences of individual actors” but also on how “subjective experiences can be abstracted into theoretical statements about causal relations between actors” (Suddaby, 2006, p. 635). There was a strong emphasis on within-case and cross-case analysis to build theory, symbolised by the Five Well-beings map and the twenty-five practices presented in the empirical chapters. The Five Well-beings map and practices bring relations between research participants into a theoretical framework of how authentic and sustainable well-being is reflexively constructed;
- The approach draws upon a variety of data collection methods (interviews, observations, and a wide range of documentation) typical of grounded theory (Suddaby, 2006, p. 635);
- There was constant comparison between the collected data with analysis, and subsequent theoretical sampling about what data to collect next, as the nascent theory unfolded (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In other words, there was “no clean break between collecting and analysing data” (Suddaby, 2006, p. 636);
- The intention to produce a useful theory for application by Māori cultural tourism businesses in the field concurs with the pragmatist philosophical heritage of grounded theory, which argues that “a good theory is one that will be practically useful in the course of daily events, not only to social scientists, but also to laymen” (Locke, 2001, p. 59);

- The field insights, and voices of participants, are presented as narrative-styled accounts that “enable the reader to see and hear the actors in the studied social scene, but do so in terms of the composed theoretical framework” and aligns with a grounded theory approach (Locke, 2001, p. 115);
- Category saturation was a primary means of verification (Strauss & Corbin, 1998; Suddaby, 2006);
- Emergent findings were not forced into pre-established categories but the knowledge gathered formed its own novelty of categories (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

With regards tourism settings specifically, Jennings and Juneke (2007) argue that grounded theory has been under-utilised and is considered an innovative approach, valued for its responsiveness to tourism settings, and potential to offer “in-depth knowledge and understanding of the complexities of tourism phenomena” (p. 198). Grounded theory, they say, is a “critical turn from dominant quantifying research methodologies used to understand the human in tourism phenomena” (p. 202). Using grounded theory addresses the limited attention given to the relationship between stakeholder analysis and sustainable tourism (Hardy, 2005) and is useful for revealing new understandings of concepts such as authenticity in tourism settings (Jennings & Juneke, 2007). In summary, the use of grounded theory in tourism research:

... is one way to achieve holistic, in-depthful, theorizing that accounts for the lived experiences of the people engaged in touristic experiences whatever their stakeholder affiliation as well as to understand the phenomena of tourism in ever changing globalscapes and connectivities. (Jennings & Juneke, 2007, p. 207)

Grounded theory methods are further discussed in upcoming sections. Notwithstanding the many features of grounded theory employed in this research, it is not an attempt to prove orthodox grounded theory. Smith (1998) emphasises that too often methodologies privilege ‘Westernised’ labels and it is important for Indigenous researchers to examine their use of such methodological terms and processes (p. 125). Additionally, like weaving, Māori research principles and grounded theory building are not prescriptive and

vary from researcher to researcher. As Bishop (1996) highlights, while weaving projects are generally constructed to a general pattern, “the specific methods of construction vary from weaver to weaver, this variation creating the beauty and distinctive artistry of each artist” and, accordingly, show “great variation from researcher to researcher” (p. 233). Variations to patterns of research are reflected in the different influences upon research and the responsibility is upon the researcher to explain their process clearly and transparently to interested communities.

To avoid misunderstanding, Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) suggest that researchers avoid using the term grounded theory building unless the researcher is closely adhering to Glaser and Strauss’s 1967 approach. They emphasise that it is crucial to “convey the rigor, creativity, and open-mindedness of the research processes while sidestepping confusion and philosophical pitfalls” (p. 30). Suddaby (2006) argues for researchers to ensure their data analysis processes, including coding techniques and category creation, are transparent (p. 637). Similarly, Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) propose that researchers focus on explaining their processes of data collection and theory development, and that processes are reported transparently and with a clear description of techniques, for example, description of cross-case comparison techniques.

In response to the challenges by Bishop (1996), Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007), Smith (1998), and Suddaby (2006), in this chapter I offer a transparent account of the research method, and discuss each aspect of data collection and theory development processes.

#### *4.3.1. Weaving a theory*

So we start with the muka, which are the fibres of the flax, and each one of those represents people. And when we weave the flax on the three-plait, it represents the man and the female reproducing. (Kereopa, as cited in Moon, 2005, p. 111)

In this research I adopted a clear intention from the outset to gather harakeke leaves (insights drawn from participants, the ‘data’) from various pā harakeke (cases) with a view to constructing a theoretical framework (kete) that would have future utility for both

academic and practitioner purposes. The plan for this research was to “‘lift’ data to a conceptual level” (Suddaby, 2006, p. 636) and build a theory from the cases. However, it was important that conceptualising field insights did not occur in an abstracted theorising manner, but as part of a dynamic process of participatory engagement. The study is therefore a ‘flax-roots’ approach with a view to making a kete, and thus has more in common with grounded theory than with phenomenology.

Researchers need to challenge their motives and Bishop (1996) identifies problems with both deductive and inductive theorising from a Māori perspective. He suggests that deductive approaches can be “dominated by the researcher’s interests, concerns and methodologies” and, similarly, inductive approaches might be dominated by the researcher’s concerns and patronisingly construct “experiential meanings aimed at promoting empowerment for the research participants by means of clarifying their ‘opaque’ world-views” (p. 67). Terminology such as deductive or inductive may disguise flawed motives. It is the overall pragmatic epistemic perspective that negates the either or position of deductive/inductive, quantitative/qualitative, objective/subjective (see Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992; Deetz, 1996, 2000; Flyvberg, 2001).

The weaving metaphor, whereby field-based insights are transmitted through a framework that makes sense to Māori and is consistent with a Māori worldview, is considered more appropriate than induction or deduction for explaining how theory was woven. Using the analogy of a kete mātauranga ensures the integrity of each harakeke leaf (participant information) is maintained, and the use of narrative to present participant information in the empirical chapters is an important aspect of this commitment. Each harakeke leaf helps form the basis of the framework: the Five Well-beings framework derived from the data. Each harakeke leaf ultimately becomes part of the structure for the kete of knowledge. The harakeke leaves are not reformed as something else, but each is an identifiable, integral and interwoven part of a whole complex of leaves.

#### 4.4. Selecting the harakeke

So we also learn from the kete that each person has their own environment. This means we should not try to change someone else's environment, but we should get strength from that difference. But the only way we can get strength through difference is by understanding that there are differences. (Kereopa, as cited in Moon, 2005, p. 113)

The research question of how Māori cultural tourism businesses create authentic and sustainable well-being was studied in multiple sites. Stake (1994) argues that undertaking “case study is not a methodological choice, but a choice of object to be studied” (as cited in Locke, 2001, p. 16) and the subjects of this study are tourism businesses that offer Māori cultural experiences. While single-case studies can richly describe the existence of a phenomenon (Siggelkow, 2007), multiple-case studies offer a potentially stronger base for theory building (Yin, 2003). Glaser and Strauss (1967) argue that whilst a single case can indicate a general conceptual category or property, a few more can confirm the indication.

Following the decision to conduct a multiple-case study approach, four Māori cultural tourism businesses were selected for in-depth case studies. Four cases met the recommendation of Eisenhardt (1989) who argues that with four cases it is possible to generate theory whereas fewer than four means this it is often difficult. Adding three cases to a single-case study “offers four times the analytic power” (Eisenhardt & Graebner, 2007, p. 27). Yin (2003) also points out that having more than two cases can considerably strengthen findings.

Understanding how authentic and sustainable well-being is created in cultural tourism settings required substantial qualitative commitment. Each case study included several visits to each location, active participation, and gathering of multiple stakeholder interviews. Researching a business did not mean just talking to a few people, but included a wider complexity of gathering various stakeholder perspectives. Gathering a variety of stakeholder perspectives required significant commitment of time. For example, in order

to meet one supplier for one business, I made a special trip to Rotorua to attend a trade show to conduct the interview. I also travelled to Christchurch for several days on another occasion to observe another case business ‘in action’ at an event they were hosting. At one case site I was unable, at first, to secure customer interviews, which had to occur opportunistically as pre-organising interviews was not possible, therefore, I travelled back to the site on two occasions to obtain customer interviews. I participated on actual tours, for up to a week at a time. The in-depth and holistic nature of the research commitment is further elaborated on in section 4.5.1 when I discuss case business involvement and in section 4.5.2 where I highlight that 54 stakeholder perspectives were gathered as part of the research undertaking.

#### *4.4.1. Selecting for diversity*

Bellbirds are attracted to the bright red flower of the harakeke, and when the bellbird sips the nectar, pollen sticks to its feathers and is carried to the stigma of another plant, a seed forms and a new plant begins.

The businesses in this study were not selected on the basis that they were necessarily the ‘best’ or ‘top’ businesses in Māori cultural tourism. There is no definitive standard of best in this sector; indeed, Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) explain that in qualitative, case study based research, it is important not to search for representative cases:

Some readers make the faulty assumption that the cases should be representative of some population, as are data in large-scale hypothesis testing research. (p. 27)

In addition to the challenges of verifying any claim to be ‘best’, there are a number of other problems arising from that approach including the argument that there is less value added by simply researching the ‘usual suspects’ – those extensively researched businesses most commonly associated with Māori tourism. Similarly, the case businesses were not selected because of proven extraordinary economic success. The purpose of this study is to explore conceptualisations of well-being, including ‘wealth’, and not impose pre-determined criteria, such as a specified level of ‘profitability’.



A key aspect of Indigenous research approaches is the importance of relationships, and meaningful, responsible engagement with those relationships. I was first introduced to a pool of prospective case businesses through the Chairman of a Māori marketing collaboration, Māori Experienz (MENZ), who was participating in a cultural tourism cluster initiated through the University of Auckland Business School, of which I was a part. I had worked with the Chairman of MENZ previously in my tourism career and obtaining access to meetings to share the research objectives with member businesses was a smooth process. I was provided the opportunity to present the research proposal in Auckland and in Rotorua to prospective case businesses that had expressed interest in learning more about the research. From these meetings, three businesses, based on the reasons of diversity described below, were selected. The fourth business received the invitation to attend the meeting but was not able to so, however, I received an email and an invitation to visit them. After a visit to the business (8 hours drive away) I was convinced this business provided the extra diversity and perspective sought.

Whilst the businesses were diverse, they shared a common interest as founding members of MENZ. At the time of the research undertaking MENZ represented 15 Māori tourism businesses. At the time of research, MENZ was two years into a five-year marketing plan. The main purpose of MENZ was to target overseas wholesalers specialising in niche markets. The appeal of working with MENZ founder members was strong, as participating businesses appeared committed to proactively re-shaping Māori presence in tourism and were adopting innovative marketing strategies that centred on Māori values and were actively promoting themselves as ‘authentic’. Additional benefits of the case study businesses being members of MENZ are noted below with the quoted references being sourced from the MENZ Business Plan 2004-2008 (Māori Experienz Development Charitable Trust, 2004).

### *Researching Indigenous innovation*

MENZ aspires to provide the “ultimate indigenous experience for tourists”. This focus on indigenous experience is closely aligned with this research. It also has a stated goal of sector innovation aiming to offer a “new and innovative interpretation... to the way in which visitors explore and experience Aotearoa New Zealand” and “to provide a leadership role for Māori tourism”.

### *Working with Values*

MENZ has three core values: He Tangata - importance of people; Kaitiakitanga - caring for the environment; and Manaakitanga - hospitality. These values are indicative of the principles of Māori cultural tourism businesses that this research addresses.

### *Encouraging Participation and Collective Marketing*

In addition to their strong individual attributes the case study businesses by virtue of being part of MENZ offered me the opportunity to observe how Māori cultural tourism businesses could work together in their marketing to achieve supply chain synergies (as discussed Chapter Ten). In addition to being set up to overcome some of the difficulties smaller operators face, MENZ was established in response to the needs expressed in the New Zealand Tourism Strategy 2010 for both greater participation by Māori and increased awareness of Māori tourism initiatives. It had received significant funding from the Government’s Māori development agency Te Puni Kōkiri. This strategy included promoting the products and services of the members under the collective MENZ brand in the international and domestic markets. The group had resolved to collaborate in a spirit of unity by taking a “consistent, long-term, strategic approach to marketing”.

These businesses respond to a Māori worldview by seeking to create a relationship through that worldview through the expression of Māori values, through their engagement with what it means to be a Māori cultural tourism business, and through their collective response to the challenges confronting Māori cultural tourism businesses.

That one business is owned by a Pākehā is interesting, this business was a member of the group through their close relationship with Māori mentors, and to my mind, given they employ Māori guides who create the experience, and in recognition of the tremendous service provided by Māori employees throughout the industry it was, I felt, important to give Māori, as well as those Pākehā engaged in a meaningful way, a “voice”. However, a question arises – can a Pākehā-owned Māori cultural tourism business have a Māori cultural inheritance? I believe the answer lies in the advice of Sir Apirana Ngata given at the opening of this chapter when he encouraged rangatahi, youth, to set their nets between European and Māori fishing grounds, where fish can be seen intermingling (Royal, 2007), and where new bodies of knowledge can be found. The intermingled space is an important one to understand, as each of the businesses collaborate, and resist, the dominant business logic imposed by Western business practice. The inclusion of a Pākehā-owned business, and their remarkable Māori guides, adds lustre and complexity to the case study narratives and thus, more closely reflects the reality of Māori cultural tourism today.

Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) argue that, ultimately, the choice of cases should be made on the “contribution to theory development within the set of cases” (p. 27) and, whilst each case was unique, their commonality as members of MENZ would contribute to theory development.

A range of businesses that reveal interconnections between diverse business approaches was a key consideration for case selection. Siggelkow (2007) explains a benefit of diversity:

... it is often desirable to choose a particular organization precisely because it is very special in the sense of allowing one to gain certain insights that other organizations would not be able to provide. (p. 20)

Each business had special features that differed from the others and, when compared with the other case businesses, would yield a rich and complex view of organisational reality. The scale of operations ranged from handling a few hundred visitors per year to 80,000

visitors per year. The businesses selected held different positions along the supply chain, from an inbound operator to specific tour and accommodation providers. The businesses were embedded in different tribal areas, all situated however in the North Island. Each business was embedded in a diversity of ecosystems: geothermal, rainforest, marine, and urban-bush interface.

The target market for each business also differed. One business was highly focussed on developing luxury tours and seeking to develop the North American and Arab markets. Another two businesses were more focussed on a semi-domestic customer base marketing to New Zealanders and Australians, yet, these two businesses also differed from each other in that one was focussed on Europe and high-end eco-tourists, and the other on a wider range of global markets. The other business attracted a high number of customers from European countries seeking to get ‘off the beaten track’.

Another important aspect of diversity was the ownership model of each business. One was a charitable trust, effectively owned by the people of the hapū (sub-tribe); another was a joint venture between Māori and Pākehā (New Zealander of Anglo-European descent); another was privately owned by Māori and the other business was owned by a Pākehā who had operated tours in the region for over 18 years. The last business mentioned was deemed important on the basis that the business promoted Māori cultural tourism experiences, employed Māori guides, and was mentored by kaumātua (elders). Including this business accords with Barnett (2001) who notes that, even when the focus of study is on the Māori experience, “it is important to remember that not all operations are owned and operated solely by Māori” (p. 89). Additionally, as the majority of Māori who participate in the tourism sector are employees it was also deemed particularly important to include this last business in order that Māori employees were given a voice and not overlooked on the basis that they did not own businesses or work for Māori-owned businesses.

## **4.5. Gathering the leaves**

### *4.5.1. Interviews and involvement*

The reason that flax was so important to Hohepa was that in weaving flax kete (baskets), an understanding of whakapapa, history, and community emerged. (Moon, 2005, p. 111)

The first phase of data collection was in-depth, face-to-face interviews conducted with the CEO or owner of the business. The location and duration of the first interview varied. For two businesses, this first interview was held in an office and a lounge room and lasted for approximately 1.5 – 2.5 hours and took the format of a semi-structured conversation. A range of open-ended questions, loosely ordered around the concept of the Four P's of sustainable business developed by Spiller (1999): purpose, principles, practices, and performance measurement, provided an initial reference point to develop the conversations (see Appendix Four). However, whilst these questions and framework provided a reference point, they were not necessarily dealt with at the time, and the participants were encouraged to share what emerged for them as the conversation progressed. These conversations were recorded.

For another business, the first opportunity to collect data was at an incentive event the business was organising. It was a spectacular event, set on a hilltop above a west coast beach at dusk, where several busloads of Australians were brought to enjoy an evening of cocktails, drama, music, and hāngi. I found myself helping to set up tables and then later mingling with the customers and hearing about their impressions. Several travel agents had been invited, including representatives from the local tourism office, and they freely shared their thoughts on Māori cultural tourism.

For the fourth case business, beginning the data collection journey was different again. My arrival happened to coincide with the arrival of a television crew and presenter who were filming a story on the business for Māori television. I met the crew in a small

township and together we travelled to meet the business. A pōwhiri was held and I, along with the crew, was formally welcomed onto the whenua, the land. During the first few days of my stay with the business we did not discuss my research project. I helped around the place and even found myself introducing guests to the property and acting as an informal host. The night before I left we sat in the lounge and had an informal conversation about the research. It felt inappropriate to record the conversation and I captured insights and observations back in my room. Indeed, it was over one year later before I felt recording conversations with the owner would be an appropriate request to make.

These first encounters with the businesses reflected the pace of how relationships developed with each business. For two businesses, I was deeply involved in their processes and met with them many times over the next eighteen months. I participated in local events and hui, travelled around the country on tours, presented at conferences, hosted media, hosted case business visitors, provided input to training courses and tour itineraries, and helped with submissions for conference attendance and keynote presentations.

For the third business, whilst the contact was less frequent, I spent two days with the community at their local marae as part of a wānanga on sustainable development, and another three-day trip with the business guide and customers on an excursion. For the fourth business, the data collection process was more formal, and while I participated on tours, the interviews, apart from customer and supplier interviews, were generally held in an office.

#### *4.5.2. Stakeholders*

... each hukahuka – which is another layer of flax which is woven – represents another generation of people, so as you weave your kete you are weaving on more and more generations, and other sorts of connections as well. (Kereopa, as cited in Moon, 2005, p. 112)

Whilst this thesis was not out to ‘prove’ stakeholder theory, to omit gathering stakeholder perspectives in a thesis with sustainability at its core would be a weakness. The initial research method had planned to conduct symmetrical stakeholder interviews for each business, gathering the same number and type of stakeholders into focus groups. However, the experience in the field did not concur with this plan. Rather than focus on the ubiquitous ‘triple bottom line’ of social, economic, and environmental stakeholders, the data gathering process remained open to stakeholders that emerged from the field by virtue of their association with the businesses under study, and as result, stakeholder interviews were largely opportunistic.

Each business had a different focus on stakeholders. Some were intimately involved with the community, others with the environment, some had formal employees and others worked with industry colleagues or friends. For some businesses, it was possible to pre-plan interviews with customers and suppliers, for the others it was on an opportunistic basis according to whether customers and suppliers were available and willing to be interviewed. The uneven nature of stakeholder relationships reflected the interests and passions of each business.

The original ethics approval had anticipated the gathering of ‘opinion leader’ (key industry figures) political and Non Governmental Organisation (NGO) views. However, once in the field the systematic gathering of these perspectives was deemed unsuitable, as these commentators, whilst important to the businesses, did not feature strongly enough in their daily relationships and interviews proceeded under the direction of the business, not under theoretical pre-suppositions. Informal conversations were conducted with such stakeholders, for example, with the Minister for Tourism who was staying with one business at the same time I was there (we had both been invited to speak at a hui, gathering) and the opportunity to engage in conversation about Māori cultural tourism with the Minister proved valuable. Furthermore, political and NGO opinions could be gleaned from the prolific documentation these institutions produce, and have been woven into the literature reviews where appropriate.

Table 1 presents an overview of interviewees for this study. In all, 54 people were interviewed. This table does not include a number of conversations, such as those with stall-holders at trade shows, with travel agents I met during events, or conversations with tourists outside of formal interview settings. I have given each business the name of a native tree for ease of discussion, and these native tree names, *Kauri*, *Rimu*, *Miro* and *Pōhutukawa*<sup>7</sup> are used in the narratives in the empirical chapters.

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<sup>7</sup> The New Zealand ***Kauri*** (*Agathis australis*) are among the world's mightiest trees, growing to more than 50 metres tall, with trunk girths of up to 16 metres. The oldest known Kauri, Tāne Mahuta, is estimated to be between 1250 and 2500 years old. The ***Rimu*** (*Dacrydium cupressinum*) can reach up to 50 metres in height and was highly sought after for its strong, durable timber and often used in furniture, although very little is milled these days. The ***Miro*** (*Prumnopitys ferrugineus*) grows up to 25 metres high and bears a pinkish-purple fruit which is a favourite food of the kākā parrot and kererū wood pigeon. The ***Pōhutukawa*** (*Metrosideros excelsa*) is a coastal evergreen tree that grows up to 20 metres in height and produces a brilliant display of red flowers made up of a mass of stamens. See [www.doc.govt.nz](http://www.doc.govt.nz).



**Table 1: Overview of interview participants**

	<b>Case</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Group</b>
1	<i>Kauri</i>	Australia	Australian	Female	Supplier
2	<i>Kauri</i>	America	American	Female	Supplier
3	<i>Kauri</i>	NZ	Pākehā	Male	Opinion
4	<i>Kauri</i>	Hawaii	Japanese	Male	Supplier
5	<i>Kauri</i>	Tahiti	Tahitian	Male	Customer
6	<i>Kauri</i>	NZ	Māori	Male	CEO/owner
7	<i>Kauri</i>	NZ	Pākehā	Female	Employee
8-16	<i>Kauri</i>	NZ	Mostly Māori	Male/Female	Sub-contractors
17	<i>Kauri</i>	America	American	Female	Customer
18	<i>Kauri</i>	Hawaii	Hawaiian	Male	Supplier
19	<i>Kauri</i>	Hawaii	Native American	Male	Customer
20	<i>Kauri</i>	NZ	Māori	Male	Opinion
21	<i>Kauri</i>	America	American	Male	Customer
22	<i>Miro</i>	NZ	Pākehā	Male	CEO/owner
23-24	<i>Miro</i>	England	British	Male/Female	Customers
25	<i>Miro</i>	NZ	Pākehā	Female	Employee
26	<i>Miro</i>	NZ	Māori	Male	Employee
27	<i>Miro</i>	NZ	Māori	Female	Community
28	<i>Miro</i>	NZ	Māori	Male	Employee
29-35	<i>Miro</i>	NZ	Mostly Māori	Mixed	Community
36	<i>Pōhutukawa</i>	Germany	German	Female	Customer
37	<i>Pōhutukawa</i>	Mixed	German, Japanese	Female	Customer
38-43	<i>Pōhutukawa</i>	Mixed	Mixed	Male/Female	Customer
44-45	<i>Pōhutukawa</i>	NZ	Māori	Male/Female	CEO/owner
46	<i>Pōhutukawa</i>	NZ	Māori	Male	Employee
47	<i>Rimu</i>	Tahiti	Tahitian	Male	Customer
48	<i>Rimu</i>	NZ	Māori	Male	Employee
49	<i>Rimu</i>	NZ	Māori	Female	Employee
50	<i>Rimu</i>	UK	British	Male	Customer
51	<i>Rimu</i>	Australia	Australian	Male	Supplier
52	<i>Rimu</i>	NZ	Māori	Female	Employee
53	<i>Rimu</i>	America	American	Male	Customer
54	<i>Rimu</i>	NZ	Māori	Female	CEO/owner

#### *4.5.3. Observation*

When I arrive somewhere, at a garden, or in the bush, or wherever there are trees and plants, the first thing I do is sit down and think. I think about what is the meaning of these plants, and what they are trying to say to me. Because sometimes plants have things to say to you. So I wait, and it usually comes. This is something that people can get better at by practicing. When I started, I could sit for hours; slowly, I would get a sense of the plants and where they were at with their thinking. (Kereopa, as cited in Moon, 2005, p. 19)

A participant observation approach to fieldwork was adopted, that is, I sought to feel “at home” with the research group. Gray (2004) explains that in participant observation researchers should aim to become as immersed in the research setting as possible by sharing, experiencing, and learning about the participant’s symbolic world (p. 241). As explained in section 4.5.1., this immersion occurred to varying degrees, with each business guiding the extent and depth of participation.

Researcher field notes were maintained throughout the participant observation process. The aim was to capture an ongoing stream-of-consciousness about what was happening in the research, involving both observation and reflection. Following Eisenhardt’s (1989) advice, the approach of writing down “whatever impressions occur ... rather than to sift out what may seem important” was adopted in the recognition that it is “often difficult to know what would and would not be useful in the future”. The field notes included “push thinking” by asking questions such as “what am I learning?” and “how does this case differ from the last?” (p. 539). Field notes were usually handwritten, although occasionally recorded, and loaded into Nvivo, the software used to assist analysis (discussed further in section 4.6.) and attached to relevant codes or business profiles within the Nvivo system.

#### *4.5.4. Other documentation*

In addition to semi-structured interviews and participant observation, a wide range of supplementary documentation was drawn upon. This documentation included brochures, websites, photo albums, promotional flyers, tour itineraries, visitor books, tour cost calculations, client testimonials, previous studies, published books, and presentations produced by the businesses. Documentation produced by government departments such as the Ministry of Tourism, Tourism New Zealand, the Ministry of Fisheries, Department of Conservation, and the Ministry for the Environment was useful resources and particularly useful for helping to contextualise the issues in each business and the environment in which it operated. Such documentation often provided a contrast between the institutional view and the approach taken by the case study businesses.

#### **4.6. The weaving process**

[of weaving] Always work in a tidy and methodical manner. Not only will you avoid mistakes, but you will eventually work faster. (Puketapu-Hetet, 1989, p. 20)

The first step in the analysis process was to prepare the ‘leaves’ (participant transcripts and other ‘data’) for weaving the cross-case analysis together. The transcripts associated with each business were loaded into Nvivo and coded. Codes were derived directly from the transcript and appeared as “free nodes” in Nvivo; they were then sorted into “tree nodes” once patterns began to emerge. A key advantage of Nvivo was the opportunity to ‘splice’ the data in a number of ways – for example – to structure the nodes by values, by well-being dimension (which in the beginning were potential ‘bottom lines’) and by ‘supply’ and ‘demand’.

Three narratives on each business were then written. The first narrative was a storyline set out in a table format which highlighted key activities, the well-being associated with the activity, coding nodes, and values. Using this table, and referring constantly to the raw data, a comprehensive case study narrative that brought together the key themes into

a case story was written. A third narrative for each case was then written from a multiple perspective, for example, as a customer, or a tour guide, an owner, or a community member. These case stories are intended for each case business to use as they wish upon the completion of the thesis. Two have already been used, one as the basis of a case intended for publication in the University of Auckland Business School case series, and the other as part of a submission by the business to attend an overseas conference and by a American visitor who was given permission by the business to use the case study with her students.

Overlapping data analysis with data collection enabled me to take advantage of flexible data collection and provided freedom to make adjustments during the data collection process. During this period, a lot of the secondary data became more helpful, such as the websites, brochures, and testimonials that helped to contextualise the narratives further.

#### *4.6.1. The base whiri mekameka (four-strand 'plait')*

Whiri is the regular interlacing of not less than two plaiting strips to form a continuous band or surface, where all strips start and end parallel. *The number of plaiting strips can be uneven.* (Puketapu-Hetet, 1989, p. 43)

The preparation phase - the cutting, scraping, softening, and teasing of the metaphorical harakeke leaves, the transcripts and other data, of the kete mātauranga, the basket of knowledge, provided a robust and orderly foundation for the cross-case analysis. Again, Nvivo was a helpful tool in being able to conceptualise possibilities. Nvivo is especially useful for aiding a researcher “explore associations and relationships of particular themes” (Erakovic, 2006, p. 205). However, for an in-depth study of organisations which included a high level of participant observation insights, Nvivo was showing certain limitations.

A key limitation of Nvivo was the reductive tendencies through an over-reliance on codes to formulate theory. For example, whilst it was interesting that certain codes were busier than others (an example would be ‘food’) I was also aware, from participant observation

and the within-case analysis, that whilst not busy, other codes merited deeper attention because of their centrality in a particular business (for example, environmental advocacy in one business, and the significance of workplace training in another). Using Nvivo in the coding process highlighted the importance of not relying solely on qualitative software analysis to do my thinking for me or to regard it as a science based on quantitative assumptions in a qualitative study. It was certainly a very useful aid and has been utilised very effectively, most notably in larger studies (see Erakovic, 2006) that analyse large amounts of organisational documents.

A cross-case storyline was developed and early findings were emerging. Some of these early findings were that authenticity and sustainability were interconnected; that values are constructed within the context of the business; and that there is no singular or simple explanation of how a value might be expressed in practice, for example, *kaitiakitanga* for one business might mean taking a proactive role in local environmental issues and for another business it meant ‘connection to place’. While a value may have a standard ‘definition’ or explanation, they were very much subjectively understood and experienced differently by each person in each business.

Another early finding was that people engaged in cultural tourism seemed more motivated by a search for commonality, a way of connecting to each other and place, than about the so-called ‘difference’ often associated with cultural experiences whereby tourists are said to travel in search of the ‘exotic other’. The writing process exposed many overlaps between dimensions, and this proved to be another key finding; that values and practices are interwoven across dimensions. These and other early findings became the ‘base plait’ as the weaving process progressed.

The Five-Well-beings map emerged as a result of the Nvivo coding and cross-case analytical process. The ‘data’ was sorted in Nvivo into various categories, which included ‘bottom lines’. These ‘bottom lines’ became ‘well-beings’ when the holistic nature of the practices became evident. The data was also sorted into ‘values’ – thus well-beings, values, and the practices associated with them, came together into the Five Well-beings

map after conceptualising other possibilities. At what point did 'Io' as the first step come into being? It was clear very early when conceptualising the Well-beings map that spirituality permeated everything, it was what gave 'interconnectedness' its 'interconnectedness'. For a while the spiritual core was 'mana' (power derived from spiritual sources) and at another time it was manaakitanga – a reflection of the expression of mana in the world. I then reflected on the originating point of interconnectedness: Io. Early renditions show that in the centre of the map I had the 'CEO', and then the 'case company', as the creator of the well-beings. However, as Matua Pereme explained, and as the discussion in Chapter Eleven elaborates, Io emerged as the centre of the Five Well-beings map:

This brings me to the question of who then is the 'self' in Māori? The self is Io. The self is a 'creator' just as Io is a creator (Porter, personal communication, September, 2009). Humans are descendants of Io, and are linked, not in a distant, abstracted mode – but in an intimate, subjective mode. Io, at the centre of the Well-beings map, represents the origin of creation, and, Io also represents the human creation.

The Five Well-beings map, and the practices, are the result of the cross-case analysis of the field research, and as Mouly and Sankaran (1995) highlight in their organisational ethnography of R&D teams, the Five Well-beings map forms “a defensible first step towards generalization of [these] findings from the study” (p. 125), in this case, of four Māori cultural tourism businesses.

#### *4.6.2. Weaving the narrative*

Māori believed that the flax species was the last plant created. Because in the flax, is the story of man. So it was the last plant created before man was created. So when we weave the flax, we see it as weaving people. (Kereopa, as cited in Moon, 2005, p. 111)

The data chapters were interwoven with Māori literature to locate each well-being dimension and associated practices in a Māori worldview. Originally, each practice section was followed by an intersecting view in the wider organisation literature. It

became clear, however, that presenting the intersecting views in this manner was confusing, and these are now presented in Chapter Eleven.

Whilst the practices had been comprehensively scoped, with exemplar quotes, significant time was then dedicated to developing a short narrative for each business within the context of each practice. The earlier within-case narratives proved an excellent resource for this process.

It seemed especially important to retain unevenness within each practice to truly reflect the unique nature of each business and its field of activity. By revealing a range of interpretations and practices the research provided more insights.

As field examples from the cases are presented according to each practice there was the potential to create a staccato effect in that each business is not presented in a long, uninterrupted narrative. As Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) explain, a complete rendering of a case story in a multiple-case research project is often not feasible given spatial constraints, and this was my experience. They argue for presenting the emergent theory wherein rich empirical evidence supports the theory (p. 29) and reflects the approach I have taken.

#### *4.6.3. Tying the last of the leaves*

And there are three leaves we do not touch – we call these the mother, the father, and the child. The child is the small leaf in the middle, and you will see how the two leaves on either side – the mother and the father – protect it. So we never cut any of these leaves, because they are the whānau – the family – and they are there to make sure that the flax plant survives and keeps growing. (Kereopa, as cited in Moon, 2005, p. 111)

In terms of saturation, how did I know when to stop collecting and weaving? My experience of saturation resonated with that described by Suddaby (2006) and Locke (2001). Suddaby explains that the signals of saturation include repetition of information

and when the conceptual categories that have been developed are being confirmed (p. 639). Locke explains that her own experience revealed saturation was reached when the conceptual categories account for most of the data gathered, and the story has become clear.

In addition to category saturation, Locke (2001) highlights that it is not possible to “exhaust every fragment and every potential category in the data” and thus the emergent theory will not be a complete account of the phenomenon studied (p. 53). The quote that introduces this part of the weaving process reveals the flax gathering protocol of not cutting every leaf, which would ultimately destroy the harakeke. In the terms of this thesis, taking every piece of information is impracticable as not all of it could be used in the final kete mātauranga, basket of knowledge.

#### *4.6.4. Presenting the findings*

We, here, we never used to do weaving alone. Even if there were other things happening, there would never be just one person weaving. (Kereopa, as cited in Moon, 2005, p. 124)

Findings were presented to the case businesses during the course of the study. These presentations occurred in a variety of ways, including one-on-one explanations, and at MENZ meetings where updates were given on the research progress. I also had the invaluable opportunity to present my research when it was in its final stages at a Māori tourism workshop which attracted a gathering of approximately 50 people comprised of tourism operators, Māori Tourism Council staff and other personnel engaged in Māori tourism. This interactive workshop provided an excellent forum for receiving feedback. Two of the case businesses were also in the workshop and I was able to receive their feedback. An invitation to speak at a regional hui, gathering, organised by one of the case businesses, which had attracted members of the local tourism community, government institutions, Ministerial personnel, and the cultural community, enabled me to present the research in its final stages of analysis. Once again, being able to present, mingle, and engage in discussion about the research insights provided a valuable opportunity for



gathering responses from the field that served to further validate the Five Well-beings framework and associated insights.

Co-convening an Indigenous tourism stream at the Association of Social Anthropologists Ownership and Appropriation Conference, held in Auckland, in December, 2008 was also very helpful for me. The Indigenous tourism stream attracted Indigenous scholars from around the world, along with academic luminaries in the field of cultural tourism and anthropology. The Five Well-beings map, which is introduced in Chapter Five, was presented and the opportunity to receive feedback, and the encouragement regarding theoretical conclusions, was invaluable.

I also gave lectures on Māori cultural tourism at the University of Auckland Business School and the Auckland University of Technology. I also presented twice at the annual MAI doctoral forum<sup>8</sup> and these particular events provided an important forum to receive feedback from academic peers across a wide range of disciplines.

#### **4.7. Completing the kete**

When you have made your first piece of weaving – it might be a basket, or whatever – then you give it to somebody. You don't keep it for yourself. (Kereopa, as cited in Moon, 2005, p. 125)

Gifts possess more than material attributes; to give something is to give a part of oneself (Mauss, 1950/1990) and they are highly symbolic statements about the relationship between the giver and the receiver (Clarke, 2007). Giving back to the research community, and other communities, is an important aspiration of this research project (see Appendices Two and Three).

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<sup>8</sup> MAI (Māori and Indigenous programme) is a national programme for Māori and Indigenous postgraduate advancement. The MAI network extends throughout the country and, to some extent, internationally. It provides advice, support and information to Māori and Indigenous PhD candidates.

Upon the completion of the study, each business will receive a personalised review of relevant points especially for their business, and will be offered the option of having the final research results presented at a hui for each business. All businesses expressed interest in such an event. An online Māori cultural tourism guidebook that features each business is intended once the thesis is completed. A key benefit to stakeholders such as employees, customers, suppliers, colleagues, the community, and the environment was the increased understanding by the businesses about their needs, for example, Māori environmental management processes.

In the ethics approval process I originally had envisaged offering a \$50 fee (or equivalent koha, gift) for stakeholders who participated, however, this was quickly stopped in the field. The first interviewees refused the offering of a koha. I therefore arranged a series of gifts, usually books on aspect of Māori life, or other taonga for customers. These were much appreciated, especially by customers. A combined koha was given to one community trust as acknowledgment for their participation. More importantly, I accepted opportunities to be of service and these have been described in section 4.5.1.

Sharing the contents of the kete occurred, and will continue well beyond the period of the study - in the wider community from mentoring and teaching other Māori students, and by serving kaumātua, the elders, and being involved in their various political, leadership, and environmental activism projects.

#### **4.8. Limitations of the kete**

*Theoretical limitations:* As a frame for critical enquiry, the concept of reification has limitations and four key aspects are examined here. The first limitation is that just as the colonial enterprise was founded upon a “single animating idea” so, too, is reification which reduces everything to a single narrative (Bewes, 2002, p. 15). Secondly, Bewes (2002), Butler (2008) and Lear (2008) respectively argued that reification could

perpetuate the “Arcadian myth”, where the colonised are rendered as having lived in a pristine society before colonisation. The “Arcadian myth” fails to recognise the multifaceted reality of the original society. Thirdly, the concept of reification is Eurocentric and contains tendencies to subordinate important issues to the concept of reification. For example, racism is subordinated to a concern with reification, which strips racism of specificity from “being a thing in itself” (Bewes, 2002, p. 21). Lastly, in taking up Honneth’s (2008) position that a position of care is an antidote to reification, the critiques of Butler (2008), Geuss (2008), and Lear (2008) are worthwhile noting, they argue it should not be assumed that all caring has good intentions.

I have carefully aimed to engage with the concept of reification as an opportunity for critical discussion and theorising, without being a slave to reification’s defence. Furthermore, it is beyond the scope of this study to explain pre-colonial Māori society in its entirety; this has been well covered by esteemed historians such as Belich (1996), Henare (2003), King (2003), Petrie (2006), and Salmond (1997) along with many others. Additionally, by problematising the issue of stereotyping, for example, through the lens of reification, I did not dogmatically pursue reification; the purpose of this study is not to test theory including the concept of reification. Accordingly, the bulk of the analysis and theorising is located within a Māori worldview to avoid both Eurocentrism and the denial of Māori experience and the use of participant narrative grounds the discussion and analysis in Māori experience. It is a false dichotomy to suggest that all objectification is reifying, and all detachment is uncaring. I have ventured to meet the challenge issued by Ateljevic et al. (2007) to contest academic ideologies and practices that create “either/or” dichotomising and engage “both/and” thinking (p. 3). The presentation of the data narratives serves to reveal the complex nature of the field and does not reduce participant experience to a dichotomy of “good caring” or “bad caring”. Whilst reification is offered as a critique of dominant systems, it ought to be acknowledged that a Māori worldview also offers examples of reification. A core point of the theorising in Chapters Two and Three is the imposition of reified structures onto the Māori worldview.

*Methodological limitations:* Four in-depth case studies, whilst providing thick description and rich insight, do not readily yield generalisable results and are less likely to deliver the same level of repeatability, for example, as a study with many more case studies or a study that adopts a quantitative approach. However, there can be greater validity in fewer case studies as research findings more accurately represent what is really happening in the situation. Siggelkow (2007) persuasively argues that studies with smaller quantities can be qualitatively richer and highly convincing and, indeed, even one case “can be a very powerful example” (p. 20). He maintains that it is important in theory development not to lose sight of the fact that cases, no matter how few, have a direct and intense exposure to the world and these empirical observations are “truly interesting” (p. 23). Bishop (2008) cautions Indigenous researchers from succumbing to post-positivist approaches to ‘authority’ and ‘validity’, which can eclipse the sense making, meaning construction, and voice of the researched. Additional explanations regarding the nature of working with four cases in Māori settings have been examined in sections 4.4 and 4.5.1.

#### **4.9. The weaver’s journey**

In the old people’s way ... you learned and understood the spiritual side. This is what most young weavers miss out on today. I am talking about where weaving is part of you; when you are weaving you are at one with yourself and the world. It is a sense of belonging and of self-knowledge. (Puketapu-Hetet, as cited in Patterson, 1992, p. 24)

Returning to the story of Tāne that began this chapter, like Tāne’s journey to gain the three baskets of knowledge, this thesis too has been a journey which I now explain, using the framework offered by Tāne’s experience as a way of sharing my research journey. In this section I offer insights into my personal journey both as a researcher and as a Māori woman. The reflexive nature of this section finds ample support from other Māori scholars such as Ruwhiu (2009), Smith (1998), and Wolfgramm (2007).

*Timing of the journey:* Tāne first refuses the call by Io to collect the three baskets of knowledge, and two stones. He advises Io’s messengers that the timing is not right as the

winds are violent at the time and the upper heaven disturbed, and that he will undertake the journey in summer. Similarly, the timing of this research project has been crucial for me. I spent 15 years abroad developing a career in tourism, from commencing my first position working as a telex operator in 1985 through to working as a director, responsible for developing tour programmes into countries as diverse as Bhutan, North Korea, Indonesia, Vietnam, and India. During the latter stages of my career, I became increasingly concerned about the way in which Indigenous peoples were expected to participate in tourism. This “conscientization” (Smith, 1997), upon reflection, was an important step in becoming more aware of the hegemony of tourism production systems and I felt a call to action. Undertaking the research journey began with a Masters in International Relations at Victoria University, Wellington.

Another aspect of the conscientization journey existed beyond the physical journeying to other countries and this was the interior journeying of my own Māoriness. Upon returning home to Aotearoa New Zealand in 1998 my Māori grandmother (the only grandparent I have known) aspired to share with me her knowledge and whakapapa. She took me on a journey to our papakāinga, our home village, and over a number of years educated me on Te Ao Māori, about learning to view the world in a Māori way.

*Spiritual guidance:* When summer arrives, Tāne undertakes a purification ritual, the pure. The purpose of the pure is to loosen from the person all gods considered dangerous and to bind to the person all those gods considered beneficial and who will provide strength and protection. For me, the purification process came in the form of breast cancer just six months into my research journey. The challenges of breast cancer are not only physical in terms of surgery, chemotherapy, and radiation treatment but are also deeply spiritual. During the healing process, I sought strength and protection from the spiritual powers, including the guidance of my ancestors who by now included my grandmother. Whilst challenging, cancer offered me the opportunity to fully embrace the spiritual aspects of life and motivation to purify against negative beliefs and behaviours. It was also during this period that the kaumātua, the elders, who guided my healing journey, as well as this research journey, came forward.

*Trials:* Tāne ascended to the heavens on swaying ropes that were the rising whirlwinds of Tāwhirimātea. Learning that Tāne was ahead of him, Whiro, angry and resentful at not being selected for the journey, sends swarms of insect and bird demons in pursuit of Tāne. With assistance from Tāwhirimātea these demons are blown away and Tāne is spiralled upward through the heavens. My journey has been assisted by a community of people committed to helping me succeed, including supervisors, kaumātua, the case businesses themselves, my husband, whānau, doctoral colleagues, the MAI cohort, and many other special individuals. A Māori doctoral journey cannot be achieved in an individualistic way without community, and just like Tāne, receiving support has helped me overcome the many trials of the doctoral journey.

*Apoteosis:* In Tawhirirangi, the eleventh sky, Tāne undergoes ritual ceremonies to prepare him for receiving the knowledge upon entering Matangi-reia, the original whare wānanga, the house of learning. Tāne now stands in the presence of Io, the Supreme Being.<sup>9</sup> As Tāne stands in the presence of Io, he is at the source, and for my doctoral journey this is to be at the source of authentic existence. If there were only one way I am transforming as a result of this research journey, I would hope that it is that I am becoming a more authentic human being.

*Taking the boon back:* Tāne successfully returns to the ordinary world, undertaking more purification ceremonies to remove the tapu, the sacredness from association with the intense sacredness of Io and to return him to ordinariness, or noa. Tāne places the baskets and stones in the earthly house of learning, the Whare Kura. It is my hope that this thesis, this kete mātauranga, is indeed a ‘boon’ to Māori society and has use for both practitioners and academics alike.

The framework used to describe Tāne’s journey draws on Joseph Campbell (2003), whose lifelong cross-cultural study of myths, has bequeathed a framework of seventeen

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<sup>9</sup> Some accounts say it was Rehua, the Goddess of Kindness, who gave Tāne the baskets.

steps along the “Hero’s” journey. Typically, “Hero Myths” involve three key sections: the departure, the initiation, and the return. The individual is linked to society, disengaged, and then journeys to the deep seat of his or her own life within himself or herself (p. 164). Perhaps every researcher needs to find that hero capacity within them to undertake, and complete, the doctoral journey but, more importantly, understand that the quest for knowledge is not about what we know, but what the knowledge is for and how that knowledge serves others.

## **CHAPTER FIVE: A FIVE WELL-BEINGS APPROACH IN MĀORI CULTURAL TOURISM**

In Chapter Three, I outlined how reification in Māori cultural tourism occurred as a result of capitalistic, ideological, political, and religious forces. These forces have contributed to a breakdown in relationships, which, following Honneth's (2008) explanation of reification arises from a failure to recognise others in a respectful and empathetic way. Creating authentic and sustainable well-being in Māori cultural tourism, this research shows, rests upon a fundamental belief in reciprocal relationships in which humans treat each other and nature with empathy and respect.

In this chapter, I introduce the Five Well-beings of Māori cultural tourism business, and explain the five meta-themes that emerged from the field research. The field insights identified in this study demonstrate how Māori see things in terms of well-being, and hereafter I shall refer to the 'Five Well-beings' as the 'Well-beings'. The Well-beings map draws the meta-themes into an illustration that symbolises how authentic and sustainable well-being is created through developing reciprocal relationships of respect that are informed by Māori values, and applied through praxis that transforms tourism contexts into sites of well-being.

Mauri ora, in the Five Well-beings approach discussed in this chapter, came to mean the creation of conscious well-being, that is, to be awake to the potential of a situation and the potential in each other, and consciously manifest that potential. Māori values are part of a wide system of knowledge that informs humans on how to create mauri ora, and when applied in praxis with context, authentic and sustainable well-being can emerge. Praxis includes consciousness of context, of precedence, of interrelationships, of consequences, and, importantly, consideration of values that are applied consciously in context.



The multi-dimensional approach illustrated in the Well-beings map engenders an holistic and developmental perspective and is a perspective that Honneth (2008), drawing on Adorno, argues is necessary to develop intimacy in relationships and to counter reifying processes: “the preciseness of our knowledge depends on the extent of emotional recognition or affective acceptance of as many perspectives as possible” (p. 46). Building and maintaining relationships forms the basis of a pakihi approach in cultural tourism.

### **5.1. Presenting the Five Well-beings map**

In addressing the central research question of ‘How Māori cultural tourism businesses create authentic and sustainable well-being’, the Well-beings map extends earlier contributions to the discussion on Māori sustainable development which advocate a multiple bottom-line approach to Māori business (Barnett, 1996; Foley, 2008; Loomis, 2000; Morgan, 2008; Sharples, 2007; Spiller, Spiller, & Henare, 2006; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006; Tourism Strategy Group, 2007; Ulrich Cloher & Johnston, 1999). The ubiquitous ‘bottom line’ that pervades sustainability literature is extended in this study to reflect an integrated, cohesive, dynamic, and holistic approach to help create well-being across spiritual, cultural, social, environmental, and economic dimensions.

The term ‘well-being’ is rarely used to describe sustainable business even though it is embedded in the Local Government Act (New Zealand Parliament, 2002). The Act explicitly refers to “four well-beings” in its statement of purpose that provides for local authorities to play a broad role in promoting the social, economic, environmental, and cultural well-being of their communities. For Māori, however, the links between economic activity and well-being are deeply established. Petrie’s (2006) examination of Māori participation in the early colonial economy demonstrates how mana, broadly meaning power and authority, was associated with chiefly capacity to produce multi-dimensional well-being. A wide body of scholarship maintains that contemporary Māori economic goals need to be integrated with socio-cultural and ecological goals (Bargh, 2007; Barnett, 1996; Durie, 2003; Foley, 2008; Henare, 2007; Hinch et al., 1998; Loomis,

2000; Morgan, 2008; Peet, 2006; Reihana et al. 2007; Ruwhiu, 2009; Spiller et al., 2006; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006; Tourism Strategy Group, 2007; Ulrich Cloher & Johnston, 1999). The Well-beings approach adds to this body of work.

A Well-beings approach brings the material and spiritual worlds into intimate connection, and reflects the cosmology of Te Ao Māori, meaning a Māori worldview, in the context of cultural tourism activities. The five meta-themes that emerge from the field research and data analyses are:

- The centrality of spirituality and the process of becoming;
- Values inform behaviour;
- Values weave the five well-beings together;
- Praxis is consciousness in process;
- Practices are interwoven and interdependent.

In the following sections, I discuss each of these meta-themes in greater depth. These meta-themes give rise to a central tenet of this thesis: that creating authentic and sustainable mauri ora is to consciously realise and manifest the full potential in multi-dimensional relationships. Through developing reciprocal relationships of respect, being informed by Māori values, and applying praxis, pakihi can transform tourism contexts into sites of well-being.

#### *5.1.1. Spirituality is central and a process of becoming*

The first step in a Well-beings approach is to acknowledge the centrality of the spiritual dimension in business activities, and concurs with Wolfgramm's (2007) study of the Māori worldview in organisation theory, which also emphasises the primacy of the spiritual dimension. A cosmological understanding begins with the deep-seated appreciation that all aspects of creation are related through a common genealogical origin of Io, the Supreme Being (Henare, 2001, 2003; Marsden, 2003). As Henare (2003) explains, "the notion that all life has an original source, is a fundamental belief in

traditional Māori religion and is articulated in oral tradition” (p. 5). He traces the existence of Io as pre-dating European contact: “Io is a symbol and a metaphor of something profound in nature and in the human mind. The primary life-force and the source itself are to Māori evidenced in the natural and cosmic world” (p. 73). The pre-eminence of spirituality in Te Ao Māori is reflected in the Well-beings map by the placement of Io at its centre in Figure 2.



**Figure 2: The Well-beings map showing Io**

Māori, explains Marsden (2003), believe that the spiritual precedes the material, and, Māori values are ideals that call humans towards achieving excellence. He outlines a three-tier order of values: spiritual, psychological, and biological. Of these three categories, spiritual values are pre-eminent. That the spiritual precedes the material is not to suggest a lineal conceptualisation but rather, a dynamic, cyclical, unfolding, and relational interaction between the spiritual and the material, wherein the spiritual dimension is a vital and integral part of all activities, including business.

Humans live in a world of light, referred to as Te Ao Mārama and have an important purpose that involves seeking enlightenment (Henare, 2001; Marsden, 2003). According to Marsden (2003), the achievement of authentic being is an unfolding process of “how one nurtures one’s being through living an authentic life” (p. xiv). He emphasises the centrality of this concept when he speaks of the need to understand what things are becoming: to understand a rock one must look to the “crystal into which it is becoming” (p. 45). In his view, there is deep appreciation that all things are in a process of ‘becoming’.

The concept underlying the notion of becoming is tupu, that is, to unfold one’s nature (Benton, 2004; Henare, 2003). Ordinary things in a Māori worldview do not gain their natures by “imitating” forms that are transcendent and to which all things approximate

(Marsden, 2003, cf. Plato), rather, they seek to reveal their own true nature. Humans are ever in the process of becoming, of unfolding their true nature. Reflecting on Marsden's concept of authentic existence, enlightenment can be considered as a state of being fully engaged in the world and of becoming full potential. Cajete (as cited in Royal, 2002) also captures the ethos of becoming which he describes as an emergence towards becoming complete:

... emergence into the world is an evolutionary tale of gradual development towards this concept of being complete as a man or as a woman ... humans are questing for or on the path towards becoming ... it might even be said that we're pre-human, we're questing towards becoming truly human ... (p. 40)

The centrality of the spiritual domain in business reflects a fundamental commitment of many Indigenous peoples, explains Cajete (2000), to place pre-eminence upon spirit in life and human endeavour.

Appreciation of a spiritual life-force that permeates all of creation, unifying all, is key to understanding how mauri ora, is a consciously created well-being. Mauri can mean the life principle, the life force, the source of all emotions, the thymos of man, and oftentimes is used to denote a person (Williams, 2004). Ora denotes "well" and "in health" (Williams, 2004). When mauri and ora come together, it can mean "conscious" (Māori Language Commission, 1995), and is used in the context of this study to mean 'conscious well-being'.

Mauri is a complex concept. Mauri philosophically speaking is a life-force. Mauri, for example, gives the tōtara tree its 'tōtaratreeness' and the manuka tree its 'manukatreeness'. Mauri gives "uniqueness and being to each individual object" and is a binding force, an energy that brings species together and "is immanent in all things, knitting and bonding them together" says Marsden (2003, p. 47), thus bringing unity in diversity (p. 60) and ascribing intrinsic worth to all (Morgan, 2008). Reflecting Marsden and Morgan, being bound together through mauri unifies all aspects of creation, and is

not unity without differentiation, but unity appreciative of the intrinsic spiritual worth, and difference, of each.

According to Theodore and Porter (2009), mauri, broken into its original meaning, means descendants of the light, ma = light and uri = descendants. They believe that ‘Mauri’ is a more appropriate name for the Māori people. Māori, meaning ‘usual or ordinary’, was a name that became popularly used relative to the “different” Pākehā, people of Anglo-European descent (Frederick & Henry, 2004, p. 115). Mauri, however, is an ancient identifier that recognises the true essence of inhabitants of Te Ao Mārama, depicted as the world of light, who whakapapa to the source of creation, the creator of the cosmos, Io. A world of relatedness, unified through a common source in Io and bound by life energies such as mauri, offers a holistic, inter-connected view of the world.

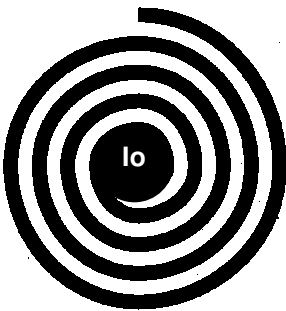
#### *5.1.2. Values inform behaviour*

Māori values are like ‘stars’ guiding Māori cultural tourism businesses. Values provide direction, illuminate the human pathway, and are among “the shining treasures of the culture” (Barclay, 2005, p. 236). Māori values contain guidance for Māori businesses, hereinafter referred to as pakihi, interpreted as enterprise and business (Māori Language Commission, 1995).

As the empirical chapters highlight, pakihi refer to the wisdom contained in values, developed by Māori over the aeons in relationship to the world around them. These values inform pakihi as they seek to create authentic and sustainable well-being. Henare (2001) outlines a traditional spiral of ethics, which he says, “simultaneously presents Māori worldview and acts as a check on that worldview” (p. 213). Henare’s view accords with other commentators who have variously highlighted the role of values as instruments to make sense of the world (Marsden, 2003; Shirres, 1997), to maintain cultural identity (Solomon, as cited in Bargh, 2007), to guide Māori businesses in general (Durie, 2001, 2003; Knox, 2005; Morgan, 2008; New Zealand Institute for Economic Development [NZIER], 2003; Reihana et al., 2007; Ruwhiu, 2009; Sharples, 2007;

Wolfgramm, 2007) and to guide sustainable Māori tourism development in particular (Barrett, as cited in Ombler, 2007; Benton, 2004; McIntosh, Hinch, & Carr, 1999; McIntosh et al., 2004; Ulrich Cloher & Johnston, 1999). McIntosh et al. (2004) provide a particularly compelling argument for a values-based approach to sustainable Māori tourism development. They present a non-exhaustive list of Māori values that form the basis of sustainable Māori tourism approaches and suggest that the qualitative nature of values enables Māori tourism businesses to define tourism in their own terms.

The second aspect of the Well-beings map depicted in Figure 3, uses the symbol of the spiral, represented by the koru (cf. Henare, 2001) to signify values that inform pakihi efforts towards the creation of authentic and sustainable well-being across the spiritual, cultural, social, environmental, and economic dimensions.



**Figure 3: The Well-beings map showing Io and koru of values**

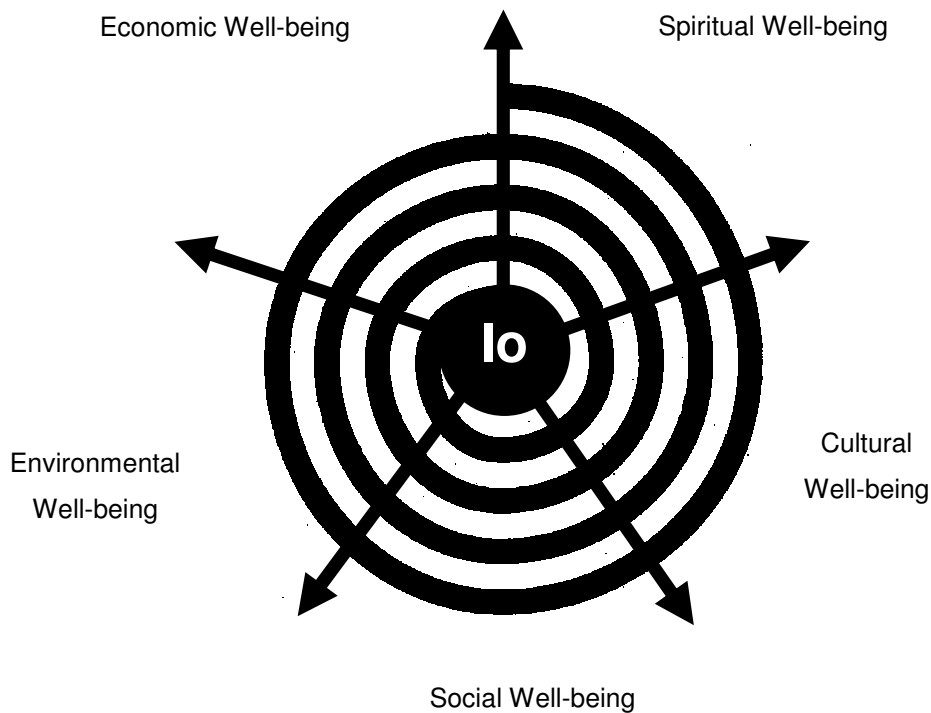


**Figure 4: The koru of values reflects Māori cosmology**

The koru is also representative of the cyclical, dynamic, unfolding nature of the cosmos as shown in Figure 4, and reinforces a central tenet of this thesis: that creating authentic and sustainable well-being in a Māori cultural tourism business emerges from a Māori cosmological view.

### 5.1.3. Values weave the Five Well-beings together

In Figure 5 the spiritual, cultural, social, environmental, and economic well-beings are combined with Io and the koru of values to further map how pakihi can create authentic and sustainable well-being.



**Figure 5: The Well-beings map showing Io, koru of values, and the Five Well-beings**

Applying values consciously in context is essential, and abstraction of concepts from context must be avoided. A central dynamic of an Indigenous paradigm is connection to context-dependent relationships, which contrasts a Western (*Flatland*) approach that might promote separation of concept and context, as Henare (1994) highlights:

Māori concepts are not abstract notions, nor matters of principles alone. It must be kept in mind that there are particular transformations involving relationships and actions. (p. 216)

There is widespread agreement that Māori values ought not be treated as discrete, abstract concepts isolated from context. Māori values exist in dynamic relationship with each other, as interlocking parts of a whole system of knowledge, inseparable from the context of life itself (Durie, 1998, 2003; Henare, 1994, 2001; Kereopa, as cited in Moon, 2003; McIntosh et al., 2004; Pere, 1982; Zygodlo et al., 2003). Māori values, explains Durie (2003), cannot simply be interposed upon a sector, or in this study, a pakihi, to provide a Māori component. Values must be connected to a philosophical framework centered on a Māori worldview and take into consideration Māori people, assets, and priorities. Marsden (2003) also explains that values are interwoven with a whole complex of beliefs, attitudes, mores, customs, and knowledge (p. 34). Drawing on values, therefore, requires being cognisant of a wide body of considerations, and to say a business is ‘values-based’ is much more complex than simply espousing values.

The Well-beings approach identified through the activities of the pakihi in this research takes cognisance of community aspirations and social connectedness, environmental needs, cultural interests and concerns, and the need for spiritual nourishment as well as the benefits of economic well-being. Māori values weave these dimensions together and are reflected in how pakihi adopt a holistic and developmental outlook that addresses multi-dimensional needs across various groups of people. In organisation vernacular, the relational approach adopted by pakihi is a stakeholder approach, discussed in depth in Chapter Eleven.

In creating spiritual well-being, for example, pakihi seek to create mauri ora by caring about the spiritual needs of individuals, making a difference in their communities, and deepening ecological connections and awareness. Cultural well-being calls upon tikanga, which can be translated broadly as custom, to guide behaviour in modern workplaces. A tikanga approach entails pakihi evaluation of situations, in both a critical and a caring manner, to ensure decisions are relevant culturally. Social well-being embraces a wide variety of relationships as pakihi seek to uplift and empower the mana, broadly meaning the power and authority, of others through meaningful relationships.



Pakihi demonstrated environmental well-being through a commitment to kaitiakitanga, a complex term that can generally mean stewardship of the environment. Pakihi showed stewardship through care for the mauri, a life force that binds all aspects of creation together, and the hau, a vital essence of the land. Mauri and hau are among a number of life energies that are important facilitators, and indicators, of a healthy environment. In producing economic well-being, pakihi seek to add value not only to the tourism experience but also to all relationships and processes. The approach of adding value in the economic dimension fuses together the inherent Māori economic approach located in a gift-giving ethos with the conventions of a global market place. Adding value, which is derived from activities grounded in Te Ao Māori, that is, within a Māori world outlook, produces well-being across multiple dimensions, and accrues to give pakihi their economic 'edge'.

A large repository of values informs Pakihi, and many of the values are inter-dependent and interwoven through the Well-beings' contributing to what Marsden (2003) describes as a 'woven universe'. The purpose of this study is not to identify the essential 'must have' values but to note the dynamic accessibility of a wide range of values that pakihi are informed by as they create authentic and sustainable well-being.

#### *5.1.4. Praxis is consciousness in process*

In the context of this study, I reveal how pakihi rally against what is perceived as commonsense tourism logic to critically examine contexts and make their own value-based decisions. In this praxis, pakihi can counter the forces that rupture relationships and induce states of reification. Smith (1997) draws upon Freire's (1970) watershed work on praxis, and explains praxis in terms of a synthesis of theory and practice, where each informs the other, a continuous dialectic of reflection and action. Fitzsimons and Smith (2000) counsel that Māori values are integral when evaluating situations, and that evaluation must be empowering in its ultimate aim and effect.

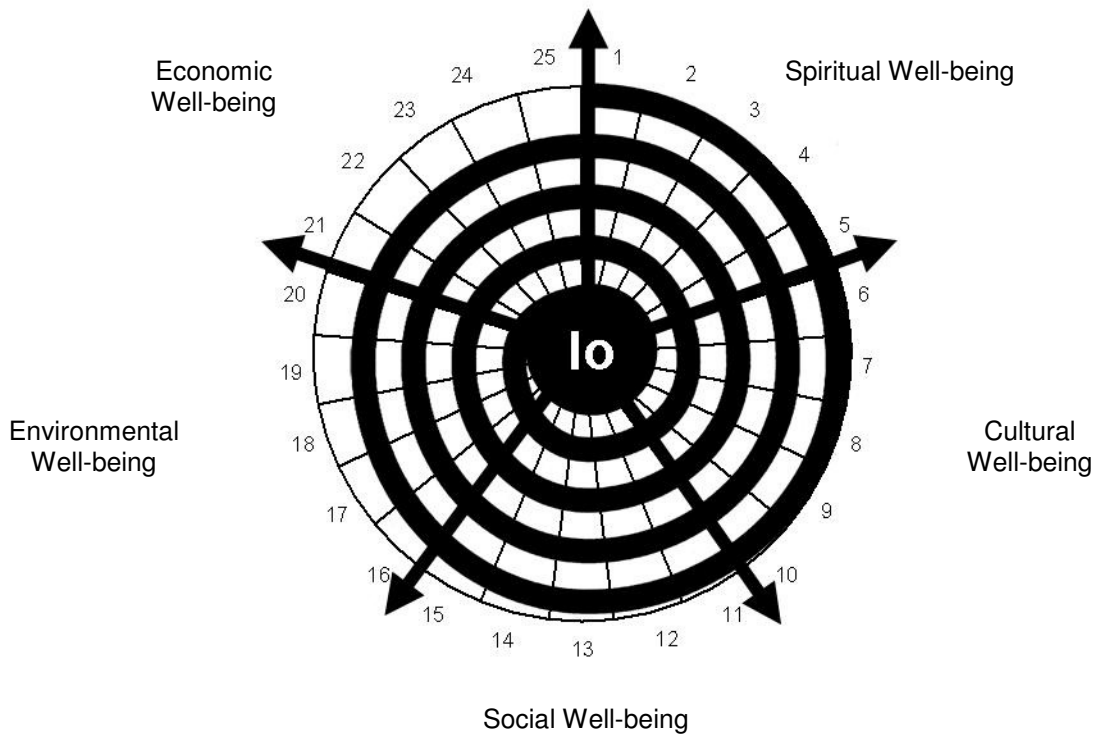
In transformative praxis, say Fitzsimons and Smith (2000), evaluation of behaviour and its contexts is an integral aspect of transforming situations, and militates against habituated, ossified thinking that ceases to think critically. Not evaluating critically can lead to reification, and facilitate the further incursion of the hegemonic, which, as noted earlier, is ever striving to prevail. Berger and Luckmann (1967) argue that reification signifies a dehumanised world wherein people have, in dialectic with the reified condition, suffered a loss to consciousness (p. 106). This aspect of their theorising aligns with Honneth's (2008) view that reification is a "forgetting" that arises from uncritically examined habits which become ossified over time. Smith (1997, 2003) advocates for Māori to critically "conscientize" (cf. Freire, 1970) themselves and, he explains, hegemony is a way of thinking that can occur when dominant group thinking is absorbed uncritically and taken as commonsense.

For Māori values to be effective against reification, and facilitate consciously created mauri ora, these values must be reflexively evaluated in context. This is a dynamic, flexible, and responsive process of reflection and action grounded in Māori experience (Smith, 1997). Responsiveness to context militates against the "myth of originary [sic] purity" a state which is untouched by commodification and often presumed to exist in Indigenous societies located in a romanticised past now lost in a "developed" world (Bewes, 2002, p. 69). "Pre-colonial societies", say Fitzsimons and Smith (2000), "were never simple or homogeneous" there were aspects of such societies, they note, that by today's standards, required radical reform. It is crucial, therefore, that transformative praxis calls for evaluation in the context of current day events and relationships, including kin and genealogies, and avoids a "de-contextualised retreat to a romantic past" (p. 39). For praxis to be truly effective and transformative, it must relate to the dynamic, changing complexity of context and not resort to a lackadaisical application of theory (cf. Whitehead, 1926/1938) and that includes not only tourism theory and business convention, it also includes avoiding a lackadaisical application of values and tikanga.

The present condition can provide the source, motivation, and criteria for change, and be a catalyst from which mauri ora can emerge. Praxis ensures that sustainability and

authenticity are not timeless, absolute, universal, or abstract terms but are critically evaluated responses to context. This is not to dismiss the past. As will be noted in the upcoming empirical chapters, the past provides valuable precedents and tested knowledge to which pakihi refer for guiding present-day behaviour and decision-making.

Practices are the fourth stage in building the Well-beings map and these practices are set out in the following chapters. The practices reflect the values and, when practiced, can enable creation of mauri ora. Figure 6 presents the Well-beings map featuring Io, the koru of values, the Five Well-beings, and the twenty-five practices. The twenty-five practices are discussed in detail in Chapters Six to Ten.



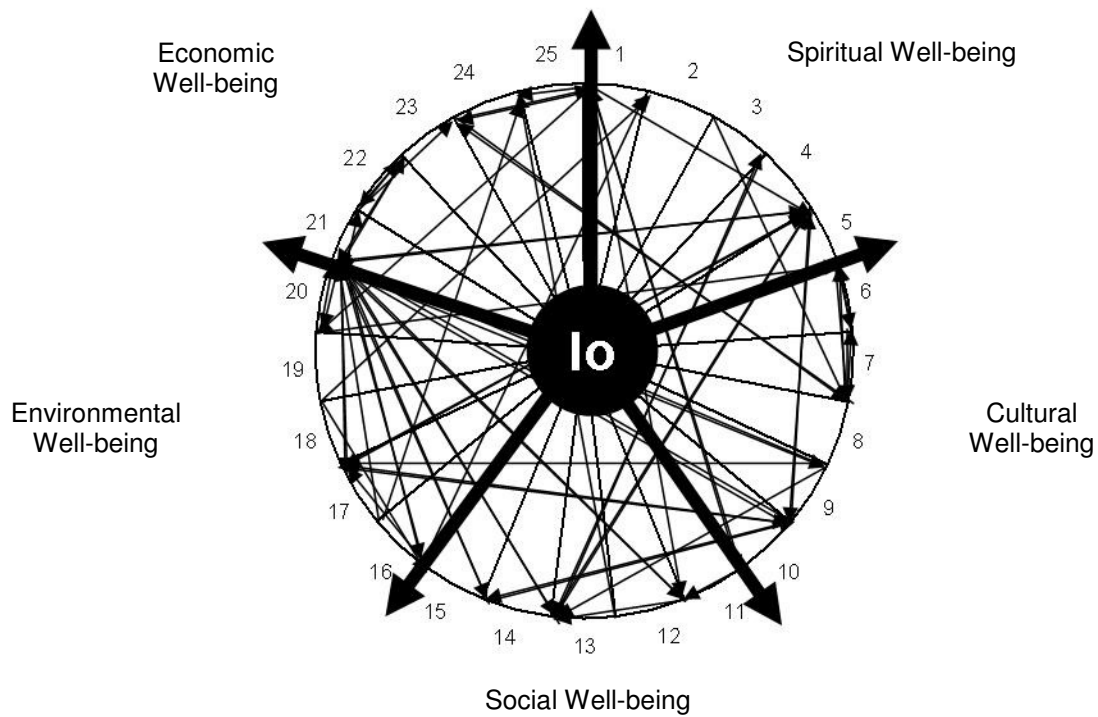
**Figure 6: The Well-beings map showing Io, koru of values, the Five Well-beings, and twenty-five practices**

In applying Māori values in praxis to transform context, pakihi are reclaiming tourism spaces and creating authentic and sustainable well-being across multiple dimensions.

Like many other Indigenous peoples, Māori prefer ‘process’, contrasting the modern ‘Western’ predilection for ‘progress’ which believes in inexorable, incremental improvement over the past, improvements which are generally of a materialistic nature. The progress paradigm “perpetuates a distorted vision of what is, in fact, a multi-dimensional relational process” (Cajete, 2000, p. 266). Capturing this ethos well are Suzuki, McConnell, and Mason (1997/2007) who observe that traditional cultures live in an animated world where humans “instead of being separated from the world because of their unique consciousness, they belong to a conscious world in which everything interacts with everything else in a process of continual creation” (p. 271). Consciousness is at the heart of creating authentic and sustainable mauri ora, and reflects an appreciation for process – the tupu, the unfolding of true nature of each member of creation.

#### *5.1.5. Practices are interwoven*

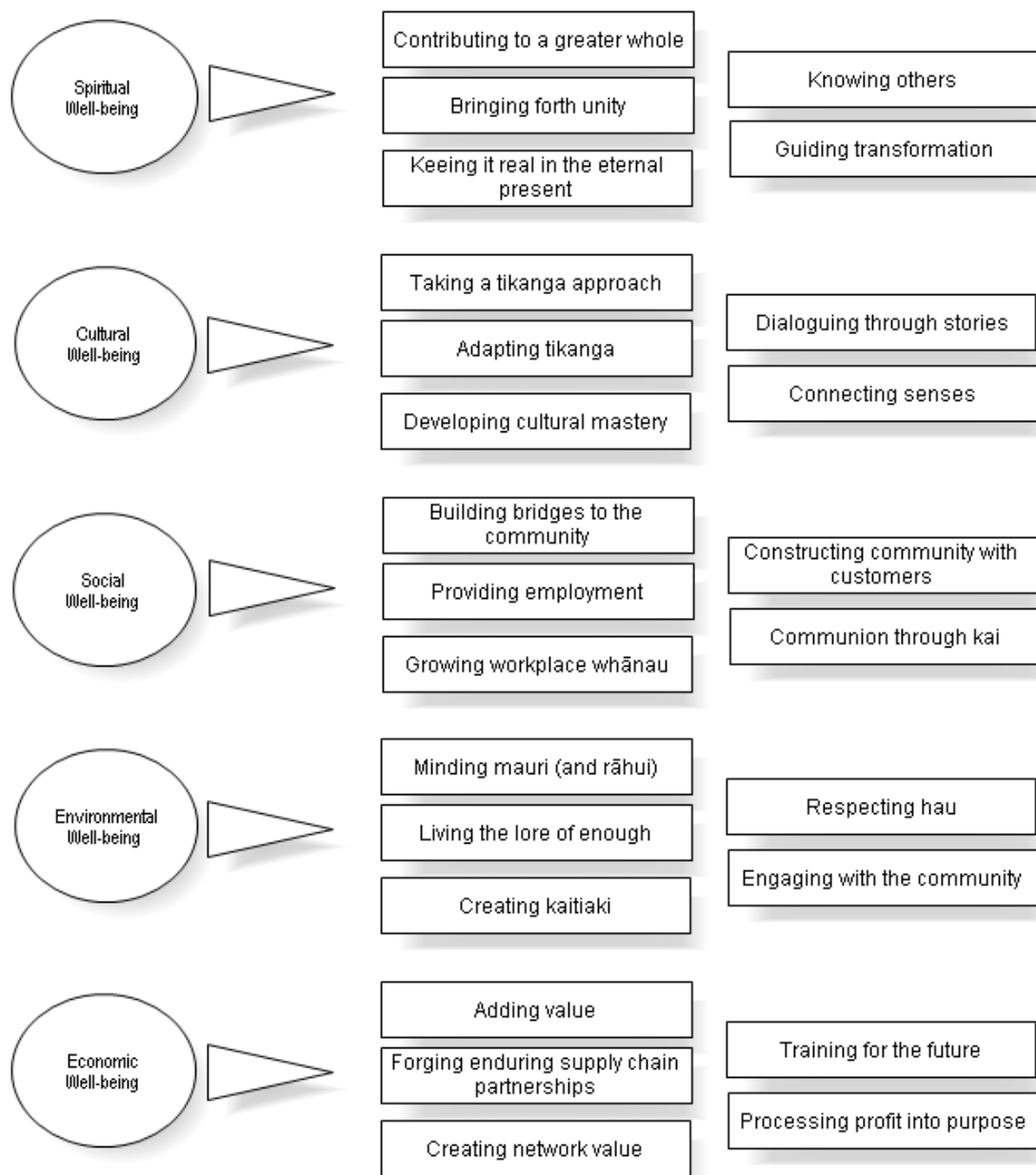
The final step in the Well-beings map is to reveal the interwoven nature of practices. Pakihi activities in one area often link through to other areas, simultaneously producing well-being across multiple dimensions. Figure 7 identifies the linkages between practices and the diagram illustrates, like values, the holistic, interwoven, and relationship-based nature of a pakihi approach to tourism. The interwoven nature of values and practice further reflects the “woven universe” (Marsden, 2003) outlook of a Māori worldview.



**Figure 7: The Well-beings showing Io, koru of values, the Five Well-beings, and the linkages between the twenty-five practices**

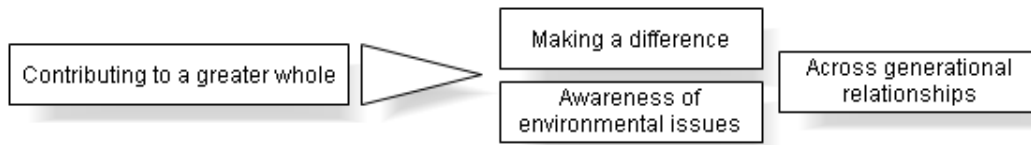
## **5.2 Introduction to the empirical chapters**

Figure 8 provides an overview of the Well-beings framework that emerged from the data analysis, and forms the structure for the five upcoming empirical chapters. Each chapter focusses on one of the five well-beings, and presents five of the twenty-five practices derived from content analysis of the fieldwork.



**Figure 8: The Five Well-beings and twenty-five practices derived from fieldwork content analysis**

Data narratives and observations in each practice are presented according to the sub-themes identified from content analysis. For example, Figure 9 demonstrates the practice, *Contributing to a greater whole*, and, contained within that practice, are data-focussed discussions organised by the three sub-themes derived from content analysis: *Making a difference*; *Awareness of environmental issues*; and *Across generational relationships*.



**Figure 9: Example of a practice showing sub-themes**

Each practice concludes with a summary featuring a table that captures the key insights from that practice. Table 2 provides an overview of one of the twenty-five practices. The structure of each table includes: a practice *title*; a *description* that summarises what the practice involves; a brief analysis of the *contribution* to authentic and sustainable well-being that the practice makes; a brief explanation of the underlying *concept* of the practice; a list of key *values*, which are by no means definitive; key *links* between the practices, derived from the content analysis, demonstrating how one practice relates to other areas; and key *stakeholders*, focussing on the cultural community, customers, employees, industry colleagues, owners, the social community, suppliers, and the environment. Note that in the example below ‘All’ stakeholders are mentioned, however, this is not typical of a practice as usually only a few stakeholders are nominated.

**Table 2: An example of a practice table that summarises key points made in that practice**

Spiritual	6.2.1.
<b>Title</b>	<i>Contributing to the greater whole.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Highlights the importance of belonging and contributing to the well-being of various communities including the environment, and with consideration to future generations.
<b>Contribution</b>	A commitment to producing multi-dimensional well-being. By making a difference to a variety of communities, those engaged in tourism increase well-being. In doing so, they transform their own life through being of service.
<b>Key concept</b>	Self-actualisation occurs in a relationship: ‘I belong therefore I am, and so <i>we</i> become’.
<b>Key values</b>	Kotahitanga (unity), Wairuatanga (spirituality), Whakapapa (genealogy).
<b>Key links</b>	6.2.5 Guiding transformation, 8.2.1 Building bridges to community, 8.2.2 Providing employment, 9.2.5 Engaging the community, 10.2.4 Training for the future, 10.2.5 Processing profit into principles.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Is mindful of all stakeholders (cultural community, customers, employees, industry colleagues, owners, the social community, suppliers, and the environment).

### 5.3. Conclusion

The five meta-themes that emerged from the field research of tourism case businesses were presented in this chapter. These five meta-themes were explained through an illustrative Well-beings map of how pakihi create authentic and sustainable well-being across five dimensions. The five meta-themes encapsulate the main insights of how pakihi facilitate mauri ora through a multi-dimensional approach that creates reciprocal relationships of respect, informed by Māori values, and applied through praxis. Together, these five meta-themes show how pakihi meet the dual challenges of authenticity and sustainability that are integral to success in the sector.

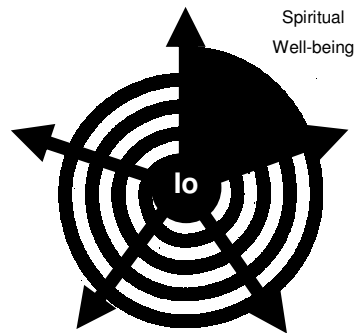
The Well-beings map is a map of relationships that respects relationships between the spiritual and the material, between values, between values and practice, between practices, and between people, ecosystems, ancestors, and descendants. The map symbolises aspects of Te Ao Māori, a Māori worldview, that emerge from this study. The relational outlook of the pakihi is described as a Well-beings approach, and reflects a “woven universe” (Marsden, 2003) that is unfolding in a dynamic and creative process of becoming. The praxis of Māori values in cultural tourism activities, reflexively grounds values in daily life, and establishes base for pakihi to create authentic and sustainable well-being.

The discussion explored Te Ao Māori, as a conceptualising of the world in a distinctly Māori way that respects the inter-relatedness of all aspects of creation, a relatedness that emerges from a shared spiritual origin. Māori values perpetuate an interconnected worldview and represent a comprehensive knowledge system that generates reciprocal relationships of respect. Mauri unifies people with all aspects of creation and accords intrinsic value to all. Mauri ora is to be conscious, that is, to be awake to the potential of a situation and the potential in each other, and creating mauri ora is to consciously manifest that potential.



The Well-beings map of how pakihi create authentic and sustainable mauri ora is a map, it is not the territory, and, just as a map is not the territory, so too, as Freire (1970) argues, “there is no transformation without action” (p. 87), that reflection and action together form praxis. The Well-beings map, in order not to be reification itself, can only be truly understood in reality, however, given the confines of an academic study, the chapters that follow provide as detailed, qualitatively rich insights into the reality of pakihi as can be accomplished through the academic written word.

## CHAPTER SIX: SPIRITUAL WELL-BEING



**Figure 10: The Well-beings Map – Spiritual Well-being**

In this chapter, I examine how Māori cultural tourism businesses, called pakihi, create spiritual well-being. I begin with an overview of a Māori spiritual perspective. This is followed by five practices relating to spiritual well-being. Each practice section contains a preliminary discussion of a relevant aspect of a Māori perspective, examples from the pakihi, and a summary of how the spiritual practice contributes to authentic and sustainable well-being.

### **6.1 Business and spirituality**

In the previous chapter, I outlined a spiritually-centered outlook which emphasised the inter-relatedness of all aspects of creation, related through a common genealogical origin of Io (Barlow, 1991; Henare, 2001, 2003; Marsden, 2003). Mauri was described as a life-principle that binds all aspects of creation together and ascribes intrinsic, spiritual worth to each (Marsden, 2003; Morgan, 2008; Theodore & Porter, 2009). It is the metaphysical dimension of Te Ao Māori, a Māori outlook of the world, that Ulrich Cloher and Johnston (1999), propose is what pervades, and differentiates, Māori ideas of sustainability the most, and yet, is a dimension not often explicitly addressed in tourism.

The following narratives show how pakihi are caretakers of mauri, of the life-principle of self, other, and the environment. As caretakers, pakihi seek to create conditions whereby mauri can flourish, and, in doing so, they nourish the spiritual aspects of themselves and their stakeholders. Mauri, originating in Io, the Supreme Being, enables “everything to move and live in accordance with the conditions and limits of its existence” (Barlow, 1991, p. 83). Allied to understanding mauri is the notion of tupu, ‘becomingness’, in which humans, along with all other members of creation, are in a process of unfolding their authentic existence (Marsden, 2003). ‘Becomingness’ can be understood as the ongoing realisation of potential, and authentic existence is not an end state or a goal, rather it is a condition of existence.

Māori are encouraged to achieve authentic being and realise their full potential within the world, and this is captured in the phrase, “‘Kia eke ki tōna taumata’ – that it may attain to the excellence of its being; or, to authentic existence” (Marsden, 2003, p. 39) which refers to all of creation. Business too can be a vehicle for achieving authentic existence and the practices in this chapter show how pakihi create authenticity, and sustainability, within the activities of tourism and, thus, contribute to spiritual well-being.

The practices reveal that pakihi care for the mauri of others, and seek to act as catalysts for others’ transformations by facilitating spaces where others can experience their own sense of authentic well-being through relationships with people, and the natural world. Pakihi seek to improve the human condition through serving others, especially through contributions to the environment and the community, and assist others in experiencing well-being. Pakihi show how they create experiences that endow a sense of unification with the world, imparting wholeness and connectedness, and they demonstrate a willingness to be open to spiritual direction.

## 6.2. Practices

### 6.2.1. *Contributing to a greater whole*

As the first of the twenty-five practices, *Contributing to a greater whole*, is concerned with the underlying state of being in relation to how pakihi express authenticity and create sustainable well-being. In Māori society, individual potential is realised reflexively in relationship, and emphasis is placed upon the ‘we’ and the unity of all things. As noted elsewhere, the maxim “I belong therefore I am” (Henare, 2004), or, as discussed previously, the process of ‘I belong therefore I am, and so we become’, supplants the Cartesian ‘I’ that atomises humans from each other and nature.

Humans belong, not only to each other; but also to all of creation. Rocks, rivers, birds, plants, mountains, animals and oceans, all possess a genealogy, and the divine genealogical order of whakapapa extends through aeons to a shared originating point which is Io, the Supreme Being (Marsden, 2003). When introducing themselves through whakapapa, Māori identify genealogical connections to many relationships including: their waka, tribal canoe; their hapū known as a sub-tribe; their iwi meaning tribe; their marae interpreted as a village common; their eponymous ancestor; their spiritual maunga, meaning mountain; their awa, which means river and their moana, which denotes their sea or lake. In expressing whakapapa, a person is expressing oneness with the land and people. In this state of oneness humans “become one with the *atua*, the spiritual powers” (Shirres, 1997, p. 57; see also Durie, 2003, p. 84). Whakapapa connects humans to every other aspect of creation, and engenders a sense of unity with each other, the earthly world, and the spiritual world.

‘Belonging’ occurs in a state of reciprocity, wherein to serve others is to serve one’s extended self (Marsden, 2003, pp. 39, 41). The practice of *contributing to a greater whole* encompasses all aspects of life, enfolding everything including humans in spirituality and all activities come under the influence of spiritual powers (Shirres, 1997, p. 26). Māori aspire to unify the spiritual and material worlds wherein the “cultural milieu

is rooted *both* [italics added] in the temporal and the transcendent world, this brings a person into intimate relationship with the gods and his universe” (Marsden, 2003, p. 23). The following narratives highlight how each pakihi contributes to the greater whole through their contributions to one or more of their stakeholder communities, which include local Māori and Pākehā communities, the environment, suppliers and customers, and workplace colleagues.

### *Making a difference*

An owner at *Pōhutukawa* explained it was important not to “switch the Māori off when the customers go out the door” and he expressed concern about tourism companies who professed about being Māori yet did little to contribute to Māori and improve the lives of others:

... if you're sincere, in what you advertise, you promote with your operation otherwise I feel people shouldn't [be in tourism]. That's why I have my hang-ups about some of the [other tourism] operations ... they're using the dynamics of Māori just for monetary gain really, at the end of the day. They don't have any social conscience. If they weren't in the business then they wouldn't be doing much for Māori I wouldn't believe.

An employee at *Rimu* felt that working in the business was a realisation of a personal goal to make a difference to Māori, and commented:

My whole goal in life was to work with Māori people and gain some kind of qualification that I could use to help, especially Māori organisations. [It is more] about helping people to help themselves. And now that I am working in a Māori organisation, I love it, I'm really really enjoying it ... if we can see those start to increase then we know that we are doing something to contribute ... I like the thought of helping.

The owner of *Miro* saw an opportunity to “make a difference” to the lives of the people in the region where the tours operate, and “sees a need” that tourism activities can help fulfil:

I’m persistent and I’m committed to make a difference. For me it’s about making a difference to the lives of the people there – so they are not confined to the scrapheap like the last two generations.

Although not Māori himself, the owner felt the community “is like my family” and he “will not walk away from them” despite many challenges over the past 15 years to reach the stage where it had become a profitable enterprise that provided meaningful employment to locals. Recollecting a time when they received a US\$1,000 contribution from a USA group, which they used to buy art supplies for the school, and a later gift of NZ\$4,500 which they used to purchase computers and colour printers also for the school, the owner said these moments were “why I do what I do”.

A guide at *Miro* saw a spiritual contribution in being able to “give of yourself”, to care for others, and said the “purpose of life is to serve others”. One of the guide’s gifts included the ability to heal, which combined physical properties in the medicine with spiritual properties. The guide discussed an episode where a customer was healed of a headache by providing rongoā, meaning Māori medicine. The guide later asked the kaumātua, the elders, how the medicine had healed the woman of her lifetime affliction:

I asked the kaumātua, “Why is that? Was it supposed to fix the migraine?” And straight away they go “he tokotia, your mix, and your aroha [compassion] and your manaaki [respect, kindness], that’s all part and parcel of your rongoā [medicine]. Your wairuatanga [spirituality] is all inside that rongoā.” What makes rongoā work is the person who is giving it to you. If you just gave it and said “here” there’s a difference between that and giving of yourself. I was taught that way, to give of yourself in whatever you do ... Of being able to use rongoā, being able to give of myself to my manuhiri [visitors] I say to them, I give you my last drop coz that’s how we are.

The guide explained that for rongoā to be most effective it is best applied in the context of its environment; “take it out of its environment and it doesn’t work”. He appeared to enjoy being able to heal others in the course of his work.

To make a difference and contribute to the broader industry as well as the Māori community, *Kauri* had developed programmes that included as many local people and artisans as possible. The business was always “looking to the fringes” to find people; basket weavers, musicians, historians, and ordinary Aotearoa New Zealanders in their own settings who clients can meet and engage in heartfelt connection.

In belonging to the tourism community, particularly the Māori tourism community, the owner of *Kauri* felt that the business’s expertise could help make a difference to what he saw as the fragmented and under-appreciated way in which Māori are portrayed in tourism. He was dedicated to increasing the involvement of Māori in tourism, and had been a tourism practitioner for over 30 years. For much of this time the business had observed others “flogging off pieces of the cultural, flogging off pieces of tikanga [custom] which is, you know, it’s just repeating an old cycle which started with hāngi concerts”. *Kauri*’s vision was to see genuine recognition of the Māori contribution in how Aotearoa New Zealand presents itself to the world, and to be more than performers. It was important to *Kauri* that Māori were presented in a way that uplifts Māori:

... if the work that we’re doing is recognised as a legitimate way of presenting New Zealand to the world, it’s an accepted way, practice, in terms of how we market ourselves to the world, how we promote ourselves to the world, how we actually get down and dirty and sell ourselves to the world, then we’re instilling some pride in the Māori business people in this particular industry. As opposed to indigenous performers in this particular industry which is how we’re still mostly perceived.

The CEO of *Rimu* believed a big difference the business could make was to provide maximum employment and to raise the skills levels of those involved in tourism. Maintaining the mana, meaning the power and authority, of the people through providing

job security, and culturally appropriate and environmentally aware practices, were key ways in which the CEO hoped to serve others.

Guiding gave another *Rimu* employee the opportunity to contribute meaningfully to the lives of others, particularly through encouraging others to learn about their whakapapa, their genealogy, and discover himself or herself. This extended to descendants who lived in other places and were searching for their heritage; the guide sought to welcome the seekers into “your Māori world”.

#### *Awareness of environmental issues*

*Pōhutukawa* used their tourism business as a vehicle to raise awareness of the region, to bring operators together and help them succeed as a community of tourism businesses, to involve tourists in an authentic way of life, and to raise awareness of environmental issues. In choosing to live in an environmentally sustainable way, they recycle almost all waste and provide much of their own energy needs. *Pōhutukawa* was born in response to a vision the owner had for raising awareness about the plight of marine life in the area, particularly the hāpuku, called groper, as numbers were diminishing alarmingly. They felt one of the greatest contributions they could make was in the area of environmental activism; to remind people that fish have the right to be respected. Like many of the practices discussed throughout these empirical chapters, this practice interweaves with the cultural, environmental, and economic dimensions which emphasises the importance of taking a holistic perspective.

#### *Across generational relationships*

Staff working for *Rimu* saw their talents and roles as a contribution to the greater whole and one employee commented:

I always think of whanaungatanga [relationships], manaakitanga [practicing respect and kindness] and I think I’m here for the well-being of the people.



In serving the well-being of the people, this employee felt part of an ongoing legacy that would sustain future generations. The employee shared that many sacrifices had been made in the past, and sacrifices were continuing to be made to perpetuate the legacy and said “I’m not doing it for me, I’m doing it for my son, maybe for my grandchildren and my great-grandchildren”. A sense of pride and loyalty to a higher, inter-generational vision appeared to keep this employee meaningfully engaged at work.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 3: Practice 6.2.1. - Contributing to a greater whole**

<b>Spiritual</b>	<b>6.2.1.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Contributing to the greater whole.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Highlights the importance of belonging and contributing to the well-being of various communities including the environment, and with consideration to future generations.
<b>Contribution</b>	A commitment to producing multi-dimensional well-being. By making a difference to a variety of communities those engaged in tourism increase well-being. In doing so, they transform their own life through being of service.
<b>Key concept</b>	Self-actualisation occurs in relationship: ‘I belong therefore I am, and so we become’.
<b>Key values</b>	Kotahitanga (unity), Wairuatanga (spirituality), Whakapapa (genealogy).
<b>Key links</b>	6.2.5 Guiding transformation, 8.2.1 Building bridges to community, 8.2.2 Providing employment, 9.2.5 Engaging the community, 10.2.4 Training for the future, 10.2.5 Processing profit into principles.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Is mindful of all stakeholders (cultural community, customers, employees, industry colleagues, owners, the social community, suppliers, and the environment).

Table 3 summarises the key points made in this practice. Pakihi, that is, the Māori businesses in this study, express their desire to make a difference to a variety of communities such as social, cultural, environmental, the workplace, as well as the community created with customers and suppliers, along with the wider tourism community. Individuals in pakihi are motivated to contribute to this greater whole and harness their personal talents and skills to help serve others within and beyond the scope of their daily work.

Contributing to a greater whole contributes to spiritual well-being by creating healthier workplaces and communities, and recognises the spiritual importance of making work meaningful. For pakihi, in serving others, one is serving one's extended self. Pakihi aim to be catalysts for helping others transform, and this is achieved through relationships of respect. For example, encouraging the community to respect the fish, to help colleagues in the workplace achieve improved work outcomes, to advocate for changed representation of Māori in tourism, and to use rongoā, Māori medicine. By empathetically engaging with specific contexts, and acting on the needs in communities, pakihi draw upon Māori spiritual values such as kotahitanga (unity), wairuatanga (spirituality), and whakapapa (genealogy), and apply these in praxis to endow a sense of belonging and connectedness to each other and the environment.

#### *6.2.2. Bringing forth unity*

*Bringing forth unity*, in this practice, is the conscious weaving together of people into a relationship with the spiritual realm. Weaving a relationship can be achieved through karakia, an incantation, which invites participation in the unfolding meaning of the greater whole. Io, the Supreme Being, can take the form of reo, a voice, and is an immanent presence in the world (Marsden, 2003, p. xiv). In speaking karakia, a person is speaking the language of a deeper, unfolding reality. Porter (2009) explains karakia as “an incantation to invocation”, that is, a declaration that invokes a reality. For example, a karakia would declare peace, whereas an inoi, a prayer, would ask for peace. According to Porter (2009), karakia was the preferred reo, language, of his elders.

By stating intentions through karakia, humans create a pact between the spiritual world and the physical world. Cajete (2000) says of Indigenous traditions, “what we think and believe and how we act in the world impacts on literally everything. We bring our reality into being by our thoughts, actions and intentions” (p. 73). Karakia is a way of “connecting the human situation with a wider reality” and its wider purpose is to “create a sense of unity” (Durie, 2003, p. 84). Pakihi draw upon the spiritual unity, and connectedness invoked by karakia, fulfilling what Shirres (1986) describes as a collective

aspiration to make a “person or object part of the whole movement of creation” through karakia (p. 15) which helps meld business activities with a wider reality.

Karakia is to be one with the ancestors, one with the environment and one with the spiritual powers (Durie, 2003; Shirres, 1997). Invocation through karakia “directs the way we think” (Kereopa, as cited in Moon, 2005, p. 58) and reflects a belief that actions need to be spiritually aligned to intention. In unifying the spiritual and material worlds through karakia, pakihi bring consciousness to contexts, weaving the spiritual powers, people and the environment together and acknowledge the spiritual legacy, and ongoing presence, of ancestors.

The case narratives show, through stating karakia, how pakihi are explicating their intention to behave in a particular way and bring spiritual consciousness to contexts within the course of tourism activities.

### *Responsibility and respect*

The guides in *Miro* said karakia to begin any journey, and each guide decided on the content and appropriateness of the karakia. As one guide explained: “kei te timatanga - I start with a karakia straight away, I explain to them why – we are going to spend three days together and it’s going to be nice, it’s going to be memorable and enjoyable”. In using karakia the guide sought to create a beginning state that endured throughout the experience. He explained that when he was saying karakia, in his mind were thoughts about his responsibility to look after those on tour. It was clear from his conversation that saying a karakia set up a spiritual energy for when the group first entered the forest. Karakia was an integral part of this guide’s approach to caring for customer well-being and he explained, “When people get too heavy in their emotions, into whatever they are bringing, sometimes there have been times when I have had to have a karakia”.

The important thing about karakia, explained the owner of *Pōhutukawa*, was that karakia needed to be done out of personal responsibility and as a matter of respect, irrespective of

whether tourists were involved or not. Taking personal responsibility to give respect was especially important when entering the domains of the atua, the gods, such as Tāngaroa the God of sea or Tāne Mahuta the God of forests:

I respect when I go, so I do the karakia. So whether it's tourists or locals or myself, I do it. So it's a matter of respect ... It's a practice and consideration that I need to consider, a responsibility before I go into that domain. That it's their time, [Tāne] Mahuta and that...

Giving respect opened the opportunity to receive, and giving and receiving was a fundamental aspect of karakia. However, in saying karakia, the owner of *Pōhutukawa* emphasised the intention was not to petition for the purposes of receiving, the intention was to connect, to seek permission to enter, and create an appropriate attitude. It was essential, he said, that karakia was not simply a “nicety or a show at the beginning of a tourism experience”; it was a commitment to respectful behaviour that endured right throughout a trip:

... when you come back with that gift from Tāngaroa there's a behaviour that goes accordingly. Not a behaviour just to go and get it, a behaviour to the process to when you consume it. So there's a conclusion to it, there's a circle, right? It's completing the circle. Everything goes in circles, aye? There's a beginning and it comes back to that again. So [for] most of the things that we do, it has to come back, connect [the beginning] to the end.

According to a local elder who assisted on fishing trips, “the word is the most important thing in your life ... what comes out of your mouth” and, as the elder shared, “It's a pleasure to have a karakia, it's a blessing to everybody on board ... not only myself”.

### *Experience*

Another guide at *Miro* explained how he used karakia to invite spirituality into the tourism experience and karakia created an opening wherein the spiritual energy of the forest drew people in:

I make it a spiritual experience, I make it a memorable experience ... the spirituality part of their experience starts from the start, from the beginning ... I set up lunch and it begins with a prayer, grace, karakia. And that's where it starts, then from there – once we enter into the forest, it just entwines it in a different atmosphere ... you just get more ... it just gets stronger ...

The use of karakia to begin journeys into the rainforest reflected the broader approach taken by members of the community when entering the spiritual sanctuary of the rainforest. On a trip into the rainforest with members of the community, which included a *Miro* guide, the walk began with a karakia, followed by an explanation of why karakia was important:

Karakia is to train our mind ... karakia is the thread that binds to the bottom and that includes not only the things, the micro, the things you see but all the little things that you don't see.

Customers of *Miro* expressed their interest in knowing the meaning of karakia so that they could “join to” the Māori way of approaching the experience.

When a visitor completed the institutional, mechanical systems of immigration, customs, and baggage handling procedures, the owner of *Kauri* ensured that on the other side of these mostly impersonal introductions to the country was a Māori welcome that included a short karakia. If that spirituality was there “if that whole wairua thing comes out” then it “sets the tone” and would be the starting point that visitors reflect on and remember, “out of everything they have done”. Saying a karakia “sets the seal” and is a “small thing that can have a huge impact”.

### *Appropriateness*

A further point to note about using karakia was appropriateness. A guide at *Miro* reflected on whether it was appropriate to say a karakia on a sales visit in a Pākehā

environment; the guide felt that saying a karakia in that situation would not be appropriate:

... karakia is recognisable throughout the world, [there] is nothing wrong with the karakia no matter what language. But when you start to enforce [it], that's enforcement by placing it in an environment where it doesn't even belong.

If the intention of saying a karakia was as part of a performance or to get attention, then this was unlikely to be appropriate, as its intention was misplaced.

### *Binding and equalising people*

For *Kauri*, karakia was also considered an important “hinge” between going from a state of “preparedness” to a state of “sharing” when sitting down to enjoy a meal with visitors. In the owner of *Kauri's* view, karakia was not only about showing “respect to the provider” but respect to those who were assembled and it placed everyone on an “equal basis”. He emphasised that even though one person may be saying the karakia, “everybody in their own private way is thinking and feeling it as well and ... that is something driven from within”. He also noted this equalising was just as important in a Māori corporate setting, citing the example of a de-brief session with his local Māori suppliers, where karakia “flattens everything out, puts everybody on the same footing”. Through binding people together this way, *Kauri* ventured to envelope people in a wairua, spirituality, to care for relationships.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 4: Practice 6.2.2. - Bringing forth spiritual unification**

<b>Spiritual</b>	<b>6.2.2.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Bringing forth spiritual unification.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Karakia brings people into communion with the spiritual world, unifying them with ancestors, spiritual powers, and the environment.
<b>Contribution</b>	Evokes a deep appreciation for all of creation, and reminds humans they participate in the unfolding meaning and mystery of creation.
<b>Key concept</b>	Humans are responsive to receiving spiritual direction.
<b>Key values</b>	Kotahitanga (unity), Mana atua (divine authority), Tapu (sacred), Wairuatanga (spirituality), Whakarite (respect), Tika (appropriateness).
<b>Key links</b>	All practices come under the influence of karakia.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Employees, Owners.

Table 4 summarises the key points made in this practice. The narratives show how karakia contributes to spiritual well-being by bringing people into communion with the spiritual world, unifying them with ancestors, spiritual powers, and the environment. Karakia creates spiritual conditions, directs the way humans think, and dissolves the boundaries between the spiritual-material worlds. Karakia is a spiritual language that calls forth the reality people wish to bring forth with others.

Pakihi aspire to take responsibility for a spiritually sustainable world which they co-create with others. The use of karakia denotes the priority given to recognising the spiritual domain, and the reciprocal nature of that relationship. Values such as kotahitanga (unity), mana atua (divine authority), tapu (sacred), wairuatanga (spirituality), whakarite (respect), and tika (appropriateness) inform the pakihi in this practice. Insights from the narratives show that karakia is not a prescriptive approach, nor an aspect of Māori culture to be ‘ticked off’ as part of a rote act. Karakia needs to be an appropriate act of spiritual authenticity requiring discernment between what is tapu, broadly meaning ‘sacred’, and what is not to ensure that, at any time, karakia is not treated as part of a tourism performance. Karakia is a deeply relational approach to activities and, through praxis, weaves authentic and sustainable well-being together by bringing forth unity between humans and each other, the environment, and the ancestral and spiritual worlds.

### 6.2.3. *Keeping it real in the eternal present*

Tourism requires pakihi to engage with the nature of their cultural identity on a routine basis. Cultural tourism businesses are often pressured into capitulating to customers who seek local cultures, insisting upon the preservation of a yesteryear experience, and such demands can incarcerate local people in ‘living museums’.

The concept of the “eternal present” links ancestors and events of the past with people today (Shirres, 1986, p. 18), however, this does not mean being stuck in the past, because culture is very much a “matter of present experience, a living and lived-in reality” (Metge, 1976, p. 45). The “eternal present” is situated in an understanding of a greater reality wherein “the universe is not static but is a stream of processes and events” (Marsden, 2003, p. 21). The practice of *keeping it real in the eternal present* refers to present experience linked to the past and future in the ‘now’.

Humans dwell in the realm of Te Ao Mārama, the world of light, and are called to reflexively engage with the world through Te Ao Hurihuri, the world of dynamic change that engulfs the world of light. Thus, humans are bound to seek enlightenment amid a world of constant change (Henare, 2001, 2003). Te Ao Hurihuri is the idea of continuous creation in a dynamic universe and, within this changing world, the eternal present is a spiritual connection to the past and the future. Spiritual connection is evoked by whakapapa, by genealogy, and Jackson (as cited in Bargh, 2007) elegantly describes whakapapa as a “history of repetitious beginnings” wherein the “present and future are only the past revisited – ka puta mai – things come into being, are born of something else” (p. 173) it is a cyclic, not lineal, outlook.

The pakihi-derived practice of *Keeping it real in the eternal present* upholds the view that Māori in tourism can be ‘who they really are’; identity is not oriented towards, or delimited by, what the tourism industry demands or desires their identity to be. *Keeping it real in the eternal present* safeguards identity and avoids stereotyping and time-warping.



It can be described as dialectic between change-unchanging, eternal-present, the enduring-dynamic: to be part of the past and future in the present.

### *Sense of identity*

Staying true to one's sense of identity was an important aspect of spiritual well-being for the individuals in *Rimu*. One employee shared, "I think our success is that we are not trying to change who we are. When they come, this is who we are ...". Being "who we are" meant maintaining confidence in being this 'we' and they did not need to be a representation of a past 'we' in order to satisfy customer expectations, as the CEO noted:

A lot is said about authenticity these days. This is it. This is real. It hasn't been established for tourism. It's a continuing way of life. It's continuing history. It's a living product. When I say authenticity I mean that it's a real experience. It's one that doesn't live in someone's imagination about what village life should look like, or a village behave like.

The concept of "continuing history" and "being who we are" as a living link to the past through whakapapa also related humans to their environment said the CEO of *Rimu* who highlighted the importance of whakapapa and connection to the land:

We want them to see what their life is like in that connection to the land, in their whakapapa, in their role in the history of this place.

A *Rimu* employee shared that getting involved in tourism was an opportunity to learn about "who I was, where I was from, who were my people ... I started to guide, I started to learn things about my people and it became more interesting". For another employee, learning about their heritage "was a really big thing for me".

The approach taken by *Kauri* was to reveal "a dynamic and enduring culture as it is lived by Māori today". The owner stressed, "The very first thing we have to be is comfortable with ourselves, who we are ... I think that's a really big thing". Being comfortable with

oneself included understanding and being “proud” of one’s whakapapa, genealogy, whilst also being realistic and “don’t make it rosy pictures”.

### *Continuing history*

Understanding that humans are a living continuation of the past offered *Rimu* customers an insight into the Māori worldview:

We’re sharing our history and who we are. It brings the two together, you can still bring the two together and it just blows the people away.

One *Rimu* employee explained to visitors “we just have to be normal here. We don’t have to dress up like how our ancestors did a hundred years ago. Because we don’t live in that world” and they wanted to clarify that Māori live in a modern world and kept pace with a changing world, just as their ancestors kept pace with a changing world. A supplier commented that he appreciated how the guides “are telling you stuff that’s interesting and it’s part of their lives, you can’t hide the fact that it’s real ... they are living in the moment”.

A guide at *Miro* highlighted how he wanted to impart to customers the understanding that people are part of a continuous stream with the past and the future:

I say to them breathe it in. Breathe it in. What you are breathing and what you are feeling is this spirituality of past – the present – and the future.

The owner of *Pōhutukawa* explained that he wanted impart to customers that the people of the past, and the way of life associated with them, had not disappeared but continued in the descendants living today. They wished to help others understand that Māori do not exist “in the pages of the past, of ancient times” but were a living extension of their ancestors and “those people up there [pointing to the sky] are still us”. If a person lived by Māori values then they are keeping the ancient way of life alive in a contemporary setting. The owner explained by way of the three baskets of knowledge which “include

the past, present, and the future”, and that the basket of the past was “set as a foundation for us”, one of those foundations was manaakitanga which “serves a really important purpose”. For example, anybody who walked through their front gate, he said, would receive manaakitanga because that “is a responsibility to manuhiri, visitors, whether they come with a dollar or they haven’t got a dollar”.

When people came to *Pōhutukawa* they did so “on our terms for authenticity, for authenticity is not only about what happened in the past, it’s what’s happening today which might include some of the things of the past that we carry into 2008”. For example, a visitor might arrive when the owner was “mowing the lawn” and were thus coming to “the way I am”, and that was the cultural experience. If a concert or performance was provided, that has “nothing to do with manaakitanga” but was simply entertainment.

In presenting a “dynamic and enduring culture as it was lived by Māori today”, *Kauri* aspired to “be authentic, to open up our world as opposed to having you be a spectator in some performance contrived for your benefit”. Historical re-enactments were not precluded from the business’s repertoire, however, when they did re-enactments the performance was set in historical narrative to transport the audience back in time, to avoid any confusion that what was being portrayed might be contemporary. In this way, *Kauri* encouraged others to adopt an imaginative capacity to enter the past.

The owner of *Kauri* also explained that Māori continually step back through time. He used the example of a pipi tour experience and that the amount of pipis taken, the way they are prepared, the karakia that is said upon the food, and perhaps the placement of a rāhui, a ritual prohibition on pipis, known as cockles, were all part of a timeless tradition. Not only was this living the eternal present, and keeping it real, but also “for most people it’s going to be interesting”. Stories (a theme developed in practice 8.2.5) could be a key mechanism to create a sense of the eternal present:

... always be on the lookout to pull the stories of that heritage into the present, to make the present interesting. So if you’re picking pipis today at the beach, there are

stories from your childhood that you can relate and that were probably stories of your father's childhood and his grandfather's childhood.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 5: Practice 6.2.3. - Keeping it real in the eternal present**

<b>Spiritual</b>	<b>6.2.3.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Keeping it real in the eternal present.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Māori in tourism can be 'who they really are'; identity is not oriented towards, or delimited by, what the tourism industry demands or desires their identity to be.
<b>Contribution</b>	Safeguards identity and avoids stereotyping and time-warping. Dialectic between change-unchanging, eternal-present, substance-form, the enduring-dynamic.
<b>Key concept</b>	At the heart of authentic and sustainable well-being: to be part of the past and future in the present.
<b>Key values</b>	Mana tatai (genealogical authority), Mana tūpuna (ancestral sovereignty), Whakapapa (genealogy).
<b>Key links</b>	7.2.3 Developing cultural mastery.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Employees, Owners.

Table 5 summarises the key points made in this practice. Pakihi are dedicated to portraying a contemporary view of who they are as a perpetual people. By living the eternal present, identity is not oriented towards what the industry demands and desires identity to be but, instead, supports a dialectic between change and the unchanging. This practice upholds the view that Māori in tourism can be 'who they really are' and avoid stereotyping and time-warping induced by tourism processes. It is dialectic between change-unchanging, eternal-present, and the enduring-dynamic. For example, gold can change its form into a ring, bracelet, cufflink, or coin, yet, no matter what form it takes, its enduring and essential nature, its substance, remains that of gold.

By letting customers experience what is 'real' they may be better placed to understand that within all the change there was also no change, because of the spiritual links that continue to connect the present with the past. To be part of the past and future in the present can be viewed as an authentic and spiritually sustainable approach to creating spiritual well-being. Values such as mana tatai (genealogical authority), mana tūpuna (ancestral sovereignty), and whakapapa (genealogy) helped inform the pakihi as they

create spiritual well-being that emerges from a conscious praxis that honours ancestral sovereignty and pakihi seek to be the living face of that legacy.

#### *6.2.4. Knowing manuhiri*

Following on from the previous practice which explored the notion of ‘being who I really am’ in the context of tourism, this practice focusses attention on finding out ‘who manuhiri, visitors really are’. The routines of delivering tourism can often lead practitioners towards rote behaviour and treating manuhiri as the generic ‘tourist’. Being treated this way can be de-humanising of manuhiri and give rise to criticisms of reification, detailed in Chapters Two and Three. As a counter to rote behaviour and the de-humanisation of manuhiri, pakihi draw upon Māori values to assist them to engage in an authentic way with manuhiri and, in doing so, recognise the spiritual, intrinsic worth of others. Focussing attention on finding out ‘who’ manuhiri really are establishes a genuine platform for connection, recognition, appreciation, and understanding.

One approach is to draw upon whakapapa, meaning genealogy, to connect with manuhiri. For example, on a marae, a village common, well-structured protocols are in place for people to share who they are with others, by stating their genealogical links. Sharing one’s genealogy, including one’s name, ancestral ties, and connections to place, provides a platform for connecting to manuhiri. These introductions give the listeners information to find connections to the person speaking. It is a highly refined art of networking which leads to superb results in terms of being able to collaborate. Whakapapa provides a solid platform for connecting people.

Pakihi draw on whakapapa to focus their attention on making connections between people from other places, particularly in the context of tourism this includes their customers and suppliers. Such connections assist empathetic recognition of others, which, as I identified previously, counters reifying tendencies in tourism.

### *Establishing connection with manuhiri*

One employee at *Rimu* explicitly linked their success as guides to the processes of a pōwhiri, a welcome, and tangi, a funeral, where making connections is a skill that enabled visitors to feel embraced:

... [t]he guides bounce off the crowd and are good at finding connections. In a way it's just like in a pōwhiri [welcome] and you have got that making connections thing ... It's like if you go to a tangi [funeral] the first speaker will always get up and say exactly the same thing but he looks to find something in the group that he can connect to and follow the same path of what he's going to say, but these people who are coming in are obviously going to be different from the last group. That's what we do.

Even though *Rimu* offered regular tours that followed a prescribed path, an interviewee suggested that each experience was different to any other because the guides shared about themselves and, in doing so, facilitated connections with the people on the current tour and, therefore, the dynamic was always different:

Every time they go out it is different and even though they are doing exactly the same thing it's still a different experience every time you come back. And that's the thing about it – you're not on a train doing the same train trip all the time. “And on the left over here you have ...”. Our people start talking about where they come from and where they have been.

One *Rimu* customer appreciated that the tour was not a “rote performance” and commended the guide for keeping it “natural by giving anecdotal little bits of information” which “made you feel more relaxed” and “at home”. Significantly, the *Rimu* guide's approach avoided having the group “standing there like robots” and helped people “find some common ground ...”.

*Kauri* also drew upon whakapapa to build connections, and ensure that customers were recognised as a whole person. Making connections was an essential step in their tourism activities:

I mean, we do it out at the [airport] Marae ....it doesn't take any time at all, if you can give them a lead on how it's done. [I explain] the reason that we would like to know this is because it gives us an understanding of who you are and where you've come from and it gives you a chance to think about and reflect on your family and connections to a certain place.

*Kauri* preferred to use a format of one mountain greeting another mountain:

One of the things that I'm doing quite a bit now is "my mountain greets your mountain" because it's such a lovely way of engaging with people and it puts them, you know, in a space where they probably have not been before, ever. But they quite enjoy the experience. And they think about "oh, my mountain, what is my mountain"? Furiously thinking about it, you know ... it's a non-threatening way for them to talk about themselves a little bit, as opposed to saying, "and what's your name and where do you come from ..."

It was important, the owner stressed, to build on this connection "hour by hour and day by day".

### *Being genuine*

*Pōhutukawa* raised a significant point for tourism businesses to reflect upon: if the purpose of using whakapapa to connect was simply a device in a show then it was inauthentic and a misuse of an important and sacred spiritual value and was likely to create a detrimental effect. *Pōhutukawa* stressed that if a business were to use whakapapa, for example, by getting people to call out where they come from, tourism operators may be being inauthentic because "when they introduce those different ideas they're just being, I suppose, diverse in their show, introducing some of those Māori things". This was likened by the owner of *Pōhutukawa* to tourism shows in some Pacific Islands where "they get someone out of the crowd to do certain things, the hula or whatever. It's still part of the show because the whole thing that they're there for is the show".

Whakapapa was not a “lesson” to be imparted, explained *Pōhutukawa*, “people need to be living it and need to feel it and they do it regardless of whether it’s tourists or whether it’s other people, right? Otherwise it becomes a bastardised thing”. The business did draw upon whakapapa in the course of their activities, for example, when fishing they will show respect when fishing in the customary waters of another hapū, a sub-tribe, and was a custom that “I would expect as an individual if I went with locals into someone else’s area, into their cupboard”. Whether tourists are involved was irrelevant because “I do it as part of my natural and normal practice”.

### *Understanding manuhiri*

Knowing who other people really are can build understanding and empathy. In a particularly difficult encounter, a guide in *Miro* needed to manage a situation with care. The overseas tour leader, a chaperone for a group of girls who were mostly from wealthy Singaporean families, requested that local kaumātua, elders, leave their own marae, their meeting house, and, whilst the request was emphatically declined (discussed in practice 8.2.2), through seeking to understand the background of the people involved he was able to bridge the difficulties.

And you know what happened the next morning? I was woken up about 4am by an old kuia who said, “That woman’s got a sore neck! Kei te mōua mamae te kōtiro nei”, well, I got up and took her to the kitchen. I stoked the embers; I made her a cup of tea. She just couldn’t move. “Look at me”, I said to her .... “you know what your problem is? It’s not your neck, it’s your responsibility and the stress of what’s happening at home and what’s expected of you with these girls.” So I went over and gave her a bit of a hug and rubbed her neck. Within an hour she was better.

The guide explained that, while the kaumātua did not agree to leave their own marae, it was important “to be understanding” of manuhiri, in this case, that the leader “was the one lumbered with all this responsibility” and comes from a background of “rules, laws and they are very run by authority”. By seeking to connect with manuhiri and focus



attention on their well-being, the lesson was that one can be truthful to one's own worldview whilst at the same time respecting that of manuhiri – the key was to see it from another's perspective.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 6: Practice 6.2.4. - Knowing manuhiri**

<b>Spiritual</b>	<b>6.2.4.</b>
<b>Title</b>	Knowing <i>manuhiri</i> .
<b>Description</b>	Focussing attention on finding out 'who' manuhiri really are establishes a genuine platform for connection, recognition, appreciation, and understanding.
<b>Contribution</b>	Helps avoid rote behaviour, commoditisation of culture, and treating manuhiri as a 'generic tourist' which is de-humanising to the spirit. Celebrates people for themselves (authentic self) and retains the dignity of both parties (spiritual sustainability).
<b>Key concept</b>	Recognises the manifold mana (authority drawn from various sources), the spiritual dignity a person possesses.
<b>Key values</b>	Manifold mana (mana from various sources), Whakapapa (genealogy), Whakarite (respect).
<b>Key links</b>	8.2.4 Constructing community with customers.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Customers, Owners, Employees.

Table 6 summarises the key points made in this practice. Pakihi demonstrate willingness to give meaningful attention to customers and suppliers. Manuhiri are celebrated for who they are, just as in the previous practice Māori celebrated who they are. Whakapapa can be a useful tool; however, businesses are urged by one pakihi in particular to consider how they used whakapapa and make sure it is a genuine expression of interest in manuhiri with the purposes of connecting. Finding out about manuhiri in an authentic way means seeking to see situations from the manuhiri perspective.

The practice of genuinely getting to know manuhiri contributes to sustainability by avoiding rote treatment, commodification of culture, and the de-humanisation of people. Pakihi seek to respectfully recognise manuhiri by drawing on values such as manifold mana (mana from various sources), whakapapa (genealogy), and whakarite (respect) – in other words - the spiritual dignity each person possesses.

#### 6.2.5. Guiding transformation

The practice of *Guiding transformation* focusses on how Māori tourism practitioners can act as catalysts for transformation by helping *others connect to themselves*. The practice of *Guiding transformation* builds on the previous two practices that respectively explored the authenticity of self as a living extension of the past, and the authenticity of connection to others through finding out about who the other really is.

Authentic existence, explains Marsden (2003), is to attain excellence of being and humans are encouraged to create and connect to a centre within, a place, which contains “our most basic convictions - ideas that transcend the world of facts” (p. 59). From this centre, people are better placed to be in charge of their life:

The centre is where he must create for himself an orderly system of ideas about himself and the world in order to regulate the direction of his life. If he has faced up to the ultimate questions posed by life, his centre no longer remains in a vacuum which continues to ingest any new idea that seeps into it. (p. 59)

Tourism creates opportunities for customers to be exposed to new ideas and information. On the one hand, the accessibility to other cultures combined with the nature of tourism as a commodity can mean that customers consume another culture’s spiritual information to no great effect or meaning. On the other hand, whilst learning about another culture’s spirituality can expand a person’s worldview, it is not necessarily beneficial for the person (or the host culture) to absorb spiritual knowledge for the purpose of then using it themselves, as this can quickly become appropriation of culture (see Johnston, 2006). Pakihi show how they focus on helping people *discovering themselves* to gain a new perspective on their lives *through* stepping into Te Ao Māori, a Māori way of being in the world. Marsden (2003) encourages people to examine the “ultimate questions posed by life” (p. 59), and tourism spaces provide an opportunity for people to catalyse perspective.

The ideas and information shared by cultural tourism businesses can be more meaningful beyond being a mere tourism commentary. The analysis of Māori tourism by van Aalst and Daly (2001, 2002) highlight how tourism can provide self-actualising experiences, although they stress conditions cannot be “manipulated” as such. This study shows how visitors can be introduced to places, and invited to share situations, that can facilitate such transformation, should the person be open to such an occurrence. Pakihi are in the unique position of being able to assist customers connect to their authentic self, and to their life’s purpose, bringing vacation and avocation together.

### *Energy of togetherness*

The owner of *Kauri* identified two overarching elements that were integral to creating transformational experiences: being comfortable with who you are, and knowing other people. When a person was “comfortable with who [they] are” he considered that, ultimately, that person emitted a spiritual energy, which was a key attribute Māori could bring to transformational tourism experiences:

... maybe we [Māori] exude a whole lot of different signals to people ... it’s more than a word, it’s more than a gesture, so then it has to be spiritual.

This energy, the owner of *Kauri* said, conveyed “a sense that we open ourselves up and offer to include them in our inner circle”. There were certain skills that helped guide others into a deeper, personal, and potentially transformational experience through “opportunities to really connect”. He felt that showing manaakitanga, respecting people, engaging them, and caring for others, helped transformation occur. One such “particular moment”, a “spiritual experience”, occurred at Mt Cook in the South Island. The business had arranged for a barbeque lunch on the shores of Lake Pukaki overlooking Mt Cook, and while they ate they listened to Māori music. One lady, “one of the most well-travelled people I have ever known” became “inconsolable” and “had these tears running down her ... face”:

... for her, it all came together in magnificent scenery, Māori music, food, and fellowship ... it all came together for her.

A *Kauri* colleague spoke of the unity that tourism created amongst people, that tourism, in his very experienced view, was a powerful force for change. He gave the example of when a full pōwhiri, welcome ceremony had been arranged on board a cruise ship, not only to the tourists:

The captain and other people came up and said: “*We’ve never seen that – ever – since this boat’s been built*” and this is the most exclusive audience, this is the very highest of high-end customers ... We had them all come out (including the captain) for a full pōwhiri and the emotion on that ship at the end of that 3 hours was incredible ... after we finished upstairs, they have 300 crew on that ship ... we took the whole thing down to the crew and we did it again for the crew and the emotion of the crew ... beautiful ... we included them.

When asked what it was about the experience he thought touched people so deeply, the *Kauri* network colleague said:

It’s kotahitanga – it’s that unity. You realise there is a beautiful side to mankind; there is still hope in human beings that transcends financial, colour, status – it’s one human being engaging with another human being, and realising that we’re good people and you can’t stage that ... understand that emotion, that spirit thing – you can’t act it, it’s either real or not real. And the discerning tourist knows and feels it.

The CEO of *Rimu* explained the contribution Māori could make to the world through the energy of togetherness:

[I want customers to] take back that Māori people are a gift to the world, really that we still have what some cultures have lost in terms of oneness, a linking together, a feeling of belonging to each other and the world.

*Discovering inner selves*

At *Pōhutukawa* they explained customers often arrive seeking to “find out who they really are ... people come here not to have what we Māori have – but to discover themselves”. The owner highlighted that pakihi can be facilitators who enact a vision to help others discover themselves:

Because my role is not the guide, I’m a facilitator. I feel my skills are a facilitator. You know, my people say a tohunga. I’m not going to tell people I’m a tohunga for my people. I just say facilitator because that’s a word people can understand ... I don’t want to be guiding or lecturing them, tutoring them or whatever. I try and piece it together.

When people were connected to warmth, to wairua, said the owner of *Pōhutukawa*, they were then open to receiving spirit in a way that they may not have experienced before, or in a long while. He described the awareness that could open up in people:

Well, it’s pure love. It’s the feeling of love, of being loved through the manaakitanga, through the consideration, through the warming ... That’s what they are lacking, that’s what they are looking for. You know, it may not have been around them in an unconditional way for a very long time.

Through helping customers connect to the energy, customers could “feel what we have got and they want to know how they can get that”. A number of *Pōhutukawa* customers wrote about how they felt transformed through their experiences, which could emerge from simple opportunities of being given time and space for self-reflection:

... in this privacy you can find better to yourself – what do I want, where will I go.  
What is the plan for my life?

Being here at this special place brought us to ease, and made us think about ourselves.

I am awed by how much you have both taught me and by the number of ways - big and small - you have altered my life.

I got to know a bit about [Māori] priorities in life. For me, they know more about life and humans than the Western people. I think [we] lost so many things on [our] way to success.

For one *Kauri* colleague Māori could contribute to others, especially in tourism, through drawing on “beatitudes” which he said, was a “be attitude”:

To me, god and spirituality are love, joy, happiness, goodwill, kindness – all those things ... they are “be attitudes” ... So that’s what a spiritual experience is for me, and that’s what spirituality is, and Māori have it in volumes.

At *Miro* a guide believed that the majority of people were not simply there “to look at the trees” but were “either searching for something or searching for themselves”. Providing space and silence was crucial, so customers could absorb the wonderment of the setting. The guide explained that on the first day, if they were undertaking a multi-day walk, he kept talking to a minimum to allow the customers’ thoughts to settle and take in the surroundings. Even after a short time, after a “day and a night”, whatever customers were bringing it “comes out”, often this was around the campfire when the guide was playing the guitar and singing waiata. Customers were given space, the guide explained; “they have their own personal reasons why they are there. Some share it and some don’t. That’s fine too”. At these times the guide felt “aroha for them” and, when he observed what customers were coping with in their lives, he felt “[it] just goes to show that for us as Māori we don’t realise what we’ve got”.

Reflecting on these events, a guide at *Miro* said he felt that “it’s hard to swallow that word tourism”, and, implicit in this comment, was that the transformation that can occur when people experience profound awakenings was beyond the usual transactional, commercialised approach associated with tourism. The guide attributed the transformational possibilities of tourism to the spiritual enclosure of the rainforest, the domain of the atua, the gods, and the ancestors:

By the time they come out on the third day they don't want to go. Some don't want to go home. Once we get back to where we started its just like ... we are not even out to the main highway and they are out. Asleep. Tiredness? I think they've taken on a lot. I think it's just too much. So that's what's generated in there. I feel the tūpuna, I feel the wairua and I feel all the things that are available there.

Following on from the guide's observations, one customer of *Miro*, a well-travelled man, shared that in his view a spiritual experience was being with people who know who they are, and being in nature facilitated this process:

... I would have imagined that a spiritual experience is being ecological ... I would say it's wonderment - pure peace – just being in tune with the environment ... I suppose it is a sense of being with people who are totally content, at one with who they are.

Another customer shared that she wanted to “go away with a feeling, take something away from it; in your head and in your brain. [I] want to feel [like] a different person as a result of that experience”.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 7: Practice 6.2.5. - Guiding Transformation**

<b>Spiritual</b>	<b>6.2.5.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Guiding transformation.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Guides act as catalysts for transformation by helping others connect to themselves through relationships with nature, the spiritual domain, ancestors, culture, and people.
<b>Contribution</b>	Stimulates experiences where customers can step outside their own 'reality' and into Te Ao Māori (Māori worldview), which can lead to new insights and perspectives about one's own life.
<b>Key concept</b>	Meets ultimate human need for self-actualisation.
<b>Key values</b>	Aroha (care, empathy, charity and respect), Kotahitanga (unity), Wairuatanga (spirituality), Manaaki (respect and kindness), Tupu (unfolding one's nature).
<b>Key links</b>	7.2.5 Connecting senses, 8.2.4 Constructing community with customers, 9.2.3 Making kaitiaki, 10.2.1 Adding value.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Customers.

Table 7 summarises the key points made in this practice. Pakihi hope to create experiences that put customers in touch with a deeper experience, and ultimately with a self-actualising experience. Authentic connection to oneself in this practice differs from the earlier explorations of ‘being true to oneself’ as in the discussions of existential authenticity in Chapter Two, it is proposed to be a relationship with oneself that meanwhile does not eschew the complexity of manifold relationships. Through facilitating experiences that help customers step into a Māori worldview, customers may receive deep insights about their own lives. Guiding transformation can bring spirituality to encounters and create opportunities for customers to experience a sense of their own authentic self. Pakihi show in the narratives how they can be spiritual guides, or facilitators, for others, to help them discover their own authentic self through the enriching spaces of tourism. Pakihi especially bring aroha (care, empathy, charity and respect) to their praxis as they assist others on the journey toward self-knowledge. In addition to aroha, values such as kotahitanga (unity), wairuatanga (spirituality), manaaki (respect and kindness), and tupu, to unfold one’s true nature, also provide guidance.

### **6.3. Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have explored some of the spiritual dimensions of Māori business through the lens of five practices that support spiritual well-being across a variety of relationships and contexts. The practices show how pakihi draw upon a wide range of spiritual values and apply them in praxis to create reciprocal relationships of respect. The practices reveal the extraordinary breadth and depth of relationships fostered by pakihi between humans, with the atua, the gods, the ancestors, and the environment.

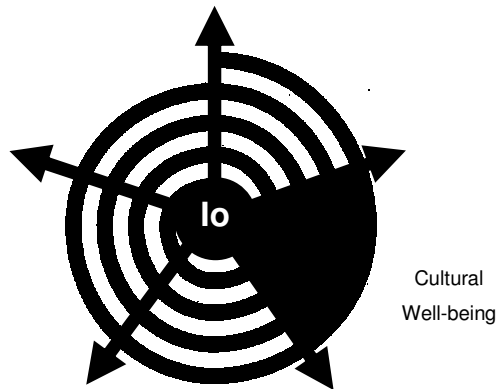
Pakihi aim to develop meaningful relationships with a variety of communities, and demonstrate how business can belong, contribute, and make a difference to the greater whole of which they are a part. Karakia forges relationships between the material and spiritual world, and invites mindfulness to penetrate all activities. The relationship with the past was also examined, and reveals that pakihi can be who they really are in present



terms, which is a living legacy of the past – in other words, they do not have to present the past simply to satisfy tourism expectations. Pakihi show how they sought to connect meaningfully with their customers and to achieve mutual recognition and see the ‘whole’ person, not simply the tourist. The final practice illustrates how pakihi can be catalysts for transformational experiences and help people connect to their own self and have an authentic experience, which, I have proposed, occurs in manifold relationships including with the self, others, atua, ancestors, and the environment.

The creation of mauri ora, conscious well-being, in this dimension is spiritual connectedness, wholeness, and unity with the whole of creation wherein each aspect of creation has intrinsic worth. In respecting the intrinsic worth of all others, pakihi, through the praxis of spiritual values within contexts, create mauri ora in their manifold relationships. These relationships are the wellspring from which authentic and sustainable well-being arise.

## CHAPTER SEVEN: CULTURAL WELL-BEING



**Figure 11: The Well-beings Map - Cultural Well-being**

In this chapter, I examine how Māori cultural tourism businesses, called pakihi, create cultural well-being. I begin with an overview of a Māori cultural perspective. This is followed by five practices relating to cultural well-being. Each practice section contains a preliminary discussion of a relevant aspect of a Māori perspective, examples from the pakihi, and a summary of how the cultural practice contributes to authentic and sustainable well-being.

### **7.1. Business and culture**

To help facilitate resilience, a cultural community is encouraged to acquire the ability to learn reflexively, and this ability refers to the past, not only the present. Mowforth and Munt (1998) argue “cultural sustainability refers to the ability of people, or a people, to retain or adapt elements of their culture which distinguish them from other people” (p. 109). Henare (2001) suggests that an appreciation of history and a willingness to learn from experience facilitates the resilience of the Māori cultural worldview. Knowing what to retain from the past whilst adapting to present circumstances is a central feature of Māori life, which depends upon what Marsden (2003) calls a “community of Believers [sic]” (p. 106). A community that reflexively mediates cultural norms, values, practices, and knowledge systems helps give rise to a cultural worldview.

Pakihi in the narratives show how they learn reflexively and ensure that the Māori cultural worldview resides at the centre of organisational culture - “touching, interacting with and strongly influencing every aspect of the culture” (Marsden, 2003, p. 56). Pakihi show attention to becoming a “learning organisation” (cf. Senge, 1990). Cultural sustainability can include acquiring a learning mastery to ensure that what is retained or adapted is acceptable to the wider cultural community, and so, learning often occurs in the context of relationships, and Māori cultural values provide guidance on how to develop these relationships.

Given the nature of cultural tourism, in which demands are continuously placed upon organisations to adapt cultural aspects to meet customer expectations, time, money, and other constraints, pakihi are called upon to reflexively mediate the Māori worldview in a market environment. The case narratives illustrate how pakihi strive to be culturally sustainable by drawing upon, to varying degrees, tikanga, meaning custom, which acts as a code of ethics. Henare (1994) notes the link between cultural sustainability and tikanga, as do Ulrich Cloher and Johnston (1999) with reference to tourism. From a tikanga base, pakihi seek to reflexively and responsibly mediate market demands for innovation and adaptation.

The field-insights show that with a tikanga ethics framework secured, and perpetually mastered, pakihi are better positioned to induct the visitor into the Māori cultural worldview, drawing on abiding pedagogies such as story-telling and sensory experiences. The five cultural practices discussed below reveal how pakihi draw upon tikanga to develop and maintain reciprocal relationships of respect with cultural stakeholders, and, from this foundation apply cultural values through praxis with context. Authentic and sustainable cultural well-being can arise from the reciprocal relationships of respect formed through praxis.

## 7.2. Practices

### *7.2.1. Taking a tikanga approach*

Pakihi refer to tika, the ethic of the right way, which is essential for individual and group well-being (Henare, 1988, p. 21). Tika provides a code of ethics to guide action in everyday life (Mead, 2003, p. 6). Where tika points to what is right, its application is tikanga - practices that uphold ethics. Pakihi draw upon tikanga in the same way that other businesses might adopt a code of ethics. Pakihi, like many in other industries, confirm the importance of tikanga in their business (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006) and the first crucial step in creating cultural well-being through business is a commitment to being informed by tikanga.

Taking a tikanga approach reveals how pakihi take culturally responsible action, and as such, follow the recommendation of Henare (1988) wherein tikanga governs the rights of people, authority, and control (p. 27), and not the other way around. A tikanga approach places a high value on ethical codes to ensure commercial activities are situated in a cultural context and, as such, addresses the challenge to reconcile the Māori worldview with the demands of a growth-oriented capitalist economy (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006). Ropata Taylor of Wakatu Incorporation, a successful corporation with significant investments across a wide variety of sectors, says of Māori business that “It’s not about commercialising our culture, it’s about culturalising our commerce” (“Māori tourism not just”, 2007) and he encourages economic activity that does not erode culture in the process.

Culturalising commerce is a view also held by the chair of the New Zealand Māori Tourism Council, John Barrett. He encourages Māori in business to be successful “without losing or having to compromise their Māori values” (Ombler, 2007, p. 24). The case narratives illustrate how pakihi reflexively and responsibly apply tikanga in business, ensuring praxis with Māori cultural values. Taking a tikanga approach can help ensure decision-making processes are culturally grounded, and commercial imperatives

do not usurp or degrade culture. A benefit of a tikanga approach shows how customers, and suppliers, enjoy a tourism experience that is not only culturally appropriate but also treats them with respect and not merely as a commercial transaction.

### *Cultural protocols*

The information booklet given to guests by *Pōhutukawa* on arrival articulated how the operation was informed by cultural protocols incorporated in tikanga:

All Visitors: please read the following 2 page information to ensure you are comfortable and fully understand the simple respect required in this unique location.

This location is an old Māori occupation site. It is a very spiritual and important location for the village and our family. We are very privileged to live here.

Visitors who wish to stay are also privileged and need to be aware of basic cultural respect and behaviour.

This is also our home and we are more than happy to share it with others. We limit the amount of visitors so as not to detract from our home setting and allow visitors to have space and peace and enjoy the surroundings and nature.

This is not your normal commercial setting.

This introduction was followed by a short list of “Awareness and Respect” policies including practices such as not wearing shoes inside “for cultural respect and cleanliness”, not sitting on tables, and not brushing teeth or washing underwear in the kitchen sink. The booklet’s introduction finished with:

If you are comfortable and happy with the above “Nau Mai Haere Mai” welcome and enjoy your stay.

If you are not happy with the above conditions, please let us know and we will suggest other accommodation. Please do not be afraid to be honest about this!

*Pōhutukawa* placed special emphasis on tikanga to ensure that professional and personal lives were not separate but formed an integrated and seamless connection with Māori cultural values, norms, and practices:

What I'm doing is a practice that I have grown up practicing whether I was with tourism or not with tourism. I don't gear it for tourism, I do it because it's the life we live ...

An owner of *Pōhutukawa* said it was important to treat tourists the same as manuhiri, as visitors, and “shift them around in your mind ... and pretend they are like your own people. Working like that keeps it simple, keeps it rich, keeps it real ... in the tikanga ... keeps it natural”.

The Pākehā owner of *Miro* devolved decisions to do with tikanga to guides. Each guide who worked for the business was deeply steeped in tikanga and conversant with cultural protocol (developed in practice 8.2.3). Additionally, the owner worked closely with kaumātua, the elders, in the community, who provided guidance and managed marae protocol for visiting tourists. Operating in a close-knit community meant sensitivity to the need to maintain tikanga. As shall be explored in the following two practices, this owner demonstrated willingness to be informed by the guides and elders in the cultural community.

#### *Awareness of values*

*Kauri* had identified three key values to guide their design and organisation of tours:

We have this amazing heritage here, going back thousands of years, and in this country at least 1,000 years, and on the other side, we have this economic/business community ... trying to marry those two things together with integrity is very difficult, so we're trying to find ways to anchor it all. We think we've found that to some degree in just some simple values around people's connection to place, and if you put that into a Māori dimension, it's kaitiakitanga [connection to place], he tangata [people] and manaakitanga [hospitality] .... you have this set of values that you deliver off.

Customers of *Kauri* indicated appreciation for the cultural values adopted by the business, encapsulated by the following quote which highlighted awareness of the difference between being treated as a manuhiri, a visitor, rather than a commercial transaction:

I feel like they had my interests ... my interests [were] very important to them. It wasn't about just making money where I'm going to get you in and get you out; it's more about: "Okay we want to take care of you, we want to run a quality tour, we want to be able to show you about our people and about our country" ... I don't think I know anybody back in Hawaii that does this ... [m]ost people are there for the economic, basic boom-boom – get into the island, get out.

One of *Kauri*'s suppliers said it was crucial that their New Zealand partner be committed to values first, citing trust and loyalty, and stated they were not interested in being associated with a partner who did not put cultural values ahead of commercial gain. A *Kauri* network colleague encouraged other pakihi to look to the marae, the village common, for guidance on tikanga:

... applying the rules of the marae wherever you are – it still goes back to those rules that have been in place for 2,000 years – why change those rules? Because they've always worked and it comes back to all that respect stuff, that's why I love maraes.

*Rimu* had also identified three key values to guide their business. These three values were whanaungatanga, which broadly means relationships, manaakitanga in its broadest meaning is interpreted as hospitality, and kotahitanga which is to create unity. Whatever they did, said the CEO, it was important to "get the agreement of the people". The business did not operate as an isolated unit, with a tikanga separate to the village, but aimed to maintain consensus and congruency between village life and corporate activities. One employee felt that part of the business's success was that people "do actually see" customs in action, for example, not crossing a marae when people were being welcomed on, and whilst they could not actually participate in a tangi, a funeral, they could view proceedings from a distance.

Taking a customary approach was, noted by one overseas *Rimu* supplier, challenging but important. He stressed that his interactions with the business needed to be “21st Century, precise and correct on the telephone and codified”, however, when a customer arrived, the systems aspect of the business, the computers and office part need to be “completely hidden from view” so the customer could enjoy the experience of “going around with aunty or uncle”. However, he said, “if you codify it, it gets too much, and then authenticity suffers”. Recognising that a balance needed to be struck between culture and commerce, the supplier indicated his appreciation of how the business mostly succeeded in this challenge. Several *Rimu* customers noted their appreciation for the uncommercialised way in which the business delivered their experience:

You really felt her and it wasn’t commercialised, that it seemed so money-driven – though I know they need to sustain an income to survive, the way they presented it I thought was in a way very sincere and definitely an eye-opening experience.

Even though they were working for tourism, they were still keeping their culture alive and they really knew how to kind of balance it where it’s not just so commercial and it’s still part of their lives – which I thought was really fascinating. Whereas it’s not like too much tourism and all culture – it was a good balance, I really felt it was a good balance.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 8: Practice 7.2.1 - Taking a tikanga approach**

<b>Cultural</b>	<b>7.2.1</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Taking a tikanga approach.</i>
<b>Description</b>	A commitment by the business to being informed by tikanga as a code of ethics.
<b>Contribution</b>	Ensures commercial activities are situated in a proper cultural context. Supports business to be successful in a commercial environment in Māori cultural tourism. Tikanga (custom) is an appropriate Māori approach to perpetuating cultural well-being.
<b>Key concept</b>	Tikanga are like stars that help navigate the business journey, with knowledge that has stood the test of time.
<b>Key values</b>	Pono (true to principles), Tika (appropriateness), Tikanga (custom), Whakarite (respect).
<b>Key links</b>	7.2.2 Adapting tikanga, 7.2.3 Developing cultural mastery.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Employees, Cultural community, Owners.



Table 8 summarises the key points made in this practice. Tikanga represents knowledge that has stood the test of time and offers a code of ethics that guide pakihi to “do the right thing”. Being informed by tikanga helps dissolve boundaries between the professional and personal lives of people in pakihi. A commitment to tikanga is a commitment to keeping the business culturally real and culturally appropriate. Pono (true to principles), tika (appropriateness), tikanga (custom), and whakarite (respect) are particular values that guide pakihi protocol.

Pakihi take different approaches towards incorporating tikanga in business, two businesses identify several key values, another undertakes a total tikanga approach, and the other devolves tikanga decisions to guides. At the heart of mauri ora, conscious well-being, in the cultural dimension is the relationship of respect between the business and the cultural community from which tikanga emerges. Customers express appreciation when able to experience Māori culture in the context of pakihi activities, which reflect the wider cultural setting, and this appears to mitigate a tourism experience being dominated by commercialisation, which, in turn, can compromise the creation of authentic and sustainable well-being.

### *7.2.2. Adapting tikanga*

Using tikanga in business calls for attention to, and critical examination of, context to ensure that any adaptations are appropriate to Māori culture, and not appropriated by tourism culture. Metge (1995) emphasises the extent of choice and flexibility in interpreting and applying tikanga in particular situations (p. 21). She advises that “in any given situation, a variety of tikanga are applicable, some reinforcing, some contradicting each other” (Metge, 1995, p. 87). Successive generations adapt tikanga according to the needs and goals of their period in time under guidance of leaders. Decisions hosts make about protocol on their own home ground may conflict with the tikanga that requires them to “manaaki ki te manuwhiri”, that is, to show respect and kindness to visitors, a

point also highlighted by Benton (2004). Metge (1995) explains how cultural leaders might typically handle these situations:

In my experience, kaumātua of earlier generations (especially those I observed in the 1950s and 1960s) paid close attention to context. In any given situation, they reviewed both past precedents and present needs and on that basis decided which tikanga were most relevant. Often different tikanga were emphasised in different circumstances. (p. 87)

Royal (2002) calls for careful study of the deeper values being espoused to avoid an “overly pedantic and slavish adherence to ‘tikanga’” (p. 14), a view reinforced by Mead (2003) who urges people to recognise that, despite some people thinking to the contrary, tikanga ought not be “frozen in time” (p. 21). Huata (in Cave, Robertson, Pitama & Huriwai, 2008) states:

It’s not what is tikanga, but rather, how is it operationalised in this setting, or in this context – those things change. (p. 164)

In adapting tikanga to meet the demands of context, and customer comfort, pakihi show how they set limits to protect cultural well-being and work within accepted, customary frames of reference, and in doing meet the recommendations of Mahuta (1987), Pere (1982), Rangihau (as cited in Barclay, 2005), and Te Awekotuku (1981). Hinch et al. (1998) in their case study of tourism businesses recommend Māori tourism businesses acknowledge that the cultural community takes a legitimate interest their activities.

### *Preservation of cultural protocols*

Adapting tikanga could be observed in *Rimu’s* decision to do a wero, a ritual challenge, at night as an example of how a tourism business might adapt cultural protocols and ritual:

Why are we doing the wero at night? We can do it at night because our tīpuna [ancestors] didn’t have lights, and when they travelled they travelled for days, so what’s another day? When our visitors arrive they might have only travelled for one day and are only here for one day, so we have got to have it then or we miss them.

Whereas *Rimu* might choose to do the wero at night, they might equally refuse to adapt tikanga if the request being made was inappropriate. As the following example illustrated, cultural proceedings would not be adapted for a visiting group that included the Prime Minister, and demonstrated the commercial pressure oftentimes placed on pakihi:

It was getting dark and our people had been waiting for ages. They wanted an authentic experience and wanted us to stop the wero so they could film it from different angles. And I said no. They had a tantrum and I expressed myself and it went ahead as a pōwhiri [welcome] should when it's an authentic experience. I was not going to put myself in that position.

When making changes to tikanga, *Rimu* strived to do so on their terms, resisting pressure from suppliers or customers. It was essential the business retained the right to adapt protocols, as one senior guide explained; a business can “work side-by-side with tourism ... but you call the tune, you do it your way – don’t let them come onto the marae and say, “Well, we want this sort of karanga [call] and this sort of pōwhiri [welcome]”. The CEO considered alterations to tikanga were authentic if they were made through conscious choice, without capitulation to external pressure, yet were considerate of circumstance and customer comfort:

If we choose to change something then we choose to change that and it's still an authentic experience, however, we should not change because of someone else's expectations of what we should be. We would lose our authenticity.

### *Continual reinforcement*

A tikanga-based business, said the owner of *Pōhutukawa*, required effort and constant reinforcement otherwise, it was simply tokenism and culturally degrading. Consequently, working with tikanga meant remembering what “I delivered at the beginning” and to “reinforce it where it's appropriate”. This “continual reinforcement”, said the owner,

helped define “the difference between commercial and what’s tūturu [genuine, permanent, enduring]”:

When it’s tūturu that’s something that’s affecting you all the way through, that’s not something you deliver just for the purpose of having a nice cover at the beginning of your operation - you do it because that’s how it’s meant to be and you need to manage it so it continues to be practiced ....

From his observation, some Māori companies operating in tourism were “bringing tikanga in when it suits them and taking it out when [it doesn’t suit]. There was no “realness about it – it looks like a buzz thing as part of their business ... they are fitting their tikanga around the operation, not the operation fitting around the tikanga”.

The owner of *Pōhutukawa* also highlighted the importance of explaining the difference between how traditional tikanga might be implemented, and any adaptations made “for convenience”. People needed to know “what should be correct” to avoid the people mistakenly “observing what they think is tikanga”.

### *Cultural boundaries*

*Rimu* sought to pay close attention to context and set clear boundaries regarding what they were not prepared to adapt, or share, for example, all staff interviewed agreed that customers and suppliers ought not to participate in tangi, a funeral.

The owner of *Kauri* felt the business walked a “fine line” between making a programme culturally appropriate and “palatable” to the culture, and ensuring that experiences were comfortable for guests. One boundary they observed was avoiding taking tourists to tangi or burial sites:

... there are burial caves up north, all over the land and ... there is no way that I would enter into any discussions ... we have had in the past people approach us wanting to get access and stuff like that.

He pressed the point that they would not be “led into doing things because of expediency” or give into a supplier’s demands: “I will simply do what I believe to be right”. He believed a key consideration when working with tikanga and cultural precepts was to be true and honest, and “if we are pulled up by people who should know better, or do know better, that we listen and if they are obviously correct then we change immediately”. There were times when they had made mistakes and he reflected, “we all have the capacity to learn from those but you try not to make as many as you can possibly”. If the owner was unclear about certain tikanga then “I’ll ask someone who I think should know, would know, would give me a truthful answer”. He highlighted a pitfall of this approach whereby they “sought the advice of a very good friend, very knowledgeable, about the name of the business” and the name given was completely inappropriate and had the potential to upset other iwi, tribes. As a *Kauri* network colleague explained, being guided by a kaumātua, an elder, was essential, and his own kaumātua was “my handbrake, my adviser, my compliance lawyer – everything”.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 9: Practice 7.2.2 - Adapting tikanga**

<b>Cultural</b>	<b>7.2.2</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Adapting tikanga.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Appropriate use of tikanga in tourism by setting clear limits, critically examining context, being transparent, and reinforcing.
<b>Contribution</b>	Helps build respect and trust with the cultural community, whilst “manaaki ki manuhiri” (showing respect and kindness to visitors) and maintaining business relationships. Maintains cultural integrity and protects cultural well-being.
<b>Key concept</b>	Tikanga is dynamic and innovations must be culturally appropriate and context relevant.
<b>Key values</b>	Pono (true to principles), Tika (appropriateness), Manaaki (respect and kindness), Pūrotu (transparency).
<b>Key links</b>	7.2.1 Taking a tikanga approach, 7.2.3 Developing cultural mastery.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Employees, Cultural community, Owners.

Table 9 summarises the key points made in this practice. Pakihi adapt tikanga according to time, place, context, circumstance, and conviction. They consider the wider implications of sharing cultural knowledge and using tikanga. Their experience reveals

the need to explain adaptations, as is the importance of reinforcing tikanga throughout an experience. Pakihi are sometimes pressured to capitulate to market demands, highlighting the importance for clear communication and diplomacy to ensure cultural boundaries are respected while, at the same time, maintaining business relationships and caring for customers.

Pakihi strive to ensure decisions are made from conviction, not from pressure. Communities are interested, and concerned, about how tourism businesses are working with tikanga in their activities and the extent to which boundaries are in place. Pono (true to principles), tika (appropriateness), manaaki (respect and kindness), and pūrotu (transparency) are values especially associated with this practice and guide pakihi to develop effective, reciprocal relationships with stakeholders, and apply them in praxis.

This practice contributes to cultural well-being by setting clear limits on cultural conduct and knowledge sharing. The boundaries of conduct and disclosure are not rigid, however, and each situation is assessed on its own merits. Praxis helps ensure that tourism activities remain authentic and culturally sustainable within the precepts of tikanga.

### *7.2.3. Developing cultural mastery*

Tikanga is not a range of freestanding ethics, but encompasses rules and guidelines that are interwoven and come together under a Māori epistemology of Māori philosophy and knowledge (Mead, 2003, p. 7). Perpetuating the culture, says Mead (1997) means knowing it deeply, and correctly, and this can be a lifetime pursuit, where people are encouraged to acquire breadth and depth of knowledge. He provides guidance on how people can acquire cultural learning mastery and the expression “te hōhonutanga o te mātauranga” conveys depth of knowledge, wherein the learner dives in to explore the areas of darkness, the unknown parts of the ocean and, by exploring, comes to understand. He also uses the expression, “Te whanuitanga o te māramatanga”, which refers to the horizons of knowledge, signifying that the ocean’s horizons must be explored as well as its depths. Mātauranga, he advises, is about developing the creative

powers of the mind, of expanding horizons and reaching beyond the limitations of circumstance and adversity (p. 51). The practice of cultural mastery supports the findings of Hinch et al. (1998) that successful cultural tourism businesses ensure that staff are comfortable with “who they are” first and foremost and that fostering a strong sense of cultural confidence at work is crucial (p. 4).

It is generally accepted that a cultural worldview is heterogeneously comprised of perceptions and understandings that are held unevenly throughout a culture (Royal, 2002), and Māori are empowered through whakapapa, their genealogical inheritance that they are born into, to speak of what a Māori worldview means for them. Within this heterogeneous flux there “remains a corpus of basic convictions about reality and life” which provides a “thread of continuity” (Marsden, 2003, p. 34). A central corpus of knowledge guides individuals and a culturally well-educated person, that is, cultural learnedness borne of experience that emerges through time and practice, is better positioned to make knowledgeable cultural decisions. Royal (2007) has highlighted how knowledge changes and grows over time, and an interesting question regarding this practice is ‘what constitutes cultural mastery?’ As noted earlier, isolating Māori concepts from their cultural base, warns Durie (1998), can distort meanings and produce dysfunctional interpretations (p. 29) and thus, cultural mastery necessarily includes reflexive engagement with Māori in Māori settings, such as participation on a marae where the learner is exposed to vital expressions of Māori culture. The confidence to speak of Māori culture in tourism, as pakihi experiences show, often emerges from an individual’s personal mastery and their willingness and commitment to learn the full body of cultural knowledge

#### *Inner awareness of cultural values*

Guides at *Miro* described how their ability to work with cultural knowledge in tourism arose from an inner knowing:

... it's along the lines where you cannot explain what it is that you're trying to say, but it's the line that you know is right ... it's in there – it's within. And you can't tell anybody this; you just know that it's right.

Another *Miro* guide explained it was “being able to reach inside in the moment”. With cultural authority comes responsibility – as a guide said – sharing cultural knowledge was a matter of “Awareness. I should be out there in the world giving the right story”. These guides displayed an inner awareness that was the result of many years of exposure and training, which, when combined with an ability to transmit knowledge along with the willingness to do so, created a responsible cultural tourism encounter. A colleague observed of one *Miro* guide, “You watch him speaking in English; he still thinks in Māori. I think his values, his culture, are just so important to him”.

### *Taking the cultural journey*

It was important, said the owner of *Kauri*, for Māori in tourism to be “well-educated” in the sense of being “well read, we should understand, we should tell the truth, we shouldn't make up stories”. Customer service skills were essential and there “are plenty of training opportunities to get that right ... that should be a given. That should be basic ... for anyone entering into it”. The “biggest thing”, however, was that “people have to upskill themselves in general knowledge of their own whakapapa, where they come from, who they are, that sort of thing first”. His own journey towards cultural confidence and authority had:

... come from time and experience and being committed to doing it. This whole engagement with our culture and sharing it with visitors, for me personally has been a long, long, long gestation ... 25 years or something like that and slowly it has, you know, it has been gathering momentum and I think we're reasonably comfortable now in terms of the way that we deliver it.

Confidence and authority for *Kauri* had an element of discernment and knowing what to share and what to leave out; it meant “getting a sense of how much you should [share],



what are the elements of this huge, huge subject, do you actually try and engage people with it?” Cultural mastery in this pakihi included the attributes of being well-educated, truthful, skilful, and knowledgeable about whakapapa, being committed, and exercising sensitivity in the amount of cultural exposure customers could meaningfully absorb.

Learning about whakapapa was pivotal in *Rimu*’s approach to cultural mastery. As noted in practice 6.2.4, the CEO highlighted the importance of having employees understand their connection through whakapapa to the land and history. Employees also stressed that tourism had helped them “find out who I was, where I was from, who were my people” and learning about heritage “was a really big thing for me”.

### *Personal mastery*

Personal mastery did not mean giving customers a Māori cosmology or philosophy lecture. Often, said an employee at *Rimu*, people were interested in normal, everyday life, and what it was like growing up in a Māori community. Being able to speak confidently about these matters came from having lived it:

[Customers] say “what’s it like for you?” “What were some of the things that you weren’t allowed to do when you are growing up?” I say, “we don’t sit on the table, it’s most unhygienic part of the body where food goes. We weren’t allowed to step over one another; I couldn’t sit on the bed but sat across the bed”. I wouldn’t sit anywhere somebody put their head. Those are the everyday things that most Māori grow up with. We talk about this word tapu, which means sacred or special, and I say what we think are tapu things, but they are general everyday courtesy things you just wouldn’t do that to a fellow person because it wasn’t nice.

Personal mastery emerged from living in community and gaining first-hand experience where Māori concepts were grounded and connected to living a way of life. Learning in this way could help foster a sense of pride, ownership, and confidence in those people involved in sharing aspects of Māori life and worldview with others.

*Paying attention, exercising discernment and upholding what was correct*

Cultural mastery is not about regurgitating Māori concepts, according to *Pōhutukawa*, but about paying attention, exercising discernment, and upholding what is correct. For example, when people arrive for a fishing trip, they are generally preoccupied with practical matters such as the equipment, “Have I got enough hooks; have I got the right sinkers; have I got enough rods; how much fish are we going to catch? Delivering tikanga or other Māori concepts on top of the thoughts customers are having at that time is inappropriate, said the owner: “So you can see what they going to take in and what they are not going to take in, so it’s not a good time to do it, because that’s the process”. Once the boat was loaded and the customers are “happy because now they are on their way”, the owner stopped the boat:

Bugger me days, we get a hundred yards out and the boat stops. They wonder why are we pulling out here, the jetty is just over there, so the attention is on you. Whereas before, the attention needed to be on them because they are asking if they got this, have they got that. The attention is on me and I walk back to the back and I start to go through my process of what is important to the tikanga. I do my mihimihi [greeting], my kōrero [address] in Māori, and I notice the language, the body language.

It was important, said the owner of *Pōhutukawa*, to not simply ask and expect a response, and “perhaps not get it from everyone, but to make sure every person in the tour responds”. Observing body language was an important aspect of mastery, and the owner would sit next to someone who may be feeling “resistant” and “I ask them ... if they have any issue with my explanations, why we have these rules and so on”. Sitting beside a customer in that way “allows them to respond so you are giving them that time rather than just ram[ming] that”. Cultural mastery, *Pōhutukawa* illustrated, needed to be developed by paying attention to the unsaid, to “reading between the lines”, reading the body language, and always “feeling the wairua”:

You don’t get caught up in the tourist thing. You look at the dynamics that will occur through the whole thing.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 10: Practice 7.2.3 - Developing cultural mastery**

<b>Cultural</b>	<b>7.2.3.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Developing cultural mastery.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Cultivating a workplace where employees are culturally well-educated and empowered.
<b>Contribution</b>	Avoids isolating and distorting Māori concepts from their cultural base, which protects both the individuals and the collective. By undertaking a personal journey to acquire breadth and depth of knowledge, an internal compass can be developed which serves to maintain cultural integrity in all contexts.
<b>Key concept</b>	Tikanga is not a set of freestanding ethics but is interwoven with rules and guidelines under an epistemology of mātauranga Māori (Māori knowledge).
<b>Key values</b>	Akoranga (learning), Te hōhonutanga (depth of learning), Te māramatanga (breadth of learning), Mātauranga (knowledge).
<b>Key links</b>	7.2.1 Taking a tikanga approach, 7.2.2 Adapting tikanga, 10.2.4 Training for the future.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Employees, Cultural community, Owners.

Table 10 summarises the key points in this practice. The case narratives portray how pakihi seek to acquire depth and breadth of learning in order to develop cultural mastery. Attributes of this learning journey include: leading by personal example; taking responsibility for being truthful; exercising discernment and seeking balance in what and how much to deliver; being open to learning from others; being willing to share and care about others; including younger people in the learning journey; paying attention to the dynamics of situations by observing body language; and noticing how energy is shifting.

Employee confidence in accessing their internal cultural compass, to decide the “right thing to do and say” in tourism, is revealed as important for praxis in context, which often demands immediate, competent cultural responses. Pakihi aim to develop confidence, awareness, and authority in their staff and, in doing so, develop stronger, succession-oriented corporate cultures, firmly grounded in Māori values. Key cultural values in this practice include akoranga (learning), te hōhonutanga (depth of learning), te māramatanga (breadth of learning), and mātauranga (knowledge), which, when applied in praxis, helps pakihi build reciprocal relationships of respect in the cultural dimension. Through the dialectical learning relationships cultural authenticity and sustainability may emerge and create mauri ora, well-being in the cultural domain.

#### *7.2.4. Dialoguing through story-telling*

The previous practices illustrate how pakihi are informed by tikanga, set appropriate boundaries, and encourage mastery when working with culture in commercial contexts. With these frameworks in place, it is posited that pakihi are then better positioned to share cultural knowledge in a way that does not degrade the culture, and the next two practices explore two Māori pedagogies that pakihi use to transmit cultural knowledge.

Effective story-telling can be a potent lever to facilitate others' learning about Māori culture. Māori epistemologies often use story-telling, myths, and legends as discursive devices to promote learning; they are “an integral part of the corpus of fundamental knowledge, held by Māori seers and philosophers” (Marsden, 2003, p. 55). Stories, says Marsden, were purposefully created to “encapsulate and condense” views of the world, and explain ultimate reality and the relationship between humans, universe, and Io (p. 56). The tradition of story-telling can be a “journey to the point of enlightenment” (Jackson, as cited in Bargh, 2007, p. 172). Through story-telling, both personal and tribal, people may come to better understand themselves, others, and the natural world, and dialoguing is the flow of meaning (cf. Bohm, 1996) that can create a reciprocal connection to the story and experience.

The importance of story-telling is highlighted by the vision that the Chief Executive of Tourism New Zealand articulated: “New Zealand can offer life-changing experiences through the power of our landscapes, the personalities of our people and the stories that link the two” (Tourism New Zealand, 2007a, p. 4). The New Zealand Māori Tourism Council (2008) also welds the link between landscape and people in a tourism context through the “Living Landscapes™” brand in 2007 to give the Aotearoa New Zealand landscape a Māori voice in tourism promotion. The promotion centres on the concept that the landscapes are alive with stories and legends handed down from generation to generation.

Story-telling helps bring people continuously into relationship with nature. Cajete (2000) speaks of “realizing the goal of finding and honouring the ‘spirit of place’” (p. 93) which, for Indigenous peoples, is the “storied and living homeland” that permeates Indigenous life and provides a foundation for participation with the universe (p. 182). Tourism spaces can be spaces that contribute to cultural resilience through story.

### *Story-telling is an art*

While story-telling is a “powerful mechanism”, said the owner of *Kauri*, there were certain attributes that differentiated the mundane from the extraordinary story. He warned, “no one wants a lecture”:

... a lot of people can tell stories and they’re boring ... a lot of people can tell you the history or the blinking whakapapa ... and you fall asleep ... but people that can extract the essence of that story and deliver it are the true story-tellers.

Humour was a key attribute that Māori have to weave people together through story, and as a *Kauri* network colleague explained, story-telling was the greatest opportunity for Māori tourism, and he used the example of growing up to explain how he had been “trained” into the art of story-telling:

Our house was a tourist attraction because everyone came to our place because we had this magical thing called *humour* which is a wonderful commodity in itself. I grew up around entertaining people because we had to tell stories to get out of doing dishes for 11 kids ... so we got good at telling stories ‘cos we didn’t like to do dishes ... it’s as simple as just us telling our story and no one can tell it better than Māori. Tourism is about telling stories.

*Kauri* and its range of story-tellers and raconteurs appeared to succeed in creating storied spaces, epitomised by one customer who commented on an opportunity to sit with an elder:

I looked at him as an elder, like back home; back home if you can hook up with the right elder you can sit down and you can learn so much stories and legends and history. I just love those types of people when you can run into them. Usually you'll run into them at some kind of party, then you actually get to meet them and then you get to sit down and then you get to talk all night long. Well, he's that kind of individual.

The owner of *Pōhutukawa* felt it was best not to “go in-depth”, particularly regarding whakapapa, meaning genealogies, as those “belong to us, [and are] not for tourists”. Many whakapapa are “who we are and what we are”, and are often “too much for tourists”. The owner advised those in tourism to develop creative story about the key figures of whakapapa, keeping it to an “overview”.

#### *Cultural sensitivity when story-telling*

The owner of *Kauri* stressed it was important for customers to realise that Māori were “not just some homogeneous group of brown people” and to tell the story of “your own people, your own tribe”. An industry colleague said, “only that marae can tell that story ... it's impossible for anyone else to come along and tell that story”. This diversity of story, he felt, was the great opportunity for Māori cultural tourism.

Similarly, the guides at *Miro* stressed that story-telling, and the knowledge contained therein, needed to be carefully delimited and it was best that each marae told their own story. There was a great deal of sensitivity about in-depth explanations of the medicinal qualities of plants amid concerns that multinational pharmaceutical companies, or homoeopaths and naturopaths, would appropriate Indigenous knowledge. To this extent, the guides preferred oral transmission of knowledge. They stressed they would withhold knowledge if they felt uneasy about those present, and especially uneasy if the dialogue was being recorded in any way.

#### *Sharing a way of life through story-telling*

While operating in a more formal tour setting, *Rimu* sought to transcend routine through the power of story, demonstrating the difference between an ordinary tour and a memorable experience. One customer provided this insight:

We went to this one area where there was a lot of activity and she was just telling stories how she can see and understand that there's things are going to happen by what happens in her village – I thought she was a great story-teller and I'm really into that type of thing, like the old people telling their stories and listening to them.

It was the anecdotes of daily life in the village that another *Rimu* customer enjoyed the most, simple aspects such as cooking, washing areas, the use of geothermal resources: “It’s the sort of thing that I look out for – explanations, reasons why they do this ...”, and delivering a “vocal history” was more appropriate than written interpretations.

One *Rimu* employee commented on how customers seemed “genuinely interested in what we had to say, and so I would guide my tour and I would talk to people about me ...”, for example, “sneaking” up at night as a child into the big swimming pool formed by the geysers. It was these everyday stories, drawn from the guide’s own experience, that meant each guide’s tour was different from another’s. Additionally, summarising my observations, along with customer and supplier interviews, a guide’s talent in delivering anecdotes in a humorous way was a key attribute of successful story-telling.

### *Nature story-telling*

Another *Rimu* guide said she especially took care to speak to children by encapsulating ‘place’ in story that brought nature to life, as shown in this example from the tour:

... those pipes you see steaming ... when you see steam vents coming up, it’s because Mother Earth has her pressure points, she’s got to let steam off. So you’ve got to give mum space, kids, and let her let-off some steam too. It keeps them airtight, waterproof, and thermal free.

For *Kauri*, the best stories were “people stories connected to the place” and ones “where you can demonstrate something”. An example was of Tāne Mahuta, the God of the forest, which had “so many different dimensions to it ... it’s about people and it’s about nature and it’s about beginnings and demigods ... there’s a wealth of stories to make a forest walk really interesting”. Moreover, story offered the opportunity to “demonstrate something”, he pointed out, citing Tāne Mahuta again and “taking the seed of the kauri, out of little things great things grow”. This approach contrasted with the usual tourist encounter of Tāne Mahuta:

... you arrive ... in your 40-seater coach with the rest of your tourists. And the driver opens the doors and you spill out and you wander through to the kauri tree, taking photographs, plucking leaves, doing everything except carving your name ... you get back on the bus ... the driver says something perfunctory or whatever about the kauri tree. He didn’t even bother to go in because he wanted to have a fag.

What *Kauri* felt they had to offer was the “total counterpoint” to the above scenario because they “walk into Tāne’s realm and get him to reflect back at you and your visitors ... that’s the secret ... through story-telling ... through talking to Tāne Mahuta ... as a person”.

*Pōhutukawa* told the story of the fish. The business’s fishing charter was established to combat “a serious issue here of plunder and disrespect ... our fishing is not sustainable”. Observing that “no-one’s actually asking the fish”, the owner decided to tell the story of the fish, from the perspective of the fish. As the owner explained, hāpuku, known as groper, the fish he was telling the story on behalf of, do not roam:

We [hāpuku] don’t roam like other fish. We [hāpuku] pretty well know where our marae is and that’s where we’re staying. Everybody’s starting to find our marae because they’ve got GPS’s ... and ... technology. So ... all that’s going to be left is the marae soon.

Telling the story from the perspective of the fish challenged people to consider whether they were fishing to sustain a living, or fishing to feed “ego”. He wanted people to leave



“being impressed and having good experiences, [to] go back and help send the message about “... it’s okay to just take a limited amount of fish ... we enjoyed the experience ... these people weren’t so bad ...”.

The guides at *Miro* enjoyed sharing stories, and one reflected, “I’m quite good at these short stories!” Information covered how the land was formed and its primeval roots, the pharmaceutical aspects of plants, the story of each tree, food uses of various plants, and other general points of interest.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 11: Practice 7.2.4. - Dialoguing through story-telling**

<b>Cultural</b>	<b>7.2.4.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Dialoguing through story-telling.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Māori tourism businesses share their own people’s stories of place, past, and philosophy.
<b>Contribution</b>	Story (along with myth and legend) bring people into relationship with each other and all of creation. A Māori pedagogy that transmits knowledge, builds holistic connections, and deepens understanding of Te Ao Māori (worldview).
<b>Key concept</b>	The ontological outlook of people, their place and past are continuously spoken into presence through story, myth, and legend.
<b>Key values</b>	Manaaki (respect and kindness), Māramatanga (discernment), Pono (true to principles), Pukuhoe (humour).
<b>Key links</b>	8.2.4 Constructing community with customers, 9.2.3 Making kaitiaki, 10.2.1 Adding value.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Cultural community, Customers.

Table 11 summarises the key points made in this practice. Pakihi adopt meaningful exchange through story-telling rather than adopting a ‘teaching’ stance. Meaningful dialogue and story-telling guide customers into the Māori worldview and helps them develop deeper connections with people and place. Employees may feel a sense of contribution when they can successfully facilitate effective story-telling and dialogue, especially when drawing from their own life experience. Story-tellers draw on the power of humour to weave people together. Story-telling, it is revealed, needs to be carefully delimited, both with respect to the cultural community and the ability of customers to understand and appreciate the message.

Story-telling can bring people into a reflexive, reciprocal, meaningful, and intimate relationship with each other. Pakihi celebrate place and share the depths of their landscape with visitors, thus helping customers discover, or rediscover, the intrinsic spiritual worth of place. Story-telling can be a catalyst for authentic and sustainable relationships with people and place. Values such as manaaki (respect and kindness), māramatanga (discernment), pono (true to principles), and pukuhohe (humour) are important to successful, transformative praxis that facilitates a proper and sustainable transmission of cultural knowledge.

#### *7.2.5. Connecting senses*

Te Kete Aronui, one of the three baskets of knowledge retrieved by Tāne from Io, calls for engaging the five senses in how humans experience “that before us”: the natural world as apprehended by the senses (Marsden, 2003, p. 61; Shirres, 1997, pp. 17-18). By creating sense-connecting experiences, pakihi can facilitate a deeper, holistic connection with culture. Marsden (2003) observes that in apprehending the natural world it is possible to develop “extra-sensory faculties and techniques” which were traditionally used to “test” the environment and “new phenomena”. Some of these techniques, he says, are still in use today (p. 61). An example is found in the narrative of Kereopa (as cited in Moon, 2005) who describes the experience of ‘sensing’ in a quote that is also used in Chapter Four:

When I started, I could sit for hours: slowly, I would get a sense of the plants and where they were at with their thinking. Now I have done it so many times that it almost happens straightaway. I can go somewhere and in a few moments I will know what the sense of the plant is. (p. 19)

Te Kete Aronui, can act as a sensory portal through which people can gain a deeper understanding of the world, and connects to Te Kete Tuauri and Te Kete Tuatea, psychic and spiritual knowledge. Te Kete Aronui can lead people to a deeper experience of the “senses behind the senses” (Shirres, 1997, p. 17). The case narratives illustrate that what might be accessed behind the senses is a sense of being oneself, of being at peace, of

feeling connected to others and to the environment, and a sense of unity where there is a ‘coming together’ of the many parts of an experience.

### *Retreat into nature*

*Miro* operated tours in an ancient rainforest ecosystem. The senses were drenched from the sight of towering kahikatea, totara, matai, rimu, miro, and tawa trees, down to tiny mosses, ferns, and fungi. Gushing rivers, the wind, and the bird calls – including kaka, kakariki, and kererū appealed to the aural sense. The pungent soil underfoot, dampness, the cool of shade, heat of sun, spongy moss, and flaky bark provided tactile experiences. A journey into the rainforest was a journey through the senses.

A *Miro* guide observed that some customers were seeking to escape urban lifestyles, to retreat into nature away from urban noise, and connect to nature:

Our main motive for our clientele is usually to get out away from the big noise of the city and they want to come into an area where they can just be thrown in the dirt – I mean literally. I had an American young couple who said they just didn’t care, they just wanted to be “in the dirt” ... they were brought in to us on the 3-dayer, they came to us knowing that they didn’t know anybody and [by the end] they were weeping tears ....

Another *Miro* guide spoke of customers coming to the rainforest, seeking to escape their concreted-city lives; these people, he said, “want to get back to how it was”:

Some countries don’t have that opportunity they are just surrounded by concrete jungles but they do want to come to [the forest] or the country as a whole ... we have something the world has gone away from.

One *Miro* guide encouraged customers to walk in silence, so their senses were opened to the surroundings and any deeper connections that might arise. The guide believed the purpose of their tours in the rainforest “is as a doorway to who we are”. Not only did the tours inform, and possibly enlighten, customers about Māori culture, but they also had the potential to provide an opportunity for customers to connect to themselves, and one

customer said being in the rainforest was a “spiritual experience” and gave him “... huge pleasure from not material things, just being, and seeing, and smelling, and hearing”.

### *Actual experience*

Participation and relaxation were two key attributes of a sensory experience with *Pōhutukawa*, and meant getting people to “actually experience” said the owner, citing the example of getting customers involved in fish preparation:

... we tell them, “Would you like some fresh fish?” “Well, yes”. I say, “Well, there’s some people down there, go and give them a hand” and they get down there and they fold their hands, “Oh yuck, blood”. So you need to prompt them to get involved and give them a task so they’re actually contributing to it. And from that task then all the oohs and the aahs ... the blood sort of stuff dissipates. And then they find themselves doing a little bit more ... So at the end of it, the next minute they’re all wet and they’ve got blood and they’re washing their hands and they’ll say “Gee, that wasn’t too bad”. So they actually experience it.

Experiential connections bring people in touch with real, ordinary daily life. The marine environment at *Pōhutukawa*’s location provided an ocean-scape of senses; breezes to gusting winds, the sight of dolphin, marlin, and waters teeming with kahawai, the sound of gulls, water slapping against the boat, the sunrises and sunsets. An analysis of *Pōhutukawa*’s visitor book revealed the immediacy of nature, along with the food, and experience of daily life, led to what many described as a sense of peace, and an opportunity to reflect on one’s life. Understanding a Māori way of life, *Pōhutukawa* showed, was more than reading or hearing about it – it was actually experiencing it.

An example of actual experiences was given by *Kauri* who took customers on pipi, known as the cockle, gathering expeditions. Flax kete, woven baskets, were handed around the group, who changed into shorts and old T-Shirts. They were taught how to feel for the burrowing bivalves with their feet. Afterward, they were taken to a local hot pool to warm up after the cold excursion into the ocean. In the evening, the group helped

the owner prepare the pipis for eating, accompanied by forest herbs they had gathered in the morning. The customers enjoyed the opportunity to get involved and appreciated the pakihi's approach to tourism, which one customer described was to have "[us] feel like [Māori] do":

... the way [the owner-manager] just lays it out and he's like, "We're doing what New Zealand people do today; I want you to feel what we do as a people". Whether it be from going in the ocean and doing the [pipis] or just that kind of thing, he's like, "You're getting dirty today" and I like that because you learn so much more than you would if you just watched somebody go out in the ocean and do it, you know.

The sulphur smell, heat underfoot, boiling mud, and wheezing geysers at *Rimu* offered a multi-sensory encounter, along with the opportunity to taste the unique flavour of food cooked in a geothermal cavern or pool. *Rimu* guides encouraged people to get involved in the geothermal landscape:

You can feel the ground if you like, we've got under-floor heating and it's all free (laughter), and some of this area gets up to 40° – that is hot, that's up there and we're stuck in the middle like a hamburger. The kids run, they don't walk – they run. In the winter it's just lovely, they just amble around. But we do get heavy frosts; sometimes the city's basking in the sun and we're in the steam.

*Rimu* customers were invited to "put your hand in the steam ... sometimes you can feel quite a lot of heat in the steam" or "you won't get burnt, you can feel the water. I would never endanger you in any way" and "you can feel the concrete but don't sit down otherwise we'll have a job getting you up, you get too comfortable". Customer interviews revealed that sensory involvement appeared to help *Rimu* customers acquire vivid impressions that the village was 'real-life' and not artificial.

#### *Pathway to emotion*

*Kauri* purposely developed itineraries so customers could have sensory experiences throughout a journey. Apart from making a journey more interesting, if a business could

evoke the senses in numerous ways then “you’re providing [the customers] with an experience that they’re going to remember probably with more clarity”. This was because the experience, he continued, “touched you in here ... you know, you cried and you don’t normally cry or whatever”. *Kauri* hoped to evoke a response that touched people emotionally, in relationship to the environment, so they might experience an authentic connection through Māori cultural tourism activities.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 12: Practice 7.2.5. - Connecting senses**

<b>Cultural</b>	<b>7.2.5.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Connecting senses.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Draws upon the natural world as apprehended by the senses through participation in cultural activities.
<b>Contribution</b>	Represents culture holistically and in context. Seeks to develop appreciation for other ways of knowing and being, beyond rationalist, materialist, and objectivist ways. Facilitates a holistic connectedness to self, others, and the natural world.
<b>Key concept</b>	Counters reification and separation of humans with the rest of creation by grounding and uniting people to each other and place.
<b>Key values</b>	Kete Aronui (knowledge of the natural world as apprehended by the senses), Kotahitanga (unity).
<b>Key links</b>	6.2.5 Guiding transformation, 8.2.5 Celebrating kai, 9.2.3 Making kaitiaki, 10.2.1 Adding value.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Customers.

Table 12 summarises the key points made in this practice. Pakihi use sensory connections through a variety of cultural expressions including gathering and preparing food, helping, immersion in place, and art and performance. Connecting people to a sensory experience has the potential to deepen a customer’s experience of Te Ao Māori and represents culture holistically: it is a sustainable experience of culture. Involving people allows them to develop their own personal relationship with Māori culture. From this place of intimacy and connection, the conditions for authentic experience are prepared. People are encouraged to develop a cultural relationship with the environment and society and, in doing so, may acquire an appreciation for other ways of knowing and being in the world beyond rationalistic, materialistic, and objectivist approaches.

This practice helps militate against reification, and separation from people and place, by grounding people in the world through the senses, and reuniting people with place. Te Kete Aronui, meaning knowledge of the natural world as apprehended by the senses, and kotahitanga, as a state of unity, can help foster deep experiences through praxis with context – in a physically grounding way - between the self, others, and creation.

### **7.3. Conclusion**

In this chapter, I have explored some of the cultural dimensions of Māori business through the lens of five practices that support authentic and sustainable cultural well-being across a variety of relationships and contexts. The practices show how pakihi draw upon a wide range of cultural values and apply these in praxis to create reciprocal relationships of respect.

The practices reveal how pakihi support authentic and sustainable cultural well-being through a commitment to ongoing learning to ensure that the values and behaviours of the business reflect Te Ao Māori, a Māori way of being. This commitment by pakihi to learning also extends to customers, wherein customers are invited to participate in uniquely Māori learning pedagogies.

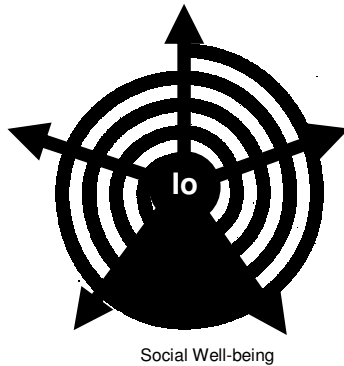
The practice of being informed by tikanga illuminates how pakihi incorporate tikanga as a code of ethics that reflects the wider cultural outlook. Adapting and protecting tikanga show how pakihi are not rigid, static, or prescriptive in their approach but dynamic, reflexive, and responsive; praxis recognises, and incorporates, broader community concerns regarding use of tikanga. The importance of a culturally-capable tourism workforce is important and pakihi aim to help people become culturally confident, educated, and effective in working with tikanga and mātauranga. A commitment to tikanga by the pakihi shows a commitment to putting customs and ethics first and helps avoid culturally unsustainable commercialisation in tourism activities.

Story-telling, as the pakihi show, can help facilitate meaningful learning and lever people into an experience of Māori life. Sensory connections represent another way of knowing and participating in the world, helping to deepen and personalise cultural experiences for customers. Both approaches can help avoid the commoditisation in tourism that turns people and places into products.

Pakihi demonstrate confidence that tikanga can be an effective and relevant guide in modern workplaces, and they aim to evaluate situations critically and caringly to ensure decisions are relevant culturally. The values embedded in tikanga provide stability and help the pakihi develop strong corporate cultures that are unfolding as culturally authentic and sustainable, wherein the conditions for mauri ora are being continuously created in multifarious ways.



## CHAPTER EIGHT: SOCIAL WELL-BEING



**Figure 12: The Well-beings Map - Social Well-being**

In this chapter, I examine how Māori cultural tourism businesses, called pakihi, create social well-being. I begin with an overview of a Māori social perspective. This is followed by five practices relating to social well-being. Each practice section contains a preliminary discussion of a relevant aspect of a Māori perspective, examples from the pakihi, and a summary of how the social practice contributes to authentic and sustainable well-being.

### **8.1. Business and society**

Pakihi seek to close the separation between themselves and others in social contexts in tourism. Relationship building in this dimension encourages reciprocal relationships of respect that recognise the intrinsic worth of others, and manaakitanga is a core value expressed by the pakihi in this study. Manaakitanga, often translated simply as ‘hospitality,’ is a value synonymous with the tourism industry and a central value in New Zealand’s national tourism strategy (Tourism Strategy Group, 2007) and the Ministry of Tourism’s (2007) vision of a sustainable New Zealand.

Manaakitanga is more complex than the translation of ‘hospitality’ suggests. Benton (2004) calls for tourism operators to understand that manaakitanga is more than a

demonstration of hospitality but includes respect of others, self-respect, and mutual responsibilities. She emphasises that manaaki is the “reciprocal recognition of mana” (p. 45). Reciprocal responsibility is a core tenet of the Tourism Strategy Group’s (2007) explanation of manaakitanga in the New Zealand Tourism Strategy 2015. Reciprocity, at the heart of manaakitanga, rests upon a precept that by being of service, respecting, and showing kindness to others through manaaki, the mana of others is enhanced, which in turn can nourish one’s own mana.

Henare (1988) explains mana as the ethic of power, authority and the common good which is “threaded into the fabric of existence” (p. 18). Mana has little application outside the collective context; because it is a group-enhanced quality, it belongs to the group. Individuals in Māori society are “agents of their people; their value being measured by the way in which their efforts promote the mana of their people” (Henare, 1988, p. 20). Business, too, can be measured by their efforts to enhance the mana of others and strengthen the group.

Another key value that informs a relational framework for this dimension is whanaungatanga, broadly meaning ‘relationships’, and pakihi show how they seek to create ties of affection with the community, in the workplace, and with their customers and suppliers. In the context of this exploration of social well-being, whanaungatanga includes stakeholders beyond the kin-group and is aligned to what Benton (2004) calls “achieved”, Metge calls “kaupapa-based”, and Bishop (1996) describes as a “whānau of interest”. Whanaungatanga is much more than an abstract term denoting a kind of “glue” say McNatty and Roa (2002) that binds people together, it is a dynamic that makes relationships possible and must be understood with regard to whakapapa, meaning genealogy, that embraces all of creation (Benton, 2004, p. 13). Manaakitanga and whanaungatanga are two social sustainability values identified by Ulrich Cloher and Johnston (1999) in their study of northern Māori communities, and both values are enfolded in a much greater web of values that guide the conduct of relationships.

## 8.2. Practices

### 8.2.1. *Building bridges to the community*

Arguably, all tourism businesses, irrespective of culture, depend on the goodwill of communities, at a bare minimum as a hospitable backdrop, to provide an inviting and warm experience for tourists, both during, pre and post the actual tour operator experience. Corporate social responsibility wisdom requires that business engages with social communities (Elkington, 1998) and the importance of tourism-community relations has received increasing attention in New Zealand's national tourism strategy. Tourism New Zealand provides a range of recommendations for all tourism businesses to help them strengthen community relations. These recommendations include encouraging tourism businesses to become active in community planning and managing, and to promote greater understanding of the benefits of tourism (Tourism New Zealand, 2008). The Ministry of Tourism's (2008a) sustainability guides provide a range of suggestions for the various sector groups in tourism as to how they can practically improve and contribute to communities. For example, the visitor attraction sustainability guide highlights the need to keep the community informed, to employ local staff, donate time and facilities to community projects, work with local schools, and encourage visitors to consume local goods and services.

In order to help facilitate social sustainability it is helpful if the tensions in business-community relationships are understood and Johnston's (2006) study of Indigenous tourism identifies tensions that can arise between communities and tourism businesses. Too often, she says, tourism operators bring a "benefactor mindset and expect communities to be self-effacing, accommodating and compliant" (p. 165). While tourism businesses may undertake consultation processes, sometimes these are more like "a phase of marketing than as dialogue" and she claims most tourism companies simply skim the surface of community relations (p. 202). As the narratives reveal it is important for business to step beyond what is often perceived by communities as shallow corporate rhetoric.

Receiving a social ‘licence to operate’ can be an important component of a tourism business’s strategy. Businesses that fail to understand that “mana is enhanced when collective well-being is the outcome” (Durie, 2001, p. 83) may very well fail in their quest to have ongoing community support. The pēpeha, meaning proverb, “he tangata takahi manuhiri, he marae puehu” (Mead & Grove, 2004, p. 121), translates: “if one tramples or fails to respect guests, the marae becomes dusty”, and is equally appropriate if interpreted in another way: if tourism businesses fail to respect the marae, their guests will become dusty. In other words, guests will not have access to the true culture, or be embraced by the community, and the business can lose its locally perceived ‘mana to operate’. Pakihi show how they build bridges to the community, and demonstrate a genuine, long-term commitment, even when tensions occur.

### *Stay connected despite challenges*

The community appreciated the efforts of *Miro* for their commitment over the years, and noted that “at least [he] comes to our marae and trains the tamariki [children] and they are now working for him”. From the owner’s perspective, creating opportunities for meaningful community participation in tourism had been difficult. Despite the challenges, the owner saw a need for what they were trying to achieve in the region and, though not Māori, felt committed to the local people:

You have to have a long-term vision and commit to people. They are not my employees – the marae people are part of my family and I won’t walk away from them.

At times, operating tourism into the region, said *Miro’s* owner, was like walking a “tightrope” between commercial demands and community expectations. He had aspired to make a meaningful contribution (discussed in upcoming practices and earlier in practice 6.2.1.) and, key to producing social well-being, in his perspective, was maintaining a meaningful relationship with the local iwi, tribe.

### *Help out*

An owner of *Pōhutukawa* stressed that tourism businesses must act responsibly and be active members in their communities by helping out:

... keeping your ear to the ground. Where there's a call, there's a need, then you make yourself available because you know you have that skill or you can contribute. That's what it's about.

To build relationships and provide benefit to the community, *Kauri* included philanthropy in their community contributions, and donated half the profit from a 2-day “Kiwiana street food” event held in the community’s USA sister-city. Of the US\$8,000 raised, the business presented NZ\$7,500 to the local surf lifesaving club to help towards a junior lifesaving team visiting the sister-city the following year.

*Rimu’s* overall connections with the wider community were strong, and growing stronger each year, and the time the business had spent encouraging others to visit the facility was being of benefit said one employee.

### *Customers as regional ambassadors*

One out of three tourists who visited their region, said the owner of *Pōhutukawa* who conducted an informal survey of guests, received negative information in advance of visiting the area where the pakihi was based:

[We’re] quite isolated. [We] don’t have the infrastructure for tourism around the coast. The coast infrastructure is there for locals and it serves locals, that’s why there’s nothing open after a certain time ... The next thing is we’re predominantly Māori. So the view of Pākehā people and the influence they have on the tourist trade and the tourist people travelling is negative to come here. The next thing, there’s not a lot of high, high adrenalin activities into the region so there’s not a huge promotion to come here for those sorts of things, like Queenstown.

It was against a backdrop of discrimination that *Pōhutukawa* ventured to build goodwill bridges and turn “customers into ambassadors for us, [so when] they go away they will say, “Gee you know, they are not so bad after all”. Several customers mentioned in their interviews that others had dissuaded them from travelling to “Māori” areas. The owner felt it was important that “the information is really good ... to allow them to go away and represent us [Māori]”. Their efforts were not for the business itself “but for the region ... it promotes the region against that stigma”. A *Pōhutukawa* customer who had travelled extensively in the country had encountered few opportunities to connect meaningfully with Māori, and said, “It wasn’t until I finally [reached this place] that I even interacted with the Māori people ... and started to understand the Māori way of life and what motivated people”.

#### *Understanding community views*

The community in which *Miro* operated faced a number of challenges, including long-term unemployment and low skill levels. Leaders in the community had persistently strived to find solutions to raise employment and skill levels, and tourism had been identified as a viable opportunity for regional development. However, a history of meetings, and subsequent unfulfilled promises by government institutions and tourism operators, had left many in the community feeling frustrated with the tourism industry. Members of the community recalled one particular event:

Early in the 1980s we had a DOC [Department of Conservation] presentation with all the kaumātua [elders] here. They talked about tourism - about money coming in from all different areas - campers, freedom walkers. They even named a figure of money. It was a "lollipop" figure of money ... Here was DOC telling us how many dollars would be made from tourism - we were not asked! It was in our marae and they did a presentation to us!

The lack of consultation and participation in tourism development had been a continual frustration for many in the *Miro* community. While the local rūnanga council had some input into decision-making regarding aspects of tourism, the community was particularly interested in how they could have greater tangible participation and equality:

... busloads are coming without our consent and without our input. Zilch. Nothing. We are faced with that ... We see operators shoot them [the tourists] straight up to the ngahere [forest] and not take them to the marae. We want the operators to bring them here ...

This highlighted the need for pakihi to include the community regarding tourism activities.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 13: Practice 8.2.1. - Building bridges to the community**

<b>Social</b>	<b>8.2.1.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Building communication bridges.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Establishes and maintains effective communication with communities by keeping them informed, discovering needs, and identifying how business can contribute.
<b>Contribution</b>	Builds healthier communities through tourism activities. Avoids token consultation processes and corporate rhetoric and establishes reciprocal pathways of benefit that create social well-being.
<b>Key concept</b>	A business can help gain acceptance through contributing to collective social well-being, without meaningful contribution business is less likely to receive the support of the community.
<b>Key values</b>	He kanohi i kitea (a face seen), Mana (power and authority), Manaaki (respect and kindness).
<b>Key links</b>	6.2.1 Contributing to the greater whole, 8.2.2 Providing employment.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Community, Employees, Owners.

Table 13 summarises the key points made in this practice. The narratives demonstrate how pakihi address the recommendations made in the Tourism Strategy 2015, that tourism businesses actively engage in community planning and promote better understanding about the benefits of tourism. Building bridges contributes to social sustainability by helping to establish reciprocal pathways of benefit between business and the community that contribute to common well-being. Pakihi may gain greater acceptance through contributing to collective social well-being. Without contributing, business is less likely to receive community support. The pakihi show they do not assume a traditional ownership model that valorises the rights of shareholders; they see that

communities, through lending their support for an operation, are vital components of corporate well-being, and that it is a reciprocal well-being pathway.

Values such as *he kanohi i kitea* (a face seen), *mana* (power and authority), and *manaaki* (respect and kindness), guide *pakihi* on how to establish and maintain effective community relations. Praxis of these values in the narratives includes keeping communities informed, discovering needs, and identifying how business can contribute to greater community well-being. The narratives show how *pakihi* can create *mauri ora* and build healthier communities through tourism activities. The praxis of social values in the context of community relations, as the community narratives highlight, must avoid token consultation processes and corporate rhetoric if authentic and sustainable *mauri ora*, well-being, in the social dimension is a genuine objective.

#### *8.2.2. Providing employment*

*Pakihi* can fulfil their objectives in contributing to the well-being of society, and help improve the social fabric of local communities, by providing employment. Of the 11% of Māori in tourism, 91% are employees, with few Māori in managerial roles, and, furthermore, Māori earn 14% less than other workers (Ministry of Tourism, 2008b). Durie (2003) links employment and well-being noting that “meaningful employment represents a significant end point in so far as it has the potential to guarantee a certain standard of living, a level of independence, a contribution to society, and the maintenance of human dignity” (p. 296). The NZIER report (2003) also links Māori well-being with quality employment.

The case narratives show that *pakihi* view the provision of employment as a key factor in their contribution to socio-economic well-being. However, seasonal changes, low revenues, regional depopulation, small numbers, changing market environment, economic downturns, and limited demand for *marae*-based experiences, all impede the ability of *pakihi* to provide the level of employment to which they aspire.



Whilst quality, meaningful employment was a key strategy for contributing to the well-being of society, and proved to be a challenge, pakihi nevertheless undertook genuine, innovative efforts to overcome the particularist nature of local challenges, and address the community's employment needs. From the community perspective, quality employment, or innovative proxies, is seen as a measurable way in which pakihi can contribute to society and, notably in some communities, a strategy for retaining youth in the region.

### *Futures for communities*

Some community members felt torn between the potential of a “tidal wave of capitalism” eroding local values, and wanting to provide a future for their children and keep them in the region:

Getting involved in tourism means creating a future for mokopuna [grandchildren], creating value for them. It means finding ways for the whole community to benefit from it...

We need to do it for our kids. We want to put something in place that is going to happen down the line ...

We love our kids growing up with internet, movies, reading books. Why not have them growing up meeting people, meeting more people, it is interactive and exciting for them.

*Rimu* was undertaking a strategic review, and one aspect was whether to maintain the existing strategy to provide maximum employment, or, move to a premium model that attracted higher yield, which would attract lower visitor numbers, and possibly require fewer staff. For the CEO sustainability meant “employment, rather than looking at the business need to be more and more efficient with less staff”.

### *Managing employment challenges*

There were two senior guides, and up to eight second guides at any one time, at *Miro*, however, finding and keeping guides proved difficult. Depopulation and long-term

unemployment meant *Miro* needed to look outside the area for guides who did not necessarily have whakapapa, meaning genealogical connections, to the region:

There is a big gap – the area is depopulating – and it’s a symptom of the fact that we are into the fourth generation of unemployment in some families ... To overcome the employment shortage we may have to go outside the area. We still need to find people who whakapapa but they don’t have to actually live there but belong to there. This is really important to our international visitors.

Additionally, the seasonal nature of employment opportunities meant prospective *Miro* employees had to find other work during off-peak times. One guide said that as the levels of tourism fluctuated so, too, did his focus on guiding. Eventually this guide had to reduce his tourism work, having established another business that provided more reliable income. Another guide needed to fit guiding activities around childcare demands. A third guide was in the process of leaving to take up a position on his marae in another region. During a field-trip a fourth guide was being introduced to the guiding experience, however, it appeared likely this was not to be a full-time role if the appointment did eventuate. Overall, *Miro* struggled to retain guides:

We want them to believe that this is a business they can be involved in. But, you know, we train them and they go to live in Australia.

The impact of seasonality, regional depopulation, a small talent pool, along with small tour numbers meant *Miro* was not able to fulfil its goal to employ more locals and meet community aspirations. Nevertheless, the community acknowledged and appreciated the efforts of the owner to take young people and train them: “At least [he] comes to our marae and trains the tamariki and they are now working for him”. It was noteworthy that the twelve-year-old daughter of one guide was hoping she would be selected to be a guide, representing the second generation of guides employed by the business.

For *Pōhutukawa*, tourism flows also fluctuated and they were only in a position to employ locals on an ad hoc basis.

### *Innovative solutions*

*Kauri* adopted an adaptive approach to employment by employing people as opportunities arose. Rather than quoting a total package price and paying the contractors a fee, the owner arranged payment on the principle that they were equity holders in opportunities. *Kauri* worked transparently with suppliers and informed them, “If you want me to organise this stuff, this is my fee and you pay these guys [this amount]”.

*Kauri* might also arrange for other locals to populate and participate in their tourism activities calling upon a local historian, ornithologist, basket weaver, chef, raconteur, kaumātua, entertainer, fishing guide, hunting guide, or hāngi maker – all on an ad hoc basis. Working with a broad range of people on an ad hoc basis was a way of remaining operational whilst coping with fluctuating demand, and in times of economic downturn, the business could expand or shrink according to opportunities. Being generous with remuneration and sharing profit from tourism opportunities was “how we are benefiting people” said the owner. The business, through their profit sharing approach, was also fulfilling a personal aspiration of the owner to “take Māori to the top”.

*Pōhutukawa* involved several local kaumātua, elders, from time to time, one as a ‘deckie’ on board the boat during fishing trips, another to help with catering and cleaning when required, and others for cultural events. If possible, family, who live in other regions, would also be involved if the occasion permitted. Although group tours were few, when these opportunities arose the business sought to include as many other regional tourism operations as possible and, like *Kauri*, aimed to profit-share the opportunities:

... [the tour] links 16 established operations and they get a good chunk out of it. Because the operations we actually pay them more than what they quoted us for. A lot of it is just to say kia ora [hello] and thank you for what you are operating.

Whilst not having full time employees, *Pōhutukawa* drew on a wide range of local talent when opportunities arose, seeking to spread the benefit of tourism by involving others.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 14: Practice 8.2.2 - Providing employment**

<b>Social</b>	<b>8.2.2.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Providing employment.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Genuine, innovative efforts to overcome particularist nature of local challenges. Addresses the community's employment needs and ensures employment is appropriately calibrated to business strategies.
<b>Contribution</b>	Quality, meaningful employment is a key strategy for contributing to the well-being of society.
<b>Key concept</b>	Providing quality employment (or innovative proxies) connects business to society in meaningful, measurable ways.
<b>Key values</b>	Mana (power and authority), Rerekētanga (innovation).
<b>Key links</b>	8.2.4 Constructing community with customers, 10.2.1 Adding value.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Community, Employees.

Table 14 summarises the key points made in this practice. Pakihi are keen to offer employment, and aim to find innovative solutions to accomplish this goal. Communities are eager to share in the benefits of tourism through employment, which represent an opportunity for retaining youth in the provinces.

There appears to be no simple solution to the challenge of Māori employment in tourism and each business grapples with the particular employment challenges in their region. Pakihi strive to navigate challenges such as economic fluctuation, seasonality, the impact of strategic direction on employment, and long-term unemployment. Rerekētanga, that is, innovation, is a value primarily associated with this practice, and pakihi show how they pursue innovative and proactive approaches to address the specific employment needs and challenges in their communities. Pakihi meet these challenges through a variety of measures such as adopting models whereby contractors or other tourism operations are equity holders in ad hoc opportunities, and looking for all opportunities big and small, to include locals from kaumātua, hāngi makers, basket weavers, and other regional talent. Pakihi also show they require strong relationship skills to maintain a network of local providers. Ensuring employment goals are calibrated to business strategy is also important.

Pakihi show how they are fulfilling an observation made by the NZIER that many Māori prefer working with and for Māori institutions, including Māori business. All the pakihi in the study in some way seek to uplift the mana, the power and authority, of individuals and the community in general through their efforts to build employment, and mana is another value embedded in this practice. By working closely with local iwi, the Pākehā-owned business in this study shows that genuine intentions and long-term commitment to employ locals can help make a difference.

### *8.2.3. Growing workplace whānau*

Māori businesses can draw on whanaungatanga, broadly meaning relationships, to build belonging in a caring environment. The term whānau, family, can be elastic with a wide variety of meanings underlying the use of the term, and is often used as a “familiar term of address to a number of people” (Williams Dictionary, 2004). What is important, says Metge (1995), is the quality of group life associated with whānau. Her analysis of whānau forms identified whakapapa-based forms, based on kinship or descent groups, and kaupapa-based forms, where people gather together for a common purpose. Bishop (1996) explores the kaupapa-based form and coined the expression “whānau of interest” (p. 219) to denote this type of grouping. Benton (2004) draws a distinction between achieved and ascribed relationships (p. 13). The well-being of the group is an important aspect of whānau.

At work Māori are likely to feel personally responsible for the group result and are oriented toward sharing group rewards. As Spiller et al. (2006) highlight successful businesses often require employees to work in project teams, to achieve faster, smarter outputs, and better results. Working in a team environment demands that employees have high levels of collaborative skills, and many Māori acquire these skills through their culture which values shared activity and working with others. The ability to collaborate is particularly evident in the many facets of marae life where people come together, often very quickly, to organise large-scale events (see also Henare, 1994).

The case narratives highlight that both whakapapa-based and kaupapa-based whānau forms are present in the pakihi workplace. Manaakitanga, often translated simply as hospitality, denotes however, reciprocal recognition of mana, and as the narratives show is closely associated with building whānau, a sense of family, in the workplace. Manaakitanga is not only an aspect of developing external relationships with customers and suppliers, but also encourages caring for each other internally at work. In practicing manaakitanga, pakihi are helping to enhance the collective, and achieve social well-being, at work. For pakihi, social-business boundaries are highly permeable, and as the narratives show, individuals manage the challenges that arise from working in these settings, particularly role differentiation.

### *Strength in structure*

The CEO of *Rimu* believed having structures in place was an important source of strength to guide management of staff. The Employment Management Act provided a solid structure because, “following the law and following procedures is important” and if they “start deviating from that, then that’s when we’ll have trouble”:

... it’s not that we make things any easier for people. There are certainly guidelines that everyone has to follow; there are disciplinary procedures in place ... because I believe that we are strengthening people by giving them the structure to work within.

*Kauri’s* approach, which was not in a formal workplace setting but in relationships with sub-contractors, was to accord respect in terms of each person’s area of expertise, for example, at one marae event only 10 out of 120 attendees was able to see the wero, ritual challenge, as there was a bottle neck at the gate. The person responsible for marae protocol acknowledged the issue and advised the only alternative would be to do the wero outside the gate, however, as that would be highly unusual, he needed to “think that one through” as it raised a number of cultural issues. Respecting others’ expertise was crucial in the community of colleagues, as the owner explained:

You have to work with talented people,... Now I'm not ever going to presume to tell [him] how to present himself, you know? "Here's the guidelines brother", and, you know, "I've got to trust that you're going to do this while my back's turned, you look after this" and I know that they do.

*Kauri* wove whanaungatanga by acknowledging the mana of others, wherein each person had the authority of their expertise respected by the group. Members appeared very comfortable with each other and able to engage in frank communication; there was a distinct lack of hierarchy between the colleagues.

During a number of meetings, the researcher noted the owner of *Miro*, a Pākehā, always attended with either a guide at his side, or a kaumātua, an elder. When propositions or decisions were being put forward the owner consulted with the guide or kaumātua for their perspective. This approach demonstrated one way how Māori and Pākehā can create a workable structure for relationship.

### *Help people grow*

The owner of *Miro* was keen to encourage youth to see that tourism was an activity that they could be involved in and his aspiration was to "get people to grow as people". Indeed, one guide shared that being involved in tourism had "turned out quite welcoming - I've grown a fair bit, I've learnt a lot".

The CEO of *Rimu* continuously sought to consider how the mana, meaning their personal power and authority, of employees was affected in the corporate environment, particularly when disciplining a person. Rather than dismiss someone, the CEO first identified solutions for strengthening that person in community:

I know that there have been times when in a "normal" organisation a staff member would have been dismissed but we have managed to support that person [we must discipline] in some way or form, and in one circumstance we moved a person from one department to another and that was simply because of a connection with this village, and responsibilities in terms of family.

For *Pōhutukawa*, encouraging and supporting local youth to achieve their tourism vision was a way he could help people grow, even though they were not formal employees. He shared what he thought was important to developing these relationships:

... the idea is not to become the answer. Just provide the motivation, provide the Māori, provide a bit of support, provide the knowledge, and a bit of sweat where needed ... and be able to step back from it.

Manaakitanga and raising the mana of others was evident in how the owner of *Pōhutukawa* created a kaupapa-based whānau, that is, a purposeful approach with communities. His main consideration was ensuring that each person felt confident in their natural abilities as a Māori drawing on their cultural traditions.

#### *A common purpose*

The owner of *Pōhutukawa* took personal responsibility for helping to develop collegiality and has “a big picture ticking away all the time” of ways individuals in the region can work towards a common purpose:

It’s about trying not to replicate or be similar to those commercial centres, like Rotorua ... when they’re engaging in activities to do with tourism ... [those from the region seeking to be in tourism] need to do the things that they take for granted, and they’re familiar with, and put the tourism around ... what is naturally them rather than change them, without performing it.

At *Pōhutukawa*, the elders, youth, and the “movers and shakers” were encouraged to believe that they could “provide quality because they do it naturally anyway when they’re out doing Twenty-Firsts ... or when they are doing funerals or when they’re doing other meetings”.



*Kauri* held regular debrief sessions with a wide variety of sub-contractors and the owner explained that making these sessions comfortable and egalitarian was essential, along with locating the sessions in a café or restaurant so people would gather and talk around food:

... what I've tried to do is a debrief in the most comfortable way that we possibly can, because you'll always learn. You know, it might just be one little point that you'll pick up ... having a debrief is absolutely essential and the most comfortable way for us is to have a feed and whanaungatanga ...

*Kauri* aimed to galvanise people into a shared kaupapa, meaning purpose, of what they were seeking to achieve as a group. For example, in one debrief meeting the owner reminded the contractors that the group objective was to move beyond being a component in an event, such as the “rent a Māori” element. They want the “pitch masters”, such as Tourism New Zealand, Regional Tourism Organisations and others, to put *Kauri* and its colleagues into “pitch” documents so they would become the face of “indigenous food and manaakitanga”, which highlights the need for relationship building with these institutions.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 15: Practice 8.2.3 - Growing workplace whānau**

<b>Social</b>	<b>8.2.3.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Growing workplace whānau.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Helps develop healthy relationships at work, manages permeable society-business boundaries, and galvanises the workplace into a shared kaupapa (plan).
<b>Contribution</b>	Helps achieve long-term social well-being in the workplace. Helps people grow at work, produces caring and trust.
<b>Key concept</b>	Shared values and norms that cohere around a common purpose grow people, create healthy relationships, and help the business achieve its goals.
<b>Key values</b>	Whanaungatanga (relationships), Manaaki (respect and kindness), Whakapono (trust).
<b>Key links</b>	10.2.5 Processing profit into principles.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Employees, Industry colleagues.

Table 15 summarises the key points made in this practice. Pakihi seek to develop genuine whānau-based relationships with employees and colleagues. Whānau oriented workplaces can be well-defined in terms of physical business contexts or, they can be broad and come together on a purposeful, ad hoc basis. Even whakapapa-based workplaces that have an intrinsic blood-kin unifying element are revealed as also requiring to be welded to a kaupapa, a shared purpose. Overall, each pakihi's kaupapa is to help people grow. The pakihi show how they care for the mana of employees and colleagues by enhancing growth and, in the event of misdemeanour, seeking a restorative approach.

The whakapapa-based and kaupapa-based whānau forms promote a culture of relationships at work that elicit support for a collective achievement of a pakihi's long-term vision. With a preference for teamwork, collaboration, and shared group rewards, Māori workplaces may have a natural advantage in this regard over workplaces that are individualistic and competitively meritocratic. The values of whanaungatanga (relationships), manaaki (respect and kindness), and whakapono (trust) encourage pakihi towards reciprocal relationship building with employees and colleagues. The praxis of these values in the context of tourism activities can enhance the social well-being of the workplace.

#### *8.2.4. Constructing community with customers*

Pakihi construct community with customers, and in doing so deepen connection with each other and with place. Sharples (2008) describes manaakitanga as “the process of sharing common ground upon which an affinity and respect can grow”, which is both an “invitation, and a responsibility.” Benton (2004) also emphasises how the process of finding common ground can take people “beyond gawking” and lead to a transformation whereby place, history, and faith become “melded together in a creative matrix” (p. 11) that can produce spiritual and material well-being in social relationships.

Pakihi demonstrate manaakitanga through inviting customers into a participatory relationship and demonstrate responsibility in the processes they adopt within the context

of these relationships. Meeting local people, especially Māori, is identified as a strong satisfier for overseas visitors (Colmar Brunton, 2004; van Aalst & Daly, 2001, 2002). The narratives highlight how pakihi venture to create common ground by first establishing appropriate contexts. These contexts range from taking customers into people's homes, nature settings, or the marae. Having established contexts, pakihi adopt a variety of processes that engender common ground, such as making a situation as emotionally and spiritually comfortable as possible, providing interactive activities, and inviting locals from the community to participate.

Practicing manaakitanga can bring forth reciprocal relationships of respect and according to Kereopa (as cited in Moon, 2005), and Marsden (2003), manaakitanga not only encourages respect for the other, but also strengthens one's own self-respect. Durie (2001) says that manaakitanga transforms mana through acts of generosity that enhance all, produces well-being, and creates "a climate whereby the mana of all players is elevated" (p. 83). Pakihi, through generously seeking to share their way of life, aim to construct community with customers, build up mana in others, and leave them stronger than when they arrived.

Gift-giving is intrinsic to Māori practice, and part of the process through which pakihi aspire to deepen relationships, and gifts can range from a smile, a song, knowledge, heartfelt sharing, or a precious taonga (a highly prized object). Benton (2004) highlights that reciprocal relationship building can be blessed by gift exchange (p. 46), an explanation that accords with Durie (2001) and Marsden (2003), and gift-giving is a way of expressing manaakitanga. When something is given as a gift it can come orally, physically, and spiritually, and retains a magical and religious hold over the recipient, evoking a valuable taonga, gift that is connected to the givers whakapapa, genealogy, and wairua, spiritual essence. Gift giving reflects a system based on reciprocity wherein hau must be returned to the original gift giver in some form to provide balance of life (Mauss, 1950), a discussion taken up further in Chapter Nine.

### *The sharing dynamic*

*Kauri* created community with customers through an attitude that “all [people] are equal” and emphasised the difference between “serving” and being “servile”, the difference being, the owner said, an attitude of “sharing”. Creating an atmosphere where customers could be in a “comfort zone” was a key strategy he employed to develop affinity and respect. One approach to building “comfort into the experience” was through providing experiential opportunities where customers could co-create events. Getting customers involved could be very simple, such as asking them “... would you mind filling the wine glasses”. Such actions, he said, helped people feel they were contributing to the sharing dynamic, particularly when they were in a Māori home and unsure how to behave and assisted customers to feel “Oh, this is just like home”.

One *Kauri* network colleague spoke about drawing people together into a community, which came naturally to Māori, as he explained of his growing up experience and the connection to tourism:

Our house was like a marae, and marae to me is tourism, you host people. You learn to welcome them, you feed them, you entertain them, you give them a place to sleep and you farewell them – that is tourism. We were brought up with that, which was natural to us (which it is to a lot of Māori people) so that is sort of the cornerstone of where I am today was what I learnt way back then.

The approach of *Kauri* appeared to be successful with a number of customers sharing how comfortable and welcome they felt, with one commenting:

Everywhere you go, they make you feel so comfortable that it does, it feels natural, and it feels like you’re just going to your friend’s house for dinner and enjoying a good time with the people of New Zealand ... It’s like going and hanging out with family more than ... going on a tour. It’s that personable where everybody’s having a good time and it’s not all uptight and everybody’s not sure how to act.

and:

We go to people's houses – it's not like they're just there to serve us or whatever, they're interacting with us which makes us feel more comfortable to be ourselves, instead of trying to be people that we're not.

A *Rimu* employee correlated what they did in the present with visitors was how, as a people, they had always treated visitors; through an ethic of *manaakitanga* which called upon Māori to give visitors the “best”, and this legacy required application of *manaakitanga* within tourism as well:

It's just an inbred Māori thing that ... we give visitors the best of ... anything ... Like the old times visitors would come and they... would get out the best of their foods so that those visitors would go away [happy]. That's why we do what we do, and how we do it.

In providing customers with the “best” hospitality, the employee hoped “people go away and they will think, “Gees, these people bent over backwards for us, their hospitality!” That's what we get a lot when people leave, they always say to us, ‘We can't believe how nice the people are here’”.

An owner of *Pōhutukawa* explained that he created community with customers by inviting others to share their way of life:

... so if you're sharing your experiences, sharing your knowledge you've gained over time with those that want to appreciate and be part of it, then that's the sharing.

### *Heartfelt gifts*

At *Kauri*, gift-giving was another aspect of deepening connections and the business provided small welcome *kete*, woven baskets, to customers upon arrival. During the course of several tours, the researcher observed gift-giving between customers and locals with whom they had made a connection – for example – one customer was given a beaded Native American purse she had found in an “op-shop” and asked him to return it

to his people. He was Native American and could identify the tribe the purse belonged to through the style of beadwork. The customer shared how deeply touched he was by this experience. On another occasion a man gave a customer a taonga, a highly prized object, from around his neck to an Australian he had made a connection with during the course of the event. These gift-giving occasions were unprompted, unscripted, and heartfelt.

Gift-giving was an integral part of each guide's repertoire at *Miro* and they used the persuasion of their unique personalities to build ties of affection. Gifts drew upon the unique talent of the guide and included singing, cooking, sharing knowledge, healing – and, as one guide suggested, a gift could be a simple heartfelt smile:

Our clients go away learning about a bit of New Zealand and the Māori culture and they also take away with them a gift – that gift is professionally given over with a guitar at the end of the day; giving them a gift and a song. Over the years I've learnt that a gift not only can be tangible, it can be non-tangible and it also can be in the form of a smile sometimes. I pretty much have a signature of being able to sing people a song so that their memories will last here with us forever. And that's one signature I'll never not do.

One *Miro* guide gave the gift of healing with rongoā, Māori medicine. An employee shared how another *Miro* guide brought the gifts of humour, song, and food to develop ties of affection:

... She was in there and straight away making fried Māori bread and she had a sing-song before dinner, and we were all talking about each other ... oh so different. And she's got a lovely, cheeky way about her which is normal ... just her and the way she interacts and slings off at the people and all of it, the way they do it is just ... absolutely natural, just lovely.

Food was regularly gifted to guests as a surprise at *Pōhutukawa*, not as an advertised inclusion which would detract from its heartfelt meaning. If sharing became a predictable, expected component of an experience it no longer felt like a gift – either to the receiver or the giver, explained the owner. Gifting food in this way helped build

connection and establish affinity, even when people may be visiting for very short periods of time, for example, an overnight stay in the backpacker facility:

Even though a lot of them might not eat with us and may not even have a lot of time with us, what it does is allow them to feel a connection with us, it's not like they had just left on their own but that we are still thinking of them ... That's the manaakitanga for the visitor. It makes people feel good, it is a gift to them to make them feel good.

### *“Family” experience*

*Rimu* operated an “open home” approach, explained one guide, and customers were welcome to stay for a “limitless time”. The guide stressed that “You don’t get a visitor in your house and say, ‘Well, you can only visit for quarter of an hour, you’ve got to go because I’ve got someone else coming’ – you don’t do that, that’s appointments”.

“Manaakitanga”, said *Rimu*’s CEO, was “the whole essence of hosting our visitors here” and part of this was to develop a sense of whanaungatanga, broadly meaning relationships, amongst their stakeholders, including customers, and bringing people into their extended family. The CEO gave the example of a time when ten members of a well-known American family were dining in the village and the business learned it was one member of the group’s birthday. The CEO quickly organised a cake and sang happy birthday:

The comments from the staff after that was that [the group] was thrilled that a CEO would come over and sing Happy Birthday – that’s whanaungatanga, that’s acknowledging another person and supporting them.

A *Rimu* customer shared that their tourism experience with the business was “like a whole big family, where there were small kids, middle kids, older people. That was one of the things I really enjoyed ...”.

Many customers appreciated being enfolded into a way of life at *Pōhutukawa*, and one interviewee captured this well:

I really like that here because you feel like integrated to their family ... you feel more integrated, it's not you're a tourist but you're a friend coming over, so that's a good thing.

At *Miro* one guide highlighted the family dynamic approach of tourism and that he wanted to create a “memorable experience, I make them feel at home; I make them feel part of my family”.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 16: Practice 8.2.4 - Constructing community with customers**

<b>Social</b>	<b>8.2.4.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Constructing community with customers.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Pays attention to context, integrative processes, and draws upon a gift-giving ethos, which is an attitude, not (necessarily) a product.
<b>Contribution</b>	Turns transactions into transformations, commodities into customised experiences. Forges heartfelt connections, weaves people through humour, strengthens all participants and builds mutual self-respect.
<b>Key concept</b>	Focusses on the well-being of people, not commercial gratification, thus can enhance the mana of all.
<b>Key values</b>	Manaaki (respect and kindness), Pukuhohe (humour), Utu (reciprocity), Whakarite (respect), Whanaungatanga (relationships).
<b>Key links</b>	6.2.5 Guiding transformation, 6.2.4 Knowing manuhiri, 10.2.1 Adding value.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Customers, Suppliers.

Table 16 summarises the key points made in this practice. Pakihi draw upon manaakitanga as a guiding value in praxis with customers and context. They undertake to recognise customers with the same respect accorded to all visitors, and help their business sustain relationships by focussing on the well-being of people and not on commercial gratification. Manaakitanga, as the pakihi show, when practiced in a conscious way, can turn tourism from transactional into transformational encounters, from commoditised into customised experiences.



Gift-giving galvanised affinity, and emerges from natural talents and inclinations not from prescribed or enforced and ‘inauthentic’ motivations, again focussing on the well-being of people and avoiding a transaction approach. The pakihi approach to gift-giving shows how it is an attitude not a product. Customers are invited to share home, marae, and place, and are integrated as a member of the extended family through participation and inclusiveness. Other values such as pukuhoe (humour), utu (reciprocity), whakarite (respect), and whanaungatanga (relationships) are intimately interwoven with manaakitanga, and help deepen ties of affection.

This practice has illuminated how manaakitanga is an exceptional Māori pathway to creating customer satisfaction in tourism, and can enhance social well-being by welcoming customers as ‘real’ people, not tourists, conveying a message of humanity that respects the intrinsic worth of others. In being transformed from tourist to real person – people can develop heartfelt connections beyond spectatorship in each other’s lives.

#### *8.2.5. Communion through kai*

Celebrating guests with the hākari, a feast, is an enduring feature of Māori life. Traditionally the hākari, notes Walker (1990/2004), was symbolic of chiefly and tribal mana and reinforced mana, conveying power and prestige. When guests from other tribes attended the hākari the reputation of the hosts rose or fell according to the quality and abundance of food. Consequently, each tribe often undertook to provide the best for guests, and served local delicacies. Coastal tribes fed their guests kaimoana, seafood, and inland tribes served eels, freshwater crayfish, or potted bird. Feasts were more than an expression of generosity; they were expressions of incurred reciprocal obligations and political relations (p. 77). The narratives reveal that pakihi use food to infuse tourism encounters with dignity and warmth, and, as one case business emphasises, to dignify Māori cuisine itself.

Food was a major currency in the traditional exchange economy, and continues to be used as a gift, and is an abiding component of manaakitanga in social contexts. Today,

whilst money often replaces food as a gift, food remains fundamental to expressions of manaakitanga and contributes to special occasions in a “display of kinship solidarity” (Mead, 2003, p. 187). The pakihi celebrate regional delicacies that signify a region’s unique identity, and the distinctiveness of Māori cuisine offers a unique selling point and adds value to experiences. The use of food to create kinship however predominates pakihi approaches. A meal creates community and brings people from all over the world together in a celebration of shared humanity and goodwill. Like many of the practices discussed throughout these empirical chapters, this practice interweaves with other dimensions, such as ‘Brining forth unity’ in the spiritual dimension. Such linkages emphasise the importance of taking a holistic perspective.

### *The emotion of food*

Food was an essential element in how *Pōhutukawa* demonstrated manaakitanga to customers:

Food is warmth and love. You feel good. It looks good. It’s about sitting. It’s not about politics and it’s not about issues ... it’s about warming. It’s making people feel loved. Cared for. That’s what manaakitanga is when you break it down, all those sorts of things. So the food is a special element. Takes it away from words.

*Pōhutukawa* regularly gifted food in an informal, spontaneous way to help people feel connected to each other, the owners, and the land. A plate of pāua fritters taken next door to the guest facility with instructions to “share it amongst yourselves” would draw people from various countries into a relationship as they tasted the unusual dish. Carrot cake, vegetables from the garden, fish, or fruit would all be given as a gesture of warmth. Occasionally, people staying overnight might find themselves invited to the owners’ table enjoying a meal and conversation. At other times one, or both, of the owners might wander to the visitors’ rooms to welcome guests and say a blessing. A *Pōhutukawa* customer explained how much he appreciated this gesture:

I really enjoyed tonight when he blessed our dinner and it was really nice. We didn't expect welcome feeling like this.

The customer reflected how the approach to blessing food, and eating in communion, was different in his homeland and from his own experience of meals, and he lamented the loss of connectedness and caring:

He, [the owner], talks about the rule that you think about others before you eat and then you share your food. I think that's something which is nearly lost in our world, in the Western world ... it's just your meal, you're living in your flat ... it's not that connected, it's more isolated. You get your friends, but you don't ... [there are] not so many gatherings, lunches, or dinners together.

Customers appreciated the approach taken by *Kauri* to focus on food as a core component of tours. Whilst long, the full quote of one interviewee is presented here, given its strong emotional message:

It is through your eloquent Māori navigation of the gourmet food and wine tour that elicited not only appreciation of the Māori culture, but also a reflection and appreciation of one's own culture. And then like a lightening bolt of enlightenment an appreciation of each culture's diverse foods as we sit down together to enjoy the meal, converse, and realise that though we are different people from different cultures and even times, that it is our inherent nature of goodness that seeks our commonality, and to share our authentic selves with each other. It is the bond of understanding coming from a shared meal that we appreciate a higher humanity.

Other *Kauri* customers highlighted how much they enjoyed going into people's homes, as one interviewee said "because there's so much culture and so much exchange that happens through dinner 'cos everybody eats". Communion through food created opportunities for creating community and for deepening ties of affection.

The CEO of *Rimu* explained how food created kinship and recalled a recent event when one of the staff was asked to "go around to the motels and visit and have a kōrero [chat] with them about us and make contact". The staff member discovered that at, one of the

motels, the managers were celebrating their wedding anniversary but were unable to leave due to work commitments:

... so we organised to take two hāngi meals up on the day so that they could just have a bit of a lunch up there to celebrate their anniversary ... apparently they were in tears over it. But that's all part of drawing them into our family. Those kinds of things happen all the time. I mean you could view that as a promotional role but it's just really all about bringing these people in to feel a part of this family.

In my experience at *Miro*, sitting by a riverbank, in collective silence, absorbing the sights and sounds of the unique environment created connectedness to nature and an affinity with travelling companions. At camp, the dining table became the social centre, a place to eat, read books, watch the fire, and listen to the guides singing waiata, songs, and being encouraged to join in also. Later again, the table was transformed into a space for sharing stories, and hearing about the guide's views of life, particularly cultural life.

“Food is a great leveller”, said the owner of *Kauri*, and provided opportunities for engagement and discovery of others through talking “about something that mostly we're passionate about”.

#### *Food as opportunity*

Innovative food that showcased regional differences was a key feature of *Kauri's* tour programmes, and innovative cuisine “allows us to put some dignity back into our food”. Promoting Māori cuisine to the world “gives us an opportunity to do away with people's preconceived ideas about our traditional foods”, and he cited the example of “hāngi wrapped in silver foil”. He explained that at a luxury event in the USA they had pre-cooked a hāngi, taken it to a chef who then forced layers of meat, potatoes, kūmara, and pumpkin into rings and fast cooked it. The innovated hāngi was then presented with toasted stuffing, mango salsa, and jus: “... it's absolutely traditional, going back for however long it goes back, yet absolutely up to the mark today”.

### *Food as tradition of today*

Traditional Māori cuisine was a hallmark of food experiences offered by *Rimu*, and their geothermal hāngi was a unique method of cooking, used for centuries. The business emphasised in its promotions that customers could sample an egg cooked in a natural hot pool through to a “true participation experience” where they prepare their own hāngi, lay it in a steam vent and, once their tour is completed, share a meal with their guide. Promotional material encouraged customers to connect through food: “Here is the opportunity to relax with your guide and build a relationship with the people.”

‘Traditional’ did not mean emulating the past at *Rimu* but ensuring food reflected life and an example was given of a new tour format being tested with a focus group:

... we had newspaper down on the table (because that’s what we’d normally do with a hāngi, we’d get the hāngi tray out of the hāngi box and put it down on newspaper to soak up all the excess moisture and take the hāngis out of that) – they didn’t think it was appropriate to have newspaper down. We thought about that, “No, we’re still going to do that, because that’s what we do.”

Presenting the tradition of today honoured the community’s way of life, and bringing people into their extended family through food builds social connections.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 17: Practice 8.2.5 - Communion through kai**

<b>Social</b>	<b>8.2.5.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Communion through kai.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Incorporating regional food experience draws Māori and visitor together and builds a sense of kinship and community.
<b>Contribution</b>	Dignifies and warms tourism encounters. Regional differentiation avoids homogenisation.
<b>Key concept</b>	Food is a wellspring of symbolic meaning that connects people to people, place and spirit, and builds understanding.
<b>Key values</b>	Manaaki (respect and kindness).
<b>Key links</b>	7.2.5 Connecting senses, 10.2.5 Adding value.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Customers, Suppliers.

Table 17 summarises the key points made in this practice. Food is revealed as an elemental demonstration of manaaki, arousing warmth and connectedness. Food ignites conversation and helps create bonds of understanding, it also generates communion with nature. Sharing meals is an equaliser of people. Customers enjoy the warmth of connection and participation through food.

As the pakihi experience shows, manaakitanga through food can support sustainability by avoiding homogenisation through local expression and connecting people to place; it also connects people to each other in warm and convivial settings, which can help avoid the commoditising tendencies in tourism. Celebrating food supports the emotional, physical, and social well-being of others. Food represents the identity of a place and assists differentiation between regions. As a traditional currency, food can be a wellspring of symbolic meaning that is reflected in acts of gift-giving. The praxis of manaakitanga through the medium of food can stimulate deeper communion in social contexts that enhance mauri ora, the conscious creation of authentic and sustainable well-being amongst people.

### **8.3. Conclusion**

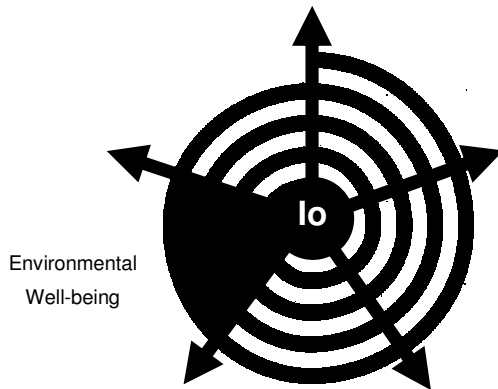
In this chapter, I have explored some of the social dimensions of Māori cultural tourism. I have examined five key practices adopted by pakihi to help support social well-being in the workplace, local communities, customer spaces, and within collegial networks.

Social well-being, the pakihi-derived practices show, emerges from respectful, reciprocal, and responsible relationships with their local communities, employees, customers, colleagues, and suppliers. The practice of building bridges with communities shows how pakihi construct reciprocal pathways of benefit between the business and the local community. Employing locals is often an important aspect of pakihi contribution to communities, and offers customers the opportunity to engage with locals. Pakihi strive to

grow workplaces that are caring and trusting. Additionally, pakihi aspire to forge heartfelt connections with customers wherein all parties are fully recognised. Food, as a wellspring of symbolic meaning, is also an important pakihi approach to building relationships.

Pakihi seek to uplift the mana of others and empower others through reciprocal relationships of respect. The boundaries of a business are permeable and pakihi are aware that business is not separate from society, but an impassioned active participant in society. Well-being can be generated through the contributions pakihi make to the collective well-being of communities. Customers are awarded the opportunity of deep social connections that are genuine and sincere, employees are supported to grow and develop in culturally safe workplace environments, and suppliers enjoy mutual trust and loyalty. In turn, pakihi may benefit from strengthened relationships that help facilitate their success in other areas. They manage the complexities and particularities of their local communities to arrive at socially sustainable solutions. Social values provide guidance on how relationships can best be conducted which, in praxis, can produce opportunities for developing social connections that help authentic and sustainable mauri ora unfold in the social dimension.

## CHAPTER NINE: ENVIRONMENTAL WELL-BEING



**Figure 13: The Well-beings Map - Environmental Well-being**

In this chapter, I examine how Māori cultural tourism businesses, called pakihi, create environmental well-being. I begin with an overview of a Māori environmental perspective. This is followed by five practices relating to environmental well-being. Each practice section contains a preliminary discussion of a relevant aspect of a Māori perspective, examples from the pakihi, and a summary of how the environmental practice contributes to authentic and sustainable well-being.

### **9.1. Business and the environment**

Members of Māori society are encouraged to become a kaitiaki, a steward and guardian of the earth's resources, such as native forests, marine ecosystems, and geothermal resources. Stewardship is enacted through the practice of kaitiakitanga, which has layers of meaning including guarding, keeping, preserving, conserving, fostering, protecting, sheltering, and keeping watch over (Marsden, 2003, p. 67) and these facets guide relationships between people and nature.

The principle of kaitiakitanga is one of two key Māori principles promoted as central to New Zealand's Tourism Strategy 2015:



“Kaitiakitanga” means guardianship, care and protection. It provides a basis for our approach to sustainably managing our natural, cultural and built environment for current and future generations. (Tourism Strategy Group, 2007, p. 5)

The obligations of kaitiakitanga also influence the policies of the Ministry for the Environment, and are enshrined in the Resource Management Act 1991, Section 7 (a):

Kaitiakitanga: the exercise of guardianship by the tāngata whenua (people of the land) of an area in accordance with tikanga Māori (custom) in relation to natural and physical resources. (Ministry for the Environment, 2006)

What constitutes kaitiakitanga in a legislative sense and its cultural application by Māori, can raise certain tensions and part of the difficulty arises from different views on how resources ought to be used. The obligations of kaitiakitanga, Henare (2001) argues, instil a view that the earth’s resources “do not belong to humankind; rather humans belong to the earth” (p. 202). According to this view, humans do not exercise ownership rights but enjoy “user rights” (Marsden & Henare, as cited in Henare, 2001, p. 202) and nature’s resources do not exist just for use by humans, but for their own sake and have intrinsic value (Morgan, 2008; Peet, 2006). Jackson (as cited in Bargh, 2007) explains that resources are taonga, meaning they are highly prized, and are given in koha, that is, gifted by nature, and that the receiving of these gifts for human benefit need to be reciprocated, to maintain balance. The concept of reciprocal exchange encourages humans to care for the earth so that natural resources will continue to be available for present and future generations (p. 47). The principle of reciprocity calls upon humans to respect and nurture the earth so that, in turn, human well-being is assured (Patterson, 1992, p. 32). Reciprocity, then, is a key feature of a kaitiakitanga approach to managing relationships with nature.

The upcoming narratives highlight the varied ways in which each pakihi manages tensions between being a guardian of resources with being a user of resources. The practices reveal an intrinsically Māori approach, whereby timeless values provide direction for contemporary sustainable behaviour. The practices also reveal how pakihi

seek to balance these values alongside commercial objectives. Kaitiakitanga has many facets contained within. Values such as mauri, a life-principle, rāhui a prohibition, tika interpreted as appropriateness, rawaka meaning sufficiency, kotahitanga depicted as unity, mana whenua which can mean power derived from ecosystems, whakapapa meaning genealogy, hau which is vitality, tapu broadly meaning sacred, and whakarite meaning respect, are some of the values interwoven with pakihi environmental activities and approaches.

## **9.2. Practices**

### *9.2.1. Minding mauri (and rāhui)*

In creating mauri ora wāhi whenua, that is, in the context of this practice, the conscious creation of well-being in the environment, humans are “the conscious mind of Mother Earth and our contribution is to enhance and maintain her life support systems” (Marsden, 2003, p. 46). Ulrich Cloher and Johnston (1999) state, “that the best way to keep the mauri flowing is to constantly nurture awareness of it” (p. 48). Successful guardianship can be achieved through mindful praxis of culturally instituted principles with local environmental needs, which can help towards ensuring mauri ora, well-being, in the environmental dimension.

Prescriptive legislation and systemic solutions are not sufficient to achieve healthy mauri, which, as the pakihi narratives show, rests on intimate relationships with local environments. Mauri is not only a metaphysical concept, but connects the metaphysical aspects of mauri as a life principle, with its practical application to local situations (Patterson, 1992, pp. 28, 74). Accordingly, humans are encouraged to act with careful consideration of context to facilitate environmental well-being.

A practical way that pakihi can care for their local environment is by leaving each local ecosystem to regenerate according to its own mauri. Because mauri, as quoted earlier in

Chapter Six, enables “everything to move and live in accordance with the conditions and limits of its existence” (Barlow, 1991, p. 83), ecosystems can heal and find their own natural, healthy balance if given the opportunity to do so. To allow mauri to facilitate the regeneration process, sustainable Māori businesses might institute rāhui, which Mead (1997) describes as “a means of prohibiting a specific human activity from occurring or from continuing” (p. 168). Rāhui gives space and time for restoration to natural balance, and this balance is made possible because mauri is oriented towards healing and sustaining life:

The processes within the physical universe are there fore [sic] “pro-life” and the law of self-regeneration latent within creation will, if not interfered with, tend towards healing and harmonising the eco-systems and biological functions within Mother Earth.  
(Marsden, 2003, p. 49)

Pakihi each reflect different outlooks in how they mind mauri and, in some cases, institute rāhui measures to facilitate self-regeneration.

### *Culturally instituted principles*

The Millennium Ecosystem Assessment revealed that 60% of the world’s ecosystems were being degraded or used unsustainably (Millennium Ecosystem Assessment, 2005) which included marine ecosystems under enormous environmental strain from overfishing and pollution. The Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC, 2007) forecasted a global collapse of all commercially fished species by 2050 if worldwide fishing continued at present levels.

The owner of *Pōhutukawa*, a fisherman for over 30 years, had noted an alarming decline in stocks and was concerned that the species in his local marine ecosystem would disappear unless decisive action was taken. *Pōhutukawa* was lobbying for the Ministry of Fisheries to put a rāhui on certain fish stocks, especially hāpuku, known as groper, noting a “serious” depletion of this species in particular. Although the Ministry of Fisheries (2008) had received reports by local fishermen concerned about fish stocks, the Ministry

dismissed the possibility of a rāhui on the basis that current measures were deemed to be too “limited”, “anecdotal”, and “not fine-scale enough” to implement a policy change.

Despite the lack of legislative support, *Pōhutukawa* had instituted its own rāhui on breeder fish, which live to be well over 100 years old, and are critical to hāpuku breeding cycles. Although some recreational and tourism fishing companies targeted large breeder fish as “trophy catches”, the business avoided areas where these fish were commonly found, and moved their boat away if one was caught inadvertently.

Instituting rāhui had economic implications for *Pōhutukawa* as their policy meant they were not on a commercial par with other businesses promoting what the owner called “ego” fishing, where catching large, usually breeder, fish was celebrated. There was an ongoing gap between what might be legislatively correct behaviour and what was tika, in other words, culturally appropriate behaviour.

From time to time the Department of Conservation (DOC) or Occupational Health and Safety (OSH) provided advice to *Rimu*, however, like *Pōhutukawa*, institutionalised approaches and Māori kaitiakitanga approaches differed. One *Rimu* guide affirmed the Māori approach of rāhui by letting the ecosystem find its own natural balance:

[DOC] do come in, they do talk about the environment and what have you ... laws are laws, but get to know the person of the land who lives on the premises because they can tell you what's changing, what isn't, what needs to happen, what needs to be left alone. Don't just jump to conclusions. “Oh gosh, the ground just broke over there; we need to seal that off”. No, find out why. Just give it its space. We have pipes around for the steam to come up. So long as it's got its space, it will go with it.

### *Understanding tourism's impact*

Geothermal ecosystems are comprised of special plant life unique to geothermal areas and are especially vulnerable to human intervention. Rare thermal orchids, mistletoe, and fungus meant the estate, of which *Rimu* was part, had the “highest-ranking possible” in

terms of botanical value. Despite the high ranking, the wider region where *Rimu* was located had suffered significant degradation through landscaping development, and the realignment of motorways. Moreover, as local tourism business and residents siphoned off geothermal fluids, *Rimu's* estate had been adversely affected. Demonstrating the effectiveness of *rāhui*, a decision in the late 1980s to close over 100 pools in the vicinity had seen regeneration in the health of the regional geothermal ecosystem (Hodder, n.d.; Department of Conservation, 2008b).

The ecosystem in which *Miro* operated, one of the country's most significant indigenous forests, featured rare and endangered species including the white miro, mistletoe, sneezewood, and stalked adder's tongue fern. The forest was home to rare birds such as North Island brown kiwi, yellow crowned kakariki, North Island kaka, whio - the blue duck, and karearea - the New Zealand falcon. The river habitat was home to increasingly rare koaro, kokopu, and galaxiids. When the local timber processing industry ended in 1988, tourism was identified as a lower impact replacement industry and *Miro* was established in response to this opportunity. Although appealing as an alternative industry tourism an installation of a 16-kilometre mountain bike track and other tourism development schemes such as four-wheel driving and quad biking would be "investigated and established where appropriate" (Department of Conservation, 2008a, p. 48) and development of the region for tourism does have potentially greater environmental impact than present levels would suggest.

*Miro* customers appeared aware of practices that minimised environmental impact and they commented on the need to keep to the walking track and not side-step muddy parts which only enlarged the track. In effect this would be *rāhui* on the boundaries of a walking track. *Miro* customers wanted to know if firewood was collected from fallen trees, which would constitute *rāhui* on using growing wood. They were keen to ensure that any plants, rocks, or other samples were put back into their place again which would constitute *rāhui* on picking fresh, growing samples each time. The community where *Miro* operated were deeply aware, and concerned, about the environmental impacts of

tourism, and one member lamented that tourism “was the ruination of forest systems” and observed “people who don’t respect, they take plants”.

*Kauri* adopted a different approach towards minding mauri. The owner sometimes put rāhui on places, and cities, that have “lost their soul”, places, even entire towns, that were “false, contrived, touristic” and people were “herded here, herded there”. Minding mauri for *Kauri*, in the context of environmental sustainability, also included the built environment such as towns, cities, and even individual attractions.

### *Awareness*

*Rimu*, and its members, who lived intimately with the geothermal ecosystem, felt that often the best environmental management system was one of non-interference, to allow space and time for the environment to repair itself. A Māori view of an environmental management approach was implicit in a *Rimu* guide’s reflections, where minding mauri demanded careful observation of the environment, and rāhui to give “space”. The hapū, the local sub-tribe, regularly placed rāhui on any area that needed to repair itself, as one guide explained:

The week before the Tsunami hit, that side went down again ... there were big cracks over there and by letting the water run down ... this hollow down here – you can see stalactites coming down; the stalagmites will eventually build up and that will repair itself – a bit like you having a broken arm or leg, your bones will knit back together. Mother Earth’s just got no sense of time, that’s all. She will repair herself; it’s something you never learn in the classroom.

*Kauri*’s owner believed mauri was about “being aware” and “being in touch with it” and was “something that’s ... inherent in us ... but it is also a learned practice”. He explained that even though he grew up in an environment where they almost completely relied on natural resources wherein being attuned to mauri was part of his family’s way of life, and he thought, for many modern day Māori growing up in urbanised areas, attuning to mauri had to be taught.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 18: Practice 9.2.1 - Minding mauri (and rāhui)**

<b>Environmental</b>	<b>9.2.1.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Minding mauri (and rāhui).</i>
<b>Description</b>	Cultural tourism businesses are conscious of the health of mauri (life principle) in their locality and institute rāhui (prohibition) if necessary.
<b>Contribution</b>	Ensures local ecosystems, and their elements, can heal, regenerate and maintain a vital, healthy mauri. An awareness of mauri, and practice of rāhui, advances a Māori approach to sustainable environmental management.
<b>Key concept</b>	If humans harbour a negative attitude towards nature, this will manifest in indifferent or negligent actions, diminishing the mauri, the well-being of the environment.
<b>Key values</b>	Kaitiakitanga (stewardship of the environment), Mauri (life principle), Rāhui (prohibition), Tika (appropriateness).
<b>Key links</b>	6.2.2 Bringing forth spiritual unification, 9.2.3 Creating kaitiaki, 10.2.1 Adding value.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Employees, Environment, Owners.

Table 18 summarises the key points made in this practice. Minding mauri emerges as a practice from the way pakihi take notice of the health of mauri in their localities. Key attributes of this practice are observation, awareness, and action. Instituting rāhui is one way of allowing an ecosystem to heal, regenerate, and return to its natural balance. Rāhui, it is illustrated, does not have to be a systemic prohibition on an overall area, but can be imposed on a fish species, on the boundaries of a walking track, on how samples are collected for the purposes of demonstration, and how firewood is collected. It can also include the built environment such as towns, cities, and specific attractions. The attributes of rāhui include giving nature space and time to self-heal through a policy of respectful non-interference

An insight from this practice is that if humans harbour negative attitudes towards nature, these will be manifested in indifferent and negligent actions, diminishing the mauri ora, the well-being of the environment. Pakihi demonstrate how quantitative, prescriptive, science-centred solutions can oftentimes be inadequate as a sole solution for environmental sustainability, such as a systemic “quota” system. Pakihi advocate for a relationship with the environment that appreciates the intrinsic mauri of all aspects of

creation and seek to develop reciprocal relationships of respect with the environment, and aim to cultivate this outlook in their employees and customers. Through praxis with values such as kaitiakitanga (stewardship of the environment), mauri (life principle), rāhui (prohibition), and tika (appropriateness) combined with careful observation and consideration of environmental context, pakihi show how they nurture mauri and bring their local ecosystems to a state of mauri ora, a state of authentic and sustainable wellness and health.

### *9.2.2. Living the lore of enough*

In traditional Māori society, there was very little waste, because every aspect of life followed the principle of maximum use of minimum resources, as Sinclair explains:

The Māori of old accepted the responsibilities of his supernatural ancestry that made him guardian priest of the deities that controlled the relationships among the human, animal, vegetable, insect, reptile, fish, bird, mineral and spirit worlds. It was because of these ancestral and spiritual relationships that the Māori fished, hunted, and cultivated only to the degree necessary to secure his well-being. It was inconceivable for him to develop senseless exploitation of the environment to the degree required by the so-called civilized world. (Sinclair, as cited in Patterson, 1992, p. 90)

As the narratives highlight, pakihi have to manage conflicting standards between environmental practices that follow the customary precepts of kaitiakitanga and the mandates of the regulatory framework. Pakihi manage the “lore” according to kaitiakitanga alongside the regulatory framework, and the lore in this practice centres upon the lore of rawaka or “enough” (cf. Schumacher, 1989).

What may customarily constitute “enough” has commercial implications, as competitors who aim to maximise the use of maximum resources may gain a market advantage. Jones (2000) explains that the increasing commercialisation of Māori customary resources, often the result of Treaty of Waitangi settlement processes, has placed pressure on Māori organisations to be highly competitive in the international marketplace. The need to



deliver profitable returns on these resources, and provide jobs, can clash with Māori customary environmental sustainability precepts. Whilst Jones discusses large-scale estates, pakihi also take account of these issues.

Pakihi strive to reconcile customary environmental ethics with commercial imperatives, attesting to their intention to align activities along the principles of kaitiakitanga. Managing visitor numbers is identified by van Aalst & Daly (2001, 2002) as needing general industry attention and they recommend that crowding and congestion at tourism sites and areas are better managed by limiting visitor numbers, encouraging smaller groups, and promoting alternative visitor activity patterns. While pakihi differ from each other in their approach, they mostly set limits to growth in quantity of customers, and have identified critical numbers in terms of customer capacity to ensure environmental well-being. From an economic well-being perspective, this strategy highlights the importance of targeting quality high-yield customers.

#### *Experiential approach*

*Pōhutukawa*, to counter over-fishing in the area, had implemented an “enough” policy, whereby the captain of the fishing boat, the pakihi owner, decided when enough was enough. Five hāpuku, known as groper, per person per day was the legal fishing quota, but the owner calculated that five hāpuku multiplied by ten people on a typical charter equated to 200 fish and, day after day, this represented “too many fish being dragged out of the ocean”. Notwithstanding the legal quota that defined maximum limits, *Pōhutukawa* enforced its own “enough” quota, which was not a specified amount of fish per person, but just what “feels right” on the day given the conditions, and could be one hāpuku per person:

We don’t go out there with our karakia [incantation] and say to Tāngaroa [God of the sea] that we want 5 fish; we just want to take enough to replenish our needs. So once we see that’s enough to meet our needs, we stop.

To manage on-board competition *Pōhutukawa* discouraged an “ego” based approach to fishing where quantity matters, and encouraged an “experiential” approach where it was the journey and connection to nature that mattered most. Customers were encouraged to “enjoy the experience and privilege; help preserve the future of this fishing icon”. Another practice was to discourage counting the fish on board, and distribute the final catch evenly between all passengers, which highlighted the importance of “collective wealth”.

### *Managing waste*

*Pōhutukawa* ensured that the whole fish was brought back from fishing expeditions and all parts were used, including heads and frames, which were distributed to the local Māori community (and often considered to be the tastiest parts). Some *Pōhutukawa* customers expressed appreciation for this approach to recreational fishing:

It was pleasing to see that the local people would make good use of the heads and frames which otherwise would have been thrown away ... Our fish heads and frames were given to the elders of the local iwi, so nothing was wasted, and [the owner] says it’s all part of maintaining sustainable fishing.

Other examples of how *Pōhutukawa* operated in an economy of enough through managing waste included:

- A small wind turbine produces power and, with a generator, provided back-up power in emergencies;
- The toilet was a ‘long drop’ bio toilet to conserve water;
- In the evenings, when many would switch on the light, conversations continued in the half-light until darkness;
- Maintaining a compost heap for home-grown vegetables.

### *Smaller personalised experiences*

In the forest where *Miro* operated, the Department of Conservation, which managed concessions for tour operators, set a limit of 3,000 people per annum, with a maximum of 25 people on any one day. At the time of study, *Miro* was handling around 400 people per year; the majority of whom were on day walks. The business's optimum was to have 1,000 "overnighters" on the 3-day tour and 2,000 people on the day walk. *Miro* could immediately inflate their numbers by using their license to sell cheap \$25 "freedom walk" tickets to let people walk unguided through the rainforest. Selling cheap, unguided, walking options might have provided a short-term boost to profitability, however the owner reasoned that ultimately selling the cheaper tours would "undermine our own business". Their business would be undermined as the quality of tour experiences would be greatly reduced, local guides would not be employed which would then compromise another one of the business's objectives, to contribute to social well-being. Furthermore, the level of yield potential would be capped and, importantly, as highlighted in the following quote, environmental well-being would suffer:

The [forest] is in a place where it has to be protected ... so [the business is] holding on to the principle of a limit. We don't want it to end up like Tongariro crossing having 1,000 people at a time. So it keeps its planning and its clientele to a minimum, so that the client receives not only value for his own dollar but the essence of his trip, so it doesn't become a waste of time. The minute it gets to that point then [tourists] are wasting their time.

The local community agreed with the "little numbers-high value" approach towards tourism:

... we prefer controlled numbers - which means less people and higher value. This means giving value back to the visitor also ... Get top dollar. That is the reality.

By espousing a business strategy focussed on high-yield tourism that would provide maximum value to customers whilst protecting the environment, *Miro* aspired to deliver further benefit to the community and better position the business over the long-term.

Early on his tourism career, in the 1980s, the owner of *Kauri* decided the best tour group size would be 12–20 people. At that time, offering small group tours ran counter to the prevailing ideology of large groups that were more profitable due primarily to economies of scale. The other operators believed, he said, that “more is better, bigger is better”:

“How many people can get into a 50 seat coach – if you put them in sideways you can get 102 in one coach” – that was the mentality.

The owner of *Kauri* said he was convinced very early that small group tours were “where ultimately the industry was going to go and I’ve been proven absolutely right – everybody’s going down to the small sizes”. The business developed the “basic philosophy” that experiences needed to be personalised if a genuine cultural experience could occur. Personalisation of an experience had to start on board the bus with the guide and, from there, “spread out into the landscape”. The owner felt small group tours were a clear contribution to environmental well-being.

A strategic review was underway at *Rimu* to attract high-yield tourism. Any development, for example a spa, might have environmental implications, as geothermal mud pools, which would provide the spa’s resource, do not regenerate quickly. Conversely, increased visitor numbers may also have a detrimental effect on the environment. *Rimu’s* challenge highlighted the complexities of environmental concerns in tourism, and their experience demonstrated the importance for pakihi to undertake strategic reviews and consider all options and impacts.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 19: Practice 9.2.2 - Living the lore of enough**

<b>Environmental</b>	<b>9.2.2.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Living the lore of enough.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Advances a 'take only enough' policy, manages waste and energy consumption, sets limits to growth, and adopts a long-term outlook.
<b>Contribution</b>	Avoids exhausting natural resources and enhances environmental well-being. Reconciles customary environmental ethics with commercial imperatives to manage environmental impacts in a sustainable way.
<b>Key concept</b>	An economising way of thinking and acting about consumption and production of natural resources.
<b>Key values</b>	Rawaka (sufficient).
<b>Key links</b>	10.2.1 Creating value, 10.2.5 Processing profit into principles.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Employees, Environment, Owners.

Table 19 summarises the key points made in this practice. Living the lore of enough is associated with an economical way of thinking and acting about tourism consumption and production. One pakihi is an exemplar of environmental practices such as energy and waste management, the other three pakihi are in the process of addressing these issues. While pakihi differ in their approach to managing environmental impacts, they mostly share a strategy of setting limits to growth, and adopting a long-term outlook with a focus on quality high-yield customers.

Pakihi strive to reconcile tensions between kaitiakitanga and economies of scale business models that rely on high growth, and high numbers of tourists. The value of rawaka, meaning enough or sufficiency, in praxis helps form a relationship of respect between the user of the resource and the resource itself to ensure sustainable environmental well-being. When practiced, rawaka helps ensure that the resource remains available for long-term use. Reciprocity is a key feature of rawaka and contributes to an authentic, and sustainable, approach to creating mauri ora through understanding the limits of the local environment.

### *9.2.3. Creating kaitiaki*

An oft-quoted proverb guides humans towards developing a reciprocal relationship of respect with the environment; and encourages an appreciation that personal and collective well-being depends upon the well-being of all of creation:

Hutia te rito  
Hutia te rito o harakeke  
Kei hea te komako e ko  
He aha te mea nui i te ao  
Maku e ki atu e  
He tangata he tangata  
He tangata hei (Mere Ngaroto, Te Aupōuri)

This pēpeha, meaning proverb, translates as, “If you remove the centre of the flax bush, where will the bellbird sing? What is the most important thing in the world? I say it is people, it is people, it is people”. Bellbirds are attracted to the bright red flower of the flax, and when the bellbird sips the nectar, pollen sticks to its feathers and is carried to the stigma of another plant, a seed forms, and a new plant begins. If the flax centre is removed, the flax will not flower and the bellbird is longer attracted, thus breaking the cycle of flax regeneration.

In the pēpeha, people are the “most important thing in the world” not because they are better or superior to nature; nor because they have more rights. Humans, says Morgan (2008), are “a part of the ecosystem, rather than superior to, or separate from it” and practicing kaitiakitanga helps ensure that resources are managed “for broader goals than the selfish advancement of humankind” (p. 53). Humans have the capacity to influence the environment in a critical way.

The pēpeha calls for an intimate knowledge of the natural world, to see how each part interacts, and to recognise the interdependence and unity in everything. Critical to environmental sustainability, says Royal (2002), is the need for “the world and humanity, as a whole ... to make some kind of quantum paradigm shift toward a fundamental unity” (p. 44). Being a kaitiaki fosters this perspective of unity, and Kereopa (as cited in Moon, 2003) emphasises unity in his advice for people wanting to understand how they can become a kaitiaki:

When one considers kaitiaki, you have to consider for what purpose it is being used ... So it is about knowing the place of things in this world, including your place in this world. When you get to that point, you realise that thinking of all things is the same ... if you are fully aware of the world you live in, what you do to a tree is what you do to yourself. So when you are a guardian ... you are actually looking after yourself. (pp. 131-132)

To be effective, as Kereopa instructs in the quote, kaitiaki are encouraged to know their place intimately and, at the same time, maintain a perspective of the whole. Creating kaitiaki accords with the Québec Declaration on Ecotourism (2002) and the Oaxaca Declaration (2002) that dissuades manufactured tourism designed to please “tourist sensibilities” and instead urges tourism to provide an opportunity for reflection on the relationship between indigenous cultures and nature (see also Benton et al., 2003; McLaren, 2003). Connection to native flora and fauna is identified as a key satisfier for overseas visitors to Aotearoa New Zealand, according to van Aalst and Daly (2001, 2002). ‘Natural’ tourism is generally considered by pakihi as not only more appropriate than ‘manufactured’ tourism, it also has the benefit of strong international market appeal as van Aalst and Daly suggest.

Pakihi, as the narratives reveal, seek to inspire customers to become both a guardian and wise user of the earth’s resources, and they adopt an approach of connecting people to place as a key step to facilitating kaitiaki consciousness.

#### *Māori view of nature*

The following commentary revealed how a tour guide at *Rimu* endeavoured to share with customers a kaitiaki outlook that valued the interconnected nature of the world, and emphasised the unity of all things, and this, said the guide, was reflective of “the old Māori scientific world”:

San Andreas is a major fault-line up in California and in the Māori world it's the artery of Mother Earth's right arm but don't worry about the San Andreas, it's the little guys that go into it. When you get sick, the blood doesn't get your artery, it goes through your veins or your pores. So the San Andreas is the shock absorber ... out this way is the tectonic plate that goes through Europe – that is the artery of Mother Earth's left arm in the Māori world, that's the shock absorber for there. Coming down the West Coast of the Americas is this side of her body, the right side and that's the Pacific fault-line. On that side, coming with the tectonic plate, is the artery that goes down the left side of her body. New Zealand, Australia, and the Pacific Islands – in the Māori world this part is the heart beat of Mother Earth; in other words, we get the adrenalin rush first; someone else gets the shakes.

*Rimu* sought to imbue kaitiaki in customers through sharing, not only how they lived in close connection to the resource, but also the interconnectedness of the global geothermal system, which demonstrated that a relationship with the local resource can have global implications.

The owners of *Pōhutukawa* explained to customers that the land upon which they live is sacred land, enlivened with spiritual kaitiaki who protect those out to sea, and those living on the land. The mana whenua, power derived from the land, was a significant aspect of life on this ancient pā, village site.

*Miro* highlighted the importance of the spiritual dimension when creating kaitiaki. They recognised potency in giving people time and space to contemplate their lives, and their surroundings. Guides encouraged customers to see the environment as more than an objectified ecosystem or habitat, and invited customers to see the spiritual, cultural, and social dimensions of the environment, and have a personal, intimate, subjective encounter.

A *Kauri* supplier was impressed with the Māori view of nature, and their ethic, and he spoke of the kaumātua, elder, he had met on a visit to their home:



His object is to preserve his land and pass it on to his children untouched as it is ... his motive is not to be a millionaire, it is to make some money to pay his electricity ... and just live off the land ... these are the [experiences] we would like to promote because these are the things that people want to see.

### *Connection to place*

The CEO of *Rimu* shared that to be aware of oneself was to be aware of the environment, which pointed to the importance of “knowing one’s place” and was foundational in being an effective kaitiaki:

[my goal is to] send people away in touch with themselves and their environment, you can’t help being aware of the environment when you are here.

*Rimu’s* evocative stories of how they lived close to nature, used the resource, and their connection to the resource made an impression on customers, for example, one customer noted, “they tend to like to live with nature rather than try to fight it ... and will go around [an obstacle] rather than through it”. Another *Rimu* customer, having observed how the villagers lived in close connection to the geothermal resource, reflected on his homeland where they had moved away from “the old ways” and that he felt “most people in my time now lack that [ability to survive in the old way]”.

Helping customers become a kaitiaki at *Pōhutukawa* began with stopping and listening to nature. When hosting a group of Korean school children, the owner of *Pōhutukawa* observed that they “never stopped talking”. He discovered from their teacher that they lived in a highly industrialised, urban environment with very little connection to nature. The next morning, before the children arose, he went to the dormitory where they slept and keeping the curtains closed asked the children to describe what they thought the day was like. The children fell silent, drew pictures, and wrote about what they envisioned through the closed windows. One boy wrote, “Tangaroa [God of the sea] is sleeping” to explain the stillness of the ocean. The owner was touched as the boy, who barely spoke English had only learned the name of Tāngaroa the previous day. As each of the children

showed him their pictures, he realised that the business had a huge opportunity to connect the children to nature in a new way, and the programme was altered to include helping them connect to place.

Along with the stunning marine setting, the power of the land in shaping customer experience at *Pōhutukawa* was an integral aspect of connection to place. The Visitor Book entries highlighted the way in which mana whenua, that is, the power derived from the land, operated to help infuse kaitiaki in customers:

Blessings to you both for sharing this sacred place with us. We have immense respect for the gift and care you take of this land and people who visit it.

... this is indeed a wondrous place and that you are the right guardians to protect this land's energy for all the future generations and customers.

Being a kaitiaki, as *Pōhutukawa* had demonstrated, included stopping and listening to nature, and creating space and privacy for customers to connect with the environment. Inviting their customers into a spiritualised landscape, enlivened with spiritual kaitiaki, and helping customers see that they too could be kaitiaki, was an integral part of *Pōhutukawa's* mission.

*Miro* customers learned that they too are a part of the forest and one guide made a point of explaining to them, "I have been looking after this forest for you". He said they often asked in reply, "Don't you own it?" to which he again replied "No, I have been looking after it for you". Sometimes, said the guide, when the enormity of this statement reaches them, tears fall down their faces.

A *Miro* customer explained that a spiritual experience was akin to being ecological, to experience "wonderment", "peace", and "just being in tune with the environment". This customer added that he imagined this experience arose when connecting with people who were "at one with who they are" (also cited in practice 6.2.5). Another *Miro* customer became more conscious of the principles of kaitiakitanga as a result of the tourism

encounter: “... I learned about their history and culture, and their commitment to preserve both in the face of a world that would have it otherwise”.

*Kauri* also created kaitiaki through connecting people to place:

Your connection and my connection to this place is out there gathering seafood, all of us wandering through the forest today gathering herbs – it’s our connection to the place ...

*Kauri’s* customers visited a variety of places, and in each location, the business devised innovative ways to connect people to that specific environment through food, music, activities, and stories. The owner sought to instil in customers what he considered a fundamental aspect of being a kaitiaki which was, to be aware that every element of the natural world had a kaitiaki, a guardian, who must be respected; each rock, tree, fish, star, whale, dolphin, river, and mountain, Being a kaitiaki, he said, meant that people ought to only take from the environment what they need and no more. Instilling a kaitiaki view of the world, believed the owner, was a significant contribution that Māori could make to others through tourism, and helped people establish a healthier relationship with the environment, and it started with feeling connected to place.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 20: Practice 9.2.3 - Creating kaitiaki**

<b>Environmental</b>	<b>9.2.3.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Creating kaitiaki.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Fosters the kaitiaki (steward of the environment) perspective so others recognise the interdependence and unity in everything.
<b>Contribution</b>	Encourages others around the globe, through kaitiakitanga, to become wise users and guardians of the Earth’s resources and to reclaim their own sense of belonging to all of creation.
<b>Key concept</b>	Through interaction with Māori, visitors can learn how to connect with nature, and become a kaitiaki in their homeland.
<b>Key values</b>	Kaitiakitanga (stewardship of the environment), Kotahitanga (unity), Mana whenua (power derived from ecosystems), Whakapapa (genealogy).
<b>Key links</b>	6.2.5 Guiding transformation, 7.2.5 Connecting senses, 10.2.1 Adding value.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Customers, Suppliers.

Table 20 summarises the key points made in this practice. Pakihi seek to inspire their customers to have a deeply connected relationship with the environment. While their approaches differ in how they instil a sense of kaitiaki in others, there are some unifying features such as: presenting the multi-dimensionality of nature; helping customers understand that land has a spiritual power and is cared for by spiritual kaitiaki; encouraging intimate connection to the land; the importance of whakapapa; and providing contemplative space so customers can connect with nature.

Pakihi show how they foster sustainability by helping others to be in touch with their own nature through nature. By reuniting with ecology in this spiritual way, customers, who may have broken with a tradition of viewing the world in a holistic manner, have the opportunity to renew their sense of belonging to the universe, and close the separation between themselves and place. This can lead to a sense of authenticity in an experience.

Pakihi, by empowering tourists to become kaitiaki, can contribute to spreading the kaitiakitanga ethic around the globe. The more inspired visitors return home and become kaitiaki, the more the local actions by Māori cultural tourism businesses can have the potential for global reach. The values of kaitiakitanga (stewardship of the environment), kotahitanga (unity), mana whenua (power derived from ecosystems), and whakapapa (genealogy) have particular relevance in this practice, and when put into praxis in context, can help guide humans towards a relationship of reciprocal respect as kaitiaki of the environment. In doing so, authentic and sustainable well-being in the environmental dimension can have global reach.

#### *9.2.4. Respecting hau*

Kaitiakitanga can be cultivated by respecting the hau, a vital essence of the land which, coupled with mauri, a life force, helps support spiritual vitality that enhances environmental well-being. Hau is an aspect of kaitiakitanga that together with mauri is an intrinsic component of environmental well-being, as Henare (2001) explains:

Denial of the responsibilities of guardianship over creation, and being unable to nurture and feed both the life forces (mauri and hau) of the diverse substances and forms of creation, has profound implications for both humans and nature. (p. 212)

Respecting the hau, like mauri, represents an abiding belief in the importance of reciprocal exchange (Henare, 2001). Hau can literally mean breath (Williams dictionary, 2004) and, interpreted in the context of this practice, reflects the interconnectedness, and interdependence, represented by the giving and receiving that occurs through the sharing of breath. Every aspect of creation is breathing in and breathing out in multifarious ways, and this is an aspect of the state of gifted exchange, or reciprocity, upon which human well-being depends. Cajete (2000) explains:

Breath was seen as being connected to the breath and spirit of the Earth itself. We breathe the same air that the plants breathe; we breathe the same air as animals; and we depend on the same kinds of invisible elements as plants and animals. Therefore, we share a life of co-creation in an interrelated web of relationship that had to be understood, respected, and manipulated to maintain right relationships among important parts. (p. 117)

The exhalation of one element becomes the life-force available to be inhaled by another. Hau is a process of continuous receiving and giving, in which all of creation exists in a state of reciprocity through the exchange of life-energy.

Hau, like mauri, is not merely a metaphysical concept but has practical application to local situations. Resource management from a Māori perspective recognises that resource use has both physical and spiritual dimensions (Henare, 2001; Kawharu, 2002; Morgan, 2008) and pre-eminence is placed on developing reciprocal relationships of respect (Henare, 2001). The antithesis of hau is kaihau, eating the hau (Patterson, 1992, p. 96), which can lead to disharmony and imbalance. In other words, in this context, to act thoughtlessly with greed regarding the gifts of nature most likely will result in a loss of vitality and well-being which, in turn, can affect the well-being of humans.

### *Rightful orientation and respect*

The practices of not scaling or filleting fish out at sea, giving the first fish to the community, saying karakia, and bringing “rightful orientation” (cf. Cajete, as cited in Royal, 2002) to activities, demonstrated ways in which hau was respected at *Pōhutukawa*. These practices were tikanga, broadly meaning customs, developed over the millennia as a set of guidelines to provide direction for humans to live respectfully and successfully with nature. An example of respecting the gifts of resources, and hau, was the practice of not cleaning or scaling fish out at sea. If a person cleaned or scaled out at sea they were throwing gifts back at the giver, in this case at Tāngaroa, the God of the sea, an act considered highly disrespectful.

Karakia, interpreted as incantation, was also part of the respect *Pōhutukawa* cultivated in its environmental approach. The owner explained karakia was “a matter of respect ... and a responsibility before I go into that domain [of Tāngaroa or Tāne Mahuta]”. As noted in earlier practices (7.2.1 and 6.2.2), the business would always begin a fishing journey with karakia to pay respect to Tāngaroa and, in doing so, demonstrated mindfulness that resources they might receive were a gift, not a right.

The owner of *Kauri* hoped to create a respectful relationship with the environment when approaching certain sites, for example, when “entering the realm of Tāne Mahuta”, the God of the forest, through ensuring appropriate dialogue, not picking leaves or random samples, and saying karakia. He reflected how he practiced hau by giving the first fish back to Tāngaroa, and by passing on gifts to the community to acknowledge their gift of support for him, and his business.

Karakia was an intrinsic aspect of respecting hau at *Rimu*, as one guide explained:

You’ve got to karakia first and you karakia after and you take only what you need. It’s conservation as taught by the old people.

## *Breath of life*

Also part of respecting hau at *Rimu* was to appreciate that each aspect of creation, like mauri, and rāhui, was best left to live according to its own design and own life-principle. An example of how humans were encouraged to work with, not over, nature at *Rimu*, was found in *Rimu's* approach towards the network of myriad pools, geysers, and fumaroles. The residents exercised minimal controls, preferring to work with nature and allowing the geothermal ecosystem to breathe naturally. Respecting the hau was highlighted by the spiritual regard for the geothermal resource and to ensure that the hau, the vitality of that resource, is free to exist according to its own design. One *Rimu* customer was particularly interested in this approach to nature:

Right at the beginning of the tour they were talking about the fact that the ground has these fumaroles and hot air and steam coming out, and they said: “We don’t control this, this is natural ... in this house here, for example, we had steam coming up the kitchen and so we had to move out” and the people in it moved out ... and it was very matter-of-fact to say ... “Well, this is things that happen” and there was her trying to get across that these things do happen ... that you could get a new hole coming up anywhere ...

... they’re actually living with nature in respect to the fact that if there’s an obstacle there, they will go around it rather than go through it.

The rainforest ecosystem provided another example of hau as the breath of life, as members of the *Miro* community discussed the aura of the trees:

You look at the trees, they’re green but can you see the blue haze? That’s the aura of the plants, mum always spoke about it and so did our nan but now I’m older to take notice of it. You never see it anywhere else – not like this. You can hear the peace.

Another respondent of the community in which *Miro* operate described the first time she saw the aura of the trees during a journey when she had travelled deep into the forest alone. After being alone in the forest the aura was finally observable by her, and this was described as a special spiritual experience.

Hau was once depicted by anthropologist Elsdon Best as an “aura” (in Moko Mead, 2003, p. 59), however, the aura described here by the respondents is most likely the mauri of the tree as explained to me by kuia, Jane Marsden (personal communication, May, 2009). Mauri and hau are deeply interlinked, just as spirit and breath are linked. Aura in this context can be seen as an indicator of healthy mauri and hau. Interestingly, a western scientific explanation identifies tree aura as a blue haze formed by carbon and hydrogen vapour from trees, and is an indicator of health. Indeed, NASA’s “shrewd spaceborne detective” instrument has mapped the exhalation in large forests, and the effects of evaporation on nearby oceans show how vegetation interacts with climate events (NASA, 2007). The aura, or haze, of a forest was a signifier of overall environmental well-being.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 21: Practice 9.2.4 - Respecting hau**

<b>Environmental</b>	<b>9.2.4.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Respecting hau.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Develops a respectful relationship with the environment to ensure balance, harmony, and well-being.
<b>Contribution</b>	A continuous reminder through practices which respect the hau (vitality) that human well-being is dependent upon environmental well-being, helps lead people to treat the environment in a thoughtful and sustainable manner.
<b>Key concept</b>	Represents an abiding belief in the importance of reciprocal exchange through the gift of nature’s resources and the gift of the breath of life.
<b>Key values</b>	Hau (vitality), Mauri (life principle), Tapu (sacred), Whakarite (respect).
<b>Key links</b>	6.2.2 Bringing forth spiritual unification, 9.2.1 Minding mauri (and rāhui).
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Employees, Environment, Owners.

Table 21 summarises the key points made in this practice. Respecting the hau, shows how pakihi respect that human-nature relations exist in a state of reciprocal exchange. Respecting the hau reflects a continuous relationship with the environment, and a reminder that human well-being depends on the gifts of nature. Pakihi cultivate an attitude of gratitude, undertake to fulfil their obligations as recipients of nature’s gifts, and acknowledge nature’s will to keep providing such gifts. Business, it is proposed, that view the world this way are less likely to be marred by kaihau, indifference and greed.



Hau is interwoven with other values such as mauri (life principle), tapu (sacred), and whakarite (respect) and, when effectuated in praxis with context, cultivates a reciprocal relationship of respect between humans and the environment. From this perspective, all aspects of creation are seen as inter-dependent. Respecting the hau facilitates a continuous relationship with the environment, and helps close any separation that can lead to inauthentic, unsustainable behaviour by people, including business, in relation to the environment.

#### *9.2.5. Engaging with the community*

The pūkeko (swamp hen) that moves silently and swiftly through the reeds is considered safer than the pūkeko who raises its head above the reeds and is at much greater risk of being seen and shot. A number of Māori war stories illustrate how warring parties and individuals escaped danger in the swamps, by keeping their heads below the reeds. The consequences could be fatal for anyone who put their head above the reeds, revealing their position to assailants. Paradoxically, in modern times the threat comes from staying below the reeds, there is no “slipping away quietly” from the problems of environmental sustainability. The equivalent modern idiom for this would be operating “under the radar screen”.

Pakihi and communities are reciprocally engaged in creating environmental well-being. In the cultural dimension, the importance of preserving and protecting tikanga, custom, was noted, and that when adapting tikanga for tourism purposes this must be done openly and transparently (7.2.1 and 7.2.2). Similarly, in the environmental dimension, it is crucial that Māori communities can trust tourism businesses to act responsibly with regard to the environment.

Māori businesses can participate in what Hawken (2007) calls “the largest movement on earth”, a global phenomenon dedicated to improving environmental well-being, based on vast numbers of people who are actively engaged in diverse ways to improving environmental well-being. These “informed, imaginative, and vital” citizens are “rooted

in their communities” and concerned about ecological sustainability and social justice (p. 1).

It is not, of course, always business that negatively impacts the environment, and sometimes communities disregard the environment. Ulrich Cloher and Johnston (1999) note a concern in northern communities about the lack of environmental consideration by some Māori residents. Being willing to put one’s head ‘above the reeds’ and engage the community regarding important environmental issues is an aspect of environmental leadership, as one pakihi in this study shows. Raising one’s head above the reeds, in the context of this practice, is to engage actively with the community and demonstrate visible commitment in environmental custodianship.

### *Walking the talk*

Not only did the owners at *Pōhutukawa* restore the land upon which the business operated, by clearing decades of rubbish and planting 600 native trees, they also expanded their kaitiakitanga by undertaking local rubbish collections. Although this work also supplemented their seasonal tourism income, they viewed collecting rubbish as a tangible contribution:

As much as that [rubbish collecting] is a regular income, it is allowing us to walk our talk as Māori.

*Pōhutukawa* observed a tendency in others to talk about revering and caring for Papatūānuku, Mother Earth, yet, the owners said, these same people would be dropping their rubbish out in the streets:

Because as you know we always say this - it’s like Māori who get up and kōrero [speak] Māori and kōrero all about looking after Papatūānuku ... you never, ever see them out there picking [the rubbish] up.

The owners noted, “sadly, it is not the tourist dropping all the rubbish [in the region], it’s our own people”. They stressed that action was more important than words:

There are no words for the example you set in the way you live your life and the ways in which you interact with the world.

One of *Kauri*’s sub-contractors also raised a concern about the relationship between some Māori and the environment. This commentator highlighted the importance of being congruent with what one says, and what one does:

We aren’t born with this gift of sustainability ... just because we are Māori, we didn’t inherit this wonderful gift of our culture as a green card to taking what we want and not what we need, like some Māori seem to think ... Māori say: Oh, papatūānuku! Say it, but live it as well. It’s so easy to say it in a waiata [song]... it all starts back at home.

### *Campaigning for change*

*Pōhutukawa* took a proactive position in effectuating environmental change through a campaign to clean up the streets. Noting that some streets were more littered than others, *Pōhutukawa* implemented a campaign to encourage the local council to publish photos of the worst street each week in the local newspaper:

We pick it up and we say where it comes from; 15 bags from 4 km from [wherever] to [wherever], it makes people take responsibility. It might be showing them up but I’m still not afraid to do that, to deal with our own people.

Presenting a clean regional image was important not only to tourism, said the owners of *Pōhutukawa*, but for self-pride and to project a positive image for the region. Several of the visitors, who had stayed in a neighbouring region, commented on rubbish there:

I thought the [region] was quite dirty at some point ... like they just dropped rubbish. I don't know who did that, but maybe it was just because nobody really took care of it, getting it away, removing it. At some point I really felt that, although it was such a beautiful nature, people were just dropping their rubbish right on the side of the street ...

Another couple interviewed at *Pōhutukawa* felt that, generally, New Zealand did not present a strong sustainability story, as illustrated by this conversation:

[man]: The thing is you think, "Okay, they've got lots of land and nice landscapes, not so many people living in this area". The chance that the environment suffers from the people isn't that big as it is in Germany or something ...

[woman]: ...if you compare it, for example, to Germany you think, "Oh my God, that's not really environmental".

[man]: The thing is, they don't have to. We should do it because otherwise it's looking like crap, so we have to do it and they don't have to ... the standards of Germany they could improve, that's true.

By getting directly involved, *Pōhutukawa* not only cared for the environment in a tangible way but also contributed toward creating a positive image of the region for visitors.

Campaigning for change included working with children. A senior guide, and kuia, elder, in the *Miro* community, believed that environmental well-being began with the education of children, as they are the kaitiaki of the future. As noted earlier, Kereopa (2003) has highlighted that to be a kaitiaki means understanding that "if you are fully aware of the world you live in, what you do to a tree is what you do to yourself" (p. 132) and this guide provides exactly that lesson to children:

I take them into the forest and I snip a branch and I say, "Did you hear that?" (I made sure it was a dead one) and they said "Yes". I said, "That's the arm or finger of the tree breaking" and I look at them and say, "If yours broke, that's what it would sound like – so you don't do damage in the environment".

To summarise this practice:

**Table 22: Practice 9.2.5 - Engaging with the community**

<b>Environmental</b>	<b>9.2.5.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Engaging with the community.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Actively engages with the community regarding environmental issues.
<b>Contribution</b>	Taking a proactive approach on ecological issues, from small everyday acts to large campaigns, business contributes to ecological well-being calls for genuine engagement with environmental issues in local communities.
<b>Key concept</b>	Demonstrating environmental leadership through 'living above the reeds' and undertaking visible commitment.
<b>Key values</b>	Hāpai (uplift), Kaiārahi (leader), Pūrotu (transparency), Tautoko (support).
<b>Key links</b>	8.2.1 Building communication bridges, 10.2.1 Adding value.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Community.

Table 22 summarises the key points made in this practice. One pakihi especially demonstrates environmental leadership to engage the community through a campaign to stop people dropping rubbish. *Engaging with the community* encourages all pakihi to take a realistic look at what is occurring environmentally in their regions, and demonstrates commitment to working with the community regarding environmental matters. The research analysis shows that proactive environmental leadership may be an area of improvement for Māori cultural tourism businesses in general.

Pakihi have the opportunity to define reality in terms of business-environment relationships, and to be proactive even if this means acting differently to other businesses or members of the wider community. Through adopting a proactive approach on ecological issues, from small everyday acts to large campaigns, pakihi contribute to ecological well-being by their genuine engagement with environmental issues in local communities. Values such as hāpai (uplift), kaiārahi (leadership), pūrotu (transparency), and tautoko (support) help empower pakihi to engage with communities. Praxis with actual environmental challenges can help pakihi and communities develop a relationship that transforms environmental well-being and helps build an authentic relationship beyond the corporate rhetoric so often associated with business and environmental matters.

### 9.3 Conclusion

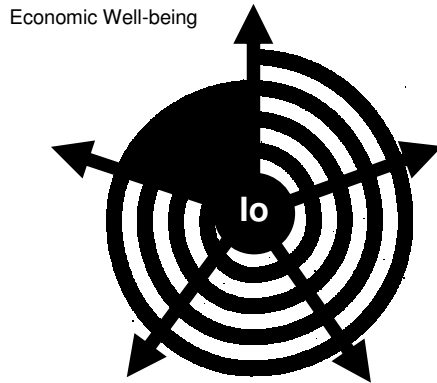
In this chapter, I have explored some of the environmental dimensions of Māori business through the lens of five practices that support environmental well-being across a variety of relationships and contexts. The practices show how pakihi draw upon a wide range of environmental values and apply these in praxis to create reciprocal relationships of respect through a commitment to kaitiakitanga.

A key aspect of practicing kaitiakitanga includes a strong regard for life-principles such as mauri and hau, which are important facilitators, and indicators, of a healthy environment. The practice of minding mauri demonstrates how pakihi have a relationship with the environment whereby they can be “the conscious mind” (Marsden, 2003) of their local environment. Through observation pakihi are alert to the well-being of local ecosystems, and take steps to implement a rāhui, a ritual prohibition, if required, so that ecosystems may heal and regenerate. When operating in an economy of enough, one pakihi especially, acts economically and is always seeking to maximise the minimum amount of resources. In general the pakihi, seek to understand the limits of their local environment and consciously examine their own ideas about what constitutes enough to meet their needs, and the needs of their tourism activities.

In respecting the hau, pakihi show an attitude of gratitude with respect to their daily interactions with nature, which means giving as well as receiving. In making kaitiaki, pakihi facilitate a relationship between the customer and the environment, placing emphasis on the spirit of place, connection with place, and the intrinsic value of each aspect of creation. By conferring kaitiaki upon customers pakihi show how they hope to inspire others to return to their homelands and make a difference by being stewards who care, nurture, and value the intrinsic worth of nature. Taking action, as the narratives reveal, can also require that pakihi rise above the reeds, and proactively engage in local environmental issues to improve sustainability, and this is identified as an area for increased engagement.

The narratives highlight how Māori business can have a direct, participatory relationship with the environment and draw on ancient Māori values that provide guidance for creating authentic and sustainable well-being. These fundamentals help ensure that the relationship pakihi have with the environment emerges from an intimacy motivated by genuine concern for mauri ora, meaning, being awake to the reality of the local environment and consciously create well-being. Through praxis with actual contexts and challenges environmental transformation can be enabled. The narratives in this dimension show that whilst each pakihi had a relational outlook in terms of their environmental approach, they are each on the path in practical terms to varying degrees. One pakihi, in particular, is further down the sustainability path than the others.

## CHAPTER TEN: ECONOMIC WELL-BEING



**Figure 14: The Well-beings Map - Economic Well-being**

In this chapter, I examine how Māori cultural tourism businesses, called pakihi, create economic well-being. I begin with an overview of a Māori economic perspective. This is followed by five practices relating to economic well-being. Each practice section contains a preliminary discussion of a relevant aspect of a Māori perspective, examples from the pakihi, and a summary of how the economic practice contributes to authentic and sustainable well-being.

### **10.1. Business and the economy**

A wide body of literature acknowledges the principle of reciprocity as a central feature of Māori economic approaches (Bargh, 2007; Henare, 2003; Mauss 1950/1990; Mead, 2003; Patterson, 1992; Petrie, 2006; Ruwhiu, 2009; Walker, 2004). Reciprocity, from a Māori economic perspective, is not necessarily about achieving an immediate financial return, rather, reciprocity is a qualitative state of reaching long-term equivalence that has spiritual as well as material dimensions. The Māori economic approach places paramountcy on the quality of relationships and seeks to link everyone and everything in an ever-looping progression of ongoing relatedness where the parties act in good faith with each other (Mead, 2003).



A key strategy through which pakihi, as the narratives show, seek to create a state of ongoing, long-term equivalence is by adding value. The dynamic of adding value has been noted in a number of scholarly and industry studies (Benton et al., 2003; Jones & Morrison-Briars, 2004; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007a; Patterson, 1992; Ruwhiu, 2009; Wilson et al., 2006) and these studies suggest that ‘added value’ provides meaningful benefits for Māori business. In an economic sense, pakihi can be described as ‘value-creating’ agents, a more apt term than the widely-used “profit-maximising” (Friedman, 1970) agent widely considered to be the purpose of conventional business. In Chapter Eleven, a business case is articulated for each of the twenty-five practices showing how they can contribute to the economic ‘bottom line’. Accordingly this chapter primarily explores the qualitative nature of relationships in the economic dimension, and identifies linkages with preceding dimensions.

Field-insights show how pakihi add value to not only secure and maintain trading relationships, but also to deliver well-being across spiritual, cultural, social, and environmental dimensions. Their approach highlights a way in which modern Māori enterprises overlay their market offerings and relationship-building practices with the traditional economy of affection, also known as the economy of mana, broadly meaning authority and power, which is the traditional economic approach taken by Māori, and Pacific cultures (Firth, 1959; Mauss, 1950/1990; Henare, 2001; Mead, 2003; Petrie, 2006). Mead (2003) provides the following explanation:

One may give the same gift back, or one similar to it, or one equivalent to it, but the preferred option is to improve the value. Some have likened this to interest accruing on the value of the object. But the important issue is not to give offence to the partner in the transaction or belittle the thought behind the gift or the gift itself. (p. 182)

Although Mead is describing the traditional gift-exchange process, the same dynamic is observed as pakihi seek to improve the value proposition they offer trading partners. Mead points out that the longevity of relationships, wherein a return gift might occur many years later, is an intrinsic aspect of gift-exchange protocol. He also emphasises the pragmatic nature of gift-exchange to enhance relationships (p. 182). Pakihi infuse their

trading relations with added value in the same spirit as one would give a gift to strengthen these relationships.

To enhance relationships through a value-added approach, pakihi seek to enhance the mana of their partners in trade. Mead (2003) suggests, “the exchange of gifts should add something to the mana of the partners” (p. 183) to support the building of reciprocal relationships of respect. By injecting tourism experiences with both spiritual and material added value, pakihi can contribute to the mana of customers and, in doing so, they then lift the mana of the suppliers whose business success depends upon high levels of satisfaction. Adding value can also contribute to the mana of the wider society and cultural community as comprehensively illustrated in the preceding chapters.

Adding value is revealed as a conscious choice by pakihi to infuse their economic offerings and processes with Māori values. The offerings and the processes that come under the influence of these values are what can give pakihi an economic “edge” (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007b). Adding value has multiple functions, it can add lustre and allure to tourism experiences, differentiate Māori offerings in the tourism marketplace, enhance trading relationships, and improve the likelihood of both customer and supplier satisfaction. The value-added components themselves help to contribute to spiritual, cultural, social, and environmental as well as economic well-being.

## **10.2. Practices**

### *10.2.1. Adding value*

The concept of a “Māori edge” was used in a report produced for Te Puni Kōkiri by the New Zealand Institute for Economic Research on Māori economic development (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007a). A “Māori edge” refers to comparative advantage and, in refining what this means in practice, the report raised questions such as, “Where is it that this edge, or

comparative advantage lies? Is it people, products or processes, or some combination of the three?”

Pakihi draw people, product, and processes together to offer the market high value propositions. Jones and Morrison-Briars, in their 2004 study of the competitive advantage of Māori tourism products, argue that whilst being a Māori tourism business could not be asserted as a competitive advantage, the notion of “added value” was nevertheless “a meaningful concept to describe the advantages of being a Māori tourism business” (p. 1). Research conducted by Wilson et al. (2006) and Benton (2004) reveals that adding value is a key opportunity for Māori tourism businesses.

Customers indicated in Wilson et al.’s (2006) study that they are not necessarily prepared to pay higher prices for cultural components, this factor can, however, sway their purchasing decision. Wilson et al. (2006) identify that cultural components, such as meeting locals, interaction with Māori guides and drivers, hearing stories, seeing Māori culture in action, and participating in activities led to richer experiences and greater customer satisfaction. The insights from the case businesses in this study considerably extend and deepen Wilson et al.’s findings, and show that people working in Māori cultural tourism aim to develop ties of affection through infusing relationships with their aroha, that is, their love, kindness, respect, and compassion for others and their wairua, their spirituality. The examples from the field show that a ‘value-added’ approach is not a mechanical product-oriented thing, but it is a giving of oneself so that relationships have a healthy mauri, that is, a healthy life force. The approach taken by the pakihi in this study aligns closely with Patterson’s (1992) concept of “enhanced value” wherein people “inject, as it were, something of your self, of your own life and energy, of your personal mauri, into your work.” (p. 35). In other words: ‘adding value’ in this context ultimately comes from the spiritual, cultural, ecological, social, and ancestral heart.

### *Infused value*

The guides in *Miro* aimed to create heartfelt connections with their customers through infusing experiences with their own special gifts and intentions. The way in which they approached their mahi, their work, reflected each guide's own mauri, energy, and their keen sense of kaitiakitanga. So whilst it is true to say that they infused something of themselves into the tourism experiences through song, healing, stories, and mātauranga knowledge, these words do not adequately capture the spiritual integrity in the way they handled themselves and their customers. They provided more than 'learning' opportunities regarding fauna, flora, culture, and spirituality. From a Māori perspective – such 'information' is sacred and in the sharing of the knowledge the guides were connecting with taonga tuku iho, precious knowledge handed down through the aeons, that is, they connect with their ancestors when sharing certain knowledge.

The guides at *Rimu* emitted energy demonstrating that they liked being guides and encouraged questions rather than fended them off. They confidently discussed their whakapapa, their genealogy, and told the stories of the landscape, of history, culture, and the social life of the village by sharing their own personal worldviews of life in the village. The kapa haka, a concert party performance, also infused experiences with ihi, wehi, and wana, which mean magnetism, fearsomeness, and awe.

It was evident that at *Pōhutukawa* the sacredness of the land upon which the pakihi was located, the history surrounding the location, the opportunity to experience the land, as well as the beautiful marine setting all combined to infuse value, as the owner explained:

So it's not about the cost of the accommodation, it's about the privilege of being, sharing this paradise ... it's the opportunity to be in a unique, very waterfront, very peninsula-like, idyllic situation and that's a value in itself ... I say to people that it's a privilege to be on this location. It's a spiritual place; it's an important place to the village and its history.

Another example at *Pōhutukawa* was the gift of food, which surprised and delighted customers and wove them into a relationship through manaaki that is, to show respect and kindness, and a connection of warmth, sharing, and caring. Additionally, cultural learning

and connections to the community through offering a fish to an elder offered a unique experience unlike many other commercial fishing operations. Another example at *Pōhutukawa* was shown in the value of a story, as one observer shared:

[the *Pōhutukawa* owner] was telling us this beautiful story and as he told us, this Kiwi campervan came past with these two German people. I looked at them (it was a flash one) – I thought they were probably paying \$200 a day and here I am getting the real story and they're missing it, they've driven past. And the value of the story-telling and the story is the essence of where tourism is going.

As previously noted, three values in particular guide *Kauri's* process, namely, kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga, and he tangata, which the owner described as connection to place, hospitality, and people. In applying these values, enhanced value was created. For example, a co-created meal prepared on the luxury food and wine tour evoked kaitiakitanga, connection to place, when customers were involved in the collection of the herbs and pipis, cockles. Manaakitanga was evident through the 'open home' style of being hosted in local Pākehā and Māori homes. He tangata was evident in the way in which a wide range of local people were invited to participate, and in the camaraderie of jointly preparing the meal. At each stage, locals merged with the *Kauri* tour group; even when working in a professional capacity the purpose was to connect and join the group, not 'manage' the group. One customer described it thus:

[the tour guide] is just part of us, not our tour guide. She's part of us even though she has the expertise, the expert on what we're doing, she is part of us and I think that's why it made our first trip so memorable – is because everybody loved [her].

Infused value at *Kauri* included the enjoyment of finding pipis, the pleasure (and uncertainty) of new food, and warmth of connection. The emotional warmth and naturalness was noted by two *Kauri* customers who observed that their experience with the business felt "authentic" because of the way they had been able to connect with others and form a relationship with a natural way of life:

... authenticity means what New Zealand really is. It's about the Māori people being authentic and not just being a show, but being the real people that they are and showing their actual ways that they live and cook and eat and do things.

and:

... that's "authenticity" because it seems to me that this is how you might be spending your time if I wasn't here.

### *Physical and structural value*

The physical aspects of the experience provided by *Miro* included offering higher quality tours by limiting tour numbers, and by ongoing investment in infrastructure. Other aspects included greater space and freedom for customers to enjoy nature, in contrast to some of New Zealand's very busy South Island tracks.

The physical geothermal location gave *Rimu* a natural comparative advantage, or "edge", over many other tourism attractions. Other physical attributes that added value included food outlets and kapa haka, a concert party performance. "Being real" was also a significant physical attribute, for example, the decision to leave washing hanging on lines despite feedback from some clients that it looked "untidy", or locals' cars coming to, and going from, the village.

Paradoxically, *Rimu's* attention to corporate processes behind the village scene facilitated sincerity and realness. *Rimu's* effort to train staff, upgrade operational and financial systems, build professional relationships, and seek business mentoring can be described as 'structural' in that they are 'systems based', yet they added value by making the business real. In other words, there was no pretension that tourism was not what they do, which would make *Rimu* a 'staged' village pretending to hold time in suspense, but it was the very honesty of tourism, the aliveness of it that solidified the genuine experience.

For *Pōhutukawa*, the beachfront unit clearly possessed many physical attributes – an uninterrupted view of the ocean, quality facilities, privacy and quiet, along with the actual labour of catching fish, or helping out around the property, or at the marae which also added physical value.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 23: Practice 10.2.1 - Adding value**

<b>Economic</b>	<b>10.2.1.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Adding value.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Draws upon Māori principles to guide people and imbue work processes to deliver distinctly Māori value-added experiences.
<b>Contribution</b>	The “principle of enhanced value” is a traditional Māori approach towards work that can translate into a competitive edge in cultural tourism. Addresses the deficit of low-value goods and service in tourism.
<b>Key concept</b>	Value is multi-dimensional; it includes physical and non-physical aspects across spiritual, cultural, environmental and social domains.
<b>Key values</b>	Aroha (love, kindness, respect, compassion), Kaitiakitanga (stewardship of the environment), Manaaki (respect and kindness), Utu (reciprocity), Wairua (spirituality).
<b>Key links</b>	6.2.5, 7.2.4, 7.2.5, 8.2.2, 8.2.4, 8.2.5, 9.2.1, 9.2.3, 9.2.5, 10.2.2, 10.2.3.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	All (cultural community, customers, employees, industry colleagues, owners, the social community, suppliers, and the environment).

Table 23 summarises the key points made in this practice. The core of the Māori “edge” is “being Māori and living Māori” (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007a), and pakihi show that being and living Māori is demonstrably not ‘one’ way but is as multi-faceted and complex as each person’s ways of expressing their ‘Māoriness’ in the world. People in pakihi imbue value through their manifest skills (for example, story-telling, guitar-playing, music, art, cultural mastery, or culinary skills), and their active participation. There are also physical dimensions of ‘added value’: the unique ecosystems of each locations; small groups; physical activity and inclusions such as food. However, it is the spiritual qualities that pakihi bring to their encounters that infuse value beyond measurable skills or physical attributes. Each person brought their whakapapa, their connection to ancestors and gods, their willingness to create heartfelt connection through their caring, respect, warmth, and humour, and their spirituality.

Using the framework of people, product, and process (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007a) to deepen understanding of enhanced value (Patterson, 1992), pakihi bring these elements together in praxis with values such as aroha (love, kindness, respect, compassion), kaitiakitanga (stewardship of the environment), manaaki (respect and kindness), utu (reciprocity), and wairua (spirituality) to create their ‘comparative advantage’. Terms such as “people, product, and processes” however fail to adequately capture the enriching, spiritual, and priceless contributions that ‘add value’ and are beyond a rationalistic account as to why a Māori cultural experience might have a ‘comparative advantage’. In bringing Māori values and custom to their tourism experiences, pakihi show that ancient precepts can sustain current economic approaches and, in doing so, provide opportunities for authentic connection to others and place.

#### *10.2.2. Forging enduring supply chain partnerships*

Prior studies show that Māori tourism businesses face a number of challenges in developing enduring supply-chain relationships including: a lack of integration throughout the wholesale and retail distribution channels (Tourism Strategy Group, 2007, p. 27). Supplier perspectives of Māori cultural tourism canvassed in a major study by The Stafford Group et al., (2000) shows that suppliers hold perceptions of poor offshore promotion, a lack of product awareness, and a passive rather than proactive approach to promotion. The suppliers also have concerns regarding the professionalism, range, vibrancy, reliability, depth, and ‘authenticity’ of Māori tourism offerings. There is also a perception that demand for Māori tourism is low (pp. 35-40). Whilst the Stafford study is now old, a similar scaled study has not been subsequently conducted to determine whether institutional responses to rectify the issues raised have been remedied. Although it can be assumed that some improvement has occurred, a recent report by Deloitte (2009) suggests that significant issues remain. Capitalising on their “Māori edge” and building closer relationships with supply chain partners can better position pakihi to succeed in creating economically viable and enduring vertical distribution channels.



There has been a shift toward greater Māori participation in the service sector; a trend Te Puni Kōkiri (2007a) says is in line with other modern economies. Given that the service sector is “largely about people-to-people” based transactions, they believe “this is an area where Māori would appear poised to exploit natural advantages that stem from more traditional activities and protocols” (p. 19). The preference for “trust-based” relationships appears to provide a distinct advantage for Māori companies, in contrast to the usual “arms-length and discrete” approaches that typify many commercial transactions. The relational approach taken by each pakihi, wherein they seek to create reciprocal relationships of respect and build ties of affection, attest to the Te Puni Kōkiri findings.

Whilst each pakihi adopts varying strategies to build enduring supply chain relationships, they all aim to establish shared values, particularly trust, reciprocity, reliability, loyalty, persistency, honesty, and consistency, with their partners. Taking a collaborative approach to developing the tourism experience is also a feature of effective supply chain partnerships.

#### *Partnerships with shared values*

As one of very few Māori to occupy an inbound operator industry position, *Kauri's* supply chain approach provided valuable insights. With around thirty years' experience in the industry, the owner had strived to become an inbound tour operator primarily to change how Māori were portrayed in tourism. He was also interested in how to maximise yield from tourism and, in his view, inbound operators strictly controlled yield. The only chance of increasing yield, he firmly believed, was to gain control by taking Māori tourism direct to the international marketplace. Taking control meant finding trading partners who shared his values and his ethos of small group tours, high quality content, and passion for Māori culture. These partners were typically outside the usual supply channels, because, as the owner explained: “the less the numbers, the less marketable it is through the wider distribution channels”.

Although *Kauri* had established supply chain partnerships in Europe, Dubai, China, Australia, and the USA, many of these were “mechanical” arrangements as the owner called them, where *Kauri* earned small fees on basic bookings. These relationships typically rested on reaching economies of scale with maximum efficiency and minimum transaction costs.

To increase yield, *Kauri* preferred to nurture intimate partnerships with a select handful of suppliers. One of these was a Hawaiian-based agency that was a relative newcomer to promoting Aotearoa New Zealand tour programmes. The businesses had a jointly-agreed vision that focussed on a quality approach to tourism, and to create a premium brand, as the supplier noted “[We’re] basically putting a product on the top, and that’s what we want. We want to portray and take the Māori people to the top”. The *Kauri* supplier believed a “business that is driven to increase revenue must be talking about numbers and that means what? Quantity”. He assessed his potential Aotearoa New Zealand inbound partner (*Kauri*) on a quality-based commercial philosophy, and did not want to work with someone motivated by a quantity-based approach that often characterises tourism. The supplier said he wished only to work with businesses that know “how they are positioning themselves out there” and “that will really determine how we can help them”:

... what we’re delivering here is a quality product. We’re not looking whatsoever on a quantity basis because I believe that in order to prevail with the project that we have, the personal touch, the personal care that we’re giving to the people, it really touches them when they go back.

*Kauri* and their supply chain partner felt that “cultural” was too limiting a word for what they offered and reduced their market to a small percentage of what was potentially possible by appealing only to “people who are already culture-oriented”. Therefore, the two businesses sought to offer a broad “food and wine” experience that incorporated the Māori experience “so you sort of capture two types of audiences”. Shared values of trust, honesty, and aligned goals were identified as significant in interviews with both the supplier and *Kauri*.

### *Proactive, optimistic and persistent engagement*

Establishing supply chain relationships had proven difficult for *Rimu*. In fact, said the CEO, “the biggest challenge has been getting my foot through the door, getting that first meeting”. Despite the challenges, they undertook to be proactive and persistent against impediments. For example, when on a sales mission they were told by one New Zealand inbound tour operator that “we are really busy you have only 15 minutes”, the CEO saw this as an opportunity to make an impression and they “socked it to them, gave it to them, at the end of it they were laughing. They were having a good time and at the end of it we made bookings”.

Proactive engagement also meant overcoming other barriers such as the *Rimu* CEO’s observation that “the industry has been tied up for some time by the big boys”. The CEO could understand that “when they have a relationship with an inbounder they are not interested in looking anywhere else because of that relationship”. The CEO took an optimistic stance and did not consider that bidding for business that was already locked into another relationship was “a negative barrier at all. I just see that as a barrier that I need to find my way through”. Even when an inbound tour operator dismissed the idea of selling the business’s programmes, the CEO said this was simply because “they haven’t had the opportunity to experience us. And once we can get them here we walk together”. Being proactive, optimistic, and persistent was helpful in overcoming barriers to enduring supply chain relationships at *Rimu*.

### *Collaboration as a supply chain strategy*

*Pōhutukawa* felt the best strategy for them was to link in with other Māori tourism operations that were seeking to increase their supply chain reach. They had recently joined an entrepreneurial effort developed by Māori tourism operators to enter a collaborative venture to market their businesses offshore. The collaborative venture was showing “worrying signs” and after several years of paying fees, with no tangible results, the business began to seriously question their involvement. The business believed “the

principle and the concept [were] really good”, yet, there seemed to be a systemic failure in that personal agendas of some members appeared to have priority over a clearly defined group purpose. *Pōhutukawa* also felt that having a tikanga framework was essential for Māori collaborations of this nature, and this had been lacking in the group’s processes. *Pōhutukawa*’s owner believed that for Māori tourism collaborations to succeed, there were necessary elements required such as the need for trust, aligned goals, paramountcy of the group kaupapa, purpose, over personal kaupapa, and commitment to Māori processes, and these elements had been missing in the alliance.

To date, only the owner of *Miro* had been on offshore sales visits, and Māori employees had attended local trade events. The owner acknowledged that “the wholesalers do expect to see Māori and it’s good for the people I am working with to see how the distribution chain works”. Small profit margins meant that the business was unable to finance the extra cost of taking Māori employees on offshore visits.

Collaborations with other local business networks gave *Rimu* “an opportunity for further exposure in different ways” and collaboration was an important aspect of their strategy to supplement their existing vertical supply chain relationships. As the CEO explained, “it’s too risky to be just comfortable with dealing with one distribution chain”. By offering a combined tourism experience with other regional operators, *Rimu* hoped to attract new business from diverse sources.

All case companies to varying degrees had established relationships with institutional actors such as Tourism New Zealand, New Zealand Trade and Enterprise, the Ministry of Economic Development, and Regional Tourism Offices – and collaboration with these agents forms part of an effective supply chain strategy.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 24: Practice 10.2.2 - Forging enduring supply chain partnerships**

<b>Economic</b>	<b>10.2.2.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Forging enduring supply chain partnerships.</i>
<b>Description</b>	A proactive, optimistic, persistent approach combined with interpersonal skills develops enduring supply chain partnerships. Mutually agreed understanding and delivery of a clear kaupapa (plan) is crucial.
<b>Contribution</b>	Capitalising on natural relationship-building disposition builds greater trust and more loyal supply chain partnerships. Addresses supply chain challenges identified as impediments to Māori cultural tourism success; develops viable distribution systems.
<b>Key concept</b>	Advocates warm, interpersonal approaches that adopt a co-creative outlook combined with proactive professionalism.
<b>Key values</b>	Shared values: Trust, Loyalty, Consistency, Persistence, Proactive, Optimism, Aligned goals.
<b>Key links</b>	10.2.3 Creating network value, 10.2.4 Training for the future.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Suppliers.

Table 24 summarises the key points made in this practice. Pakihi employ differing approaches to supply chain relationships. Strategies range from seeking to work within traditional distribution channels, working outside these channels to identify willing suppliers new to Aotearoa New Zealand as a tourism destination, and linking up with other Māori businesses to take a joint message offshore. Challenges are also varied and range from difficulties in breaking into what is perceived as a closed network, soliciting business from suppliers who have existing contracts in place, absorbing low-yield businesses when working with suppliers establishing a new destination, the cost of offshore travel, the long-term timeframes required to develop distribution channels, and the breakdown in intra-industry collaborations. Having Māori guides included on sales trips abroad can provide an “edge” and enable offshore suppliers to meet Māori and understand the cultural nature of tours, along with building better community understanding of what is involved in tourism.

Pakihi seek to add value to supply relationships through the praxis of shared values with supply chain partners. Notable shared values are trust, reciprocity, reliability, loyalty, persistency, honesty, and consistency. In addition, the ‘outlook’ of the business influences supplier arrangements through qualities such as optimism, being proactive, and adopting a long-term stance. Finally, having aligned goals with supply chain partners and a co-creative product development process (as opposed to the supplier prescribing

product) are identified as key attributes for building sustainable supply chain relationships. Authentic and sustainable well-being in this practice can unfold within enduring partnerships built upon reciprocal relationships of respect that exist beyond the sole bond of contractual ties.

### *10.2.3. Creating network value*

This practice explores networks that come together to offer enhanced value to the market, and production efficiencies. Pakihi form alliances, both intra-industry and across industries, in order to maximise talent, marketing, and product innovation along with technology opportunities. These alliances can assist with increasing the pakihi value proposition in the market, and contribute to the economic sustainability of the business by sharing resources.

Creating networks also aligns with the suggestion made by the Tourism Strategy Group (2007) for businesses to cluster together and thus “allow economies of scale and more efficient use of resources” (p. 31). Creating networks concurs with the suggestion made by Te Puni Kōkiri (2007b) to leverage potential for developing “economies of scope, which can arise from an extended product offering” (p. 19). In creating successful networks, pakihi are better positioned to meet the challenge highlighted by Durie (2003) wherein “fragmentation of effort remains a significant challenge to Māori development” (p. 245). He has sounded a warning of “urgency” for Māori to establish positive relationships with each other “so that energies can be focussed on mutually beneficial pathways and the collective strength can be used to plan confidently for the years ahead” (p. 103). By tapping into the collective resource of their networks, pakihi can access both scale and scope in ways that might be difficult to accomplish individually.

The case narratives reveal that the quality of network relationships is crucial to network success, and this quality arises through a commitment to understanding each member’s business, strengthening and caring for each other, having a kaupapa (plan) greater than simply ‘doing business’. Relationship building with Regional Tourism Organisations,

Māori Regional Tourism Organisations, Tourism New Zealand, and the Ministry of Tourism was also an important feature of organisational life, to varying degrees, in each case company.

*Being a whole delivery system*

*Kauri* fostered a large and diverse domestic network spanning a variety of industries that would come together by kaupapa. This network included story-tellers, artists, caterers, winemakers, historians, weavers, carvers, accommodation owners, and entertainers. Persuading networked businesses and individuals to be committed to a shared vision, values, and strategy enabled *Kauri* to present a stronger proposition to the market place:

We are building a network of people. Being able to organise that is difficult unless you have put the network in place, that the relationship is in place and they trust you. We have been building on that for some years now and have a considerable network in the North Island.

As noted previously, after each major event the network would meet to debrief and share observations on what could be improved. These debrief meetings provided opportunities for *Kauri* to obtain feedback and to galvanise the group around a collective vision. The owner explained that understanding the collective vision and clarifying process was crucial so there would be congruency between the services provided by each individual network member, ensuring the customer experienced the many businesses as if it were one business:

They'll have to take an interest in each other's operation and develop congruency between handling the baton and passing it along ...

The network was a key selling point that *Kauri* emphasised in sales conversations with potential suppliers and, in turn, access to the network via *Kauri* offered a competitive edge for suppliers. One of *Kauri's* suppliers recognised that his own business's success rested on strengthening the Māori network, which, in turn, strengthened his own value

proposition in the offshore market: “the bigger picture is the whole idea of Māori tourism and down the track that will benefit me doing stuff on my own individually”:

[the owner] has done a superb job of what he believes in and for him to network what we’re trying to do here with all the other Māori suppliers and make them understand that in order to make it successful, I’ve been preaching him to tell them, that loyalty plays a big role for all of us to be successful.

By operating as a fluid entity that presented a congruent proposition to suppliers, the owner of *Kauri* explained that through this type of business model, Māori might finally be able to “claim back ownership” of cultural tourism, and no longer be a fragmented series of “clip-ons” to an experience, but be a whole delivery system in itself.

### *Collective strengths*

*Rimu* was “proactive in developing networks, [and] taking a stronger local focus” by joining initiatives that had been developed with the assistance of a long-standing non-profit association of regional Māori tourism enterprises. In working with other Māori enterprises in the association the CEO believed they were “ahead in the game” partly due to the effective relationship the association had with the local regional tourism organisation to work together in marketing initiatives. The CEO found being a member of the association beneficial in terms of access to talent and skills that translated into cost savings:

We all have different strengths and weaknesses and what I’ve found with this collective is that we tend to be able to use the strengths of everyone to forward that package. There are obviously people there with really great marketing abilities, there are people there with different contacts for website design and there are people with access to print off our brochures ... there’s just a whole range of different skills ... so we are able to access those people at good costs to us.

*Pōhutukawa*’s attempts to extend their supply chain through a strategy of networking with other Māori organisations did not deliver beneficial results (see practice 10.2.2.), the



business nevertheless believed maintaining a network was crucial. A key criterion was trust, to work with “key people that feel trusted and can be trusted. Or trust us. And the network is not necessarily just passing on business, it’s about strengthening each other ... it’s an internal strengthening”. Strengthening regional tourism operators was identified as a contribution *Pōhutukawa* could offer in helping develop a successful tourism proposition. Success, in the owners’ view, depended upon each operator’s willingness to co-operate with each other, and to see the big picture: that customers and suppliers were usually looking at regions, not individual attractions.

To maximise opportunities for the region, *Pōhutukawa* believed tourism operators would need to know each other’s businesses so they could refer business throughout the network and fully leverage each customer to the region. *Pōhutukawa* was proactive in bringing the regional operators together. For example, they had recently secured funding towards upgrading their tourism operation, however, they decided to channel the money towards a regional gathering: “I said to the [funders] that I might want to use it for the network, not for the intent that it came to us for. So that was ok”. The purpose of the wānanga, the learning gathering, was “to hear about each other’s operations so we can work more successfully together”. The business felt the way to build solidarity between the tourism operators was not *because* of tourism, but *through* tourism:

... it was nothing to do with tourism; it was the need to get where our people needed to shift to and tourism was just a vehicle. I saw a bigger picture developing, and the tensions and the frictions that needed to shift out.

The kaupapa, plan, was one of upliftment, said the owner of *Pōhutukawa*, to encourage the tourism operators to move forward positively. The event attracted an internationally-acclaimed Māori performer, as well as the Minister for Tourism, academics, and individuals who had made outstanding contributions to the community, and there was a strong turn-out of tourism operators from across the region.

Like the other three businesses, *Miro* was also a founding member of an intra-industry network, and the owner had dedicated significant time and energy towards helping the

organisation progress. The main objective of the network was to take a strong value proposition to the international market that centred on ‘authentic’ Māori tourism experiences.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 25: Practice 10.2.3 - Creating network value**

<b>Economic</b>	<b>10.2.3.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Creating network value.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Forms alliances inter and intra industry to increase the Māori cultural tourism value proposition to the market and achieve production efficiencies.
<b>Contribution</b>	Tapping into the collective resource of networks achieves greater economies of scale and scope than can often be achieved individually. The tradition of reciprocity in Māori economic exchanges strengthens and builds sustainable networks.
<b>Key concept</b>	The concept of a collective resource requires loyalty and commitment to a mutual kaupapa (plan) greater than a business’s personal agenda.
<b>Key values</b>	Hāpai (uplift), Paiheretia (integrated goals), Pūrotu (transparency), Rerekētanga (innovation), Utu (reciprocity), Whakapono (trust).
<b>Key links</b>	10.2.1 Adding value, 10.2.2 Forging enduring supply chain partnerships.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Suppliers

Table 25 summarises the key points made in this practice. While each pakihi adopts a different approach to developing multi-firm networks (regional, intra-industry, trans-industry) they share a commitment to such collaborations. That they each are founding members of an intra-industry network initiative shows a willingness to innovate with business models to advance their opportunities. Creating networks enables pakihi to achieve economies of scale which provides access to resources that would be more difficult to achieve independently, bringing production efficiencies. Networking also creates benefits associated with economies of scope, particularly in terms of marketing and distribution. ‘Product’ bundling enables pakihi to present a combined proposition to the market, which has the advantages of innovation and can make replication by competitors more difficult.

Achieving congruency between diverse businesses and individuals is deemed important in order that customers experience fluidity within and between experiences. Additionally, it is identified that members of networks need to take an interest in each other’s business

and to co-operate, and this has been achieved with varying success. Additionally, being relevant to the market is crucial, and means that 'product' bundles need to be flexible and adaptable to demand.

Trust is a key component of relationships that networks needed to establish. Trust is eroded where there is a lack of transparency, accountability, mutuality, and clarity of shared values, and agreement on strategic direction. Reciprocity is a key component of building trust, and some members of the intra-industry network seek measurable results and to feel that the network offers equitable value to all members. Hāpai (uplift), paiheretia (integrated goals), pūrotu (transparency), rerekētanga (innovation), utu (reciprocity), and whakapono (trust) are key values that help guide authentic and sustainable well-being in networks.

#### *10.2.4. Training for the future*

Investment in human potential can address the least developed Māori resource which, Durie says, is people (2003, p. 27). Of Māori employees in tourism, 77% have no, or school only, qualifications, compared with 69% of the total employment in tourism figures. Māori employees in tourism are also more likely to be younger, with 44% aged less than 30 years old, compared with 36% for the total (Ministry of Tourism, 2004). These statistics, which are specific to the tourism industry, concur with wider surveys conducted by the Department of Labour (2007) that identify Māori over-representation in lower skilled occupations and under-representation in higher skilled occupations, a situation that has remained relatively unchanged over the past five years.

Like many countries, Aotearoa New Zealand has an ageing population, with the number of people aged over 65 expected to double by 2050. By 2021, half the New Zealand population will be over 39.8 years of age, whereas half of Māori will be under 26.8 years of age (as cited in Keiha, 2005). By being willing to invest in and develop the skills of prospective employees now, especially youth, employers will be meeting the challenge of the future, where an increasing portion of the working population will be Māori.

Generally, according to Oram (2007), businesses tend to provide insufficient workplace training.

Only one pakihi undertakes formal business-wide training. Addressing the deficit of a skilled Māori workforce is considered so significant that this practice has been included, drawing primarily on field research from one pakihi. The other three pakihi held particular views regarding training which are documented below.

### *Empowerment and succession*

A skilled workforce was fundamental to this business's succession planning, as the CEO of *Rimu* explained:

Staff that are cared for, that are skilled, knowledgeable and empowered to move this organisation even further. That there's a succession there, that we are bringing in the younger people to learn off more experienced staff members and that with the loss of one person, be it me or whoever else that the business doesn't falter.

One interviewee shared that economic returns may take generations, in the meantime, they were committed to helping the organisation realise that economic vision, which highlighted the succession-oriented nature of commitment:

... one day it's going to be so great here that many people will see monetary returns, but at the moment they are not. We are going to have to work hard for 20 years maybe 50 years before our people will really, really prosper, so I'm not doing it for me I'm doing it for my son, maybe for my grandchildren and my great-grandchildren.

*Rimu* had been awarded a prestigious award for workplace training. They had been given the award in acknowledgement of their outstanding commitment to developing their staff on the job and enabling staff to gain formal qualifications to recognise their skills. The CEO explained that there were kaumātua, elders, crying when certificates were being presented at the graduation ceremony because "they saw all the inner growing, it was

very touching”, said the CEO. One aunty continued with learning computer skills because she “wanted to show the young ones about achievement”.

Along with the skills training programme, *Rimu* was particularly focussed on developing organisation-wide financial literacy so each cost centre could understand, and take responsibility for, their own budget. The CEO felt this was important so that not only would each centre be more cost-conscious - but deliver greater levels of competency and financial viability. One employee explained, to address the lack of financial literacy, staff members in charge of budgets were trained to read financial reports and meet set targets. Previously cost centre budgets had been subsumed under one main budget, but these had recently been split out and staff were now “very much in control of the area and what they’re spending and how they’re doing it and they will see their monthly cash flow and, historically, how they’ve been performing”.

#### *Greater efficiencies and savings*

Every aspect of *Rimu* received attention, from office systems, car lease arrangements, obtaining better deals on mobile phone accounts, to putting out tenders for painting administrative buildings, and reviewing the banking system. The management team prided themselves on bargaining for discounts and getting efficient accounting advice:

... now we are still even progressing it even more and it blows me away! I thought we couldn’t do any better or smarter. We are involved in business mentoring programs, we are doing study ... Not only that, all of [the management team] are actually able to go out and work in any other departments which I doubt you could get in many places.

The CEO of *Rimu* undertook personal coaching and training and had two outside mentors to guide business planning and accounting decision-making, and regularly attended workshops to stay abreast of industry and governance issues.

#### *Relevancy*

The owner of *Pōhutukawa* was concerned about a recent training programme that was running in the region, which helped locals develop business plans for tourism operations. The entity running the training had successfully bid for government funding as part of a regional development strategy. A key problem, in the owner's opinion, was that locals had enthusiastically developed business plans yet, from his experience, attracting tourists to the region was challenging, and the majority of tourists who did make their way there were typically backpackers on tight budgets:

I say to our people here that if you want to engage in tourism, because that's the market that everyone was promoting over the last few years, you need to back yourself up with something that's more sustainable. That you can rely on and depend on and then you can go in and out of the tourism because it fluctuates for us because we're at the end of the pool [road] ... don't put all your eggs in that basket, because that's what they tell you on courses and programmes. You really need to sustain yourself with something more permanent and secure and then measure how your project is going to go.

In terms of workplace training, *Kauri* pursued a strategy of working with independent Māori sub-contractors who had existing talent and expertise in particular areas, along with strong interpersonal skills.

*Miro* (as noted in practice 7.2.2) undertook to employ locals and train them alongside guides that are more senior. The greatest challenge the business faced was investing time and money training new guides who leave to pursue other opportunities outside the region.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 26: Practice 10.2.4 - Training for the future**

<b>Economic</b>	<b>10.2.4.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Training for the future.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Provides not only basic business skills, but also valuable skills training (such as financial literacy) for employees and kaumātua (elders). Needs to be relevant to the opportunity and context.
<b>Contribution</b>	Addresses deficit of a skilled Māori workforce, propagates confident, able people who are more resilient to economic downturn. Investing in the immediate and future capacities of people contributes to Māori economic sustainability.
<b>Key concept</b>	Succession planning for Māori futures.
<b>Key values</b>	Hāpai (uplift), Mana tangata (human authority), Mana tatai (authority from genealogy), Hāngai (relevant), Whakarite (respect).
<b>Key links</b>	6.2.1 Contributing to a greater whole, 7.2.3 Developing cultural mastery.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Community, Employees, Owners.

Table 26 summarises the key points made in this practice. This practice largely focusses on one pakihi who is the only business in the study with a significantly sized workforce. The pakihi introduced workplace training to increase the skills of staff at all levels including kaumātua elders, employees and management. Training is a key aspect of succession planning in the life of the pakihi and contributes to sustainability by building the immediate and future capacities of the business and the community. The narrative shows that training can facilitate self-respect and dignity in Māori employees, uplift employee confidence, and enhance economic sustainability by developing corporate competitive advantage through talented people. In doing so, the pakihi is actively contributing towards uplifting the Māori skills base and propagating confident, able people more resilient to economic downturns. Another pakihi reveals the importance of relevancy, and highlights the importance of training programmes that meets actual, not aspirational needs.

In general, pakihi are informed by values such as hāpai (upliftment), mana tangata (human authority), mana tatai (authority from genealogy), hāngai (relevant), and whakarite (respect), which, when engaged in praxis within the workplace, industry or in regional contexts, can assist the long-term sustainability of not only organisations, but Māori economic well-being in general.

#### *10.2.5. Processing profit into purpose*

Māori companies are often depicted as sharing the same goals and objectives as any conventional business - to create profitable, economically sustainable enterprises (NZIER, 2003; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007b). However many Māori companies differ from the business norm by viewing profit and economic well-being as a means to fulfil goals that serve broader well-being, including spiritual, social, cultural, and environmental well-being (Bargh, 2007; Durie, 2003; Foley, 2008; Henry, 2007; Loomis, 2000; Marsden, 2003; NZIER, 2003; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006, 2007b; Zapalska, Dabb, & Perry, 2003). Thus purpose is redefined as creating well-being across the five dimensions. Profit is a necessary but not sufficient dimension of business success.

Profit is one amongst a number of strategies employed to create multi-dimensional well-being and Marsden (2003) captures this ethos:

Insofar as money is good, it is good as a means *to* [emphasis added] an end. But the possessing of money and the power of money is not in itself good. (pp. 116-117)

Profit in Marsden's view is not isolated as a means without an end; profit is a means *to* an end. As a means to an end rather than an end in itself profit needs to be processed into purpose. A sole focus on profit maximisation would fail to provide an inspiring purpose for the pakihi and its stakeholders to commit to and would not meet the aspiration to create authentic and sustainable well-being across the five dimensions.

Relationships, as the preceding practices demonstrate, are important and contribute to the economic well-being of the pakihi. Sometimes however the pakihi needs to reconcile a tension between belonging in and building relationships versus short-term profit maximisation. As noted in previous practices the pakihi may forgo short-term 'wealth-maximisation' in order to ensure well-being although such decisions can often be expected to yield long-term sustainable well-being across the economic and other dimensions. This approach reduces the tendency for wealth and well-being to be viewed



as necessarily involving trade-offs. Bargh (2007) highlights a tension of corporate structures that the pakihi resist:

Relationships and genealogy remain of utmost importance for many tribal member interactions, while corporate structures tend on the whole to create instrumental relations among individuals for monetary dividends, rather than mutual responsibilities to other related human beings. (p. 41)

The previous practices show how the businesses in this study consider the needs of multiple stakeholders. The suggestion here is that the organisation is not the profit it makes, rather the organisation is the well-being it produces which is a 'becoming' process; profit is a part of the process through which the organisation becomes a producer of well-being.

#### *Seeing a need*

Although profit was not an end in itself, profit was nevertheless an important imperative as the owner of *Miro* stressed:

... profit is not a dirty word. I need profit to expand the business and to maximise opportunities.

Maximising opportunities included "putting the place on the map" and, doing so, *Miro* believed would fulfil the owner's vision to "make a difference" to the lives of the people and help lift them out of the unemployment trap. He emphasised that sheer persistence had helped him survive the many challenges over the approximately 20 years since the business was established in response to a call to develop eco-tourism to replace the timber industry, which was once the employment lifeline for the region. Given the continuous challenges the business had faced, said the owner, his friends, family, and colleagues often commented, "You'd be a hell of a lot better off if you don't do it, so why bother?" The owner of *Miro* said he usually replied with, "I do it because I have a vision and I see a need for it".

### *Distributing benefit*

The owner of *Kauri* had a philosophy that “what goes around comes around”, and profit was an instrument to help his vision materialise, not at some end point in time, but on an ongoing basis. For example, wherever possible he aimed to operate on a profit-sharing basis with his key subcontractors and viewed them as equity holders in opportunities:

People say profit-sharing doesn't work. Well ... I'm profit sharing all the time.

By making key subcontractors equity holders in opportunities, they were more likely to be motivated to work on an opportunity-by-opportunity basis:

... so when I call them up and say “listen, can you make time on this day” they will say “yes”, as the company cannot offer full-time work. Members of the core team can earn upwards of one thousand dollars per day (pre-tax) ... they don't have to go out and do anything to get the business, you know? They just have to turn up on the day and deliver their particular skills.

As *Kauri* was frequently working offshore, this “top-talent” were called upon to travel and the owner sometimes arranged for spouses and family to accompany members of the core team as part of the remuneration package.

### *Self determination*

Maaka and Fleras (2000) highlight that self-determination includes “Māori control over Māori things within a Māori value system” and facets of self-determination in this subsection include a sense of autonomy, responsibility, and direction determined by Māori for their own prosperity. The ultimate vision, said the owner of *Kauri*, was that Māori would be successful in tourism, be in control, be at “the top”, and whilst the owner stressed he wanted the business to be more profitable, profitability was not the end goal. In the early 1970s, before entering tourism, the owner had been astounded to find that

Māori were still being promoted offshore, photographed in grass skirts, alongside a government-owned hotel, with a mountain scene as a backdrop. These images continued to appear through the 1980s. The owner of *Kauri* recalled standing there with other Māori trying to associate with the image, but it did not make any sense to him. He wondered if people who had not been to Aotearoa New Zealand thought that Māori lived like that. He said it was one of the things that motivated him to join tourism. He soon realised that to effect any real change and have control over such images, he had to be high up the supply chain and become an inbound tour operator. To do this required a shift in the minds of “key people within the industry, the marketers within the industry” to promote the country alongside Māori. He felt Māori needed to “claim back ownership of ... story-telling, place names, kaitiaki” so that these become “part of what we have to offer the industry”. To achieve this vision the industry had to collaborate with Māori, but, he said, “There’s no collaboration at the moment, [key industry players] just simply say it’s ‘our way or the highway’”.

*Rimu* provided an example of self-determination, whereby they enacted “Māori control over Māori things within a Māori value system” by developing tourism based on the value of manaakitanga that extends through the generations, and from that Māori value base emerged economic well-being, as the CEO explained:

To maintain the mana of the people. There is such a history in tourism here that, not just a history, but a legacy of Manaakitanga and I see our role as definitely building on that legacy. With that in place then the other areas come into line of self-determination of providing an economic base – always for the people.

Another dimension of self-determination at *Rimu*, as the CEO explained, was to create skilled staff, and processes, that promote inter-generational longevity. and ensures that the terms of the company’s engagement in the tourism economy is modeled upon their own cultural precepts of what constitutes success. From the CEO of *Rimu* perspective running an efficient organisation and uplifting the skills of employees was a focus:

I see it's not just about the money. I see that that is hugely important but the level of profit is not. If we continue to improve our processes... [and] we continue to improve the skills of everyone here that is more important than the level of profit.

In *Pōhutukawa*, profit was neither an end nor a means profit was a by-product. The business was not governed by material values (money) but by cultural integrity and self-determination, and the following quote illustrated the relationship between money, process, and values:

It's about maintaining the principles first. If the principles are applied and the respect comes with the principle and there is money attached to it then we are happy to receive it. Because it feels good about taking the money ...

Processes endowed money with a particular life-force – as one of the owners of *Pōhutukawa* said “if it has a connotation of negativeness or a bad taste then I am not prepared to take the money ... money is like food for you – you need to feel good about what you are receiving or eating” and for the other owner:

Everything is energy ... whether it's food, whether it's you, or me, or horses, or cars ... it's all energy. So to me ... if I refuse money that's coming through the gate it's because what I am really saying is ... “I really don't give a hoot if I don't get any money today, because I know we are good people and it will come to us” ... it doesn't really matter because you just do without, but in doing without ... you also have gained something ... those moments of sanity ... those moments of peace ... my home is mine today.

In keeping with attention to values-based processes, *Pōhutukawa* ensured that when they do welcome visitors, the correct tikanga are followed, and commercial aspects, including payment, are subordinated to values:

I make the reference of manuhiri, the visitor, and it's the same treatment whether it's Māori, Pākehā, or it's international visitors – they are all manuhiri. And that is the cup of tea, the kai, the mihimihi (greeting) before the business or the cheque-book.

For *Pōhutukawa*, values were both a means and an end to well-being, and profit was just one aspect of multi-dimensional well-being.

To summarise this practice:

**Table 27: Practice 10.2.5 - Processing profit into purpose**

<b>Economic</b>	<b>10.2.5.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Processing profit into purpose.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Focuses on profit as means for fulfilling multi-dimensional well-being.
<b>Contribution</b>	Emphasises the importance of profit as a key mechanism through which the business can produce multi-dimensional well-being. Practicing Māori values shows how profit is an enabler of purpose.
<b>Key concept</b>	The business is not solely the profit it makes but the multi-dimensional well-being it produces. Money is “energy”: positive energy produces well-being, negative energy does not.
<b>Key values</b>	All.
<b>Key links</b>	All.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Owners.

Table 27 summarises the key points made in this practice. Each pakihi views profit as a means to an end, although how they approach this differs according to the purpose that guides each pakihi’s vision and the processes they employ to fulfil their purpose. Purpose, in the context of the businesses in this study, does not exist at some end point; the purpose is continuously coming into being in each practice.

Pakihi are concerned with producing well-being as well as profit, and see profit as a necessary component of producing well-being. To produce well-being they need to sustain an ongoing responsiveness to multiple stakeholders’ needs, be informed by values, and pay critical attention to contexts. The practices across all dimensions examined in the preceding chapters accrue to become the value-added advantage of the business, and at the same time, accrue to help the pakihi in unfolding multi-dimensional well-being. Authenticity and sustainability at the heart of this unfolding of well-being, and, simultaneously are at the heart of each pakihi’s proposition in the marketplace.

### 10.3. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have revealed how pakihi adopt an approach of adding value by fusing together an intrinsic Māori economic outlook based on reciprocal relationships of respect with the wider, Western-influenced conventions of operating in a competitive global marketplace. The case narratives highlight that adding value to customer relationships is achieved through combining people, product, and processes. People in pakihi apply the gifts of their unique skills and talent, coupled with qualities such as willingness, caring, warmth, humour, their spirituality, to help enhance and deepen the tourism experience. Additionally, the tourism experience has value added to it through physical dimensions such as location, group size, and activities. Processes are the result of the application of Māori values in context, where praxis creates reciprocal relationships of respect.

Pakihi add value to supplier relationships by deepening connections through shared values, aligning goals, and adopting a long-term outlook. Measurable results are important, as is the qualitative nature of relationships. Adding value through intra- and inter-industry networking is also a major strategy of the pakihi. Through networking, the businesses achieve both economies of scale (primarily production efficiencies) and economies of scope (marketing and distribution benefits). For networks to be successful, the pakihi informants suggest that members of networks need to take an interest in each other's business, agree on strategic direction, adopt a long-term outlook, be transparent, and measure results.

Pakihi look to the long-term future of the community by offering training opportunities. In one business workplace, training built commercial capacity gave benefit to employees by giving them valuable skills that increased their employability and labour market resilience. The importance of relevancy is also highlighted, in that training programmes need to be responsive to context and opportunity.

Overall, Māori values are shown to be indispensable to adding value as practicing values across all dimensions in this study guide people, govern processes, and imbue tourism

experiences with distinctly Māori approaches. Through practicing Māori values the organisations received their Māori “edge” (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007b).

Profit is not an end-point but part of the process of creating spiritual, cultural, social, environmental, and economic well-being. According to the examples in the narratives, pakihi do not subscribe to a view that profit alone produces authentic and sustainable well-being.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN: EVALUATING THE FIVE WELL-BEINGS IN THE WIDER LITERATURE

Māori culture is a culture of relationships (Porter, 2009) and is reflected in the Well-beings approach that emerged from studying and analysing pakihi in cultural tourism. From a philosophical standpoint the pakihi approach reflects a deep appreciation of a relational world wherein each member of creation is in a process of authentic becoming, of tupu: that is, each aspect of creation is in the process of unfolding their true nature. In the context of business, the pakihi in this study take a developmental approach, and are in the process of unfolding their purpose, in other words, they unfold multi-dimensional well-being to create common wealth in terms of its original meaning from the old English word “welth”, meaning “to be well” (Zohar & Marshall, 2004, p. 2).

As the empirical chapters have illustrated authenticity and sustainability are aspects of mauri ora, and mauri ora in this study is described as meaning the creation of well-being through consciously unfolding the potential that exists in situations and relationships across many dimensions. The central tenet of the pakihi approach that emerges from this study is that authentic and sustainable well-being can be created in reciprocal relationships of respect, informed by Māori values, and applied in praxis that transforms tourism contexts into sites of well-being.

In this chapter I locate a Well-beings approach to creating authentic and sustainable well-being through tourism activities in the wider literature, bringing an ethic of care framework together with a stakeholder model of sustainable business, and aspects of Heidegger (1962, 1971), notably being-in-the-world (*Dasein*) and care (*Sorge*). The stakeholder model proposed focusses on the intrinsic worth of stakeholders associated with the normative stakeholder view, and as distinct from instrumental, and descriptive stakeholder conceptualisation of firms.



The first four sections of this chapter locate the Well-beings in a progressive exploration of Heidegger, an ethic of care, and stakeholder theorising. In particular I examine the importance of spirituality in a Well-beings approach, the values that give rise to an ethic of care and respect, and an intrinsic stakeholder model of business that conceives of business in a web of respectful relations. The exploration then moves to section five which examines what a new tourism worldview might be if it were based upon the precepts of a relational outlook in business that consciously seeks to create multi-dimensional well-being: *mauri ora*. The second part of this chapter provides a ‘business case’ for a Well-beings approach.

I would like to pause at this point to consider the meaning of using Heidegger to illuminate aspects of a Māori view. Whilst laying no claim himself as a philosopher, Heidegger is regarded by others as not only a philosopher but “the most eminent philosopher or critic of metaphysics since Immanuel Kant” and is associated with figures such as Plato, Aristotle, Descartes, Leibniz, and Hegel (Steiner, 1978, pp. 11-12). Heidegger’s philosophy can further illuminate Māori philosophy, which in this chapter largely focusses on important Māori concepts as *mana*, meaning power and authority, and *tapu*, broadly meaning sacred, which form a philosophy of respect (Henare, 2001, 2003). Using Heidegger helps illustrate how Māori philosophy is an eminently complex philosophy that has applicability for understanding the general human condition.

Another appealing aspect of Heidegger, in addition to his philosophy that shares a depth and complexity found in Māori philosophy, is that he is hard to ‘categorise’ in terms of ‘position’. Avoiding categorising tendencies clears a space in this work for exploring a Māori outlook without being forced into a category of position. For Reisinger and Steiner (2006) Heidegger “manages to be a modernist, realist, objectivist, constructivist and postmodernist, all at the same time, while also rejecting objectivism, constructivism, and post-modernism.” (p. 77). According to Huntington (2001), some feminist scholars avoid Heidegger on the grounds that his thinking is “suprapolitical, seemingly esoteric, and nonempirical” yet, she argues, Heidegger’s thought refuses to be instrumentalised for any particular, fundamentalist “ends” and, because of this, Heidegger generates “greater

interest ... among female scholars than many realize” (p. 2). For many, then, Heidegger remains beyond race, gender, politics, ideology, or philosophical ‘positioning’.

Heidegger is not uncontroversial, notably for his unclear stance on Nazism. Young (1997) is certain that Heidegger’s *völkisch* thought is neither racist nor anti-Semitic. Steiner (1978) after much detailed examination of Heidegger’s works also emphatically states that allegations of anti-Semitism are false and, indeed, notes that Heidegger has a prominent Jewish following (p. 121). Fleischacker (2008) has examined how prominent Jewish students, such as Hannah Arendt, Leo Strauss, Hans Jonas, and Emmanuel Levinas, were drawn to affinities between Heidegger’s view and the Jewish interpretive tradition.

Henare (2003) highlights the philosophical and methodological kinship of a Māori philosophy of humanism and cosmos with Heidegger’s philosophy, particularly “the dynamic between the philosophy of tapu, which is being with potentiality for mana, and *dasein*, rendered as being-in-the-world” (p. 202). It is with these sentiments that Heidegger is drawn into the explorations in this chapter, which are exploratory in nature and intent.

### 11.1 Spirituality in a Well-beings approach



**Figure 15: The Well-beings map showing Io**

In Te Ao Māori, the Māori worldview, the spiritual precedes the material (Marsden, 2003) and, as shown in Figure 15, is the beginning point of a Well-beings approach. As Henare (personal communication, October, 2009) explains, whilst it is true that the material comes from the spiritual, this is not to suggest a lineal conceptualisation. To return to the koru, the spiral, that forms part of the Well-beings map (see Figure 16 below), illustrates how, in a Māori view, the world can be understood through qualities

such as dynamic, cyclical, unfolding, and relational. In other words, the spiral is always spinning, and everything goes around. The explorations in previous chapters illustrate the respect and care held by Māori cultural tourism businesses, hereinafter called *pakihi*, for the spiritual dimensions of life which permeate their activities.

Heidegger's concept of *Dasein* is a useful entry point to explore the notion that to create well-being from a Māori perspective, the spiritual domain is fundamental and illuminates the way. *Dasein* emerges into a relational world, which in Heidegger's perspective is cultured and historicised. A Māori conceptualisation expands these relationships, and it would be more appropriate to say, building on the discussions of previous chapters that *Dasein* emerges into a world which is not only cultured and historicised, but also, spiritualised, ecologised, socialised, and genealogical.

For Heidegger then, *Dasein* is “thrown” into the world as site that is a coalescence of cultural and historical meanings, which projects into the future. The concept of “throwness” is a cyclic view that Henare (2003) has established aligns with Māori ways of understanding and interpreting the past, present, and the future. His comprehensive analysis of the theoretical kinship between Heidegger's philosophical position and that of Māori links the axiom, ‘i ngā wā o mua’, meaning the past is in front, with Heidegger's ways of understanding and interpreting the past, present, and the future.

Heidegger's conceptualisation of how *Dasein* projects itself into the future, is explained here by Steiner and Reisinger (2006) who provide a succinct explanation of “throwness”, which highlights the inter-relatedness and the temporal perspective of being, that beings are thrown into a world that was there before and will be there after they have gone:

People project themselves as a spotlight throws a spot that illuminates whatever is within it. The human light (Dasein) is always ahead of itself, in its “future”, so that what is illuminated is its possibilities. What Dasein throws its light upon in projecting itself forward is that historical network of things and relations that “come to light” as human possibilities for doing, making, being, thinking, and the like. So Dasein as an openness that projects itself upon its heritage is a site (a there) where past (heritage), present (openness) and future (possibilities) coexist and bring together the here (world) and the there (Dasein) as experience of what is given. (p. 305)

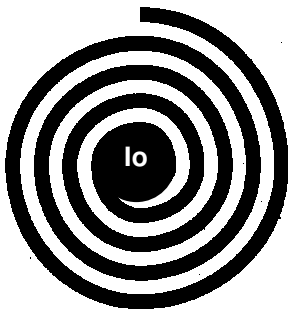
The Māori concept of mana develops the understanding of the relational world in which a *Dasein* is “thrown”. Shirres (1997) says that “we can be nothing, we can do nothing, without *mana*” (p. 18) and Henare (2001) agrees that mana is “humanity’s greatest possession” (p. 208). Mead (2003) explains, “every individual Māori is born with an increment of mana” (p. 51). Mana reflects a philosophy of tapu, a philosophy of respect (Henare, 2001, 2003; Patterson, 1992) to respect others, the environment, ancestors, and the spiritual domain. How humans respect these domains is reflected in the well-being of the world and mana is thus closely tied to concepts of sustainability (Morgan, 2008, p. 47). Mana is a divinely endowed power, and as such, is a spiritual power.

Humans emerge into the world with divinely endowed mana across multiple dimensions, says Porter (2009), and to develop the understanding being created here, mana can be understood as a spiritual power that illuminates the way. According to Porter (2009), a Māori infant in a mother’s womb, which he describes as *te uma atua*, the divine womb, (also known as *ahu rewā*, the sanctuary of harmony) is imbued with manifold mana, that is, authority drawn from various sources; *mana tangata* which is human authority; *mana toto*, meaning authority from blood kin; *mana tatai* described as authority from genealogy; *mana tūpuna*, which is ancestral sovereignty; *mana whenua*, meaning authority drawn from ecosystems; and *mana atua*, meaning divinity. This manifold mana, Porter explains, is divinely endowed.

Being a Māori child of manifold mana requires that child to live, and grow, in respectful recognition of their own mana and the mana in the world around them. In a manifold

mana view, empathetic relationships are not limited to a parental figure alone but include spiritual, ancestral, environmental, as well as human emotional attachments.<sup>10</sup> These are reciprocal relationships of respect that appreciate personal well-being is intimately linked to the well-being of others.

### 11.2 Valuing an ethic of care



**Figure 16: The Well-beings map showing Io and the koru of values**

The second aspect of a Well-beings approach that emerged from the field analysis is the Māori values system, shown in Figure 16. As the experience of the pakihi in the field indicate, they do not draw upon any prescribed list of values, but access the full corpus of value systems developed by Māori over the aeons in relationship to the world around them. Pakihi transform those values through praxis into mauri ora, meaning well-being that is consciously created. In applying Māori values through praxis in relation to tourism contexts, tourism contexts can be transformed into sites of well-being.

Māori values help guide the creation and maintenance of relationships and, as stated at the outset of this thesis, a Māori world is one where to ‘be’ is to ‘belong’, as opposed to the Cartesian maxim of “I think therefore I am.” The many relationships described in the preceding chapters reveal these ‘belonging’ qualities in a pakihi approach to creating authentic and sustainable well-being in their business activities within the field of cultural tourism.

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<sup>10</sup> There are other mana such as mana wahine and mana tane (see Metge, 1995) that are not examined here.

Many Māori values place particular emphasis on respect and care. Values such as: *manaaki*, meaning to show respect or kindness; *aroha*, which is to show care, empathy, charity, and respect; *hau* which means to respect and maintain vitality; *kaitiakitanga*, which includes stewardship, guardianship, and wise use of resources; and *hāpai* meaning to uplift others, all encourage people to respect and care for others through building reciprocal relationships of respect. The edict of Carroll and Buchholtz (2008) that “one’s values ... shape one’s ethics” (p. 274) helps establish a link between Māori values that promote care and respect with Gilligan’s (1982, 1995) ethic of care which encourages respect of others.

The Māori values explored here, which uphold developing relationships of respectful care, accords with an ethic of care approach advocated by Gilligan (1982, 1995). She argues for a relational position which places a high value on the moral worth of relationships and the responsibilities that relationships entail:

A feminist ethic of care begins with connection, theorized as primary and seen as fundamental in human life. People live in connection with one another; human lives are interwoven in a myriad of subtle and not so subtle ways. (Gilligan, 1995, p. 122)

In care ethics relationships are characteristically empathetic, open to emotional considerations, and responsive to connectedness and attachments (Chanter, 2001, p. 88). Care ethics rejects the notion of abstracted, fixed, and universal principles (Gilligan, 1982, 1995; Jones, Felps, & Bigley, 2007; Simola, 2003). This outlook finds kinship with the approach taken by *pakihi* to act intimately, flexibly, and with critical consideration to local conditions, particular contexts, and the needs and concerns of others.

It needs to be established that an ethic of care does not eschew justice and fairness nor assume soft naïveté. As Ruwhiu (2009) has quite rightly pointed out, “relational logic works well with people who share its assumptions”, but when the other party assumes superiority about their modes of engagement, “one could be faced with one-way relationships and constant failures of reciprocity” (p. 61). Many Māori principles, such as

utu, broadly meaning reciprocity, contain justice orientations, however, it is beyond the scope of this chapter to bring an ethic of care together with other ethical frames. Melding an ethic of care with other ethics systems is noted in Halwani's (2003) work with regards virtue ethics and Simola's (2003) work with regards ethics of justice. As Simola highlights there is consensus amongst justice and care ethicists that "both justice and care are highly important to morality, and neither is dispensable" (p. 355). As stated, creating *mauri ora* is to be conscious, that is, to be awake to the reality of a situation: in other words, the *pakihi* sought to be well aware of the many facets of a situation in terms of care and respect, and with regard also to justice and fairness.

The narratives of the *pakihi* provide numerous examples where the businesses make critical decisions, wherein to respect and care require upholding what is *tika*, that is, what is correct. Notable examples are seen in one company which does not accept business if the incoming tourist arrives in a disrespectful manner, and where the decision to care for the well-being of the environment by setting a quota system is given priority over customers' desires for a competitive game fishing experience. The few examples given here highlight that *pakihi* are well aware that care, and the principle of reciprocity are not assumptions upon which they 'unconsciously' base their business activities. Having established, albeit briefly, that *pakihi* act consciously, and are attuned to "failures of reciprocity", how the ethic of care can, and does, apply to a *pakihi* approach shall be investigated further.

An ethic of care theory emerged from Gilligan's (1982) research of female participants who expressed concern about preserving conditions that facilitate reciprocal relationships of care and respect. Without reciprocal relationships of care, says Baier (1993), "human life becomes bleak, lonely and, after a while ... not self-affirming" (p. 31). Simola (2003) argues that an ethic of care approach includes "the struggle against indifference to people and relationships" (p. 354, cf. Gilligan, 1982). Empathy, openness, responsiveness, reciprocity, and receptiveness to the reality of others are key attributes of an ethic of care approach (Chanter, 2001; Simola, 2003). In an ethic of care, people engage with each other to generate solutions that are relevant to particular situations.

The ethic of care as advocated in feminist literature accords also with aspects of Heidegger's view of care. Guignon (2000) explains that in early Heideggerian terms "our care lets things show up as *significant* in determinate ways. If there were no care about things, then the world would recede into gray indifference, and experience of any sort would become impossible" (p. 83). This corresponds with an ethic of care, as described by above Baier (1993) that without reciprocal relationships of care the world would be bleak and lonely. According to Chanter (2001) *Dasein* emerges in the world in relationships – *Dasein* is not an isolated, lonely, bleak, and individualised existence – rather "others" are already there. She highlights that *Dasein* shares the world with others, and these others are not separate in the sense that there is an "I" and a "them" but *Dasein* is one among others (p. 89). *Dasein* then emerges into a relational world, and caring, respectful, empathetic relationships are what give existence meaning, and averts isolation, loneliness, and individualisation.

A problem arises when *Dasein* 'forgets' it emerges into a world where it is one among others - care provides that forgotten significance. Incorporating Honneth's (2008) view that reification is a forgetting to recognise, and Berger and Luckmann's (1967) similar view that reification is a form of forgetting, it can be said that 'forgetting' is to forget that *Dasein* is already among others in a web of relations. For Heidegger, as Steiner (1978) explains, "forgetting" does not "obliterate" the world: "*Dasein* only discovers itself as it grasps reality" (p. 84). In other words, even though humans might 'forget' to fully recognise the world in a caring and respectful way, perhaps through being transfixed on instrumentalising the world for profit, such forgetting does not mean the unremembered world is lost, it remains ready for recognition.

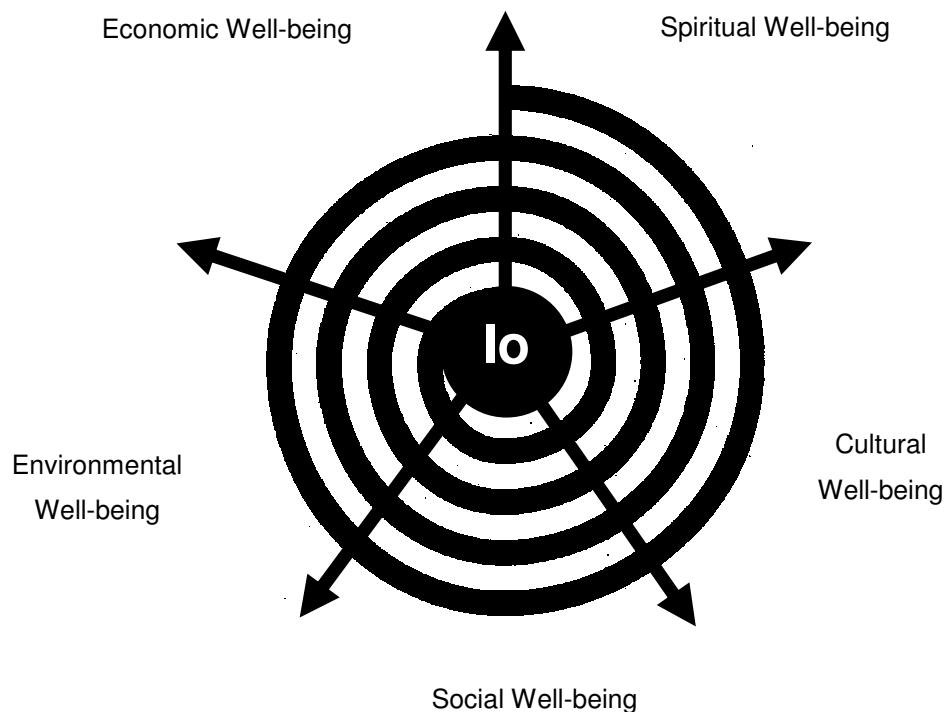
Recognition is a position of empathetic engagement, which moreover, according to Honneth (2008), "always and necessarily contains an element of involuntary openness, devotedness, or love" (, p. 45). In Heidegger, this devotedness of love is akin to *Sorge* or care, where "I care, therefore I am" and where "'care is the primordial state of being' of *Dasein* as it strives towards authenticity" (Steiner, 1978, p. 98). The kinship between an



ethic of care, Heidegger, and the manifold mana perspective described earlier gains greater clarity: creating mauri ora can be achieved through consciously recognising the world and the many relationships that comprise that world, within an ethic of care and respect for those many others.

An ethic of care outlook recognises multiple ties of attachment and affection, which militates against indifference that uses others and the environment for personal gain, the kind of indifference or uncaring that creates permissive conditions allowing reification to pervade. Reification being, in the context of this discussion, a state of forgetfulness and indifference, where the world and others are not fully recognised for who they really are, but the world and others are instrumentalised and become ‘things’ to serve personal interests, which, in a materialistic society, is usually money-oriented ambition.

### 11.3 Relational well-being in a Well-beings approach



**Figure 17: The Well-beings map showing Io, the koru of values, and the Five Well-beings**

The third stage in the Well-beings approach, as it applies in the wider literature, is to recognise spiritual, cultural, social, environmental, and economic relationships and, in synthesis with an ethic of care, ensures that multiple perspectives, or “voices” in Gilligan’s terms, are respectfully recognised, and no voice is repressed. This relational outlook accords with stakeholder theory. Carroll and Buchholtz (2008) point out that a number of commentators concur with the view that “caring theory is consistent with stakeholder theory ... in that the focus is on a more cooperative, caring type of relationship” (p. 300). Wicks, Gilbert Jr. and Freeman (1994) weld an ethic of care together with stakeholder theory, describing companies as “webs of relations among stakeholders” (p. 483).

Stakeholder theory has become well-established in organisational studies since its debut with Freeman (1984) and has continued to gain prominence (Agle et al., 2008; Donaldson & Preston, 1995; Laplume, Sonpar, & Litz, 2008; Leana & Rousseau, 2000; Post, Preston, et al., 2002; Walsh, 2005). Stakeholder theory’s application as an ethics-based approach to sustainable business has been well examined by scholars such as Dunphy (2000), Epstein (2008), Post, Lawrence, & Weber (2002), Phillips (1997) and Spiller (1999), and resonates with the ethic of care being advocated here.

A stakeholder is “an individual or a group that claims to have one or more stakes in an organization” (Carroll & Buchholtz, 2008, p. 113). A central tenet of stakeholder theory is that organisations should be managed in all constituents’ interests, not solely limited to the interests of shareholders (Laplume et al., 2008; Leana & Rousseau, 2000; Post, Preston et al., 2002; Spiller, 1999). Recent stakeholder advocates have investigated how organisational wealth is enhanced by favourable relationships with all of a firm’s stakeholders which, in turn, enhances the long-term success of a business thus strengthening its value proposition:

The stakeholder view (SHV) of the corporation holds that the capacity of a business enterprise to generate sustainable wealth, and hence long-term value, is determined by its relationships with critical stakeholders. (Post, Preston et al., 2002, p. 51)

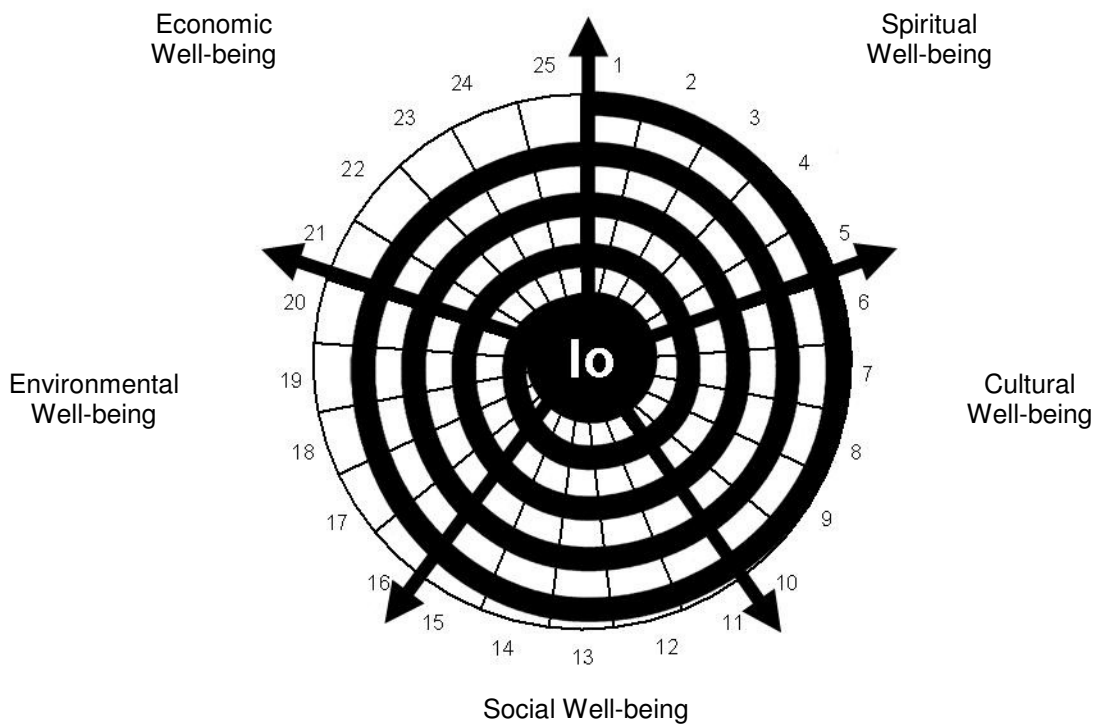
Major stakeholder relationships contribute significantly to an organisation's wealth, argue Post, Preston et al. (2002). They cite a range of stakeholders including investors, employees, customers, supply chain associates, communities, and other alliances. Indeed, they believe that organisations will not survive if they do not take cognisance of, and responsibility for, their stakeholders' welfare including the well-being of the society in which the business operates (pp. 46-47). Similarly, Leana and Rousseau (2000) advocate for a "relational wealth" conceptualisation of the modern organisation and argue that the way work is carried out in organisations is fundamentally about relationships (p. 3). There are three broadly accepted stakeholder theories: normative, descriptive, and instrumental. The theory examined in this thesis is the normative view.

A number of stakeholder theorists adopt a normative stance, notably Donaldson (2008), Freeman (2008), Leana and Rousseau (2000), Post, Preston et al. (2002) and Phillips (1997). Donaldson and Preston (1995) explain that a normative stakeholder outlook questions how a firm ought to relate to its stakeholders. According to Trompenaars and Hampden-Turner (1998), "norms reflect the values of the group" (p. 22). The normative stakeholder view of the firm, however, does not adequately capture the approach taken by the pakihi in field of cultural tourism.

Of particular interest to this study, is a principle underpinning the "Normative Revolution" identified by Donaldson (2008) wherein managers must "ascribe some *intrinsic* worth to stakeholders" (p. 175). Intrinsic worth, I propose, precedes normative considerations in that the intrinsic worth of others is antecedent to normative stipulations. Pakihi show how they first ascribe intrinsic worth to stakeholders and then draw upon normative considerations to guide practice. In an intrinsic view of stakeholder relations, normative aspects do not precede, or prescribe, intrinsic worth. Each situation and stakeholder relationship calls for solutions generated from the context, with reflexive consideration of precedents that propel the seeking of new possibilities that can satisfy needs and create well-being. After consideration of precedents and present needs, pakihi demonstrate how they then call upon relevant tikanga, customs, to facilitate process.

An intrinsic approach is concerned with enhancing what is inherent in others and fully recognises others. In summary, an intrinsic approach is to care for, respect, and substantiate the mauri, the life force, of the other.

#### 11.4 The practices of conscious well-being



**Figure 18: The Well-beings map showing Io, koru of values, the Five Well-beings, and twenty-five practices**

The fourth aspect in the Well-beings approach, shown in Figure 18 highlights the importance of practice through addressing stakeholders’ needs and concerns. The “organisation”, according to Wicks et al. (1994), is not a discrete, delimited entity with an interior and exterior, there is a “communal solidarity in which one sees the corporate identity as manifest within an entire network of stakeholders and a broader social context” (p. 483). These concepts of a web of relations, communal solidarity, and permeable organisational boundaries are manifest throughout the practices of pakihi in

relation to the spiritual, cultural, social, environmental, and economic dimensions described in the empirical chapters.

A Well-beings approach challenges the pervading belief that shareholder interests have the right to eclipse other stakeholder concerns, and dismisses the view that well-being is principally derivative of material wealth. The ethic of care focusses on relationships between self and others, paying attention to actual contexts with the purpose of connecting and ensuring all voices are heard (Gilligan, 1995; Liedtka, 2008). Pakihi, as shown in the empirical chapters, take an expanded view that businesses can be catalysts and producers of multi-dimensional well-being, and show they are acutely aware that well-being does not equate with profit alone. The following sections provide a link between the practices across five dimensions in the empirical chapters and the Heideggerian, ethic of care and respect, and stakeholder exploration at hand.

#### *11.4.1 Spiritual well-being*

As the pakihi show in the spiritual well-being chapter, they aspire to be conscious of the need to care for the life principle that permeates all of creation and binds all aspects of creation together. As such, they undertake to practice *te mauri ora katoa*, that is, in the context of this study, they aim to consciously care for the well-being of all stakeholders. Pakihi, following a spiritual sustainability path, hope to create conditions whereby mauri can flourish, illuminate the way and, in doing so, can nourish the spiritual aspects of themselves, and their stakeholders.

The praxis view promoted in this study requires a business to engage with the reality of contexts: to engage with the reality of context is to engage with ‘what is’. Reisinger and Steiner (2006) offer a Heideggerian conceptualisation of a partnership with ‘what is’ by calling for tourism businesses to engage with the possibilities of what is given: “Being open to what-is means being ready to engage with the possibilities that emerge from what is given (phenomena)” (p. 78). The Heideggerian outlook seeks to avoid “ontological control” of others and rejects the notion that humans have power to determine the essence

of others, and, if humans insist upon exerting power over others, they will degrade the authenticity of these others (p. 75), and this is, I propose, a profoundly sustainable, authentic approach towards being in business.

The conceptualisation of “ontological respect” being discussed here is illustrated by the spiritual practices in Chapter Six. The practice of knowing manuhiri (6.2.4) recognises that others have their own manifold mana, meaning they have power and authority drawn from various sources, and pakihi seek to recognise and respect the mana that others bring. Furthermore, pakihi guide transformational experiences (6.2.5) wherein they act as catalysts for others’ transformations by facilitating spaces where others can experience their own sense of authenticity through relationships with people, and the natural world. The authenticity generated through relationships with people and place contrasts with the ruptured form of authenticity discussed in Chapter Two, whereby authenticity can be attained in separation from the true reality of other people and places.

In facilitating transformative experiences, pakihi demonstrate how they aim to desist from ontological dominance of others, rather they respect that others calibrate to their own understandings of what constitutes a spiritual, connected experience. Respecting others means to allow them, as *Dasein*, to emerge according to their own “thrownness” as Carey (2000) who, drawing on Heidegger, explains:

... a deeper, more authentic human experience can be found in preserving the “truth of being” which is accomplished by letting others emerge as they are in themselves, i.e., in their ontological depth. (p. 27)

The practices reveal that authentic existence is to be part of the past and the future in the present, in what Shirres (1986) calls the “eternal present”. The practice of the eternal present (6.2.3) resonates with Heidegger, however, it is important, says Steiner (1978), that a sense of “eternal presentness” in Heidegger’s work ought not be construed as a being “out there”, an “objective viewing” that colludes with “‘reification’, ‘alienation’, ‘one-dimensionality’” (pp. 77-78). Steiner and Reisinger (2006) explain in Heideggerian terms the concept of reaching forward into the past that has been touched on above:

... people are existentially dynamic, historical, potential and momentary, all reaching forward into their pasts before them to understand how things stand for them now and what possibilities they have. (p. 306)

When people “open themselves” to the world in the way advocated by Heidegger they “illuminate it and let it show itself to them” (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006, p. 304). In Māori terms the concept of reaching forward into the past can be understood through the concept of ‘i ngā wā o mua’ - the past is in front.

The practice of contributing to the greater whole (6.2.1) seeks to improve the spiritual, human, cultural, and ecological condition through being of service to stakeholders and assisting them to experience multi-dimensional well-being. The practice of bringing forth spiritual unification (6.2.2) reveals the profound commitment by pakihi to participate in the unfolding meaning and mystery of creation, and their willingness to be open to spiritual direction. Pakihi encourage their stakeholders ‘to be’ and seek to create the conditions for stakeholders to experience their own authenticity, and from this position develop sustainable relationships that value the intrinsic worth of others, and place, which guides behaviour.

#### *11.4.2 Cultural well-being*

Pakihi show a concern for the well-being of the rules and guidelines that are interwoven and come together under a Māori epistemology of Māori philosophy and knowledge, in other words, their cultural inheritance. It is possible that the Māori in this study have high cultural competency, as they engage with Māori cultural concepts and practices on a frequent basis. Cultural well-being in this dimension refers to Māori cultural integrity as it is used to inform the business in its activities, which may include touristic encounters, facilitating cultural learning with all stakeholders including employees at work – it is any application by the business of mātauranga Māori, in Mead’s (2003) expansive use of that term.

Cultural well-being, as it is being explored here, finds kinship with the outlook of Heidegger, in which, according to Reisinger and Steiner (2006), there is deep appreciation for the people who came before, along with cultural artefacts, and places, contribute towards a “web of relations among things, people and human purposes” (p. 80). The past is “handed down to people as their heritage/destiny from people who have gone before” (Steiner & Reisinger, 2006, p. 304). Again, Heidegger’s conceptualisation of the past reaching forward to the future in the present is akin to ‘i ngā wā o mua’ - the past is in front.

Additionally, in the cultural dimension, the concept of the past reaching forward into the future in the present can be also located in the phrase ‘taonga tuku iho’, precious knowledge bequeathed by ancestors and passed down through the aeons. Tikanga and mātauranga are aspects of ‘taonga tuku iho’ that are like stars from the past that illuminate the future for present-day generations to follow. Pakihi are shown in the narratives to be responsible caretakers of their cultural resources, not only of artefacts and sites but also of living traditions, it can be viewed as mentioned above, a living heritage a person is born into. Taonga tuku iho, and the way in which it is applied, helps form the platform upon which pakihi seek to make decisions.

Pakihi show their openness and willingness to learn from the past, yet be of the present, erstwhile conscious that the future is informed by the past. Each of the five practices in the cultural dimension demonstrate how pakihi seek to be culturally well-educated and to educate others by drawing on Māori pedagogies, and to facilitate conditions whereby others attain their own understanding of the holistic, interconnected nature of the world.

Three Māori pedagogies employed by pakihi that enable the flourishing of cultural well-being are story-telling, dialoguing, and connecting senses. Kaye (1996) believes that stories endure for a long time in part “because they become closely identified with the culture of the system where they are heard and told” (p. xix). Closely associated with story-telling is dialogue, an important method for creating connection and meaning and evolved from, *dia logos*, meaning the “flow of meaning” (Bohm, 1996). Pakihi use story-



telling (7.2.4) to connect with customers. While some stories, especially myth and legend, associated with transmission of cultural knowledge, other stories, such as those that describe childhood experiences, also lever listeners into the worldview of the teller.

Connecting the senses is a way of acquiring knowledge, by ‘seeing’ into it or ‘dwelling’ in sensory phenomena, which, in a Māori view, can lead to psychic and spiritual discovery – represented by all three baskets of knowledge, that is Te Kete Aronui, Te Kete Tuauri, and Te Kete Tuatea, that are interwoven with each other. Pakihi use the senses to cultivate connecting experiences by opening spaces for knowing the world and inviting a deeper holistic relationship with the world (7.2.5).

#### *11.4.3 Social well-being*

Pakihi have shown how they foster caring relationships with other people in the social domain. Similarly, Heidegger encourages humans to develop a “healthy ethos”, a way of dwelling in the world, that is created in relationship with an appreciation of the “ontological emergence of other beings” and to understand that this ontological emergence is perpetual (Carey, 2000, p. 28). The deeply sustainable, authentic “being-in-the-world” approach advocated by Heidegger, combined with a feminist ethic of care, is one that regards relationships as essential to existence, which, as I have suggested in organisation vernacular, is a stakeholder approach. In the context of this study, a stakeholder approach recognises the mauri, the life force, of each stakeholder, which collectively, creates a mauri for the group.

Pakihi are concerned with closing the separation between themselves and others in social contexts, and with making a societal contribution, recognising that personal and collective well-being are intimately interwoven (8.2.1, 8.2.2). In the social dimension pakihi seek to build connectedness with their local communities, employees, customers, and suppliers (8.2.3, 8.2.4). Growing workplaces that are caring and trusting environments is also an important approach and helps healthy mauri flourish in the workplace. The businesses undertake to forge heartfelt connections with customers,

creating relationships in which all parties can experience and connect to each other. Food, as a wellspring of symbolic meaning, is an important Māori approach to building relationships (8.2.5).

#### *11.4.4 Environmental well-being*

Pakihi illustrate through their environmental practices how they are kaitiaki, meaning stewards and guardians, for wāhi whenua, that is, they respectfully care for the ecosystems, land, habitats, and dwelling places of nature. In caring for the well-being of nature pakihi demonstrate how they ensure wāhi whenua has a “voice” (cf. Gilligan, 1995) and listen directly to nature, and not via the voices of intermediaries such as environmental activists or conservationists. Kao, Kao, and Kao (2002) have noted how many businesses tend to treat nature as a “silent” stakeholder:

Throughout human history, we have been continuously taking from nature, and asking nature “Give me that which I want.” The silent nature remains (as always) silent, and we take it as “silent consent”. We have rarely asked nature: what can we give you which you want? (p. 130)

As noted earlier in the environmental dimension, humans, as Marsden (2003) explains, are the “conscious mind of Mother Earth and our contribution is to enhance and maintain her life support systems” (p. 46). The outlook he describes is the antithesis of the position taken by Orts and Strudler (2002), that nature has no “mind” or “interests” or Phillips and Reichart (2000) who similarly propose that the environment is not a stakeholder, but should nevertheless be treated as one on ethical “fairness” grounds. Pakihi examples show how business can have a direct, participatory relationship with the environment which emerges out of “a life-centered, lived experience of the natural world” (Cajete, 2000, p. 5). The pakihi outlook accords non-human entities the right to an uninterrupted freedom of existence and the same rights as humans (Peet & Bossel, 2000), where failure to accord these rights to non-human entities would be to commit “specism” (Holden, 2003). Nature is not a silent stakeholder, but an extension of the human person, just as the human person is an extension of nature: it is a kin relationship.

In the environmental dimension, the five practices highlight how pakihi take an ethic of care approach through respecting the mauri of place and take steps such as rāhui, meaning ritual prohibition, to ensure that regeneration can take place according to its own design (9.2.1). Pakihi also seek, to varying degrees, to ensure their use of environmental resources is wise, taking only what is necessary to meet their needs (9.2.2). They aim to that foster a kaitiakitanga ethic, which is a caretaker perspective in their customers (9.2.3), and they adopt an ethic of care and work with the community to protect and respect localities (9.2.5). The practice of respecting the hau is a relationship with the environment based on the precepts of reciprocity, care, and respect (9.2.4).

#### *11.4.5 Economic well-being*

In considering the role of the economy in the pakihi practices, the economy did not dominate their values system, but was interwoven with spiritual, cultural, social, and environmental consciousness and practices that create mauri ora across all dimensions. To build on the earlier discussion that the spiritual and material are interwoven, it may be helpful to explain these aspects in the context of economic well-being. As Henare (personal communication, October, 2009) explains, there is the tinana, the body, of the economy represented by businesses. All businesses have their wairua, their spirit. When the tinana is separated from the wairua, that is, when the business is separated from spirit, economic well-being and the other well-beings are compromised.

The value created in the spiritual, cultural, social, and environmental dimensions accrue to create economic well-being for Māori tourism businesses as discussed in practice 10.2.1, and further in 11.6.5. This is a long-term value creation approach that accords with stakeholder theorists such as Post, Preston et al. (2002), who argue that value-seeking firms increase their value over the long run as creators of relational wealth, and Kaplan and Norton (1996) who propose that value-creation generates future growth for a business.

When materialistic values become the overriding concern *mauri ora* cannot fully flourish. If materialistic values eclipse other values, and *Dasein* becomes a being-in-a-materialistic-world, that *Dasein* might then be said to inhabit *Flatland*, a repressed and bleak version of what is possible in terms of being-in-the-world. Kasser's (2002) extensive corpus of research revealed that the pursuit of wealth and possessions might be undermining well-being. Materialism, according to Kasser, places a burden on the human soul and uses up energy that could be enjoyed for "living, loving, and learning" (p. xi; see also Schumacher, 1989) and Kasser argues that the more individuals locate materialistic values at the centre of their lives, the more their quality of life diminishes.

The value creation model represented by the Well-beings approach aligns with calls from commentators to question profit maximisation as a normative goal (Kline, 2006; Post, Preston et al., 2002; Sen, 2009). Csikszentmihalyi (2003) is insistent that "business that does not contribute to human growth and well-being is not worth doing, no matter how much profit it generates in the short run" (p. 35). Sen (2009) similarly highlights that the market maxims of Adam Smith, upon which modern-day capitalism is supposedly but not actually largely built, called for a much wider conceptualisation of business beyond short-term profit maximisation and supposed self-interest as it is often practiced today. According to the argument of Wicks et al. (1994), which accords with Leana and Rousseau's (2000) concept of "relational wealth", a feminist ethic of care conceptualisation of a stakeholder approach "is about creating value for an entire network of stakeholders" through co-operation, a decentralisation of power and authority, and efforts to build consensus among stakeholders through communication (p. 493). A relational wealth view recognises that the value generated through effective, stable, and trusting relationships brings benefits beyond what can be measured in 'profit' terms alone.

Value is embodied in relationships and is a reflection of the traditional, preferred, Māori mode of exchange known as the economy of affection (Henare, 2003), akin to the gift economy (Mauss, 1950/1990), which rested upon precepts of reciprocity and gift-giving. The socialised nature of value creating relationships that rest on a norm of reciprocity has

been noted by a number of scholars (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Appadurai, 1986; Deckop, Cirka, & Andersson, 2003). The value embodied in relationships creates long-term, trust-based exchanges and shows how Māori can engage in the global economy, and its dominant price and product form of exchange (Biggart & Delbridge (2004), whilst maintaining their own economic ethos.

The approach described from the field, and theorised here, highlights that people engage in the Māori cultural tourism economy in myriad ways. Indeed, modes of exchange including the relational mode advocated in this study, which has dimensions of gift-giving, are not rigid, closed systems (Appadurai, 1986; Biggart & Delbridge, 2004; Godelier, 2002). As Wyschogrod, Goux, and Boynton (2002) suggest, a gift-giving ethos may denote a “a refusal to think within the ossification of a closed system” (p. 3). The businesses in this study include gift dimensions to satisfy their own conceptualisation of building a value-based relational economy.

To summarise this chapter so far: I have located the Well-beings approach to building authentic and sustainable business in the wider literature, bringing spirituality and an ethic of care framework together with a stakeholder model of business. The stakeholder model focusses on the intrinsic worth of stakeholders and draws upon Heideggerian theory to deepen understanding of how an ethic of care and intrinsic stakeholder approach create the conditions for authentic and sustainable well-being to emerge.

### **11.5 Being conscious**

I stood on the highest mountain of the world and I knew more than I saw, I understood more than I knew, because I was seeing in a sacred manner. And what I saw were the hoops of all the nations interlocking in one great cycle. (Black Elk, as cited in Joseph Campbell, 2003, p. 213)

The prevailing dominant thinking, which advocates that the purpose of business is to only produce material wealth (Friedman, 1970), is an ossified mode of thinking that is the

result of forgetting that humans exist in a web of empathic, reciprocal relationships with many others, not only shareholders. Smith's (1997, 2003) argument for transformative praxis urges people to "conscientize" against hegemonic thinking, wherein people accept dominant precepts uncritically. The individual who does this forgetting, in the context of this study, is one consumed by pursuit of material wealth, disconnected from their whole self, from others, and from nature.

In much of the stakeholder dialogue the 'self' as a stakeholder is absent. When the self does appear it is often submerged in concern about the damage caused by unfettered 'self-interest' that generates an egotistical, instrumentalist view of relationships in business contexts (Jones et al., 2007). The negative connotations associated with the self-interested individual are blamed for much of the unsustainable mess that business finds itself in, epitomised by examples of the greed that motivated individuals working for corporations such as Enron, Worldcom, and AIG.

The 'self-interested' self is associated with a particular worldview. Suzuki et al. (1997/2007, p. 12) believes that for many modern, 'Westernised' societies, the "ancient understanding of the exquisite interconnectivity of all life has been shattered", consequently many people have difficulty attaining a sense of belonging:

Here in the West we have exorcised the spirits and cut ourselves loose from the living web of the world. Instead of seeing ourselves as physically and spiritually connected to family, clan and land, we now live chiefly by the mind, as separate individuals acting on and relating to other separate individuals and on a lifeless, dumb world beyond the body.  
(p. 275)

The concept of the 'self-interested' self is premised upon increasingly moribund ideas, and some commentators in organisation theory are suggesting new ways of conceptualising the self as an interconnected entity (Ashar & Lane-Maher, 2004; Ashmos & Duchon, 2000; Barrett, 2003, 2006; Mitroff & Denton, 1999). Senge, Scharmer, Jaworski, and Flowers (2004) describe a "new" worldview wherein connectedness is "an organizing principle of the universe" (p. 194). Senge (as cited in Carden et al., 2002) says

that to believe anything other than interconnectedness is a “massive illusion of separation from one another, from nature, from the universe, from everything. We’re depleting the earth and we’re fragmenting our spirit” (p. 1047). Perhaps the “new” worldview described by Senge et al. (2004) is not so much “new” as a reawakening of what has been forgotten.

Perhaps the journey of early Heidegger (1962) to late Heidegger (1971) can be interpreted as allegorical of the West’s journey, from atomisation and alienation to relatedness. Citing Heidegger, Young (2000) explains that *Dasein*’s world as a “clearing of light” (p. 189) is, in Heidegger’s early theorising, an “‘abysmal’ nothingness, an infinitely dark and absolute emptiness ...” (p. 189). In Heidegger’s later theorising, the “clearing” is no longer an “emptiness” but has become “plenitude”, a “reservoir of the not-yet-uncovered”, of the “concealed” (p. 192). The idea of plenitude as a reservoir of the concealed relates to central ideas discussed in this thesis: that is, *mauri ora* is to realise potential in relationships across multiple dimensions, and is a way of seeing a world of plenitude. Misguided praxis conceals this plenitude. The return to plenitude is a return to true wealth, in the sense of wealth’s original meaning of “to be well”. Praxis of values in context realises the potential in situations so the conditions of “to be well” are made manifest.

The concept of an “absolute emptiness” that late Heidegger described as a “plenitude” which is a reservoir of the concealed, can, from a Māori perspective, be likened to the world of Te Kore: an ‘emptiness’ or a ‘void’ full of potentiality. Porter (personal communication, September, 2009) explains the void as the realm of Te Kore, which is not empty but full of potential, it is only a void because the human potential has not yet been realised. In his perspective Te Kore is in the world, all around – it is not the realm before Te Ao Mārama, meaning the world of light, Te Kore is with people all the time. Te Ao Mārama is the world of what has been learned, that is *māramatanga*, meaning enlightenment, in reflexivity with Te Kore. In other words, *māramatanga* is the realisation of ever-present potential, it is the *tupu*, the unfolding, of potential.

As beings that continuously unfold potential, humans in Porter's (2009) view are constantly creating, they are "creators". This brings me to the question of who then is the 'self' in Māori? The self is Io. The self is a 'creator' just as Io is a creator (Porter, personal communication, September, 2009). Humans are descendants of Io, and are linked, not in a distant, abstracted mode – but in an intimate, subjective mode. Io, at the centre of the Well-beings map, represents the origin of creation, and, Io also represents the human creation.

Māramatanga as a realisation of potential can be likened to Heidegger's concept of dwelling, or "shining", which is the "world's worlding" – when there is a "oneness" (p. 202). In late Heideggerian terms "oneness" is a coming together, says Young (2001), of being "'on the earth,' 'under the sky,' 'among men,' and 'before the divinities'" (p. 197) which is a mode of dwelling that is fundamentally to do with "care and conservation" (p. 194). Care and conservation are at the heart of the Māori values system, which call upon humans to be kaitiaki, caretakers of the mauri, the life principle, in each other and in nature.

To be born as a child of manifold mana, that is, to be imbued with authority drawn from various sources, is to be a kaitiaki, a caretaker, divinely endowed with obligations, and empowered at the same time through manifold mana to care, respect, and conserve mauri. The child arrives with mana, and agency to create mauri ora, well-being which is the wellspring of authenticity and sustainability. Mana as a concept that denotes agency (Henare, 2003) is, in the wider literature, akin to what Berger and Luckmann (1967) call, "authorship". Mana provides agency for realising potential (Porter, personal communication, September, 2009). It is the journey to authenticity, of ever unfolding potential.

The ever unfolding of potential occurs in relationship, where people belong to each other and place: it is a relational world. Belonging to others, and place, is not to abdicate belonging to oneself by residing in the thoughts and ideologies of others (which would be inauthentic), or as Steiner and Reisinger (2006) say, to "ignore their own unique



possibilities” and conform (p. 306). Nor is it only to be “true to oneself” as the sole measure of authenticity (Wang, 2000). Belonging is to understand that *Dasein* does not belong to others, or only to oneself, but belongs with others and is a belonging through difference. Maaka and Fleras (2000) highlight in their study on tino rangatiratanga, which means self determination, an appreciation of belonging through difference.

In Marsden’s (2003) view, there is deep appreciation in a Māori worldview that all things are in a process of “becoming”, that to understand a rock one must look to the “crystal into which it is becoming.” (p. 45). *Dasein* in Māori terms are ever “becoming”, depicted here as tupu wherein “living beings grow and develop according to their character given to them by nature” (Benton, 2004, p. 41). This “becoming” includes businesses, and pakihi too are on a journey towards authenticity and a sustainable world. As the people who work in pakihi show, beyond *Flatland* is not another place, it is a shift in consciousness, just as the square undergoes a transformation of consciousness and he is able to recognise others for who they truly are.

Appreciating that beyond *Flatland* is not another place, it is a shift in consciousness, offers a message of hope for tourism. Ateljevic (2009) speaks of an “academy of hope” for tourism where humans become conscious that every aspect of creation is “connected into one system, which makes us all interdependent, vulnerable and responsible for the Earth” (p. 284). In the academy of hope, “tourism has genuine powers to help the world in reaching the higher level of consciousness” (p. 293) and can inspire a new “relational consciousness” (p. 288). She describes a concept of “transmodernity” that is a shift to “relational consciousness” that “opposes the endless economic progress and obsession with material wealth”. Transmodernity is concerned with “the quality of life as a measure of progress” (p. 284). The concepts Ateljevic describes here resonate well with the pakihi approach to creating authentic and sustainable well-being, in a mode of belonging.

The “academy of hope” (Ateljevic, 2009) reflects the many voices in this chapter; the pakihi and their stakeholders, those who promote an ethic of care; those stakeholder theorists who argue for a relational wealth view of the organisation, and the individual

scholars who argue for a relational mode of business. Cajete (2000) believes that Indigenous peoples can inspire a collective consciousness which is especially necessary, he says, “in the perilous world of the twenty-first century, it may well be a matter of our collective survival” (p. 105), especially with regard to the ecology. He says collective connection and consciousness is the “quintessential ecological mandate of our time” (p. 211). The Second International Indigenous Peoples’ Forum on Climate Change (2000) and the 2000 Earth Summit recognised the important contribution Indigenous peoples make to the planet’s sustainability through traditional practices.

*Dasein*, as being-in-the-world, participate in this creative process of unfolding of care and hope. Steiner (1978) explains in a Heideggerian perspective that “desire and hope are the reaching-forward of care, which underlies and necessitates ‘the possibility of *being-free*’” (p. 98). Hope is to care in a world where each, including nature, is free to unfold towards authentic existence in a state of belonging. As Cajete (as cited in Royal, 2002) says, it is a journey towards “seeking that understanding of a relationship to the bigger whole ... It’s that seeking process ... it can take many forms, it can take the form of art, it can take the form of ritual, it can take the form of practically anything ...” (p. 60). Perhaps it can take the form of tourism ... a journey towards authenticity in a sustainable world.

### **11.6 The business case for a Well-beings approach**

The business case for a Well-beings approach highlights the economic benefits of creating well-being across the spiritual, cultural, social, environmental, and economic dimensions. It demonstrates how business can do well (make money) by doing good (make a difference). Demonstrating the benefit for economic well-being is often regarded as a prerequisite for business to be convinced to pursue strategies that may appear to be more explicitly aimed at increasing other well-beings. Thus, for example, demonstrating the economic imperatives of corporate social responsibility is often a core modern management strategy (Carroll & Buchholtz, 2008; Clarkson, 1995; Freeman, 1984). The business case is particularly valuable for businesses who may not yet be committed to the

Five Well-beings. Whilst the businesses in this study have a strong innate sense that their purpose was to make a difference and did not appear to justify all their strategies through a formalised business case it may be of value to them to see how such a case can be made.

Making the business case helps to address the idea that you can have profit or principle, make money or make a difference, or that there needs to a trade-off between doing well and doing good. This enables the tyranny of ‘or’ to be replaced with the wisdom of ‘and’. It involves moving from simply focusing on making money or alternatively only on making a difference (Spiller, 2007).

There has been extensive academic research relating to the business case. For example, of the 127 studies that Margolis and Walsh (2003) analysed, they identify a positive association linking corporate social responsibility with corporate financial performance and found little evidence of any negative association. Similarly, DePaul University (as cited in Post, Lawrence et al., 2002) found a “statistically significant linkage” that shows a positive relationship between a company’s commitment to ethical and socially responsible behaviour and its corporate financial performance (pp. 104-105). Similarly a stakeholder view of the business guided by ethics has been shown to create “win-win” outcomes that lead to enhanced organisational performance across multiple bottom lines (Carroll & Buchholtz, 2008; Frank, 2004; Jones et al., 2007; Post, Preston et al., 2002; Spiller, 1999; Tencati & Zsolnai, 2009; Wicks et al., 1994). The economic bottom line is highlighted by the meta-analysis of Orlitzky, Schmidt, and Rynes (2003) of 52 studies (involving 33,000 observations) of the relationship between corporate environmental and social performance and corporate financial performance. The analysis concluded that there has been sufficient research to prove a positive association between the two. This demonstrates that pursuing other well-beings does in fact usually make money and make a difference.

Whilst some academic research argues that due to data issues, such as the time period of coverage, in some studies, a positive correlation cannot always be demonstrated this is

often accompanied by a conclusion “that there is very little evidence of a *negative* association between social and financial performance” (Post, Preston et al., 2002, p. 28). Thus businesses can be seen to be doing well and doing good even if they are not conclusively shown to be doing well by doing good. This accords with an intuitive view that responsible business is good business. If there are trade-offs between the other well-beings and short-term profit maximisation these can often be seen, from a more enlightened perspective, as being in the best interests of the longer term economic well-being of the business.

Turning from the general business case to the specific examples in this study I next show how each of the practices identified in the data has a business case that can be associated with it. These are presented using a stakeholder approach. In each practice the Owners are one of beneficiaries of the business case for the practice however I have only specifically shown the Owners as beneficiaries in certain practices to avoid repetition. Each practice is presented in a table by well-being with this table introduced by a discussion relating to that category of well-being and in most categories literature relating to samples of the practices within the category. Each of these sections is purposefully a relatively brief discussion with the business case for each practice presented in a summary statement.

#### *11.6.1 The business case for spiritual well-being*

The emphasis placed by pakihi on the spiritual dimension accords with the rising prominence of spirituality in business across a wide range of fields notably in academic research and teaching, the popular press, and training courses directed at the spiritual life of the business person (Driscoll & McKee, 2006; Giacalone & Jurkiewicz, 2003; Poole, 2009; Schwartz, 2006).

A number of authors present the ‘business case’ for spirituality in business by positing a correlation between employee commitment and turnover (Csikszentmihalyi, 2003; Giacalone & Jurkiewicz, 2003; Milliman, Czaplewski, & Ferguson, 2003; Poole, 2009;

Waddock, 1999). Giacalone and Jurkiewicz (2003) insist that the benefit of spirituality in business is a workplace culture that increases physical and mental health of employees. Csikszentmihalyi (2003) proposes that when employees are happy they are more productive, have higher morale and, in turn, the business benefits through a lower turnover of staff. Poole (2009) reviews literature that made an empirically-based business case for how spirituality “adds value to the bottom line”. Whilst definitions of spirituality varied widely, Poole’s concluding proposition is a business case whereby “workplaces that nourish their employees gain their increased commitment and discretionary effort” (p. 587).

Krahnke, Giacalone, and Jurkiewicz (2003) caution against overemphasising the business case as this might lead some businesses to seek to exploit employee spirituality solely as a tool for productivity and profitable gain. Krahnke et al.’s concerns concur with a number of authors in Poole’s (2009) analysis, who warned that spirituality might just become a tool for the business to exploit.

Table 28 highlights how a stakeholder approach builds the business case for each practice in the spiritual dimension.

**Table 28: The business case for spiritual well-being practices**

<b>Practice</b>	<b>Business Case</b>	<b>Stakeholders</b>
6.2.1 Contributing to the greater whole.	Makes work meaningful. Leads to greater employee satisfaction and retention. Businesses that contribute are more likely to receive wider support.	All
6.2.2 Bringing forth spiritual unification.	Conscious weaving of business activities with the spiritual world through karakia helps sustain spiritual well-being at work.	Employees, Owners.
6.2.3 Keeping it real in the eternal present.	Many customers wish to experience people as they really are, thus this practice helps fulfil customer expectations.	Customers, Employees, Owners.
6.2.4 Knowing manuhiri.	Customers wish to be treated as real people and to connect genuinely with manuhiri. Avoids a ‘tourism factory’ mentality, which is unsatisfying for employees.	Customers, Owners, Employees.
6.2.5 Guiding transformation.	Qualitatively enriching experiences have the potential for life-transformation, and increase customer satisfaction.	Customers.

### *11.6.2 The business case for cultural well-being*

This research has shown how cultural well-being is closely aligned with the pakihi being a learning organisation with a strong emphasis on Māori values.

A wide body of opinion maintains the case for business as a “learning organisation” including Argyris and Schön (1978), Deal and Kennedy (1982), Handy (1985), Hofstede and Hofstede (2005), Kotter and Heskett (1992), Schein (2004) and Senge (1990). Senge (1990) encourages businesses to adopt a learning culture. A learning culture in a business includes the ability to extract information and insight from experience, and to accumulate and transmit this knowledge over time: “The organizations that will truly excel in the future will be the organizations that discover how to tap people’s commitment and capacity to learn at *all* levels in an organization” (p. 4).

The business case for emphasising values is shown by Kotter and Heskett (1992) who demonstrate, in a large study of US companies, that companies with a strong corporate culture, based on a foundation of shared values, significantly outperformed those with no such basis. The importance of values is supported also by the work of Collins and Porras (1994) that shows how values, along with a purpose beyond just making money, build a strong corporate culture and that such firms are successful in the long-term.

Culture in pakihi is created through them stressing the importance of employees and often customers and other stakeholders learning the shared values embodied in tikanga, meaning custom, and mātauranga, meaning knowledge.

Table 29 highlights how a stakeholder approach builds the business case for each practice in the cultural dimension.

**Table 29: The business case for cultural well-being practices**

<b>Practice</b>	<b>Business case</b>	<b>Stakeholders</b>
7.2.1 Taking a tikanga approach.	Customers and suppliers enjoy a tourism experience that has cultural integrity; this respects visitors by not treating them merely as a commercial transaction.	Employees, Cultural community, Owners.
7.2.2 Adapting tikanga.	By not capitulating to market demands businesses can innovate whilst maintaining cultural integrity and thus receive ongoing acceptance by the cultural community.	Employees, Cultural community, Owners.
7.2.3 Developing cultural mastery.	Through grounding in cultural mastery, owners and employees are more confident, aware, authoritative, and better placed to make correct decisions.	Employees, Cultural community, Owners.
7.2.4 Dialoguing through story-telling.	Meaningful exchange can occur in storied spaces, leading to more memorable experiences and customer satisfaction.	Cultural community, Customers.
7.2.5 Connecting senses.	Has the potential for customers to experience a heightened sense of connectedness to self, others, nature and spirituality, leading to greater customer satisfaction.	Customers.

### *11.6.3 The business case for social well-being*

In the social dimension pakihi undertake to establish and maintain mutually reinforcing ties with stakeholders.

Post, Preston et al. (2002) maintain that the corporation's most important asset is the one it cannot create or replace on its own, which is its acceptance by society as a legitimate institution (p. 256). Acceptance by the wider community is especially relevant in tourism where local communities constitute part of the hospitality atmosphere and are a resource drawn upon by tourism companies (Tourism Strategy Group, 2007).

Another aspect of the business case in the social dimension is the provision of jobs. Margolis and Walsh (2003) maintain that providing jobs is one of the best contributions a business can make to society, and the World Business Council for Sustainable Development (2007) promotes the integral role that local entrepreneurs, microenterprises and small and medium enterprises (SMEs) have in community well-being. Smaller businesses, they say, typically have a greater vested interest in community development and draw upon the community for their workforce. Furthermore, smaller businesses understand the communities within which they operate and are a good source of employment for women, young people or low-skilled workers.

Table 30 highlights how a stakeholder approach builds the business case for each practice in the social dimension.

**Table 30: The business case for social well-being practices**

<b>Practice</b>	<b>Business case</b>	<b>Stakeholders</b>
8.2.1 Building communication bridges.	A society well-disposed to the presence of tourism enhances customer experience. Employees are more relaxed when there is no tension between workplace and community.	Community, Employees, Owner.
8.2.2 Providing employment.	Engaging locals helps customers interact with communities. Using a variety of local talent enriches and differentiates Māori cultural tourism from a mainstream packaged approach.	Community, Employees.
8.2.3 Growing workplace whānau.	Workplaces that encourage teamwork, collaboration, and shared rewards may have advantages over individualistic, competitively meritocratic approaches.	Employees, Industry colleagues.
8.2.4 Constructing community with customers.	Focussing on the mana of others and not on commercial gratification heightens customer satisfaction; employees retain dignity and respect for tourism.	Customers, Suppliers.
8.2.5 Connecting through kai.	Māori cuisine is a unique selling point and offers differentiation between regions, and from mainstream providers. Adds value to tourism experiences.	Customers, Suppliers.

#### *11.6.4 The business case for environmental well-being*

Pakihi share an appreciation of the intrinsic worth of all aspects of creation, aspire to transmit the precepts of kaitiakitanga and respect nature, which contributes to a relationship with the environment that is respectful and generally is a low impact approach.

There are very tangible economic benefits for environmentally responsible business. Senge, Smith, Kruschwitz, Laur, and Schley (2008) Senge describe the benefits in terms of improving brands, and employee recruitment and retention then provide what they describe “as just a few of the concrete benefits” (p. 111): money can be saved from reducing waste and energy usage, money can be made from offering environmental services, customers can be provided with a competitive edge, sustainability is a point of differentiation, you can shape the future of your industry, you can become a preferred supplier, and you can change your image and brand. They also highlight the risks of not



responding to *The Necessary Revolution* and stress that the human community has caused much harm to the planet, things need to change and “Doing nothing is no longer an option” (p. 101). This echoes calls from many directions including the Stern Review that “recasts environmentalism as economics” (Stern, 2007)

However Friedman and Miles (2002) highlight that despite the significant impact of business activities upon the environment, there has been “little or no success” in engaging SMEs in environmental stewardship (p. 324). An impediment to SMEs adopting a stewardship approach, they say, is that many consider their environmental impact pales into insignificance alongside larger companies and multinationals. Tilley (2000) highlights that while there is little data available about the impact of SME activities upon the environment, some suggestions are it is as much as 70% of industrial pollution (p. 33). An extensive UK study revealed that only 15% of SMEs perceived of their business activities causing harm to the environment (NetRegs, 2007) and few felt the need for a formal environmental policy (Castka, Balzarova, Bamber, & Sharpe, 2004). The perception held by SMEs that their environmental actions are of little relative consequence is misguided.

Where voluntary action in terms of environmental sustainability has arisen, especially for businesses with fewer than ten employees, the prominent environmental activity has been limited to recycling practices (NetRegs, 2007). Friedman and Miles (2002) confirm that the most significant effort an SME typically makes towards sustainability was waste minimisation, usually limited only to recycling efforts. Recycling, as a measure of environmental sustainability, can hardly constitute a significant effort says Tilley (2000). Notwithstanding recycling is a minimal gesture, Senge et al. (2008) believe that recycling can nevertheless be a good starting point. They argue that as cost savings become more usual, businesses will start looking at other cost-saving solutions. Beginning with waste minimisation, they say, is both “practical and symbolic”, can provide the momentum for increased sustainability behaviour (p. 158) and is the starting point of a ‘business case’.

Table 31 highlights how a stakeholder approach builds the business case for each practice in the environmental dimension.

**Table 31: The business case for environmental well-being practices**

<b>Practice</b>	<b>Business case</b>	<b>Stakeholders</b>
9.2.1 Minding mauri (and rāhui).	Short-term measures (such as rāhui) can have long-term benefits and protect the very resource that attracts tourism.	Employees, Environment, Owners.
9.2.2 Living the lore of enough.	Adds value to the customer experiences and meets customer expectations of sustainable ecotourism practices.	Employees, Environment, Owners.
9.2.3 Creating kaitiaki.	Deepens tourism encounters, has the potential for self-transformation thus increasing customer satisfaction.	Customers, Suppliers.
9.2.4 Respecting hau.	Feeds the well-being of the environment, creating places of beauty and spiritual power which others can enjoy, connect to, and be transformed by.	Employees, Environment, Owners.
9.2.5 Engaging with the community.	Corporate rhetoric and disregard for the environment can seriously harm a destination's and a business's image.	Community.

#### *11.6.5 The business case for economic well-being*

Pakihi regard economic well-being as important, although this is not their sole motivation. By processing profit into purpose they create authentic and sustainable well-being. As we have seen from the business case for the other well-beings, the economic well-being is often increased from these other practices.

Within the dimension of economic well-being the first three practices have a significant focus on the collaborative nature of pakihi which provides another strong business case wherein businesses can accomplish changes that would be difficult to achieve individually. Strategic alliances enable businesses to “create new capabilities and inhabit new market niches” (Clippinger, 1999, p. 187) in ways that dominant firms may not. Miles, Miles, and Snow (2005) promote the view that “in collaborative relationships each party is as committed to the other's interests as it is to its own, and this commitment reduces the need for the continual assessment of trust and its implications for how rewards will be divided” (p. 40). A collaborative business model, they maintain, can yield efficiencies, foster innovations in product development, processes and distribution systems and increase knowledge capability. Collaborations can match larger competitors

by linking talents, skills and resources (Hawkins, 2006, p. 230). Pakihi bring a collaborative outlook and aptitude which they use to form relationships across the spiritual, cultural, social, environmental, and economic dimensions.

Table 32 highlights how a stakeholder approach builds the business case for each practice in the economic dimension.

**Table 32: The business case for economic well-being practices**

<b>Practice</b>	<b>Business case</b>	<b>Stakeholders</b>
10.2.1 Adding value.	Provides an aggregated edge that can influence purchasing decisions in favour of Māori cultural tourism businesses.	All.
10.2.2 Forging enduring supply chain partnerships.	Effective supply chain partnerships with high levels of trust that endure over the long-term help provide economic stability.	Suppliers.
10.2.3 Creating network value.	Delivers product innovation, greater market exposure and cost efficiencies for the business.	Suppliers.
10.2.4 Training for the future.	Helps develop corporate competitive advantage through accomplished people.	Community, Employees, Owners.
10.2.5 Processing profit into principles.	Stakeholders receive ongoing benefits and the business is empowered to fulfil purpose.	Owners.

#### *11.6.6 Summary of the business case*

This business case has shown the economic benefits of creating well-being across the Five Well-beings. It provides tangible examples of the business case for each of the twenty-five practices. Whilst the primary motivation of the pakihi is to make a difference their practices reflect the international experience shown in the literature that the economic bottom line can be enhanced and is rarely harmed by responsible business practice, particularly when considered in terms of the longer term business case.

## **11.7 Conclusion**

In this chapter I have explored some cardinal Māori concepts of well-being. These concepts drew upon the pakihi experience in the field and explored the idea of the spiritual preceding the material, which was described as a state of dynamic and cyclical

unfolding, with a deep appreciation for the relationships between all things. The expression ‘i ngā wā o mua’, meaning the past is in front, was described as continuously interacting with all other dimensions of life to help form a spiritual ‘oneness’, as opposed to a lineal, causal sequence. The Heideggerian philosophy that *Dasein* emerges in a relational world where the cultured, historicised spiritualised, ecologised, socialised, and genealogical past illuminates the future served to provide additional insight into understanding ‘emergence’ into the world in a Māori sense.

The explorations proceeded to explain that in Māori terms to be born as a child of manifold mana, that is, a person imbued with authority drawn from various sources, is to be a kaitiaki, a caretaker, divinely endowed with obligations, and empowered at the same time to care, respect, and conserve. The self, or *Dasein*, focusses on the intrinsic worth of others, including ancestors, descendants, and nature as well as human others to realise their full potential as beings of manifold mana. *Dasein* shares the world with others, and these others are not separate in the sense that there is an ‘I’ and a ‘them’, but *Dasein* is one among others, and the significance of ‘belonging’ with others in the world was explored. *Dasein* in Māori terms is ever ‘becoming’ or in a state of ‘tupu’, ever reaching forward towards the realisation of potential. *Dasein* is ever becoming authentic in a sustainable world.

The full corpus of value systems developed by Māori over the aeons in relationship to the world around them, inform the pakihi, and through praxis within relational contexts, the pakihi in this study facilitate mauri ora. Mauri ora is described as being conscious, that is, to be awake to the reality of a situation, and of relationships, which serves as the basis for producing well-being. Being consciously awake includes consideration of context, of precedence, of interrelationships, of consequences, and, importantly, consideration of values and how these are applied in context. Māori values are part of a wide system of knowledge that assists in developing and maintaining relationships across multiple dimensions. The ethic of care and respect framework and intrinsic stakeholder model that support a Well-beings approach entail praxis, which brings values and practice together

in tourism contexts with the purpose of consciously transforming them into sites of well-being, thus creating mauri ora.

The business case for sustainability highlighted economic benefits from engaging in a Well-beings approach to tourism. The business case presented a wide body of organisational literature and argued the business case for commerce with a broader purpose. The business case tendered the proposition that the source of a Māori cultural tourism business's wealth in cultural tourism is located in multi-dimensional relational well-being, requiring relational consciousness: in other words, wealth is an outcome of authentic and sustainable well-being.

## CHAPTER TWELVE: CONCLUSION

### 12.1. Summary

This research set out to understand and explain how Māori cultural tourism businesses create authentic and sustainable well-being. Addressing this question involved critiquing the reifying tendencies in the tourism marketing and production system and exploring ways in which authenticity and sustainability might conjointly contribute to well-being in cultural tourism which is a perspective not previously explored within explicitly Māori terms.

The journey began with an account of reified tourism *Flatlands* (cf. Abbott, 1884/1978) that are of limited dimensionality and direction. The *Flatlands* were shown to be pervaded by hegemonic and ossified concepts such as ‘other’, ‘consumer sovereignty’, and ‘choice’, which when examined, were shown to be parlance for profit. In tourism *Flatlands*, authenticity and sustainability are disaffiliated from relationships that give meaning and sustenance.

An historical analysis highlighted that notwithstanding that in cultural tourism the host society ought to define their culture, it was instead Empire society that strived to define Māori cultural tourism. Early colonising crusaders and cultural tourism brokers seized upon particular aspects of Māori identity in order to appeal to potential settlers and then to tourists. These aspects of identity were infused with certain compelling meanings that reified and stereotyped Māori identity in the international market. Wāhi whenua, meaning holistic place, suffered the same treatment and today the epitomised version of New Zealand as “100% pure”, clean and green is not an accurate depiction of the reality.

Next the field insights were presented framed within the body of Māori literature. The ‘Well-beings’ approach to authentic and sustainable Māori cultural tourism was introduced and offered the view that authenticity and sustainability are fundamental to

mauri ora, that in this study came to mean consciously created well-being that realises, and manifests, the full potential in multi-dimensional relationships. The five dimensions of well-being revealed as being of particular importance were: spiritual, cultural, social, environmental, and economic. The emergent theory described the pakihi, meaning Māori businesses, approach to creating mauri ora and how this could be achieved through developing and maintaining reciprocal relationships of respect, that are informed by Māori values, and applied through praxis that transforms tourism contexts into sites of well-being. The main body of analysis focussed on presenting the empirical evidence for the Five Well-beings in terms of twenty-five practices which were grounded in Māori literature.

Then the Well-beings approach to creating authentic and sustainable well-being was illuminated further in the wider literature, bringing an ethic of care and respect framework together with a stakeholder model of sustainable business, and drew on Heidegger's concepts of being-in-the-world (*Dasein*) and care (*Sorge*). The discussion about the ethic of care emphasised the important attribute of respect. The stakeholder model proposed focussed on the intrinsic worth of stakeholders as associated with normative stakeholder theory, and distinct from instrumental and descriptive stakeholder conceptualisation of firms. Additionally, the self was identified as a frequently missing, but vital, link in stakeholder theorising. The self is located at the centre of a Well-beings approach, inseparable from the spiritual domain. Complementing this discussion was an explanation of the business case for the Five Well-beings showing that the relational consciousness and practices of this approach to creating authentic and sustainable well-being create relational assets, wealth and well-being for the business as well as its stakeholders.

## **12.2. Theoretical significance and implications**

The major theoretical contribution of this study has been the development of the Well-beings map and twenty-five practices that demonstrate how Māori cultural tourism

businesses create authentic and sustainable spiritual, cultural, social, environmental, and economic well-being. The findings are based on the study of four different ownership forms and types of Māori cultural tourism businesses, all described as pakihi. Twelve key theoretical facets that emerge from the Well-beings map and twenty-five practices are:

1. *A Well-beings approach reflects the cosmology of Te Ao Māori, the Māori worldview;*
2. *The Well-beings map and twenty-five practices capture the lived reality of pakihi;*
3. *Wealth is an outcome of well-being;*
4. *The Well-beings map and twenty-five practices expand on existing conceptual definitions of cultural tourism by highlighting pakihi as:*
  - a. *Well-being creating*
  - b. *Self-determining*
  - c. *Relational and holistic*
  - d. *Connection seeking, not ‘other’ seeking*
  - e. *Transformational*
5. *Authenticity and sustainability are reflexively constructed;*
6. *Māori business is a complex struggle;*
7. *A Māori mode of exchange operates;*
8. *Pakihi create relational wealth;*
9. *Pakihi approaches demonstrate how an ethic of care and respect can be combined with stakeholder theorising;*
10. *Theoretical kinship exists between Heideggerian and Māori philosophy;*
11. *The Well-beings map and twenty-five practices can aid curriculum development and executive training;*
12. *Pakihi have a culturally relevant, holistic, and developmental response to the crisis of sustainability.*

1. *A Well-beings approach reflects the cosmology of Te Ao Māori, meaning the Māori worldview.* The key features of the Well-beings map are: the centrality of spirituality and the process of becoming; values inform organisational behaviour; values weave the five



well-beings together; praxis is consciousness in process; and the practices are interwoven and interdependent. Mauri can mean consciousness (Māori Language Commission, 1995) and humans are mauri (Theodore & Porter, 2009). Creating mauri ora, well-being, I have proposed is to be conscious, that is, to be awake to the potential of a situation and the potential in each other, and manifest that potential into reality. The explicit and full identification of spiritual well-being in business is an important contribution to the nascent field of scholarship on spirituality in Māori business (see Henare, 2004; Wolfgramm, 2007). The Well-beings reflect a cosmological map of a Māori business, particularly as it emerges from an investigation into the nature of authenticity and sustainability of pakihi approaches in this study. The Well-beings approach elaborates on epistemological business and tourism studies conducted by other academics including Benton (2004), Durie (2003), Henare (2004, 2007), Henry (2007), Knox (2005), Loomis and Mahima (2003), McIntosh et al. (2004), Morgan (2008), Reihana et al. (2007), Ruwhiu (2009), Te Awakotuku, 1981; Ulrich Cloher & Johnston (1999), Wolfgramm (2007), and Zygadlo et al. (2003).

*2. The Well-beings map and twenty-five practices capture the lived reality of pakihi.*

Many of the existing supply-side studies in Māori cultural tourism have focussed on measuring Māori involvement in tourism, by conducting a literature review or gathering perspectives from individuals working in institutional environments. The case-based, multiple stakeholder approach of this study adds unique, holistic insight to complement the limited number of other field-based studies that have focussed on gathering qualitative data from within supply-side cultural tourism operations (for example, see the Stafford Group et al., 2001). It meets the challenge issued by McIntosh et al. (2004), Reihana et al. (2007), and Ruwhiu (2009) for studies that provide the depth lacking in survey-based approaches.

*3. Wealth is an outcome of well-being.* The pakihi in this study take a long-term, developmental view and are concerned with creating well-being along the way, not with creating well-being *after* they have created ‘wealth’ in financial terms as is typically considered to be the way conventional business defines wealth. The pakihi in this study

demonstrate that they do value the economic 'bottom line' however they are willing to make decisions that prioritise people and planet over short-term profits, which is an approach that can be expected to yield greater long-term sustainable well-being across the economic and other dimensions.

The relationship between wealth and well-being was likened to the relationship between the tinana and the wairua, the body and the spirit. The body of the economy is represented by businesses and all businesses have their wairua, their spirit. When the tinana is separated from the wairua, that is, when the business is separated from spirit, economic well-being and the other well-beings are compromised (cf. Henare, personal communication, October, 2009).

Wealth in the pakihi mode of thinking is an outcome of mauri ora, well-being, and this insight strengthens existing scholarship that argues that Māori models of business integrate economic goals with the creation of well-being in other areas (see Bargh, 2007; Barnett, 1996; Durie, 2003; Foley, 2008; Henare, 2007; Hinch et al., 1998; Loomis, 2000; Morgan, 2008; Reihana et al., 2007; Ruwhiu, 2009; Spiller et al., 2006; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006; Tourism Strategy Group, 2007; Ulrich Cloher & Johnston, 1999).

From a tourism industry perspective an implication of this mode of thinking is to move away from the commodity market model in which the emphasis is on quantity of tourists rather than quality of relationships and in doing so shift the market focus for Māori cultural tourism businesses to those higher yielding tourists in search of and willing to pay a premium for relationships offered by businesses creating authentic and sustainable well-being. The historical approach has not yielded the economic well-being that is offered by redefining the Māori cultural tourism industry to a focus on the Five Well-being approach.

*4. The Well-beings map and twenty-five practices expand on existing conceptual definitions of cultural tourism.* The Well-beings map and twenty-five practices provide theoretically defensible, empirically-grounded knowledge of supply-side operations that

elaborates and expands on existing conceptual definitions of cultural tourism (for example, see McIntosh et al., 2004; Ryan, 1999; Zygadlo et al. 2003; and Wilson et al., 2006) by specifically considering the conjoint nature of authenticity and sustainability. There are five aspects from this study that can contribute to a deeper understanding between academics about what precepts a pakihi can expect to be informed by:

- a. *Well-being creating.* The interwoven features of the Well-beings map and twenty-five practices confirm that holistic, developmental well-being is a more apt description of the purpose of a sustainable pakihi than the ubiquitous “bottom lines” (Elkington, 1998) that pervade sustainability literature. Rather than ‘bottom line maximising’ a definitional interpretation of the pakihi’s purpose might lead with ‘well-being creating’ which more closely aligns to the International Ecotourism Society’s definition of ecotourism which is, “responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and *improves the well-being of local people*” (as cited in Zeppel, 2006, p. 13). The insights from this study advance the notion that not only the well-being of local people can be improved as the result of cultural tourism, and suggest it is possible to improve the spiritual, cultural, social, environmental, and economic well-being of multiple stakeholders.
- b. *Self-determining.* Building on a praxis orientation, in which there is a synthesis of theory and practice where each informs the other as a continuous dialectic of reflection and action (Smith, 1997), pakihi show they are prepared to act with courage and conviction, and make decisions that are culturally appropriate notwithstanding the fact there may be short-term commercial impacts as a result of the decision. Loomis (2000) argues that Māori can only accomplish Māori self-determined development through Māori structures and Reihana et al. (2007) warn that if Māori do not take control of all forms of cultural creations that add-value to products, services, or processes, others will do so, with or without consent. Additionally, to be self-determining requires empowering staff to act with authority and competency to resolve conflicts that may arise in a particular context (see Hinch et al., 1998; Ryan, 1997; McNatty & Roa, 2002; Zapalska et al., 2003). Insights from this study contribute to discussions on how the principle

- of tino rangatiratanga, meaning self-determination, can be applied in business settings, and builds on the discussion of Maaka and Fleras (2000) regarding Te Tiriti o Waitangi in section 12.4.
- c. *Relational and holistic.* The Well-beings map and twenty-five practices show that cultural tourism is more complex, has more depth, and is more multi-dimensional than is conveyed by conventional ‘cultural product’ conceptualisations. The relational and holistic nature of Māori cultural tourism businesses in this research may prompt academics and institutional authorities to review their conceptualisation of ‘cultural tourism’ to one that better reflects the lived reality of pakihi. More needs to be done to ensure that Māori opportunities in tourism are not being restrained by limiting descriptions that serve to contextualise offshore marketing messages but which may in fact not appeal to those tourists seeking authentic and sustainable well-being and thereby not translate into real opportunities for pakihi. To me, conceptualisations such as ‘Māori-world tourism’, ‘Māori experiential tourism’, or ‘Mauri tourism’ better convey the wholeness of the experience and extend an invitation to visitors to step into the holistic Māori world. Any such attempts to ‘capture’ the Māori experience in a catch-phrase, would however, need to come from extensive consultation with the Māori community.
  - d. *Connection seeking, not ‘other’ seeking.* Tourists in this study are revealed as mostly connection seeking not ‘other’ seeking. Connection seeking concurs with McIntosh’s (2004) exploratory study that shows the majority of people in her study want to connect and interact with Māori, and she suggests that relationship-based tourism encounters where host and visitor can interact meaningfully in informal settings may be the most appropriate way to develop tourism experiences (see also Wilson et al., 2006). A relationship-based conceptualisation of the firm, as opposed to an ‘othering’ of the firm, has important implications theoretically in terms of discourse regarding the phenomenon of “othering” (Said, 1978). Promotional literature that continues to promote Māori as the ‘exotic other’ is missing the real opportunity.

- e. *Transformational.* Tourism can be a force for change and has the potential to transform stakeholders' lives by creating authentic and sustainable well-being. This study shows how by focusing on transformation pakihi can progress to the highest level of economic value, moving on from the lower levels which are respectively commodities, goods, services then experiences (Pine & Gilmore, 1999). "It's not easy being in the business of transforming customers" (Pine & Gilmore, 1999, p. 194) so theoretical insights from this study that cast more light on this transformational process can be particularly valuable. Whilst previous studies have provided some insights to the transformational qualities of Māori cultural tourism from a tourist perspective (for example, see Hinch et al., 1998; Ryan & Aicken, 2005), pakihi in this study reveal how it is not only customers who participate in the transformational process. The research highlights how pakihi can facilitate transformation in the workplace, and in their social, cultural, and environmental communities.

*5. Authenticity and sustainability are reflexively constructed.* Within tourism theorising, the concepts of authenticity and sustainability are well-established although they remain vague and highly contestable (Cohen, 2002; Taylor, 2001). New theoretical insights have been added through this research by bringing two of the most prominent, yet rarely conjointly engaged, themes in academic tourism discourse together (Cohen, 2002). By pursuing an investigation of how authenticity and sustainability conjointly contribute to well-being, this study has contributed directly to a theoretically defensible and empirically grounded understanding of Māori conceptualisations of authenticity and sustainability in cultural tourism. The research has shown that authenticity and sustainability are reflexively constructed in a relationship and are not fixed or unchanging, nor do they exist only in some romanticised past. A pakihi co-constitutes its own state of authenticity and sustainability through being-in-the-world as cultured and historicised (Heidegger, 1962), to which I have added socialised spiritualised, ecologised, and genealogical and, at the same time, pakihi facilitate for others a connection to those others' own being-in-the-world as cultured, historicised, spiritualised, ecologised, socialised, and genealogical. Authenticity, I propose, emerges from the conscious

realisation of potential which occurs in relationships with self, others, and place. Trajectories of theorising authenticity that suggest it can be achieved independent of context or relationships with others and place are challenged through the theorising presented in this study. I propose that sustainability is the realisation of belonging and, like authenticity, is the reconciliation of separation towards a state of belonging across multiple dimensions. Theorising that suggests sustainability is a science that can simply reduce the environment, and social, cultural, and spiritual dimensions to factors to be measured and managed is challenged by the approach shown by pakihi in this study.

6. *Māori business is a complex struggle.* Universal, prescribed, standardised approaches do not adequately address the complex reality of the contexts and the struggles pakihi face. As Smith (2003) argues, the shape of the struggle that Māori face is “neither singular, nor lineal, nor instrumental”, it is complex and responds to “multiple formations of oppression and exploitation” including economic structures (p. 12). The field-based insights in this study serve to give greater shape to the complexity of struggles faced in pursuing a business strategy that meets ideals of creating well-being that includes protecting resources. Struggles that pakihi in the study face include racism where prospective customers are discouraged by some New Zealanders to avoid “Māori” areas and the pressure to conform to ‘market’ demands where, for example, a ‘supplier’ of ‘tourists’ tries to have the pakihi modify cultural protocols to meet their perception of customer demand. The findings in this study corroborate the complex struggles identified in earlier works on Indigenous businesses in general (for example, see Begay, 1997), and Māori cultural tourism businesses in particular (for example, see Foley, 2004; Johnston, 2006; McLaren, 2003; Ruwhiu, 2009; Stafford Group et al., 2001).

7. *A Māori mode of exchange operates.* Although pakihi operate in a global setting and incorporate Western business values, as this research shows, they also operate modes of exchange modelled on the precepts of traditional gift exchange protocols that emphasise relationships and reciprocity. Identifying that a contemporary Māori mode of exchange operates in cultural tourism reinforces other more general works on both contemporary Māori modes of exchange (see Ruwhiu, 2009) and historical approaches (Henare, 2003;

Petrie, 2006). Greater empirical understanding of Māori modes of exchange has theoretical significance for conceptualising other forms of exchange such as the associative, communal, and moral forms theorised by Biggart and Delbridge (2004).

*8. Pakihi create relational wealth.* The relational approach of pakihi can directly inform stakeholder theorising by highlighting how businesses generate relational wealth, and the insights from this research extend the work of Leana and Rousseau (2000) by empirically considering a broad range of stakeholder relationships. Key attributes of building relational wealth include: valuing the intrinsic worth of others; demonstrating care, empathy, and respect; and seeking to base the relationship on shared values. Creating value through relationships elaborates upon other studies that have assessed the value-added nature of Māori approaches in tourism (for example, see Wilson et al., 2006).

*9. Pakihi demonstrate how an ethic of care and respect can be combined with stakeholder theorising.* A substantive theoretical contribution of this study has been to illuminate the pakihi experience further by bringing together an ethic of care (Gilligan, 1982, 1995) with the stakeholder theory of the firm. The importance of respect in an ethic of care approach has been highlighted and in a Māori perspective, care and respect together form the basis of an ethical approach. “One’s values ... shape one’s ethics” say Carroll and Buchholtz (2008, p. 274) and many Māori values encourage people to respect and care for others through building reciprocal relationships. Such values are: *manaaki*, meaning to show respect and kindness; *aroha*, meaning care, empathy, charity and respect; *hau* which can be interpreted as reciprocated respect and vitality; *kaitiakitanga* depicted broadly as stewardship, guardianship, and the wise use of resources; and *hāpai*, meaning upliftment. Bringing an ethic of care and respect together with stakeholder theorising builds on the prior work of Wicks et al. (1994) and adds important theoretical lustre to the normative stakeholder view of the firm. A further finding of this study has been to recognise that pakihi adopt an intrinsic stakeholder model of the firm, which corroborates Morgan’s (2008) arguments for a Māori intrinsic stakeholder approach. Such studies may well inform a new intrinsic stakeholder theory of the firm, one which more closely aligns to Indigenous perspectives, whereby, it is suggested, people and

places are recognised, valued, and consulted, not from normative prescriptions nor instrumental motivations, but from an appreciation that all aspects of creation have intrinsic value and that all wealth and well-being is reciprocally constituted.

*10. Theoretical kinship exists between Heideggerian and Māori philosophy.* Pakihi experience is illuminated through Heideggerian philosophy and the theoretical exploration of the kinship between Heidegger's being-in the-world, *Dasein*, and care, *Sorge*, with Māori philosophy further developed the earlier work of Henare (2003). A key aspect of theoretical interest is a better understanding how a Māori view of spiritual well-being can be operationalised in a business setting, drawing on Marsden's (2003) explanation that spiritual well-being precedes material well-being. The study explored how spiritual well-being is a pre-eminent quality that enables the fulfilment of potential, including economic potential, which occurs in a dynamic, cyclical, unfolding, and relational way. The Māori conceptualisation found synergy with Heidegger's conceptualisation that *Dasein* emerges in a relational world where the past illuminates the future. Other aspects of the discussion included the distinction of 'belonging' with others and the appreciation of 'difference', which supports Maaka and Fleras' (2000) discussion on belonging through difference. The discussion also explored Porter's (2009) explanation that to be born as a child of manifold mana is to be born as a kaitiaki, a caretaker, divinely endowed with obligations, and empowered at the same time to care, respect, and conserve which found synergy with Heidegger's views of care (*Sorge*). As a new contribution to the theoretical field, the concept of māramatanga, meaning enlightenment, wherein the tupu, the unfolding of ever-present potential in Te Kore, a world of as-yet-unrealised potential, was discussed with respect to Heidegger's concept of "shining" when a "oneness" exists "'on the earth', 'under the sky', 'among men', and 'before the divinities'" and the concept of "emptiness" as "plenitude" (Young, 2001, pp. 192, 197).

*11. The Well-beings map and twenty-five practices can aid curriculum development and executive training.* In the education domain the Well-beings map and twenty-five practices can aid education and curriculum development for Māori business students and



form the basis for tertiary executive training programmes. Developing a tourism supply curriculum would be an important, and timely, contribution to the successful growth of the burgeoning Māori economy. The cases in this study meet the need identified by Reihana et al. (2007) and Zapalska et al. (2003) for a teaching pedagogy that describes a management philosophy to address Māori needs and develops student understanding of a Māori approach to business. Otherwise, there is a high likelihood that Māori organisation theory will lead towards a conventional business model in which business success is equated primarily with the creation of financial wealth (Friedman, 1970) and does not adequately take account of spiritual, cultural, social, and environmental dimensions. Case studies are an instructional method, as Begay (1997) highlights, that encourage discussion, mediation, analytical skills and problem solving, and value the lived experiences of Indigenous executives (p. 157). The findings of this study have been developed into case studies, two of which are already forming the basis of educational programmes. Multi-dimensional case studies address the deficit observed by Liang and Wang (2004) in their study of leading Harvard Business School and Tsinghua University case studies, which demonstrate that the majority of cases are rationalistic, executive-centric, instrumentalist, and objectivist. There is a lack of cases illustrating the human, political, and symbolic aspects necessary to understand organisational reality. The conclusion drawn by Liang and Wang (2004) is that the overall perspective of teaching cases is unbalanced, with the rational domain dominating over all others. The case insights from this study contribute towards redressing this imbalance.

*12. Pahi have a culturally relevant, holistic, and developmental response to the crisis of sustainability.* The Well-beings and twenty-five practices contribute to a wider conversation between Indigenous peoples as to how Indigenous businesses are responding to the crisis of sustainability from within their own cosmologies. The theoretically defensible and empirically-grounded commitment of this study supports the call for Indigenous solutions made by scholars (Butler & Hinch, 2007; Cajete, 2000; Johnston, 2006; Loomis, 2000; McLaren, 2003; Ryan & Aicken, 2005; Zeppel, 2006) and international bodies such as the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues Declaration of

Indigenous Peoples on Climate Change (2000) and the International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs (2007).

In this section, I have explained the major theoretical contributions of this study. The overarching contribution has been the development of the Well-beings map and the twenty-five practices associated with authenticity and sustainability in Māori cultural tourism. In addition to the Well-beings map and practices, twelve theoretical insights from the study have been highlighted and explained in terms of how they support, extend, or add to existing studies and theorising, and offer insight for policy and curriculum development.

### **12.3. Practical significance and implications**

The major practical contribution of this study has been the development of the Well-beings map and the twenty-five practices that demonstrate how Māori cultural tourism businesses create authentic and sustainable spiritual, cultural, social, environmental, and economic well-being. The key practical aspects that emerge from the Well-beings map and the twenty-five practices include the nine facets, explained in brief below, are:

- 1. Informing other Māori businesses;*
- 2. Informing Pākehā businesses;*
- 3. Performance checking;*
- 4. Training and mentoring;*
- 5. Growing a responsible tourism sector;*
- 6. Influencing promotional activity;*
- 7. Widening the market;*
- 8. Building better stakeholder relationships;*
- 9. As a practical resource.*

*1. Informing other Māori businesses.* The Well-beings map and the twenty-five practices provide empirically-grounded insights that can inform pakihi in other sectors to develop business models closely aligned to Māori ideals of how to create well-being. Findings that might be especially relevant for sectors outside of tourism are: ensuring espoused corporate values are translated into practices; working collaboratively with other Māori firms and individuals to create economies of scale and scope, and, ensuring that shared values and tikanga processes guide these relationships; forging enduring supply chains built on shared values; building reciprocal long-term relationships with local communities; recognising the centrality of the spiritual dimension and creating workplaces that offer meaningful opportunities to make a difference to others; developing staff who are culturally confident, authoritative, and empowered to make culturally appropriate decisions; providing training programmes that give staff valuable skills; adopting a value-added outlook not a profit-maximising one; developing workplaces that cohere around a common kaupapa, meaning purpose; adopting tikanga as a code of ethics; encouraging teamwork and collaboration in the workplace; addressing what appears to be a deficit in environmental practices by taking leadership and being willing to institute customary protocols such as a rāhui, which means ritual prohibition, to protect natural resources; and encouraging stakeholders to become ecological kaitiaki, that is, caretakers of the ecology.

*2. Informing Pākehā business.* Other businesses may be interested in better understanding ways they can adopt a multi-dimensional, holistic, and developmental approach in their activities. The Well-beings map and the twenty-five practices deliver a culturally adaptable map and practice suggestions to guide such development. Findings of particular interest to Pākehā business might be: combining an ethic of care with a stakeholder approach; translating espoused values into practices; taking a long-term view; becoming a well-being producing business; seeking to understand the needs of the community and developing practices that can contribute meaningfully to communities; learning from the Well-beings map approach in order to work more effectively with Māori businesses and Māori constituents.

3. *Performance checking.* Using the Well-beings map and the twenty-five practices can complement quantitative measures, provide guidelines, and act as a check on performance for pakihi to build authentic and sustainable enterprises. At an industry level, the Well-beings map and the twenty-five practices provide policy direction for culturally appropriate sustainability indicators, and, if Māori in cultural tourism decide to undertake the development of a certification mark for ‘authentic business’, this study complements other studies (for example, Zapalska et al., 2003, and Zygadlo et al., 2003) by providing insights into possible indicators. Any mark of authenticity would need to demonstrate that the business creates well-being.

4. *Training and mentoring.* A number of institutions offer mentoring or training programmes for entrant or existing Māori businesses such as Te Puni Kōkiri, Tourism New Zealand, and Māori Tourism Council affiliates. The Well-beings map and the twenty-five practices provide empirically-grounded evidence that can assist these institutions through insights that can enrich current programmes and published material, and inform new developments in this field. The insights from this research have provided a business case for the purposes of encouraging Māori businesses to adopt a well-being approach.

5. *Growing a responsible tourism sector.* Incorporating Māori perspectives into wider industry efforts can contribute towards growing a responsible tourism sector and address the current deficit in translating sustainability models into reality. For example, the range of sustainability guides issued by the Ministry of Tourism, whilst an excellent initiative, do not comprehensively present a Māori perspective. Unless more businesses take up the challenge, New Zealand’s lackadaisical environmental sustainability record will continue (see Ministry for the Environment, 2007; WWF, 2008). The research findings, which provide practical examples of Māori approaches to sustainability across environmental and the other four well-being dimensions, can contribute towards sustainable policy-making that offers a more targeted and refined range of efforts to assist pakihi to address the sustainability challenge from within their own cultural ethos. This study complements the work of Loomis and Mahima (2003) towards developing a “user-friendly model” to

assist with policy and procedure development that gives effect to Māori sustainability approaches “rather than rely on Western models and values” (p. 407).

*6. Influencing promotional activity.* The Well-beings map and the twenty-five practices have applicability for promotional activity undertaken by government institutions and practitioners. If influential Crown agencies, such as Tourism New Zealand, were to adopt a promotional commitment to capture the holistic, relational nature of the Māori experience in their activities, the cycle of stereotyping and prototyping of people and holistic realities may finally be broken. As noted in section 12.2., customers are ‘connection seeking’, and this insight might prompt those in positions responsible for promoting the sector to consider focussing even more on conveying the qualitative richness of experiences that promote connection in Māori cultural tourism. It is true that Māori culture is what distinguishes Aotearoa New Zealand on the world stage – however, I suggest this is an outlook, a way of being, not just a ‘look’. The findings of this study strengthen those of others, including McIntosh (2004), Ryan (1997) and Wilson et al. (2006), who likewise argue that cultural tourism authorities and practitioners may wish to consider offering a more diversified portfolio of experiences that captures the variety of cultural elements visitors can experience, rather than focussing on traditional elements.

*7. Widening the market.* Reflecting the transformational potential of cultural tourism can help the sector emerge from being ‘boxed’ into conceptualisations that convey a type of pseudo-anthropological experience which narrows the market potential (see Ryan et al., 2000; Ryan & Pike, 2003). Expanding the potential market through apt messaging that reflects the lived experience of tourists to Aotearoa New Zealand, has the potential to not only benefit Māori cultural tourism specifically, by converting the “brown faces, exotic backdrops and cultural experience” (Keelan, 1996, p. 195) towards a relational, holistic, way-of-life approach that captures a broader reality, it can also help grow the tourism sector as a whole. Educating customers as to the real scope of choice (Walsh, 1996, p. 205) also has the potential to translate into bookings for a wider diversity of Māori tourism businesses.

8. *Building better stakeholder relationships.* The insights from this study can assist pakihi to create more successful partnerships with stakeholders, including employees, customers and suppliers, along with their social, cultural, and ecological communities. This study has provided a forum for the voices of stakeholders to be heard, and has stepped outside of the institutional and academic domains and directly engaged with the field of practitioners. Importantly, it has given a voice to Māori employees who are the backbone of the cultural tourism sector. It has also given a voice to Pākehā, many of whom own or co-own cultural tourism businesses, and who contribute meaningfully to cultural tourism. It provides practical insights for how Pākehā who offer wholly Māori cultural tourism experiences, or as a component in their touring programmes, could consider working more effectively with Māori to deliver experiences grounded in Māori precepts and create greater multi-dimensional well-being.

9. *As a practical resource.* The twenty-five practices provide businesses with a reference point from which to orient their own investigations and build multi-dimensional tourism business that create well-being. The twenty-five practices are appended as a full matrix in Appendix One, and, by way of an example, I have taken one practice and discuss it in brief to show how this practice interlinks with others.

*Contributing to a greater whole* demonstrates a commitment by pakihi to contribute to the greater whole. Contributing is self-actualising, occurs in relationship, and supports well-being. The ‘business case’ for this practice is that it makes work meaningful and can lead to greater employee satisfaction and retention. Furthermore, pakihi that contribute are perceived as more likely to receive wider support from stakeholders. Pakihi can transform tourism contexts into sites of well-being through praxis, that is, they understand the needs of a situation, draw on Māori values, and seek to transform that situation into a well-being creating event. The approach taken by pakihi draws on relational consciousness, an appreciation for the whole range of communities, such as the cultural, social, environmental, and economic communities, and has a transformational quality. The flow-on effects to other practices include *Guiding transformation*, which is also a spiritual practice. Through cultivating a

contributing outlook, those engaged in cultural tourism can stimulate an experience that transforms what might be an ordinary tourism encounter into one whereby customers might experience a shift in perspective, or indeed, a shift in consciousness through connecting to a sense of wholeness and unity. A sense of belonging can be discovered in nature, or can be discovered through connectedness to others in a social situation. Another flow on effect is *Building bridges to community*. If communities feel contributed to and experience enhanced well-being as the result of cultural tourism activities in their area, they may be more likely to endorse tourism. These activities (and the other linked practices not mentioned in this brief summary) combine to create part of the value-added proposition of the pakihi. More fulfilled employees, customers that are not only ‘satisfied’ but also ‘transformed’, and ‘accepting communities’ that provide a warm environment for tourists who visit, can combine to enhance a tourism experience.

In this section, I have explained the major practical contributions of this study. Nine practical insights from the study have been highlighted and explained in terms of how they can support, extend, or add to existing studies, inform policy development, aid training and mentoring programmes, and potentially assist other businesses to adopt a goal of creating authentic and sustainable well-being through their activities.

#### **12.4. Future research**

... when you have finished your kete, you close the last muka to finish it. But, you can always open it up again to add more layers. So, for Māori, no kete is ever completely finished as long as there is the possibility that it will be added to again ... (Kereopa, as cited in Moon, 2005, p. 114).

This body of work is a metaphorical kete mātauranga, a basket of knowledge woven from harakeke leaves, that is, the participant insights, from pā harakeke, a group of four case businesses. Each harakeke leaf is an integral part of the overall pattern and it is the diversity of texture and tensions that gives the kete, as a theoretical framework, its shape.

As Maihi and Lander (2008) evocatively portray in their book he kete ke kōrero, every kete has a story, this kete mātauranga has woven the story of four Māori cultural tourism businesses as they journey towards the realisation of their potential to create authentic and sustainable well-being. Through their stories, hopes, dreams, and aspirations as well as their challenges, pakihi have given this kete mātauranga its shape, its texture, its story. Just as their journey has not finished, neither is this kete mātauranga really finished.

Presenting the participants' voices has been designed so that the integrity of the harakeke leaves, the participant information, remains intact even though they have been woven into a kete mātauranga. Each harakeke leaf is an identifiable, integral, and interwoven part of this whole complex of leaves. By retaining the integrity of each harakeke leaf, and maintaining a transparent weaving process, as the voices are interwoven with perspectives from literature and other data, new forms and theories are free to emerge. Others may read the insights in this thesis, take hold of a harakeke leaf, and form other conclusions and directions for their own research project. The purpose of this section is to outline some areas for future research that others may wish to pursue.

In the theoretical domain, the processes of reification can function as a problematising process that prompts people to seek compensatory aesthetic experiences (see Bewes, 2002, p. 29, for further discussion). Research into the compensatory aspects of reification that prompt tourists to seek the aesthetic, could yield interesting theoretical results and contribute to a deepening of understanding of tourism production systems.

Research on other well-beings, most notably the political dimension, would yield important insights, and complement Indigenous studies in other organisational environments. For example, Begay, Cornell, and Kalt (1997) in their extensive research as part of The Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development stress the need for "cultural match". Their research reveals the importance of recognising that each tribal area has its own political culture and "contemporary institutions have to fit the political culture of the people" (p. 6) if sustainable enterprise success is to be attained.



Allied to identifying other dimensions, such as the political, is to understand how the activities of Māori cultural tourism businesses contribute to the theoretical and practical application of the principles of Te Tiriti o Waitangi in Māori organisational life. Hall et al. (1993) argue that it is “essential that the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi” are applied to tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand (p. 320, see also Ryan, 1997, and Zygodlo et al., 2003). These scholars, along with Maaka and Fleras (2000) who emphasise the relational aspects of Te Tiriti o Waitangi, provide rich terrain for further cultural tourism studies.

An additional area of theoretical research would be to further investigate discourses of “transmodernity” in relation to Māori business generally, and cultural tourism specifically. According to Ateljevic (2009) transmodernity represents a shift from modernity and postmodernity and features of transmodernity that may inspire new research from a Māori perspective include: a return to values to guide humans in making judgements and decisions in all areas of activity; the importance of the human experience, learning, and self-discovery; a search for long-term solutions not quarterly profits; the release of the intellectualised ‘other’ in tourism theorising; and, importantly, acknowledgement and respect for the interconnectedness of all things.

In the practical domain, an area for future research would be the development of performance measurements for each of the well-beings discussed in this work, that is, measurements that take account of tangible and intangible aspects of well-being. Morgan’s (2008) study in particular provides invaluable advances regarding the concept of mauri ora, as has Winiata’s (1988) quantification of measures, Durie’s (2006) framework for measuring Māori well-being, and Loomis’ (2000) study. There is a need for Māori cultural tourism to develop such measures. Additionally, if some of the value-added activities across the five dimensions were quantified into economic data, it would yield greater understanding of the actual economic value provided through the Five Well-beings approach. This may also help to address failings in the current price-system where valuable resources such as air have generally had a “zero” price (Joseph Stiglitz, 2006)

albeit that this is changing to some extent with governments now seeking to put a price on pollution.

Research on profitability in the cultural tourism sector is another practical and critical area for examination. Studies have shown that Māori tourism businesses can enjoy a comparative advantage through gaining consumer choice (see Jones & Morrison-Briars, 2004; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2007a; Wilson et al., 2006), however, more research is required to understand the enablers of profitability from within a Māori conceptualisation of business. Attendant to understanding the enablers of profitability is the need to gain a deeper understanding of the market size and scope for premium high yield offerings in Māori cultural tourism that create authentic and sustainable well-being.

### **12.5. Concluding remarks: Beyond *Flatland***

A lesson from Abbott's (1884/1978) story *Flatland* is to resist reifying tendencies and resolutely engage in developing reciprocal relationships of respect across multiple stakeholder groups. Māori cultural tourism businesses create tourism settings, and business approaches, that are validated by Māori experience.

Mauri philosophically speaking is a life-force. Mauri gives the tōtara tree its 'tōtaratreeness' and the manuka tree its 'manukatreeness'. This raises the question 'what is the mauri of a Māori cultural tourism business?' My response is that the life-force of this business is well-being. Mauri-ora that in this study came to mean consciously created well-being that realises, and manifests, the full potential in multi-dimensional relationships, is what produces wealth. Mauri ora is to be conscious, that is, to be awake to the potential of a situation and the potential in each other, and creating mauri ora is to consciously manifest that potential.

Beyond *Flatland* is not some other place, it is a shift in consciousness, just as the square in Abbott's tale undergoes a transformation of consciousness and he is able to recognise others for who they truly are. He is enlightened by what he previously could not perceive.

Te Ao Mārama is the world of what has been learned, that is, māramatanga meaning enlightenment, in reflexivity with Te Kore, the world of potential (Porter, 2009). In other words, māramatanga can be depicted as the realisation of ever-present potential, and is the tupu, the unfolding of each person's potential. Authenticity and sustainability can emerge from this continuous unfolding of potential. Beyond *Flatland*, in Te Ao Mārama, people are ever becoming authentic in a sustainable world. Beyond *Flatland* in a Heideggerian interpretation, which further illuminates the Māori conceptualisation, is the state of "shining", which is the "world's worlding" – when there is a "oneness" that is being "'on the earth', 'under the sky', 'among men', and 'before the divinities'" which is a mode of dwelling guided by care and conservation (Young, 2001, pp. 194, 197, 202).

In beyond *Flatland* people are kaitiaki - caretakers of each other and of place. Together people create mauri ora which is the wellspring of unfolding authentic and sustainable well-being. In such a world it is not that a person liberates only himself or herself, or someone else, but that people "in communion liberate each other" (Freire, 1970, p. 133) from the hegemonic, ossified, and habituated spaces of tourism *Flatlands* by transforming them, in a relationship of belonging to each other and the world. It is a journey of unfolding interconnectedness and unity, a journey towards authenticity and a sustainable world where we could all experience Matua Pereme's call, described in the opening remarks of this thesis, where he repeated Kupe's call to hold the spirit and belong.

## APPENDIX ONE: MATRIX OF THE TWENTY-FIVE PRACTICES

**Table 28: Matrix of Five Spiritual Well-being Practices**

<b>Spiritual</b>	<b>6.2.1.</b>	<b>6.2.2.</b>	<b>6.2.3.</b>	<b>6.2.4.</b>	<b>6.2.5.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Contributing to the greater whole.</i>	<i>Bringing forth spiritual unification.</i>	<i>Keeping it real in the eternal present.</i>	<i>Knowing manuhiri.</i>	<i>Guiding transformation.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Highlights the importance of belonging and contributing to the well-being of various communities including the environment, and with consideration to future generations.	Karakia brings people into communion with the spiritual world, unifying them with ancestors, spiritual powers, and the environment.	Māori in tourism can be 'who they really are'; identity is not oriented towards, or delimited by, what the tourism industry demands or desires their identity to be.	Focussing attention on finding out 'who' manuhiri really are establishes a genuine platform for connection, recognition, appreciation and understanding.	Guides act as catalysts for transformation by helping others connect to themselves through relationships with nature, the spiritual domain, ancestors, culture, and people.
<b>Contribution</b>	A commitment to producing multi-dimensional well-being. By making a difference to a variety of communities those engaged in tourism increase well-being. In doing so, they transform their own life through being of service.	Evokes a deep appreciation for all of creation, and reminds humans they participate in the unfolding meaning and mystery of creation.	Safeguards identity and avoids stereotyping and time-warping. Dialectic between change-unchanging, eternal-present, substance-form, the enduring-dynamic.	Helps avoid rote behaviour, commoditisation of culture, and treating others as a 'generic tourist' which is de-humanising to the spirit. Celebrates people for themselves and retains the dignity of both parties.	Stimulates experiences where customers can step outside their own 'reality' and into Te Ao Māori (Māori worldview), which can lead to new insights and perspectives about one's own life.
<b>Key concept</b>	Self-actualisation occurs in relationship: 'I belong therefore I am, and so we become'.	Humans are responsive to receiving spiritual direction.	At the heart of authenticity and sustainability; to be part of the past and future in the present.	Recognises the manifold mana (authority drawn from various sources), the spiritual dignity a person possesses.	Meets ultimate human need for self-actualisation.
<b>Key values</b>	Kotahitanga (unity), Wairuatanga (spirituality), Whakapapa (genealogy).	Kotahitanga (unity), Mana atua (divine authority), Tapu (sacred), Wairuatanga (spirituality), Whakarite (respect), Tika (appropriateness).	Mana tatai (genealogical authority), Mana tūpuna (ancestral sovereignty), Whakapapa (genealogy).	Manifold mana (mana from various sources), Whakapapa (genealogy), Whakarite (respect).	Aroha (care, empathy, charity and respect), Kotahitanga (unity), Wairuatanga (spirituality), Manaaki (respect and kindness), Tupu (unfolding one's nature).
<b>Key links</b>	6.2.5 Guiding transformation, 8.2.1 Building bridges to community, 8.2.2 Providing employment, 9.2.5 Engaging the community, 10.2.4 Training for the future. 10.2.5 Processing profit into principles.	All practices come under the influence of karakia.	7.2.3 Developing cultural mastery.	8.2.4 Constructing community with customers.	7.2.5 Connecting senses, 8.2.4 Constructing community with customers, 9.2.3 Making kaitiaki, 10.2.1 Adding value.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Is mindful of all stakeholders (cultural community, customers, employees, industry colleagues, owners, the social community, suppliers, environment).	Employees, Owners.	Employees, Owners.	Customers, Owners, Employees.	Customers.
<b>Business case</b>	Makes work meaningful. Leads to greater employee satisfaction and retention. Businesses that contribute are more likely to receive wider support.	Conscious weaving of business activities with the spiritual world through karakia helps sustain spiritual well-being at work.	Many customers wish to experience people as they really are, thus this practice helps fulfil customer expectations.	Customers wish to be treated as real people and to connect genuinely with others. Avoids a 'tourism factory' mentality, which is unsatisfying for employees.	Qualitatively enriching experiences have the potential for life-transformation, and increase customer satisfaction.

**Table 29: Matrix of Five Cultural Well-being Practices**

<b>Cultural Title</b>	<b>7.2.1.</b>	<b>7.2.2.</b>	<b>7.2.3.</b>	<b>7.2.4.</b>	<b>7.2.5.</b>
	<i>Taking a tikanga approach.</i>	<i>Adapting tikanga.</i>	<i>Developing cultural mastery.</i>	<i>Dialoguing through story-telling.</i>	<i>Connecting senses.</i>
<b>Description</b>	A commitment by the business to being informed by tikanga as a code of ethics.	Appropriate use of tikanga in tourism by setting clear limits, critically examining context, being transparent, and reinforcing.	Cultivating a workplace where employees are culturally well-educated and empowered.	Māori tourism businesses share their own people's stories of place, past, and philosophy.	Draws upon the natural world as apprehended by the senses through participation in cultural activities.
<b>Contribution</b>	Ensures commercial activities are situated in a proper cultural context. Supports business to be successful in a commercial environment in Māori cultural tourism. Tikanga (custom) is an appropriate Māori approach to perpetuating cultural well-being.	Helps build respect and trust with the cultural community, whilst 'manaaki ki manuhiri' (showing respect and kindness to visitors) and maintaining business relationships. Maintains cultural integrity and protects cultural well-being.	Avoids isolating and distorting Māori concepts from their cultural base, which protects both the individuals and the collective. By undertaking a personal journey to acquire breadth and depth of knowledge, an internal compass can be developed which serves to maintain cultural integrity in all contexts.	Story (along with myth and legend) bring people into relationship with each other and all of creation. A Māori pedagogy that transmits knowledge, builds holistic connections, and deepens understanding of Te Ao Māori (worldview).	Represents culture holistically and in context. Seeks to develop appreciation for other ways of knowing and being, beyond rationalist, materialist, and objectivist ways. Facilitates a holistic connectedness to self, others, and the natural world.
<b>Key concept</b>	Tikanga are like stars that help navigate the business journey, with knowledge that has stood the test of time.	Tikanga is dynamic and innovations must be culturally appropriate and context relevant.	Tikanga is not a set of freestanding ethics but is interwoven with rules and guidelines under an epistemology of mātauranga Māori.	The ontological outlook of people, their place and past are continuously spoken into presence through story, myth, and legend.	Counters reification and separation of humans with the rest of creation by grounding and uniting people to each other and place.
<b>Key principle/s</b>	Pono (true to principles), Tika (appropriateness), Tikanga (custom), Whakarite (respect).	Pono (true to principles), Tika (appropriateness), Manaaki (respect and kindness), Pūrotu (transparency).	Akoranga (learning), Te hōhonutanga (depth of learning), Te māramatanga (breadth of learning), Mātauranga (knowledge).	Manaaki (respect and kindness), Māramatanga (discernment), Pono (true to principles), Pukuhohe (humour).	Kete Aronui (knowledge of the natural world as apprehended by the senses), Kotahitanga (unity).
<b>Key links</b>	7.2.2 Adapting tikanga, 7.2.3 Developing cultural mastery.	7.2.1 Taking a tikanga approach, 7.2.3 Developing cultural mastery.	7.2.1 Taking a tikanga approach, 7.2.2 Adapting tikanga, 10.2.4 Training for the future.	8.2.4 Constructing community with customers, 9.2.3 Making kaitiaki, 10.2.1 Adding value.	6.2.5 Guiding transformation, 8.2.5 Celebrating kai, 9.2.3 Making kaitiaki, 10.2.1 Adding value.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Employees, Cultural community, Owners.	Employees, Cultural community, Owners.	Employees, Cultural community, Owners.	Cultural community, Customers.	Customers.
<b>Business case</b>	Customers and suppliers enjoy a tourism experience that has cultural integrity; this respects visitors by not treating them merely as a commercial transaction.	By not capitulating to market demands businesses can innovate whilst maintaining cultural integrity and thus receive ongoing acceptance by the cultural community.	Through grounding in cultural mastery, owners and employees are more confident, aware, authoritative, and better placed to make correct decisions.	Meaningful exchange can occur in storied spaces, leading to more memorable experiences and customer satisfaction.	Has the potential for customers to experience a heightened sense of connectedness to self, others, nature and spirituality, leading to greater customer satisfaction.

**Table 35: Matrix of Five Social Well-being Practices**

<b>Social</b>	<b>8.2.1.</b>	<b>8.2.2.</b>	<b>8.2.3.</b>	<b>8.2.4.</b>	<b>8.2.5.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Building communication bridges.</i>	<i>Providing employment.</i>	<i>Growing workplace whānau.</i>	<i>Constructing community with customers.</i>	<i>Communion through kai.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Establishes and maintains effective communication with communities by keeping them informed, discovering needs, and identifying how business can contribute.	Genuine, innovative efforts to overcome particularist nature of local challenges. Addresses the community's employment needs and ensures employment is appropriately calibrated to business strategies.	Helps develop healthy relationships at work, manages permeable society-business boundaries, and galvanises the workplace into a shared kaupapa (plan).	Pays attention to context, integrative processes, and draws upon a gift-giving ethos, which is an attitude, not (necessarily) a product.	Incorporating regional food experience draws Māori and visitor together and builds a sense of kinship and community.
<b>Contribution</b>	Builds healthier communities through tourism activities. Avoids token consultation processes and corporate rhetoric and establishes reciprocal pathways of benefit that create social well-being.	Quality, meaningful employment is a key strategy for contributing to the well-being of society.	Helps achieve long-term social well-being in the workplace. Helps people grow at work, produces caring and trust.	Turns transactions into transformations, commodities into customised experiences. Forges heartfelt connections, strengthens all participants and builds mutual self-respect.	Dignifies and warms tourism encounters. Regional differentiation avoids homogenisation.
<b>Key concept</b>	A business can help gain acceptance through contributing to collective social well-being. Without meaningful contribution business is less likely to receive the support of the community.	Providing quality employment (or innovative proxies) connects business to society in meaningful, measurable ways.	Shared values and norms that cohere around a common purpose grow people, create healthy relationships, and help the business achieve its goals.	Focusses on the well-being of people, not commercial gratification, thus can enhance the mana of all.	Food is a wellspring of symbolic meaning that connects people to people, place and spirit, and builds understanding.
<b>Key principle/s</b>	He kanohi i kitea (a face seen), Mana (power and authority), Manaaki (respect and kindness).	Mana (power and authority), Rerekētanga (innovation).	Whanaungatanga (relationships), Manaaki (respect and kindness), Whakapono (trust).	Manaaki (respect and kindness), Pukuhoe (humour), Utu (reciprocity), Whakarite (respect), Whanaungatanga (relationships).	Manaaki (respect and kindness).
<b>Key links</b>	6.2.1 Contributing to the greater whole, 8.2.2 Providing employment.	8.2.4 Constructing community with customers, 10.2.1 Adding value.	10.2.5 Processing profit into principles.	6.2.5 Guiding transformation, 6.2.4 Knowing manuhiri, 10.2.1 Adding value.	7.2.5 Connecting senses, 10.2.5 Adding value.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Community, Employees, Owners.	Community, Employees.	Employees, Industry colleagues.	Customers, Suppliers.	Customers, Suppliers.
<b>Business case</b>	A society well-disposed to the presence of tourism enhances customer experience. Employees are more relaxed when there is no tension between workplace and community.	Engaging locals helps customers interact with communities. Using a variety of local talent enriches and differentiates Māori cultural tourism from a mainstream packaged approach.	Workplaces that encourage teamwork, collaboration, and shared rewards may have advantages over individualistic, competitively meritocratic approaches.	Focussing on the mana of others and not on commercial gratification heightens customer satisfaction; employees retain dignity and respect for tourism.	Māori cuisine is a unique selling point and offers differentiation between regions, and from mainstream providers. Adds value to tourism experiences.

**Table 30: Matrix of Five Environmental Well-being Practices**

<b>Environmental</b>	<b>9.2.1.</b>	<b>9.2.2.</b>	<b>9.2.3.</b>	<b>9.2.4.</b>	<b>9.2.5.</b>
<b>Title</b>	<i>Minding mauri (and rāhui).</i>	<i>Living the lore of enough.</i>	<i>Creating kaitiaki.</i>	<i>Respecting hau.</i>	<i>Engaging with the community.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Cultural tourism businesses are conscious of the health of mauri (life principle) in their locality and institute rāhui (prohibition) if necessary.	Advances a 'take only enough' policy, manages waste and energy consumption, sets limits to growth, and adopts a long-term outlook.	Fosters the kaitiaki (steward of the environment) perspective so others recognise the interdependence and unity in everything.	Develops a respectful relationship with the environment to ensure balance, harmony, and well-being.	Actively engages with the community regarding environmental issues.
<b>Contribution</b>	Ensures local ecosystems, and their elements, can heal, regenerate and maintain a vital, healthy mauri. An awareness of mauri, and practice of rāhui, advances a Māori approach to sustainable environmental management.	Avoids exhausting natural resources and enhances environmental well-being. Reconciles customary environmental ethics with commercial imperatives to manage environmental impacts in a sustainable way.	Encourages others around the globe, through kaitiakitanga, to become wise users and guardians of the Earth's resources and to reclaim their own sense of belonging to all of creation.	A continuous reminder through practices which respect the hau (vitality) that human well-being is dependent upon environmental well-being, helps lead people to treat the environment in a thoughtful and sustainable manner.	Taking a proactive approach on ecological issues, from small everyday acts to large campaigns, business contributes to ecological well-being calls for genuine engagement with environmental issues in local communities.
<b>Key concept</b>	If humans harbour a negative attitude towards nature, this will manifest in indifferent or negligent actions, diminishing the mauri, the well-being of the environment.	An economising way of thinking and acting about consumption and production of natural resources.	Through interaction with Māori, visitors can learn how to connect with nature, and become a kaitiaki in their homeland.	Represents an abiding belief in the importance of reciprocal exchange through the gift of nature's resources and the gift of the breath of life.	Demonstrating environmental leadership through 'living above the reeds' and undertaking visible commitment.
<b>Key principle/s</b>	Kaitiakitanga (stewardship of the environment), Mauri (life principle), Rāhui (prohibition), Tika (appropriateness).	Rawaka (sufficient).	Kaitiakitanga (stewardship of the environment), Kotahitanga (unity), Mana whenua (power derived from ecosystems), Whakapapa (genealogy).	Hau (vitality), Mauri (life principle), Tapu (sacred), Whakarite (respect).	Hāpai (uplift), Kaiārahi (leader), Pūrotu (transparency), Tautoko (support).
<b>Key links</b>	6.2.2 Bringing forth spiritual unification, 9.2.3 Creating kaitiaki, 10.2.1 Adding value.	10.2.1 Creating value, 10.2.5 Processing profit into principles.	6.2.5 Guiding transformation, 7.2.5 Connecting senses, 10.2.1 Adding value.	6.2.2 Bringing forth spiritual unification, 9.2.1 Minding mauri (and rāhui).	8.2.1 Building communication bridges, 10.2.1 Adding value.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	Employees, Environment, Owners.	Employees, Environment, Owners.	Customers, Suppliers.	Employees, Environment, Owners.	Community.
<b>Business case</b>	Short-term measures (such as rāhui) can have long-term benefits and protect the very resource that attracts tourism.	Adds value to the customer experiences and meets customer expectations of sustainable ecotourism practices.	Deepens tourism encounters, has the potential for self-transformation thus increasing customer satisfaction.	Feeds the well-being of the environment, creating places of beauty and spiritual power which others can enjoy, connect to, and be transformed by.	Corporate rhetoric and disregard for the environment can seriously harm a destination's and a business's image.

**Table 31: Matrix of Five Economic Well-being Practices**

<b>Economic Title</b>	<b>10.2.1.</b> <i>Adding value.</i>	<b>10.2.2.</b> <i>Forging enduring supply chain partnerships.</i>	<b>10.2.3.</b> <i>Creating network value.</i>	<b>10.2.4.</b> <i>Training for the future.</i>	<b>10.2.5.</b> <i>Processing profit into purpose.</i>
<b>Description</b>	Draws upon Māori principles to guide people and imbue work processes to deliver distinctly Māori value-added experiences.	A proactive, optimistic, persistent approach combined with interpersonal skills develops enduring supply chain partnerships. Mutually agreed understanding and delivery of a clear kaupapa (plan).	Forms alliances inter and intra industry to increase the Māori cultural tourism value proposition to the market and achieve production efficiencies.	Provides not only basic business skills, but also valuable skills training (such as financial literacy) for employees and kaumātua (elders). Needs to be relevant to the opportunity and context.	Views profit as a means for fulfilling multi-dimensional well-being.
<b>Contribution</b>	The 'principle of enhanced value' is a traditional Māori approach towards work that can translate into a competitive edge in cultural tourism. Addresses the deficit of low-value goods and service in tourism.	Capitalising on natural relationship-building disposition builds greater trust and more loyal supply chain partnerships. Addresses supply chain challenges identified as impediments to Māori cultural tourism success; develops viable distribution systems.	Tapping into the collective resource of networks achieves greater economies of scale and scope than can often be achieved individually. The tradition of reciprocity in Māori economic exchanges strengthens and builds sustainable networks.	Addresses deficit of a skilled Māori workforce, propagates confident, able people who are more resilient to economic downturn. Investing in the immediate and future capacities of people contributes to Māori economic sustainability.	Highlights the importance of profit as a key mechanism through which the business can produce multi-dimensional well-being. Practicing Māori values shows how profit can be an enabler of purpose.
<b>Key concept</b>	Value is multi-dimensional; it includes physical and non-physical aspects across spiritual, cultural, environmental and social domains.	Advocates warm, interpersonal approaches that adopt a co-creative outlook combined with proactive professionalism.	The concept of a collective resource requires loyalty and commitment to a mutual kaupapa (plan) greater than a business's personal agenda.	Succession planning for Māori futures.	The business is not solely the profit it makes but the multi-dimensional well-being it produces. Money is 'energy': positive energy produces well-being, negative energy does not.
<b>Key principle/s</b>	Aroha (love, kindness, respect, compassion), Kaitiakitanga (stewardship of the environment), Manaaki (respect and kindness), Utu (reciprocity), Wairua (spirituality).	Shared values: Trust, Loyalty, Consistency, Persistence, Proactive, Optimism, Aligned goals.	Hāpai (uplift), Paiheretia (integrated goals), Pūrotu (transparency), Rerekētanga (innovation), Utu (reciprocity), Whakapono (trust).	Hāpai (uplift), Mana tangata (human authority), Mana tatau (authority from genealogy), Hāngai (relevant), Whakarite (respect).	All.
<b>Key links</b>	6.2.5, 7.2.4, 7.2.5, 8.2.2, 8.2.4, 8.2.5, 9.2.1, 9.2.3, 9.2.5, 10.2.2, 10.2.3.	10.2.3 Creating network value, 10.2.4 Training for the future.	10.2.1 Adding value, 10.2.2 Forging enduring supply chain partnerships.	6.2.1 Contributing to a greater whole, 7.2.3 Developing cultural mastery.	All.
<b>Stakeholders</b>	All (cultural community, customers, employees, industry colleagues, owners, the social community, suppliers, and the environment).	Suppliers.	Suppliers	Community, Employees, Owners.	Owners.
<b>Business case</b>	Provides an aggregated edge that can influence purchasing decisions in favour of Māori cultural tourism businesses.	Effective supply chain partnerships with high levels of trust that endure over the long-term help provide economic stability.	Delivers product innovation, greater market exposure and cost efficiencies for the business.	Helps develop corporate competitive advantage through accomplished people.	Stakeholders receive ongoing benefits and the business is empowered to fulfil purpose.



## APPENDIX TWO: CONSENT FORM



The University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland  
Department of Management and Employment Relations,  
Commerce B Building, Grafton Road, Auckland  
Phone: 09 373 7599 extn. 87186, fax: 09 373 7019

### CONSENT FORM

This consent form and data will be held for six years.

**Title of Project:** How Māori cultural tourism businesses create authentic and sustainable well-being  
**Researcher:** Chellie Spiller, PhD student, Department of Management and Employment Relations, The University of Auckland Business School. Cell phone: 021 146 2791, e-mail: [chellie@xtra.co.nz](mailto:chellie@xtra.co.nz)

#### From:

I ..... have read the Participant Information Sheet dated ..... and understand the contents of this sheet. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project and am satisfied with the answers that have been given. I know that I can discuss any aspect of the study and my participation in the study with the researcher at any point during the course of the study. I understand that I shall be given opportunities to read the research material on my company prior to publication to ensure I am entirely comfortable with how my company is presented. I understand that participation in the research project is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw myself, and any information given, from the study up to three weeks after the interview, without giving a reason. I understand that withdrawal from the study will not have any adverse consequences for me. I give my permission for the researcher to interview customers, employees and other associates whom I have named.

- I agree that participation or non-participation will not affect the employment of my employees, or the status of my relationship with customers and other business associates.
- I understand that as part of my participation in this research I will receive:
  - A personalised review of relevant points that the researcher will make especially for my business which will highlight the key points the researcher believes will enhance my business practice. This will be presented in a hui for my company and stakeholders if I so wish.
  - Complimentary placement in a Māori Cultural Tourism guidebook that will feature my company.
  - A summary of the research results.
- I understand that my customers, employees and other associates will be offered a \$50 fee (or equivalent koha) in acknowledgement of the opportunity cost of their time.
- I understand taping (audio or video) is a preferred method of ensuring what I say is accurately understood and captured. However, even if I agree to being taped, I may choose to have the recorder turned off at any time. I understand I can review tapes of interviews with the researcher at any time, however I understand that tapes of my employees and customers will remain confidential. I have read and agree with the security measures undertaken to protect confidentiality and the timing and manner in which data will be destroyed.
- I agree / do not agree that my company name will be mentioned in the case study which will be written as part of the thesis and proposed guidebook. I understand that separate to the case study, interview data will be reported in such a way that does not identify me, or my company's customers, employees and other associates, as the source.
- I agree / do not agree to being identified as the source of certain information even if one named.

Signed.....

Name..... Date.....

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 19 October, 2005 for doctoral research from March 2006 to March 2009. Reference Number 2005/385.

## APPENDIX THREE: PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET



The University of Auckland, Private Bag 92019, Auckland  
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Phone: 09 373 7599 extn. 87186, fax: 09 373 7019

Department of Management and Employment Relations

### PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

**Title of Project:** How Māori cultural tourism businesses create authentic and sustainable well-being

**Researcher:** Chellie Spiller, PhD student, Department of Management and Employment Relations, The University of Auckland Business School. Cell phone: 021 146 2791, e-mail: chellie@xtra.co.nz

#### Invited Participant:

*Nga mihi nui ki a koe*

Chellie Spiller, a PhD candidate and inaugural Kelly Doctoral Scholar at The University of Auckland Business School, is undertaking a research project on Māori cultural tourism enterprises. You have been selected to participate in this research project because your company has a strong reputation for offering successful cultural tourism experiences. It is success stories such as yours that this research aims to understand better. Participation in the research project is entirely voluntary.

You are invited to participate in this study of Māori cultural tourism enterprises. The aim of this research project is to understand the nature of Māori cultural tourism organisations from within their own context, to understand them from the perspective of their own processes and to compare them with others like them.

#### Why is this research being undertaken?

50% of 'Interactive Travellers' rated culture and history as their motivation to come to New Zealand, after landscape. Global trends also indicate that cultural tourism accounts for 37% of all tourist trips and demand is growing by 15% per annum. But... visitors to New Zealand are saying they are not having the kind of experiences they thought they would. There appears to be a gap between what overseas visitors expect they will experience culturally when they plan their visit to New Zealand and what they actually end up experiencing. In fact, feedback by international visitors suggests our cultural tourism offering is sub-optimal. This has serious social, cultural and economic implications and undermines the strength of our cultural tourism identity.

There is a lack of research on how Māori cultural tourism enterprises are meeting the needs of the customer, how they meet their own needs and those of stakeholder groups. The outcome of the research project is to identify the successful drivers in Māori cultural tourism that best demonstrate how to produce and promote Māori cultural tourism offerings.

Your participation will involve a one to two hour interview at a time, and in a venue, of your choice. You will be sent an interview transcript within three weeks of the interview for your review and comment. This may take another hour. In total, two to three hours of your time is anticipated. A short preliminary questionnaire seeking general information about your organisation will be sent in advance of the interview; you or someone else in your organisation can fill this out.

The researcher has adopted a tikanga Māori approach. The project arises, not from a desire for academic 'success', but from a concern for society and culture. Matters to do with authority (mana), control (mana Māori) and ownership (rangatiratanga) are fundamental to the research approach. In honouring the

collaborative nature of the study, you shall be given opportunities to read the research material to ensure you are entirely comfortable with how your company is presented.

A vital part of this research is to understand the nature of sustainable Māori cultural tourism and this includes understanding the needs and opinions of your company's associates including customers and employees. We will be seeking your permission to interview those customers and employees whom you name. Those customers and employees who participate will be offered a \$50 fee (or equivalent koha) in acknowledgement of the opportunity cost of their time.

You, your customers and employees may withdraw yourselves, and any information given, from the study up to three weeks after the interview, without giving a reason.

Taping (audio or video) is a preferred method of ensuring what you say is accurately understood and captured. However, even if you agree to being taped, you may choose to have the recorder turned off at any time. You can review tapes of interviews with you within three weeks of the interview, however tapes of your employees and customers will remain confidential. The researcher will personally transcribe tapes to ensure confidentiality of information is preserved, and only the researcher, and her supervisor, will view the data. Data will be stored in locked filing cabinets for 6 years, after which time all data will be destroyed. Taped information will be stored separately to transcripts or other identifying material. Paper documents will be destroyed by shredding, electronic files will be destroyed by deletion and tapes by fire.

This research project has adopted a conscious goal of utility, that is, to give something meaningful back to the organisation. You will receive:

- A personalised review of relevant points especially for your business, which will highlight key points to enhance your business practice. This will be presented at a hui for your company and stakeholders if you so wish.
- Complimentary placement in an online Māori cultural tourism guidebook, written and published on the internet by the researcher, that will feature your company and aims to generate leads for your business.
- A summary of the research results.

A case narrative will be written on your company as part of the thesis and this narrative will also inform the feature on your company for the online guidebook. Separate to the case narrative, interview data will be reported in such a way that does not identify you, or your company's stakeholders, as the source.

Chellie's iwi is Ngāti Kahungunu and her hapū is Ngāi Tahu Matawhaiti. Chellie has a broad set of academic and practitioner skills. Her strong academic support and expertise will ensure your contribution to the study is treated with the utmost respect and achieves the best possible outcome. Her masters degree is in International Relations. She brings a considerable depth of practitioner knowledge and experience of the tourism industry and has worked for international airlines, tour wholesale operations and a regional tourism organisation. Chellie has behind her an extensive 20-year tourism career developing tours to places such as China, India, Vietnam, Indonesia, North Korea and Bhutan, which has taken her into many indigenous homelands. As a previous co-director of a tour wholesale company she understands the pressures of being a business entrepreneur. Her tourism career has been largely based overseas.

The researcher was awarded a Paul Kelly Doctoral Scholarship.

If you have any concerns of an ethical nature you may contact the Chair of the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee at 373-7599 extn. 87830. The supervisor of this project is Dr Ljiljana Erakovic, Department of Management and Employment Relations, (09) 373 7599 extn. 86855, e-mail. [Lerakovic@auckland.ac.nz](mailto:Lerakovic@auckland.ac.nz). The Head of Department is Prof. Alastair MacCormick 373 7599 extn. 89826.

Approved by the University of Auckland Human Participants Ethics Committee on 19 October, 2005 for doctoral research from March 2006 to March 2009. Reference Number 2005/385.

## APPENDIX FOUR: QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDELINES – CEO

This appendix presents a copy of the CEO questionnaire that guided the semi-structured interview process. The questionnaire was loosely ordered around the concept of the Four P's of sustainable business developed by Spiller (1999): purpose, principles, practices, and performance measurement. Whilst these questions and framework provided a reference point, they were not necessarily dealt with at the time, and the participants were encouraged to share what emerged for them as the conversation progressed.

<b>About the CEO</b>
Could you please describe your style of leadership?
What do you consider to be your greatest management strengths?
What have been your greatest challenges and how did you overcome them?
<b>Purpose</b> - the stated reason for which the business exists
What type of tourism operation do you consider yourself to be?
What is the purpose of your business?
In your view what is authenticity in tourism?
How does authenticity get expressed in tourism?
Leading figures in the industry say that the spiritual and cultural depth of Māori tourism can make New Zealand the spiritual nation of the world. What do you think of this statement?
Are there any cultural limits to what tourists can participate in?
"The world so motivated by the dollar is grasping for that little something more". What do you think of this statement?
"Indigenous Māori culture gives New Zealand a 'competitive' edge to other countries that also have spectacular scenery". What do you think of this statement? Do you agree or disagree, and why?
What especially do you do that differentiates you from other tourism operations?
What especially do you do that differentiates you from other cultural tourism operations?
<b>Principles</b> - the beliefs that guide the business's actions
What values would you consider most important for tourism organisations, and why?
What values are most present in your organisation?
<b>Practices</b> - the actions that a company takes to fulfill its purpose
Which of your stakeholders do you consider you have the most responsibility towards (rate in order of importance)
Thinking about each of your stakeholders, what practices do you consider important for your company to deliver upon?
Tell me some more about Māori cultural tourism? What you think it is, how you would describe it to someone else?
What are the 'spiritual' aspects of what you do?
<b>Performance Measurement</b> - the way the business measures how effectively its practices are fulfilling its purpose and reflecting its principles
How do you measure performance?
Please specify the top three measures you implement.
How do you report performance?
In what format do you report performance? To whom?
Have you produced a sustainable development report? If so when, can I have a copy? If not, why not and do you think you will produce one in the future?
Considering the different stakeholder groups for your business how would you rate your organisation's performance?
How would you rate your performance overall?
<b>Concluding Comments</b>
Is there anything else about your organisation and/or Māori cultural tourism you would like to tell me about?
What would you say in order of importance are the three most important things required for the overall success of Māori cultural tourism as a sector?

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