Looking Back at Te Tāpoitanga Māori: Overview of a Participatory Research Programme on Rural Māori Tourism Development

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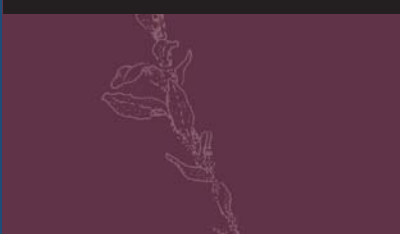Chrys Horn, Jude Wilson, Helen Fitt, Joanna Doherty,
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Landcare Research Science Series No. 36

Manaaki
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P R E S S

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Summary

Project and Client

This report documents the research processes, findings and outcomes that made up the Te Tāpoitanga Māori programme. It involved working with rural Māori from two case study areas – Te Urewera in the North Island of New Zealand and Banks Peninsula in the South Island. This is public good research funded by the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology and was carried out between July 2004 and June 2008 by Landcare Research, Takuahi Research and Development, The Te Urewera Tairāwhiti Tourism Forum and the Tūhoe Tourism Federation for their members and those involved in rural Māori tourism development. We expect that aspects of the research programme will be of interest to researchers, central and local government and tourism representatives, as well as to local communities involved in tourism development or other small business development.

Objectives

- To understand tourist interest in Māori cultural tourism products.
- To learn about working through the challenges that rural Māori have in developing tourism businesses.

Methods

- We used a participatory action research methodology and a range of social research methods to generate our findings.

Main Findings

Demand for Māori ecotourism is relatively small within New Zealand tourism, and international visitors know surprisingly little about products that are not the standard kapahaka show. When they experience these more subtle forms of Māori tourism, however, they enjoy them. This implies three things. First, there is potential to grow the market for eco-cultural tourism products. Second, New Zealand tourism marketing needs to reflect a greater diversity of Māori tourism products. Third, eco-cultural tourism businesses need to work carefully on locating their market and thinking about how best to sell to them in the current tourism climate.

Setting up a business requires considerable dedication and a strong business idea. Many of those involved in business have returned to live in their area after time away working elsewhere in New Zealand or internationally, and who brought their skills and experience home with them. These Māori are highly capable; a strong tradition of voluntary work in Māori communities means that they are also called on frequently, which can slow the rate of their business development. The strong tradition of voluntary work in Māori communities also means that some business people do not value their own time or the time of others who work in their business. Thus, without guidance, the business may become unprofitable or unsustainable when volunteers are unwilling or unable to continue.

Access to finance was not the most important factor determining business development in rural areas. People who were determined to set up their businesses, who had learned how and who were prepared to take some risk, found ways to fund their set-up costs.

Strong trust-based relationships underly Māori tourism business development in a rural context. In tourism business terms, learning how to network and to use those networks effectively was important to the outcomes achieved in both case study areas. Collaboration at local level was vital for building awareness and drawing people in, as was building linkages out from the local community into the wider tourism industry. This included linkages to other tourism businesses and tourism support organisations, and to local councils, iwi institutions and government departments who have Māori social and economic development as their mandate.

Staffing was a major issue. The businesses we worked with had trouble locating local people with the right skills to work in a tourism business and found that young people who did come back found the experience lonely, since there were few others of similar ilk nearby. Furthermore some people reported that they felt they would have fewer calls on their time or that setting up a business would be easier if they lived outside their traditional communities. However, seasonal work may allow young people with a family connection to the area to maintain their connections to place while being able to live and work elsewhere for the rest of the year.

Effective leadership was another important aspect of the development process. This included locating talent and fostering leadership in others, helping others articulate their collective goals, supporting social learning, and nurturing and supporting others with similar development interests. Leaders in our case studies spent considerable time working to support others in their community as well as working toward their own goals. Women were key to the success of many of the northern businesses and initiatives, which suggests that it is important to have a well-functioning group of people with a mix of talents and of gender in local development projects such as this.

One-on-one business assistance helped people to reflect on the process of setting up tourism businesses, to make use of research results, and to access and use information on the Internet. The mentoring intervention we began had to be adjusted from what we initially thought would be required. We found that small amounts of hands-on help were important to assist business people in their development process Thus, a model of assistance where the assistant completes work (say the development of a website or doing the accounts) that is gradually taken over by the businessperson could provide a good return on investment.

The research process also rested on trust-based interventions and its success hinged on developing and maintaining good relationships. Having close connections to people with strong familial linkages into the local community was key for both case studies. We found that it was important that those involved in advising others were genuinely interested in assisting others and in working collaboratively.

The research programme benefited from enlisting a researcher with a strong personal interest in developing tourism in Te Urewera. Doing so significantly broadened the learnings we were able to draw from the research and increased the capacity we were able to develop in the local community. Having a locally based person in the team who was both willing and able to take on the large role of leading people through a development process was of great importance to the success of this project in Te Urewera.

Part One: Introduction

This report has been prepared as a record of the research undertaken in a four-year FRST-funded research programme: Te Tāpoitanga Māori: Growing Regional Māori Tourism. It documents and synthesises the principal research findings, outputs (published material) and outcomes. The project involved working with rural Māori from two case study areas – one in the North Island of New Zealand (Te Urewera) and one in the South Island (Te Pātaka o Rākaihautu / Banks Peninsula) (Fig. 1). The work was carried out between July 2004 and June 2008 by Landcare Research, Takuahi Research and Development, The Te Urewera Tairāwhiti Tourism Forum and the Tūhoe Tourism Federation for their members and those involved in rural Māori tourism development.
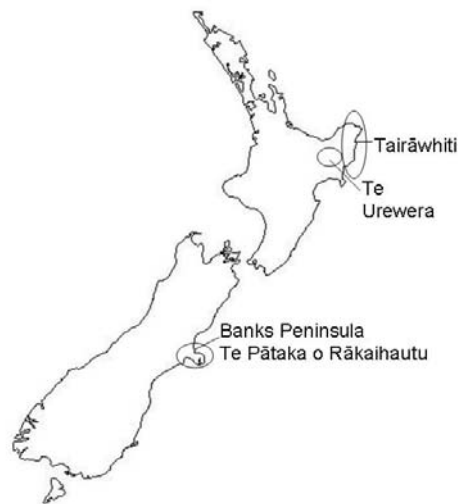
Fig. 1 Map showing case study areas.

1.1   Focus and outline

We expect that aspects of the research programme will be of interest to academics, researchers, local government and tourism representatives, as well as to local communities involved in tourism or other small business development. The outputs and outcomes of the research provide a wealth of information on tourism development issues for policymakers, programme designers in tourism areas, and for both central and local government.

For each project, we briefly describe the research undertaken, summarise the main findings, and explain its relevance to the overall project and the place in which the study took place. We then list the material published from each project to direct interested readers to more detailed information. Following this we outline any outcomes that have emerged as a result of the research. Outcomes include new initiatives (e.g. the start-up of a new business), platforms for further research, improved processes, new networks and emerging issues. In general, outcomes required the action and understanding of players *outside* the research team, whereas outputs were produced solely by the researchers.

A glossary is provided in Appendix 1, the study timeline in Appendix 2, the Kawenata of the Banks Peninsula rūnanga in Appendix 3, and a full list of publicly available outputs and their locations in Appendix 4. A number of outputs are still in preparation.

We conclude with a synthesis of the findings of the programme as a whole (Part Five). We reflect on the research methods, the people involved, and the overall learning that the team achieved. We also reflect on the outcomes of the action-based parts of the research that tie the outputs to the outcomes. Part Five is structured thematically and where possible looks across the two case studies and the different parts of the project.

1.2 Background

Ashley and Maxwell (2001) argue that despite much research on the topic of rural development, rural, also often known as regional or peripheral, areas are still behind urban ones in economic development and continue to struggle with problems such as diminishing populations and poverty. Capital (both financial and human) tends to move out of rural areas into urban centres (Britton 1996) leaving few resources for infrastructural (both physical and social) development. In some rural areas around New Zealand for example, it is not uncommon to find people living without electricity, and having substandard roading and telecommunications. The relative lack of opportunity for employment in rural areas means that skilled workers tend to move out of the area, making it difficult for rural businesses to find and retain good staff (Hohl & Tisdell 1995; Horn et al. 1998; Schollman & Dalziel 2002). These problems are further intensified because residents of remote rural areas are distant from potential markets, a fact of some importance in the development of tourism businesses (Hohl & Tisdell 1995; Altman 2001). These problems particularly affect Māori (New Zealand's indigenous people), as they do indigenous people elsewhere (e.g. Altman 2001), because of their ancestral connections to remote places (NZIER 2003).

It is important to note what we mean by 'rural' in this study. International literature tends to label places as rural even when discussing towns of several thousand people. In New Zealand in general and in this study in particular, townships have a few hundred people at the most and they may be spread across a wide area. Thus the 'rural' areas in this study are much more remote than many of those featuring in literature on rural development in other places. The rural people in our case studies therefore face considerably more difficulty in trying to develop economically than might be seen as the norm in the international literature. Furthermore, we do not necessarily equate rural with agricultural, as tends to be the case in European contexts. In our contexts much of the land is covered in native forest and is not farmed or cultivated. Small, sparse populations also represented particular challenges for the research process, particularly in trying to find samples of tourists visiting the area in our demand work.

Tourism is seen to provide some potential solutions to these rural development issues and problems. Tourism contributed $20.1 billion dollars to the New Zealand economy in the year ended March 2007, $8.8 billion of which was international expenditure, and $11.3 billion domestic expenditure. International tourist expenditure accounted for 18.3% of New Zealand total export earnings. Tourism directly and indirectly contributed $14.1 billion (9.2%) to New Zealand's total GDP. Further, tourism employed 9.7% of the total workforce of New Zealand (supporting 108,100 direct and 73,100 indirect full-time equivalent jobs) (Ministry of Tourism 2008a). The question is whether some of this can be redirected into remote rural areas such as Te Urewera or Banks Peninsula.

The New Zealand landscape and associated nature-based activities are the most important drivers of international and domestic visitors' choice of destination. In 2006 it was estimated that tourists took part in 15.7 million nature-based activities (occasions), with 42% being enjoyed by international tourists and 58% by domestic tourists. Participation in nature-based tourism activities by international tourists increased over the period 2002–2006. The likelihood of international tourists participating in at least one nature-based tourism activity remained high and stable at around 71% of visitors. In 2006, the likelihood of domestic

tourists participating in at least one nature-based activity was only 21%, most likely owing to a higher proportion of visitors being on business or visiting friends and relatives (Ministry of Tourism 2008b).

In New Zealand tourism is seen as having particular potential to benefit Māori who, it is argued, can add significant value to the New Zealand tourism product by providing an indigenous cultural lens by which to interpret the natural landscapes that people travel to New Zealand to see (Ministry of Tourism et al. 2007).

In 2006 over half a million (567,200) tourists (80% international; 20% domestic) participated in a Māori cultural experience. The number of international tourists that experience Māori culture increased from approximately 338,000 in 2001 to 455,000 in 2006, an annual average growth rate of 6%. In contrast, the number of domestic tourists who participated in Māori cultural tourism generally declined from 2001 to 2006, reflecting the decline in domestic tourism over that period. International tourists with the highest propensity to experience Māori cultural tourism were from China (51% of all Chinese tourists experienced Māori culture in 2005/06), followed by Germany (35%), Korea (33%) and Canada (30%). The propensity of Australians (11%), the largest international market, to experience Māori cultural tourism was noticeably below the average of 20%. The propensity of domestic tourists to experience Māori culture was highest among those from the Auckland (0.6%), Northland (0.3%) and Hawke's Bay (0.3%) regions (Ministry of Tourism 2008a).

Both nature-based and Māori cultural tourists were relatively high value tourists staying slightly longer and spending more than the average international tourist. In 2005/06, international Māori cultural tourists were more likely to participate in a wide range of activities, such as those common on a package-tour itinerary. These included visits to iconic New Zealand attractions, such as national parks, Fox and Franz Josef glaciers, Parliament Buildings, and whale watching. With demand from international tourists for these tourism products growing, a potential way to cater for this growth in independent travellers is through development of eco-cultural tourism products outside the main tourist centres.

From a supply-side perspective, however, Māori involvement in tourism is inconsistent. Since 2001, there has been significant progress in developing Māori tourism businesses and in developing support structures such as the Māori Tourism Council (TPK 2007). Such initiatives indicate that Māori are increasing their participation in the tourism industry overall in New Zealand. Also, Māori have shown themselves to be highly entrepreneurial by international standards (Zoltan et al. 2004). In 2004, Māori as a group within New Zealand had an 11.9% rate of entrepreneurial activity. This compared well with the average rate of 8% for all the 36 countries studied (Frederick & Henry 2004). However, a relatively high number of Māori live in remote areas, partly because they want to live on their ancestral lands, and as the NZIER (2003, p. 52) points out:

> Māori geographical location looms as a potentially significant barrier to economic development, because…Māori represent a significant proportion of the population in rural areas.

Thus, while Māori development in general is working well, there is still work to be done in rural areas particularly with regard to understanding the particular issues and problems that Māori face there.

The literature also indicates that Māori are underrepresented as employees in the tourism industry for a number of reasons. Many young Māori lack qualifications in tourism and some also have a low level of self-confidence, making them less well equipped for working in situations that demand good communication skills. Also, young Māori with the appropriate skills often dislike the seasonal nature of the tourism industry, are not keen on the potential

impacts of tourism on their culture, and are put off by the lack of a career structure in tourism and the low-paid nature of the work (Stafford Group 2001). Many of these issues may be exacerbated in rural areas.

1.3   Objectives

- To understand tourist interest in Māori cultural tourism products.
- To learn about working through the challenges that rural Māori have in developing tourism businesses.
- To learn how rural Māori might best be supported to develop tourism on their ancestral lands.

Part Two: Methods

Our research began in November 2004 and has involved a partnership between Landcare Research (a Crown Research Institute – CRI) and three rural Māori organisations. Two of the organisations were based in the eastern North Island of New Zealand (Tairāwhiti / Te Urewera); the other was situated on the east coast of the South Island (Banks Peninsula / Te Pātaka o Rākaihautu) (Fig. 1). The North Island entities (the Tūhoe Tourism Federation and Te Urewera Tairāwhiti Tourism Forum) were both formed with the intention of fostering tourism development in the Te Urewera area, and in the case of the Forum, the wider East Cape area as well. Takuahi Research and Development, the partner organisation in the south, was an entity set up by the Wairewa Rūnanga to do research and development work.

The research was led by Landcare Research, which had the systems and facilities to manage a contract with the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology. Landcare Research also supplied much of the research expertise, while the researchers at local level supplied local knowledge and linkages into the communities in question and considerable knowledge of business in the tourism industry and enterprise development in Māori communities.

The two case studies emerged from longstanding relationships between Landcare Research and the indigenous people in both areas (some going back 10–15 years) and because a number of individuals from the case study areas expressed interest in research to assist them with tourism development. Tourism development was seen by all those involved as one form of development that could utilise local resources. Māori participants in this study wanted to maintain a presence in their ancestral home areas and to provide jobs that might draw younger people with skills back to live at home, and to provide work for those already living in the area. As one of the research participants put it when asked 'why tourism?:

> Well I feel we are in the right area for it. You go anywhere else and there is nothing like we have, and it is ours! It's home. And for me I feel strongly about being able to come home – so for me I have to make something work.

Like others around the world, the people we worked with saw tourism development as one of the few possibilities for economic development to achieve these goals (Zeppel 2006; Butler & Hinch 2007), but felt they would need to develop some new knowledge and skills if such an endeavour were to be successful.

The research consortium received four years of funding from a Foundation for Research, Science and Technology tourism-focused portfolio. The programme aimed to answer two main questions: what is the nature of demand for Māori eco-cultural tourism in both areas and how could local people be supported to develop tourism business? The research was collaborative between each of the three organisations described above. Each nominated their own researchers to be part of the team to work alongside researchers based in the CRI. Throughout the programme, some research assistance was also provided by Lincoln University.

2.1 Northern case study

The northern case study was focused around the home of Tūhoe – Te Urewera, a remote but scenic area that is largely covered in indigenous forest. While rich in natural beauty and the traditions of the Tūhoe people, the region is also characterised by its sparse population, problems in access and roading, poor levels of service, and generally low levels of income and material wealth.
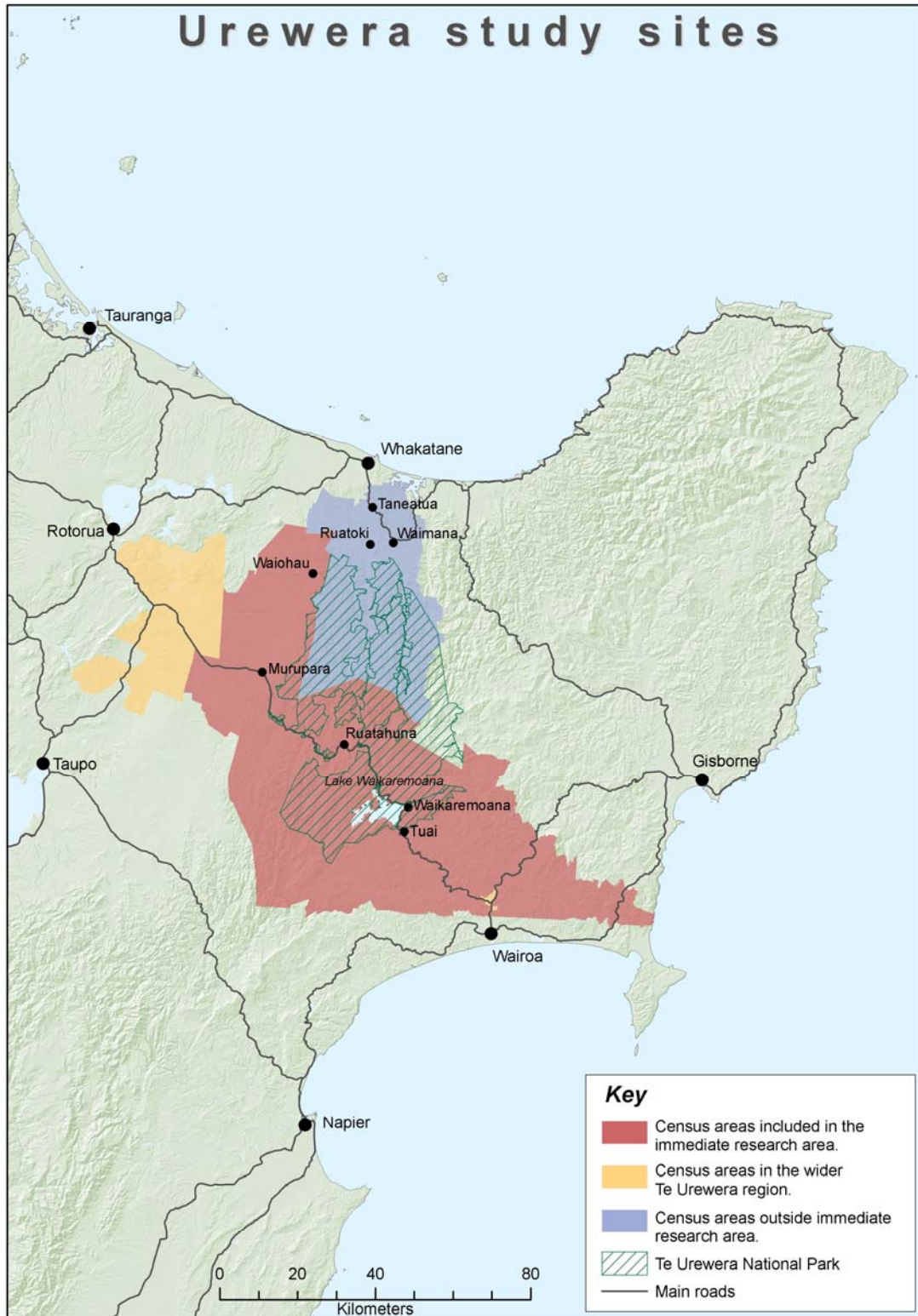
Tūhoe people account for nearly all of the population in Te Urewera and they live in small communities clustered around numerous marae in different parts of the area. These settlements form gateways to Te Urewera – in the north Ruatoki and Waimana, in the west Waiohau, and in the south Ruatāhuna and Waikaremoana. In 1954 the catchment areas of Lake Waikaremoana, Lake Waikareiti and other Crown reserves were gazetted as Te Urewera National Park. The rest of the Crown land in Te Urewera, to the north of Ruatāhuna, was added to the park in 1957 with further additions and some boundary alterations in the years following. While much of Te Urewera is a national park, the Tūhoe people still have enclaves of their own land along river valleys and around ancestral homes that they use for their own purposes (Fig. 2).

Te Urewera sits across three regional boundaries (Waikato, Bay of Plenty and Hawke's Bay), and it is not easy to define the geographical area included in the research. On some occasions the research area extended beyond what might commonly be considered Te Urewera. Our research was focused mainly on the 'immediate research area' (Fig. 2), but some individual research projects also extended further, to include the area shaded in blue in Fig. 2, as well as parts of East Cape.

Te Urewera is crisscrossed by numerous boundaries, so it regularly 'falls through the cracks' between the numerous regional institutions that include parts of the area in their jurisdiction. An illustration of this is that Te Urewera is not served by a regional tourism organisation – an issue that added to the challenges the local community faced in trying to set up tourism businesses. It also means that any developments in the area often need some coordination between a number of territorial local authorities, regional councils or Department of Conservation area offices, to name a few.

In recent years, Tūhoe have had their claims against the Crown under the Treaty of Waitangi heard by the Waitangi Tribunal. The tribe is now in the process of negotiating the settlement of these claims, which is engaging the focus and effort of many tribal and hapū leaders. Historically and in this pre-settlement stage, Tūhoe have had limited economic resources as a tribe.

In the past, land development schemes at Ruatoki, Waiohau, Waimana and Ruatāhuna placed farming at the centre of the local economies. However, the quality and areas of land available were insufficient to sustain the growing population in the region. Sawmilling in Ruatāhuna was a short-lived industry, and the development of tourism around Waikaremoana was limited by poor road access. Today, the Tūhoe settlements have little industry and although there are still farms in each area, there are few work opportunities available to members of the tribe. A few jobs are found at the local schools, general stores, or with the Department of Conservation. Numbers of workers travel from their homes in Te Urewera to work in sawmills, forestry or contracts in the Bay of Plenty Region. Many families in the area are dependent on benefits or national superannuation for their income. In 2001, according to census figures, in the wider Te Urewera area unemployment was 11.4% (nationally 6.6%). In 2006 this had reduced slightly to 8.2% unemployed, compared with the national reduction to 3.1% unemployed. In 2006, unemployment increased in three of the five area units in the immediate research area, with 18.1% unemployed in Murupara (15.1% in 2001), 12.3% in Matahina-Minginui (14.6% in 2001) and 10.4% in Tuai (17% in 2001).

Urewera study sites

Tauranga

Whakatane

Taneatua

Ruatoki Waimana

Rotorua

Waiohau

Murupara

Ruatahuna

Taupo

Lake Waikaremoana

Gisborne

Waikaremoana

Tuai

Wairoa

Napier

Key

Census areas included in the immediate research area.

Census areas in the wider Te Urewera region.

Census areas outside immediate research area.

Te Urewera National Park

Main roads

0   20   40   80
Kilometers

Fig. 2 Map of Northern case study area.

In less isolated Maungataniwha and Ruakituri-Morere unemployment decreased from 12.2% and 10.1% in 2001, to 2.6% and 2.5% in 2006, respectively.

The latter part of last century saw more permanent migration of the Tūhoe people to urban centres across the country and in recent times to Australia. Between the 2001 and 2006 censuses, the usually resident population of the wider Te Urewera region fell from 12,939 to 12,339 (−5%). At the 2006 Census the usually resident population of the immediate research area was 4,884 persons, down 5.8% from the 4,602 people recorded in 2001. In 2006, 66% of the population in the immediate research area was Māori. Murupara and Tuai had the highest percentages of Māori with 91% and 75%, respectively. In 2006, 32% of residents in the wider Te Urewera area had no school qualifications (cf. 25% nationally) and 13% had post-school qualifications (cf. 40% nationally). In Murupara, those without school qualifications were overrepresented (38%) and those with post-school qualifications underrepresented (5%).

Te Urewera has been a popular tourist destination since the late 19th century, with the first purpose-built tourist accommodation constructed in 1900. The Lake House, sited above the present Lake Waikaremoana campground, became an official Government Tourist Hostel (later a hotel) in 1909. Until the road through to Rotorua was completed in 1930, the hotel was the end of the road from Wairoa. From 1956 until 1972, the hotel was run by the Tourist Hotel Corporation, when it was closed because of financial losses. It was removed in the late 1970s.

Today, Te Urewera is the third largest national park in New Zealand and is the largest area of untouched native forest reserve in the North Island. The park is home to one of New Zealand's 'Great Walks' and is popular for tramping, hunting, fishing and other water sports. The Department of Conservation operates a visitor centre and small museum at Aniwaniwa and maintains a number of serviced campgrounds over the summer months. A variety of water taxi and other tourist services operate within the park, including a commercially run campground at Home Bay.

Local Tūhoe people also have a tradition of hosting hunters and travellers in Te Urewera, albeit on a small scale. Tourism appeals to some Tūhoe as a way to use their lands without destroying the environment. Interest in developing a tourism business for a number of people in the area was strongly driven by their desire to live in their tribal ancestral home and to provide employment for family members in their home area. In 2004, at the start of the research programme there were already two small, isolated tourism businesses in the area whose owner-operators were unsure how to improve their businesses. A number of individuals were also interested in developing new tourism business. Two more people (including one of the nominated researchers) were in the process of setting up their businesses.

The two nominated researchers from this area were able to use their considerable business skills and community linkages to work with the local people. Business mentoring was an important element of their work, as was establishing networks and marketing.

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2.2   Southern case study

The southern case study was focused around Banks Peninsula in Canterbury, on the east coast of the South Island (Fig. 3). This volcanic peninsula, while easily accessible from the city of Christchurch, is sparsely populated and its rough terrain means that there are many remote, less accessible communities. Banks Peninsula (Te Pātaka o Rākaihautu) is represented by five Ngāi Tahu rūnanga: Wairewa, Rapaki, Onuku, Koukorarata and Taumutu. Ngāi Tahu settled their claim against the Crown in 1997 and since that time has grown the money given in reparation through the activities of the highly successful Ngāi Tahu Holding Corporation. There remain, however, questions around how to replicate this development success at the level of their rural rūnanga.

Akaroa, the major township on the peninsula, is 70 km from Christchurch, and is a popular day-trip for Christchurch residents and other visitors (both domestic and international). Some eco-tourism businesses (mammal watching, trekking) are based in Akaroa, but there is little tourism development elsewhere on Banks Peninsula. Mammal watching is also available from Lyttelton Harbour, only 15 minutes' drive from central Christchurch. Numerous small bays and inlets on the peninsula are popular as holiday spots for New Zealanders, particularly Christchurch people. Despite a wealth of Māori history, there is little or no Māori cultural tourism industry. In this case study area the question was not so much how to develop tourism but how local Māori could break into the tourism industry on the peninsula.

At the 2001 Census, the population of Banks Peninsula was 7833 of whom 573 were Māori (7% cf. 14.7% Māori in the New Zealand population). Compared with Māori in all New Zealand, Māori on Banks Peninsula had a higher median age (28.5 years cf. 21.9 years), a higher percentage aged 65 and over (5.7% cf. 3.4%) and a lower percentage aged under 15 (34.4% cf. 37.3%). Banks Peninsula Māori were better qualified, with 25.7% having a tertiary qualification (cf. 21.2% of Māori overall and 32.2% of the New Zealand population overall)
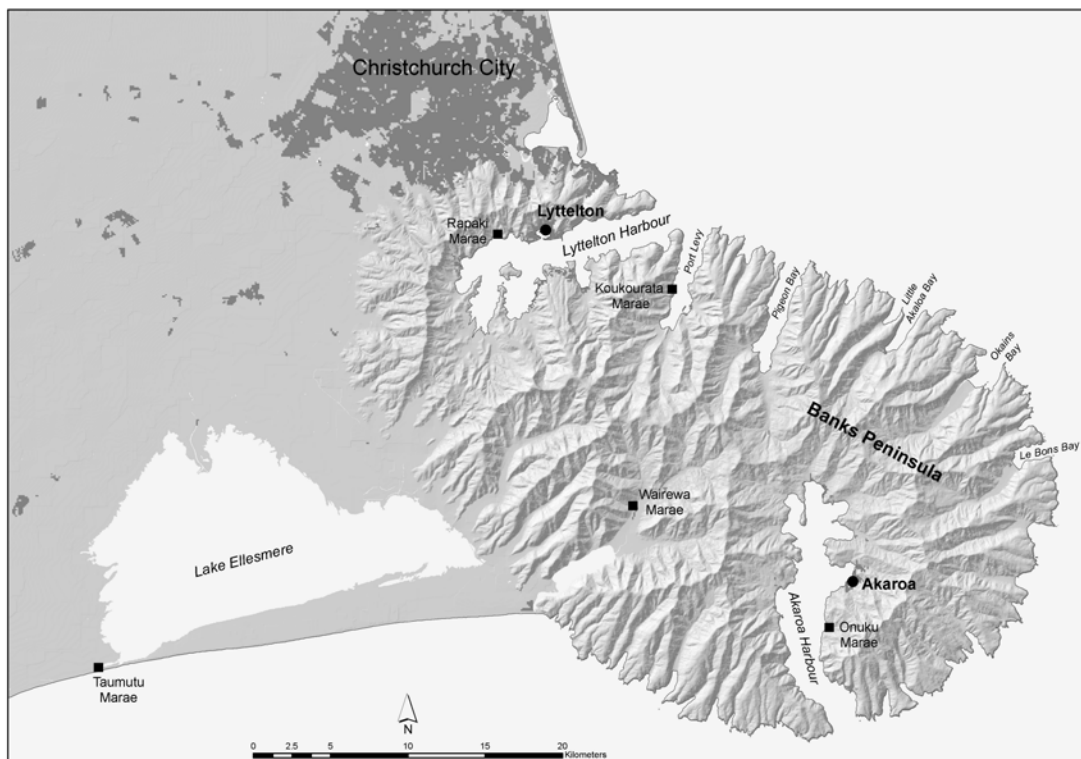

Fig. 3 Map of Southern case study area.

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and had a lower unemployment rate than Māori overall (11.1% cf. 16.8%). The census boundaries were redrawn for the 2006 Census and Banks Peninsula was incorporated into Christchurch City.

Unlike the Tūhoe people from the northern case study, the Ngāi Tahu people have relatively little land in their local areas, and a relatively low profile around Christchurch and Banks Peninsula. Most of the Ngāi Tahu people involved in this project lived in Christchurch and visited their marae on occasions rather than living nearby. Few actually lived in the rural areas where their maraes are situated. A central concern was a desire to raise the profile of Māori as people with a significant history and current presence in the area. They were keen to set up businesses to draw their people back home and to maintain and strengthen that presence. Tourism development was seen as a way to do this.

In this southern area, we worked with the five local rūnanga or tribal councils, rather than with anyone with a specific and personal interest in tourism business development. The researchers, who were nominated by our research partners, Takuahi Research and Development, had strong expertise in community development but little experience in tourism or business development. No one in the local area was personally keen to set up business on their ancestral lands. Those involved in the research were keen to see it happen – if someone else were willing to run the business. This issue was a key barrier, particularly as many Māori businesses are run independently of their tribal council. For those in the south, Whale Watch Kaikoura, which had been set up by the local marae, was their model, so it was natural for them to want to work at rūnanga level to develop business.

2.3   Research methods

The Te Tāpoitanga Māori programme was based on participatory action research (PAR) methodology. Within that framework a number of different methods were employed for each part of the project. As noted earlier, this work was led by Landcare Research, a Crown Research Institute in New Zealand, and involved a number of rural Māori communities. The team regarded it as important to use a participatory approach that could incorporate an awareness of, and a process for reflecting on, the differential power relationships between the CRI and the community groups. Working cross-culturally in a post-colonial setting (like New Zealand) is not a simple process, particularly given the nature of the funding, and institutional settings within which we were working. The situation demanded significant reflection and capacity building on the part of all parties for the partnership to operate. Thus a PAR approach offered a useful set of tools for working through these issues and keeping the research as relevant as possible for those with whom we were working. Some reflections on the research process and the issues that arose from this cross-cultural context are provided in Part Five.

The PAR approach is also a useful set of methods for moving beyond information and/or critique into building and highlighting new ways of acting and organising (Gibson-Graham 2008), and testing the effects of actions so that research participants can progress towards their goals. As such, participants become partners in the research. Participatory work was also vital from the perspective that the knowledge participants have of their local communities and wider social systems was necessary for formulating the research project. This is not to negate the needs and influence of the researchers, who brought in research expertise and knowledge already generated in the broader field to assist with formulating research direction. However, this research programme would not have achieved nearly as much as it did without this PAR approach.

In action research, participants are generally involved in the actions to be tested and so must be in full agreement with any interventions if the research is to proceed. This gives them

considerable control over the overall research process, and as the research proceeds, researchers must frequently seek and be sensitive to feedback from those participants. Likewise, research completed by the researchers provides information that can help participants to formulate or adjust their actions to make them more effective. Thus 'action research' involves a cyclical process of plan–act–reflect–evaluate (see Fig. 4), hence:

> We agree research with our research partners
> We do the research
> We take action along with our research partners
> We research the outcomes of the action
> We refine our actions
> We research the results of the refined actions
> and so on…
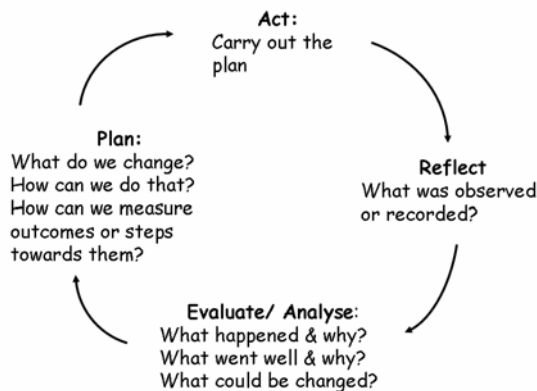
Fig. 4 An ideal action research cycle.

2.4   Māori Tourism Research Programme

The programme ran for four years, beginning July 2004, and comprised a number of discrete research projects as well as research initiatives that ran throughout the entire programme. The first of those projects (numbered 1–15 below), an investigation of what international tourists to New Zealand want from Māori tourism, was undertaken in both case study areas. After this, the research programme evolved differently in each of the case study areas (see Appendix 2 for timelines of the individual research projects). There was considerable overlap between research projects and as the research progressed a number of research outputs emerged that were informed from multiple research projects. These are presented in Section 4.6. In many instances the individual research findings were relevant to, and shared across, both case study areas.

2.5   Joint-case-study project: Demand for Māori eco-cultural tourism (1)

In both case study areas, the research programme began with a research project that investigated tourist demand for Māori eco-cultural tourism products. Understanding demand is central to facilitating the supply of any product, not just tourism. Generally research into tourism demand falls into two distinct categories: 'theoretical' (academic) research in which aspects of tourist motivations, perceptions and experiences are explored; and the more 'applied' (market research) approaches, which describe current visitor patterns and interests and identify gaps in supply.

As we went into this piece of research many of our community participants assumed that Māori culture was a central element of the New Zealand tourism product, a not unreasonable assumption given the long-term, and continuing, involvement of Māori in tourism in the Rotorua area and the prominence of Māori in New Zealand tourism marketing. The New Zealand Tourism Strategy 2010, a pan-tourism document, pointed to the uniqueness of Māori culture, and its importance as New Zealand's point of difference from other international tourism destinations. While initially accepting these premises, this research was designed to test how tourists might interact with eco-cultural tourism – a more subtle form of cultural tourism than the staged concerts and performances of mainstream Māori tourism.

The demand-side research had three parts:
- A review of Māori tourism research and literature, undertaken as a precursor to the development of a survey questionnaire on demand for Māori tourism
- Quantitative surveys conducted with tourists (both international and domestic) in each of the case study areas
- A set of qualitative interviews with international visitors who had just completed Māori tourism experiences.

2.5.1   Research
The literature review began by discussing the New Zealand tourism context before narrowing in focus to consider definitions and understandings of cultural tourism. Subsequently, Māori cultural tourism was examined from both supply- and demand-side perspectives. The demand literature reviewed was sourced from international and New Zealand studies, from academic and market research, and in respect of both international and domestic visitors.

The same interview-assisted survey was undertaken at a number of locations in each case study area: Whakatane, Gisborne, Lake Waikaremoana, the East Cape lighthouse area and Rotorua in the north, and Little River, Akaroa and Christchurch in the south. A total of 286 surveys were completed in the northern area and 200 in the southern area. The survey explored international and domestic tourists' interests in experiencing Māori cultural tourism products alongside other possible types of attractions and/or experiences available in New Zealand. It also sought to determine tourists' interest in Māori eco-tourism products – for each case study area three potential tourist product scenarios were presented. Socio-demographic data and other travel-related characteristics were also recorded.

The qualitative research followed the quantitative surveys described above and explored in more detail how international tourists experience Māori culture. For each case study area, a number of tourism products with varying degrees of Māori cultural content were selected, and tourists were interviewed after participation in these experiences. The North Island case study area offered more cultural products (six), especially when Rotorua was included. In the South Island, because there were no suitable Māori cultural tourism products available in the case study area, three products were chosen based on geographic proximity, one in Christchurch and two in Kaikoura. In total, 31 in-depth interviews were conducted with 53 tourists.

2.5.2   Results/findings
The literature review found that despite there being a considerable body of literature from both supply and demand perspectives, the two were often tangential rather than connected to each other. From a supply perspective, the focus has been on defining Māori tourism products and Māori involvement in tourism. Demand-side research has focused on categorising different types of cultural tourists, despite the recognition that cultural tourism is not a major driver of tourist consumption in New Zealand when compared with the very strong driver represented by the physical landscapes and natural environment (Ministry of Tourism 2008a, b). Also, in comparison to what is known about international tourists,

relatively little is known about domestic tourists' interests, and involvement, in cultural tourism.

The quantitative findings supported other research findings, namely that for most tourists New Zealand's scenery and outdoor activities were a stronger drawcard than were cultural tourism experiences. However, tourists surveyed in the northern case study area (Te Urewera) were more interested in cultural tourism products than were those in the southern area (Banks Peninsula). This may have been at least partially because of their proximity to Rotorua, a destination internationally known for its Māori cultural experiences and its long history in providing such experiences. In comparison, the southern area has traditionally offered almost nothing in the way of Māori cultural products. In both case study areas, international tourists reported a much greater interest in Māori cultural tourism products than did domestic tourists.

The qualitative research found that most international visitors need their experiences of Māori culture to be explicitly interpreted or mediated. Where this does not happen, international visitors often do not recognise Māori culture or realise that they have participated in a Māori experience. Tourists want to experience Māori culture in recognisable ways, which often means engaging with the traditional marketed aspects of culture rather than with contemporary culture. Māori cultural components appear to add enjoyment and satisfaction to a tourist experience, although tourists were not prepared to pay more for these aspects of an experience. Value was also added through personal engagement with contemporary Māori culture. Experiences of this nature were more likely to occur through the consumption of small-scale niche products.

2.5.3   Publications[1]
- Horn C 2006. Differences between tourists in two different regions of New Zealand. Webpage/Information sheet. [ID1-1]
- Horn C 2006. Reported attractiveness of activities in two New Zealand regions. Webpage/Information sheet. [ID:1-2]
- Wilson J, Doherty J, Hart P 2006. International tourist perceptions of New Zealand eco-cultural tourism products. Paper presented at the CAUTHE: 'To the city and beyond' Conference, Melbourne, Australia, 6–9 February. [ID1-3]
- Wilson J, Horn C, Sampson K, Doherty J, Becken S, Hart P 2006. Demand for Māori eco-cultural tourism. Lincoln, Manaaki Whenua Press. [ID1-4]
- Becken S, Sampson K 2007. Maori eco-cultural tourism. In: Buultjens J, Fuller D eds Case studies in indigenous tourism. Lismore, Southern Cross University Press. Pp. 107–138. [ID:1-5]
- Horn C 2008. What tourists think about Māori eco-cultural tourism products. Webpage/Information sheet. [ID1-6]

2.5.4   Outcomes
The demand-side research provided useful data on levels of interest in Māori cultural tourism products. In particular, the qualitative finding that international tourists only recognise traditional marketed aspects of Māori culture indicated a challenge for those wishing to develop purely cultural tourism products in either case study area. In addition to the material outputs, the research was presented to hui in both case study areas.

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[1] Availability of all publications from this project is outlined in Appendix 4.

In respect of Te Urewera, the research findings suggested that, given the general lack of recognition and limited interest in Māori tourism products, marketing attractions specifically for their Māori elements may not be successful. In contrast, eco-tourism was popular, well understood and appealing. This implies that marketing experiences as eco-tourism and delivering on that (but with elements of Māori included) will draw customers in and has the potential to offer added value. In the long term it may be possible to build a strong market in Māori eco-cultural tourism and reach the point when Māori can charge more for the Māori elements in their product.

The demand project found that, while there was no established Māori cultural tourism market on Banks Peninsula, there was some potential to capture international tourists who choose the South Island as their gateway, or who do not visit the North Island. However, to begin with at least, growth in employment and/or the provision of tourism-related goods and services that do not have an *explicit* cultural component was suggested as a logical path for development. To this end, the southern group considered that effort might best be focused on 'ecotourism' products to which cultural elements could be added if customers were interested.

Part Three: Northern Case Study – Te Urewera

3.1 Barriers & opportunities for Māori eco-cultural tourism development (2)

Having examined in some detail the demand for cultural tourism products, attention in the northern case study turned to getting a better understanding of supply-side factors relevant to tourism development. The focus was on understanding the opportunities, barriers and issues facing both current Māori tourism operators based in and around Te Urewera and those wanting to get into tourism.

3.1.1 Research

Thirty in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with people involved in tourism businesses, potential tourism businesses and those working to support Māori economic development. The interviews were conducted in the north by a local researcher familiar with the area who had considerable local knowledge and local contacts. Interviewees included all those in the area who had shown some interest in starting tourism businesses. For some interviews one of the Landcare Research team, with no personal connections in the north, was used. Several interviews, addressing the same topics, were also undertaken outside the area with people working in Māori business development or community development to get a broader understanding of how people work in this area.

The key topics explored in the interviews were the current levels of business and business development, perceptions of tourism as a potential area for development, what opportunities existed for people to develop tourism business, and what activities were already going on to support and develop Māori tourism business.

In conjunction with the interviews an extensive literature review, covering related topics, was undertaken. The review included literature that addressed definitional issues (rural/urban, sustainable development etc.), barriers to business involvement, Māori and entrepreneurship, business success factors, and initiatives and methods that have been employed to help foster Māori business.

3.1.2 Results/findings

The research found that in setting up in business, rural Māori face a number of additional challenges to those faced by their urban or non-Māori counterparts. Māori who live in their home areas are more bound by tradition and its requirements on family than those who live away from their home areas. The sheer difficulty of development work in remote areas, the presence of family, and the strong sense of identity and social responsibility that brings people back home and the small number of people who choose to return mean that there are numerous calls on the time of capable rural Māori. Infrastructural issues create further challenges for rural people over and above the challenges experienced by urban dwellers, whether Māori or non-Māori.

3.1.3 Publications

- Horn C, Tahi B 2006. Barriers to Māori tourism business. Paper presented at the CAUTHE: 'To the city and beyond' Conference, Melbourne, Australia, 6–9 February. [ID:2-1]
- Horn C 2007. Fostering rural Māori tourism business: A literature review. Landcare Research Contract Report LC0607/123, prepared for the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology, Wellington. [ID:2-2]
- Horn C, Tahi B. Some cultural and historical factors influencing rural Māori tourism business development. Submitted to the Journal of Rural and Community Development. [ID: 2-3]

3.1.4 Outcomes

In addition to the specific information gathered on challenges and barriers, the interviews were valuable in terms of informing researchers about the settings in which they were working. The literature review added useful contextual data, as well as providing information for current and potential business people on what was available in the way of business help. An important part of the action research process was feedback to the research participants themselves. The principal feedback mechanisms were presentations and discussions of the research findings at hui and via the subsequent mentoring programme. Overall, the supply-side research in the northern case study was invaluable as a learning exercise for both the researchers and the research participants and as a platform on which further research and development initiatives could be based.

3.2   Mentoring programme (3)

The findings of the supply-side research indicated a need for tourism business support specifically aimed at rural Māori in tourism. Since our researchers in the northern area had good business and tourism skills, a mentoring programme was instituted. The two local researchers assisted 24 different individuals in the northern case study area of Te Urewera and on nearby East Cape. They included people involved in existing businesses and those wishing to start new businesses.

3.2.1 Research

The mentoring programme was developed from the information gathered from the supply-side business interviews and from the demand-side tourist research. The supply-side interviews contributed information on the development of business skills and improving business systems (financial, legal and marketing). The demand-side research assisted with the development of marketing plans, websites and brochures of appeal to tourists.

3.2.2 Publications

- Horn C, Tahi B, Doherty J 2006. Some things that are helping people get moving on their business. Webpage/Information sheet. [ID:3-1]
- Horn C, Doherty J, Tahi B 2006. Mentoring Māori businesses at start-up. Abstract for a working paper presented to the New Zealand Tourism Research Conference, Otago University, Dunedin, 6–8 December. [ID:3-2]
- Doherty J 2008. Marketing tips for tourism businesses. Webpage/Information sheet. ([D:3-3]
- Doherty J 2008. Tips on going to TRENZ. Webpage/ Information sheet. [ID:3-4]
- Doherty J 2008. Reflections on starting a new tourism business. Webpage/Information sheet. [ID3-5]
- Horn C, Doherty J, Tahi B 2008. Tips on starting up Māori eco-cultural tourism business. Webpage/ Information sheet [ID:3-6]
- Horn C, Doherty J, Tahi B 2008. An actor network perspective on rural Māori tourism development. Extended abstract of a working paper presented at the New Zealand Tourism Research and Hospitality Conference 'Re-Creating Tourism', Hanmer, 2–5 December. [ID 3-7]

3.2.3 Outcomes

A direct result of the mentoring initiative has been the development of a number of either new, or improved, high quality Māori tourism businesses in Te Urewera. Although all these businesses were pre-existing, in that they had been conceived prior to the research programme beginning, the research assisted them to develop their business systems and to deal with the issues they struck as they started up.

These include:
- Ahurei Adventures in Ruatahuna: new website created in 2007 in direct response to feedback on marketing (http://www.ahureiadventures.co.nz)
- Whakamarino Lodge: marketing assistance and a facility upgrade in response to a potentially higher earning revenue market in the area (http://www.lakelodge.co.nz)
- Te Urewera Treks: a new business operating for the first time over the 2006/07 summer (http://www.teureweratreks.co.nz).

Some of the people the mentors worked with ultimately decided that it was not feasible for them to set up in business. Others continued to progress slowly and it appears likely that at some stage in the future some will become involved in tourism business. The people we worked with had many other imperatives in their lives, arguably many more than non-Māori urban dwellers. This negatively affects the time and resources available to focus on business development, so it can take some years to set up a tourism business. In the case of Te Urewera Treks, for example, it took nine years from the time the operators first had the idea to taking on their first customers.

The mentors themselves were interviewed regularly as part of the process of ongoing reflection and learning. These interviews, conducted by a researcher in the team from outside the immediate area, were useful both as an evaluation of the mentoring process and because the interviewer was not directly involved in the mentoring, as a means of gaining more objective understanding of ongoing issues. Among the key lessons learnt from the mentoring programme were the importance of using mentors who were both local and accessible, and the need for mentors to establish trust and credibility with the people they are mentoring. In addition, the mentoring programme increased the experience of the mentors.

As occurred with the demand-side research, the information generated for the mentoring process was presented to people in the local area via a series of hui. This also assisted a number of other local people who were not directly involved in the research programme with their thinking on business development in general. Presentations based on findings from the supply-side research and the mentoring programme were also made to the research partners and to interested supporting organisations such as the Department of Conservation and the Māori regional tourism organisations. These took place in the local area, as well as in Wellington and Rotorua.

The mentoring programme also offered general support to those involved in tourism in the wider region. This included supporting a group of operators to exhibit at TRENZ (see Section 3.7), the development of promotional material, and the scoping and mapping of key aspects of the tourism industry in the Bay of Plenty and East Coast regions (see Section 3.5).

The mentoring process used the information generated in the demand project but also indicated a need for more information about the interests and preferences of visitors already in the area. Two visitor surveys were undertaken to address this gap. One was conducted over the summer tourist season at Lake Waikaremoana, the primary tourist destination in Te Urewera; the other over a longer time period and at a wider range of sites throughout the region.

3.3   Profiling visitors to Lake Waikaremoana (4)

Te Urewera, and in particular Lake Waikaremoana, already attracted many visitors but little was known about these visitors and their interests and activities while in the area. The survey covered these things and aimed to assess potential levels of interest in new tourism products in the area and the development of existing services and activities.

The economic viability of tourism businesses depends on patronage from both domestic and international visitors, often with increased dependence on domestic visitors over the quieter winter months. There has been little specific research in New Zealand on domestic tourists, and their interests are generally not as well understood as those of international visitors. The demand-side research found that domestic visitors were not as interested in cultural tourism as were international visitors. This finding suggests that areas with a high proportion of domestic visitors may therefore present challenges for those wishing to introduce new, culturally focused tourism products.

To explore these issues the Lake Waikaremoana visitor research sought to:
- Understand tourism demand in an isolated rural area of New Zealand
- Examine in detail the characteristics of domestic tourists
- Explore opportunities to develop tourism, and particularly Māori tourism experiences, in such areas.

3.3.1 Research
A survey was conducted at Lake Waikaremoana during the summer of 2005/06 with one survey period in the school holidays (*n* = 100) and the other outside the holidays (*n* = 91). Domestic visitors made up 76% of the sample. Data were collected on visitor demographics (age, ethnicity and gender), characteristics of travel in the area (type of transport and travel routes taken, length of stay, travel companions), types of accommodation (both used and preferred), motivations for visiting, activities engaged in, information sources used, previous visitation and likelihood of return. A final section of the survey asked about respondents' activities and guiding preferences.

3.3.2 Results/findings
The age profile of visitors varied considerably between the two research periods, as did the relative proportions of international and domestic visitors. The school holidays appeared to offer some scope for new tourism ventures that offered activities for young people or children. Programmes targeted at older visitors also appeared to be a possibility for shoulder periods.

Other important findings were associated with the number of respondents who were repeat visitors to the area. Motivation for visiting, length of stay, interest in new activities and intention to return could all be related to previous visit history. Three types of visitors were identified:
- 'Discovering' visitors generally had not visited the area previously. They valued exploring new areas and showed little in the way of personal connection to this particular destination.
- 'Familiar' visitors had been to the area once or twice before, or were travelling with companions who had been to the area before. They had more experience or knowledge of the area than discovering visitors but most showed little personal connection to the area.
- 'Attached' visitors showed strong connections to the area and most had visited numerous times. When talking about visit motivations they often spoke of their connection to the area rather than of the physical attributes of the area itself.

3.3.3 Publications
- Fitt H 2006. A scenic drive, a necessary journey or an arduous slog? Tourists' differing views of the road into Lake Waikaremoana. Webpage/Information sheet. [ID:4-1]
- Fitt H 2006. Accommodating visitor needs: Accommodation patterns at Lake Waikaremoana. Webpage/Information sheet. [ID:4-2]
- Fitt H 2006. Hunting for women tourists: Women as a potential market for guided hunting. Webpage/Information sheet. [ID:4-3]

- Fitt H 2006. Information search and booking behaviour of visitors to Lake Waikaremoana: Distribution in rural New Zealand. Abstract for a working paper presented to the New Zealand Tourism Research Conference, Otago University, Dunedin, 6–8 December. Webpage/Information sheet. [ID:4-4]
- Fitt H, Wilson J, Horn C 2007. A profile of tourism in the Lake Waikaremoana Region: Independent visitation in rural New Zealand. Lincoln, Manaaki Whenua Press. [ID:4-5]
- Horn C, Fitt H. 2007 A profile of visitors to Lake Waikaremoana, Te Urewera National Park. Webpage/Information sheet. [ID:4-6]
- Fitt H, Horn C 2007. Domestic cultural tourists – who are they and does it matter? Abstract of a working paper presented at Public Sociologies: Lessons and Trans Tasman Comparisons. TASA (The Australian Sociological Association) & SAANZ (Sociological Association of Aotearoa/ New Zealand) Joint Conference. The University of Auckland, 4–7 December. [ID4-7]

3.3.4 Outcomes
The research provided useful information on the characteristics and behaviour of visitors to Lake Waikaremoana. It also increased our understanding of the demand for eco-cultural tourism in the area and helped to further guide businesses in the development of their products. The research also confirmed the common supposition that the road into Te Urewera deters some visitors.

This demand-side research identified a strong repeat visitation pattern and highlighted some important issues that tourism developers need to consider. Primarily, it may be difficult to know which type of visitor to target with new tourism developments. Discovering visitors, for example, did not like the long stretches of unsealed road, a fact which may discourage them returning and from visiting other attractions further afield in Te Urewera. Attached visitors, on the other hand, were keen to discourage any major developments in an effort to prevent the loss of the rural, isolated and natural character of the destination. These findings suggest that further research is required to better understand domestic tourists in respect of their repeat visitation and place attachment. Other destinations may, in fact, have their own familiar and attached visitors with different sets of behaviours and characteristics.

3.4   Profiling visitors to Te Urewera (5)

Alongside the visitor survey at Lake Waikaremoana a self-completion survey was conducted at a number of locations on State Highway 38 during the summer and early autumn of 2006. In addition to general visitor data, similar to that collected at Lake Waikaremoana, the survey included several specific questions about visitors' interest in a possible new tourism venture in Te Urewera – a café/shop at Ngāpūtahi.

3.4.1 Research
Respondents were asked about:
- Their current visit (activities, transport, accommodation, reasons for visit, information sources used)
- The facilities and attractions of the area (what they would use if available), and
- Themselves (travelling companions, size of travelling group, age).

Both visitors and locals were surveyed; locals (12% of sample) only answered the second two sets of questions. In total, 196 surveys were completed at Aniwaniwa, Ruatāhuna and Murapara.

3.4.2 Results/findings
Of the list of potential services, facilities or attractions suggested for Te Urewera, the most popular was a café/restaurant/bar, followed by walking tracks. An arts and crafts gallery,

information centre, and accommodation were also popular. Altogether 84% of respondents said they would have used a café/shop at Ngāpūtahi if one was available. Of those respondents who would use the café, 88% indicated that they would purchase hot and cold drinks and 64% would purchase homemade foods.

3.4.3   Outcomes

While there were no direct outputs from this survey, after the analysis of the results some data were incorporated into the Lake Waikaremoana visitor profile report. These, together with the data collected via the industry mapping project (see below), provided useful information for potential tourism operators on the current state of, and interest in, tourism in the region. This wider-reaching survey contributed valuable data on attitudes towards a specific business and the services tourists would be interested in. The data collected in this survey, and at Lake Waikaremoana, have been useful in the setting up of a regional tourism strategy and for funding applications, and may still be used in future developments.

3.5   Tourism industry mapping in Te Urewera and Tairāwhiti (6)

The Lake Waikaremoana and Te Urewera visitor surveys contributed valuable data on current visitors to the northern case study area. To assist with the mentoring programme an overview of existing tourism in the wider case study area and the surrounding areas that feed tourists into Te Urewera was required. This involved the preparation of an industry map that incorporated information on the numbers, origins and activities of tourists; their movement in and out of the case study area; and an indication of the key tourism operators in the area.

3.5.1   Research

In early 2007 interviews were conducted with representatives from the visitor information centres or the associated Regional Tourism Organisations (RTOs) in Gisborne, Ruatoria, Wairoa, Waikaremoana, Tauranga and Whakatane. A search on RTO and tourism-related websites provided data for areas where interviews were not possible (Napier, Opotiki, Rotorua and Taupo), or where the interviewee did not have access to the data required.

3.5.2   Results/findings

This project identified several research issues concerning both access to knowledgeable people and quality of data currently available. Some data were available from the Tourism Research Council but only at the RTO level (which meant there was little that provided any information about Te Urewera). At local-area level, few records were kept of tourist nationalities and travel patterns around the region. A limited overview could be constructed based on the perceptions of Visitor Information Centre and RTO staff members. There were also some issues associated with the research process, including difficulties with contacting people, arranging interviews, and an expressed preference for face-to-face interviews rather than telephone ones.

A number of issues arose concerning tourism development within Te Urewera and the wider region. Poor road access and a lack of accommodation, in particular, were perceived to be barriers to tourism development in the area. Also, poor communication between the tourism industry and Māori people was found to be a barrier to development. Many visitors do not recognise forms of Māori culture more subtle than well-marketed and well-staged kapahaka performances in which Māori are dressed in traditional costume.

This work indicated that smaller and less-developed areas need to select one or two signature attractions that other operators can then leverage off, and which can be promoted through existing national or international networks. The Lake Waikaremoana and Te Urewera research had shown areas that feed into Te Urewera already cater for visitors who prefer to go 'off the beaten track' and 'to rough it'. To attract these visitors further into

Te Urewera or to attract new visitors to the area might require both a signature operator and improved infrastructure. While this appears contradictory to the notion of roughing it, there may be scope to improve accessibility and accommodation facilities beyond the limited camping facilities currently available without altering the fundamental attractions of the area.

A potential market for Te Urewera could be Tūhoe people who are no longer living at home, but who may want to reconnect with their ancestral lands. This observation highlights the importance of understanding the different ways in which different groups of people interact with places such as Te Urewera. For example, people with an ancestral link may want different supporting products than those who do not have this link. Likewise, new visitors may want different services than those who have been numerous times before, as the Lake Waikaremoana research also found.

3.5.3 Outcomes

While the industry mapping project did not produce any publicly available outputs, the information collated was useful to the research participants and was made available for use by the businesses involved in the project. It was used in developing business marketing plans. The project provided, as far as was possible, an overall picture of industry in the region, providing background information and reference material for those engaged in tourism initiatives. The information was used in the development of marketing and business plans and in the preparation of documentation for the *Te Urewera Rainforest Route* network set up as the next part of this research (see Section 3.7).

Although this project highlighted the current lack of useful information available on visitors to this area, it also served as a means to identify what types of information are needed and from whom, or where, that information is most likely to be sourced. There may be, for example, scope to add items of interest to future surveys and research initiatives undertaken by the RTOs involved. Further to this, the mapping project identified a need for more information from local councils and others not directly involved in tourism to ascertain what roading and other service plans were forecast for the feeder areas.

3.6   Inbound operator interest in Māori eco-cultural tourism (7)

Tourism development literature suggests that remote regions can attract visitors through developing links with larger supply chains, that is, those that operate beyond the immediate local area. International supply chains (or distribution channels) include inbound operators (IBOs) who sell tours in New Zealand to international travel agents (Fig. 5). IBOs are a vital link in the traditional tourism distribution chain and currently handle about 600,000 visitors each year, 50% of all holiday arrivals to New Zealand, or a quarter of all inbound visitors to New Zealand. It is therefore important to understand the role IBOs play, and the barriers and opportunities to working with them, to complete the wider picture of Māori tourism in New Zealand.

3.6.1 Research

In-depth, face-to-face and telephone interviews were conducted with 11 New Zealand IBOs. In addition, the CEO of the Inbound Tour Operators Council (ITOC) and the CEO of an RTO located close to the case study region were also interviewed. The purpose of the research was twofold: to identify barriers and opportunities for regional Māori tourism products in the inbound operator component of the tourism distribution chain; and to better understand the role that IBOs play in the international distribution chain, particularly with respect to Māori tourism operators.

A traditional tourism distribution chain
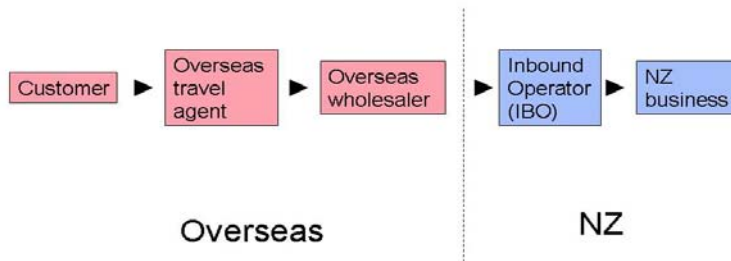
Fig. 5 Traditional tourism distribution chain in New Zealand.

3.6.2 Results/findings

For a new Māori product to be of interest to IBOs, it should be unique, involve interaction with people, truly represent the culture and activities of the location, and mix culture and experience. IBOs also suggested that operators adjust the level of the cultural component according to the needs of the particular audience, so it appeals to a wider variety of people. Key criteria included product quality, security of supply, having an administrative support structure in place (particularly for small operators), being reliable and consistent, having a visible presence in the industry, and having a pricing structure that includes commission.

Roads and accommodation infrastructure were cited as the two main barriers for growing regional tourism. A number of IBOs felt that that it was important for all the suppliers in a developing region to deliver consistently to the required standards. Time is a key barrier to including a peripheral region like Te Urewera in IBO tour itineraries. Particularly for the shorter tours, adding Te Urewera into an itinerary means finding the time from elsewhere in the tour. If a tour is working well, IBOs are reluctant to risk changing it. Non-tourism-related incidents can also have a negative effect on tourism development in an area. During the research programme, for example, the arrests of a number of Tūhoe political activists in the northern part of Te Urewera on charges of terrorism (charges which were later withdrawn and in a few cases replaced with other lesser firearms charges) featured prominently in the national news. Of course, while these may make the area somewhere to be less recommended by those advising tourists, this also raised the national profile of the area for a brief period.

Having a long-term business relationship was a significant driver for working with many IBOs. Visiting IBOs and attending industry forums and events were mentioned as key opportunities to initiate and develop these relationships. Key recommendations to help IBOs incorporate new products and develop tours into new regions included four or five operators working together to market the region, developing a product manual for the region, attending Tourism Rendezvous New Zealand (TRENZ), working closely with regional tourism organisations (RTOs) and Māori regional tourism organisations (MRTOs), promoting products in regional visitor guides, and having a tourism coordinator for the region.

3.6.3 Publications
- Doherty J 2007. Barriers and opportunities for regional Māori tourism products in the international distribution chain: A case study of Te Urewera, New Zealand. Murupara, Kitea Developments. [ID:7-1]

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- Doherty J 2007. Inbound operator/distribution channel literature review and background information paper. [ID:7-2]
- Doherty J 2008. Barriers and opportunities for rural Māori tourism in the traditional distribution chain. Webpage/Information sheet. [ID:7-3]

3.6.4   Outcomes

This work was combined with the supply-side business research and, after discussion with the northern case study partners, the focus within the research programme expanded beyond individual mentoring to encompass building a network to assist local businesses to join forces to sell the area to international visitors. In response to one direct recommendation from the IBO report, a small group of five local businesses were brought together by one of the local researchers to attend TRENZ.

3.7   Going to TRENZ and developing *Te Urewera Rainforest Route* (8)

TRENZ is one of a number of tourism trade shows held around the world, where tourism product suppliers (e.g. accommodation, tourism attractions), tour wholesalers, and IBOs come together to promote their products, business to business. For New Zealand tourism product suppliers, the TRENZ trade show represents an opportunity to meet with a large number of tour wholesalers from around the world over just a few days, at relatively low cost (compared with the price and time required to travel to each wholesaler individually). Over the four days of TRENZ, each supplier (or group of suppliers) rents a booth, and meets with buyers (wholesalers or IBOs) to establish relationships, determine what buyers are interested in, and detail the products they have to offer.

A key recommendation for Te Urewera from the IBO research interviews was to get four or five operators together to attend TRENZ. Prior to attending TRENZ, however, considerable preparatory work was needed, particularly gathering promotional support material together.

3.7.1   Preparation

The IBO report recommended development of a manual that included details of the area and all the tourism products available. The area also needed a name under which to go to TRENZ. This led to the development of the brand *Te Urewera Rainforest Route* and later to the establishment of an incorporated society. The group has since applied for funding for a coordinator. A logo was developed, a website launched, a CD of high quality images of the area was put together, and business cards for each of the delegates were produced. A database was compiled to help prioritise the buyers with the right kinds of interests – a process that involved reading hundreds of buyer profiles. The database also facilitated contact with the buyers, before and after TRENZ. Lastly, operators to be promoted at TRENZ needed to become 'trade ready' with clear descriptions of their products and pricing.

3.7.2   Results of show

Te Urewera Rainforest Route (TURR) representatives attended TRENZ in both 2007 and 2008. In 2007 they rented a single booth to promote the region and five individual suppliers, the two delegates meeting with 45 buyers from around the world. After TRENZ, all those buyers were sent a follow-up letter and the promotional material they had requested. Two buyers were hosted through the region and responded positively to the region and the products being promoted. The group met its key goal of establishing relationships with 5–10 quality buyers, but no sales were made in that first year.

For TRENZ 2008, TURR hired a double booth and promoted the region and six individual suppliers. The four delegates met with over 80 buyers. Again, the buyers' responses were

positive. TURR cemented some of the relationships established in the first year and established new relationships. Furthermore, sales have resulted. One supplier reported that

3.7.3 Publications
- Doherty J 2008. Developing a new-tourism-region popular article. Webpage/Information sheet. [ID:8-1]
- Doherty J 2008. Going to TRENZ. Webpage/Information sheet. [ID:8-2]
- Doherty J 2008. Marketing tips for Māori tourism businesses. [ID:8-3]

3.7.4 Outcomes
- *Te Urewera Rainforest Route* (TURR) brand and corporate stationery
- A range of promotional material in 2007 and 2008 including: *Te Urewera Rainforest Route* product manual, a website www.teurewera.co.nz, an image CD, and a PowerPoint presentation
- Attendance at TRENZ 2007 and 2008
- Hosting of two international buyers in the region
- Database of over 300 international tour wholesalers and IBOs
- Almost 200 information packs sent to New Zealand IBOs and international wholesalers
- The TURR Business Plan and budgets
- TURR Risk Management Plan
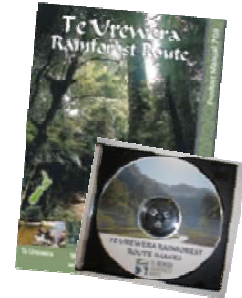
Tourism businesses in the region are now confident about promoting themselves through the traditional distribution chain, and four Māori operators have since been included in the NZ Māori Tourism Council product directory of 'trade ready' suppliers.
Some, but not all, businesses have already reported sales that directly result from TRENZ, and one operator has also reported signing a contract with an IBO.

In addition, the region is being actively promoted by a Malaysian wholesaler outside its premises in Penang. As the region continues to promote itself at TRENZ, it is expected that sales and contracts will continue to grow, and more tourism operators in the region will become actively involved.

3.8 Place attachment and repeat visitation amongst New Zealand holidaymakers in rural areas (9)

The Lake Waikaremoana visitor research (Section 3.3) found differences in visitors' attitudes dependent on their past visitation history. Those who had visited many times, for example, were not keen to see change in the area. Even upgrading the road potentially threatened what they liked about Lake Waikaremoana. It was possible to differentiate visitors according to the number of previous visits they had made, and these, along with other personal characteristics, suggested that place attachment could be a useful way to segment the domestic visitor market. The original Lake Waikaremoana surveys did not specifically address place attachment; to better understand how attachment forms and, in turn, what aspects of visitor behaviour attachment impacts on, specific attachment research was required.

3.8.1 Research
Visitor attachment was investigated at Lake Waikaremoana and Totaranui Campground in Abel Tasman National Park, in the north of the South Island. Totaranui was chosen as a comparison survey site in the South Island (based on its similarity to Lake Waikaremoana) to assess the general applicability of the place attachment findings. Although high numbers of repeat domestic visitors were found in the southern case study demand-side research, there were no specific sites on Banks Peninsula deemed suitable for this project. Visitor surveys

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were undertaken in both places to collect data on visitor characteristics, past visitation patterns and levels of attachment. Altogether 354 surveys were completed in each survey site over the 2007/08 summer.

3.8.2 Results/findings

As was expected the visitors surveyed in this research project were primarily domestic holidaymakers, representing 96% at Totaranui and 84% at Lake Waikaremoana. There were also high numbers of repeat visitors at both sites: 88% repeat visitors at Totaranui and 63% repeat visitors at Lake Waikaremoana. In most other respects the visitor profiles were very similar at each site, particularly in respect to activities undertaken and attitudes to change. While a number of commonalities were found between visitors at each survey location, there were also some key differences. Visitors at Totaranui, while no less attached than those at Lake Waikaremoana, tended to visit Totaranui less frequently and for longer than visitors at Lake Waikaremoana. This was because most people visiting Totaranui lived much further away from that destination than did people who were visiting Lake Waikaremoana. Also, although both locations attracted family groups, at Lake Waikaremoana these were generally younger (both adults and children) than those visiting Totaranui.

Eight different questions recorded attachment on a scale of 1 (low) to 5 (high). Four questions measured functional and four measured emotional attachment. We analysed how strong each visitor's attachment was and whether it was more emotional or more functional. For both measures we found that attachment can be most accurately predicted from number of previous visits. People who had made more visits to the area were more likely to have a strong emotional attachment, whereas people with fewer previous visits were more likely to have a weaker, more functional attachment. In turn attachment can be used to predict attitudes to change. People with stronger attachment are less likely to want changes in the area (like improved roads and cellphone coverage) than are those with weaker attachment.

3.8.3 Publications

- Fitt H, Horn C 2008. Repeat visitation and place attachment: an accidental approach. Working paper presented at the New Zealand Tourism Research and Hospitality Conference 'Re-Creating Tourism', Hanmer, 2–5 December. [ID:9-1]
- Lake Waikaremoana survey results (Poster) [ID:9-2]
- Totaranui survey results (Poster) [ID:9-3]
- Wilson J, Fitt H 2008. Place attachment and repeat visitation at Totaranui and Lake Waikaremoana. Landcare Research contract report in process at time this report was published. [ID:9-4]

3.8.4 Outcomes

This research contributed directly to the Te Tāpoitanga programme with additional information on visitors at Lake Waikaremoana. It explored the holiday practices and preferences of a little-understood segment of New Zealand tourism – the domestic holidaymaker. The research also highlighted the overlaps between tourism in remote rural locations and outdoor recreation, and the ways in which holiday patterns vary depending on the holiday setting and by the ages and stage in the family life cycle of holidaymakers.

This study confirmed that repeat visitation increases people's emotional attachment to a destination. This attachment was reflected in the concern that people showed towards potential changes and through a concern for the care of that place. As emotional attachment grows, people feel a sense of 'ownership' of the place and their interests appear to increasingly turn towards protecting it and maintaining it for perpetuity, something that is akin to the Māori concept of *kaitiakitanga* often translated as guardianship. This is of importance because, as our research indicated, people with high levels of attachment are more likely to actively not want the area developed or 'improved'. Thus attached people at Lake Waikaremoana did not want to see the road or other local facilities improved.

Part Four: Southern Case Study – Banks Peninsula

The participatory nature of the work meant that research participants significantly influenced the way that the research unfolded, particularly in respect to the supply-side research aimed at developing business opportunities. As noted earlier, the two case studies unfolded very differently. A very different process was used in the southern area, where the local leaders preferred to meet regularly to consider the process of tourism development from the perspective of local rūnanga or tribal councils. A significant part of the work with this group was facilitating the development of relationships with, and between, the different groups who share Banks Peninsula as their ancestral home.

4.1   Capacity building for rural (tourism) development (10)

In the southern case study area the supply-side research began and evolved very differently from that in the north because the people there had a different set of skills and interests than those we worked with in the north. The people working with us lacked direct experience in the tourism industry and at the beginning of the programme there was no one interested in setting up in business. While people had many good ideas for tourism businesses, there was no one with the capacity (spare time) or interest in leading any new business developments. As the project went on it gradually became clear that we had to take a step back and focus on 'background capacity' such as fostering networks, helping our participants to reflect on their own situations with regards to tourism development and helping them think through what might be needed for future development work. The process was not straightforward and it took us some time to learn this and even longer to decide what we might usefully do as a research team given the particulars of the setting in which we were working.

The issues we faced in the south and the way we chose to work with people there have contributed significantly to our understanding of the kinds of capacity required for (tourism) business development in rural areas. Likewise, while we did not achieve the outcomes we had initially intended when we set up the project, the research has produced results and understandings which we could not have gained in any other way.

4.1.1   Research
Initial work in the south involved an ongoing series of monthly meetings aimed at generating capacity for the five rūnanga to work together. They had little experience of doing this so the discussion aimed at working out common goals and interests took some time. There was also considerable discussion about how the groups should work together and the roles that they might take in development in their home areas.

4.1.2   Results/findings
The result of this initial work was a kawenata, or a set of guidelines about how the rūnanga would work together on any project in the future. This required considerable relationship building and some time had to be spent clarifying the individual rūnunga roles and ways of working in this project. The kawenata emerged from these early discussions as a step along the way.

4.1.3   Output
Kawenata (see Appendix 3).

4.1.4   Outcomes
The many ideas discussed by the rūnunga reference group were eventually shortlisted for further investigation and several ideas were discussed in considerable depth. In response to the demand work, the rūnanga representatives discussed in some detail what kinds of

businesses people in the area might be able to develop. One initiative (a caravan selling seafood in Akaroa) operated for a few weeks in early 2006 and the couple that did it learned a significant amount about the work involved even in this relatively simple venture. Another venture – the idea of running weddings at a local marae – also took concrete steps towards development, but the key individual in both these ventures eventually left the area for family reasons and terminated her involvement with the project. The group decided to examine the feasibility of two other possible tourism ventures, and for each option a short demand survey was drafted (see Section 4.2).

While there were no other direct tourism outcomes, the fact that the group worked together on this project and reached agreement on how they should work together in future underlay the development of another non-tourism project. The Banks Peninsula rūnanga have been able to pool their resources and cooperate to develop a jointly funded resource management company (Mahaanui Kurataiao), which provides advice to local and regional councils, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (the tribal body), and other government departments and agencies associated with the Christchurch area.

4.2   Feasibility studies (11)

Although the demand-side research suggested visitors in the southern area had limited interest in cultural tourism experiences, a number of positives were taken from the research findings. There was some scope for the development of cultural tourism for a limited section of the market as well as potential for the development of some more 'eco'-based products by local Māori. Consultation with the southern research partners identified three possible tourism ventures: hosting wedding functions at Onuku Marae, hovercraft trips on Lake Forsyth, and a Māori-themed mussel restaurant in Christchurch.

4.2.1   Research
The first of these – the use of Onuku Marae as a wedding venue – was already taking place. The researchers assisted those involved with the collation of data on competing venues and provided some input in terms of business development ideas. Potential interest in the other two products was explored through surveys with both residents and visitors to Christchurch. Altogether 228 people were surveyed about their interest in leisure hovercraft trips, which elements of potential trips they found most appealing, and how sensitive their choices were to the price of the suggested trips. The Mussel Bar survey investigated whether tourists recognised elements of Māori design in a restaurant menu and whether they were attracted to a restaurant by such designs. Respondents were shown three sample restaurant menus (identical except for their design). Altogether 81 surveys were completed.

4.2.2   Results/findings
The hovercraft surveys found that domestic respondents found hovercraft more appealing than did international respondents. The most popular reason for choosing a hovercraft trip was the uniqueness or novelty of the experience. Younger people preferred a more active type of trip ('Pure Adrenaline') while older respondents preferred a more a sedate option ('Historic & Scenic').

The Mussel Bar surveys found that domestic respondents were more likely to identify the elements of Māori design on the restaurant menus, although international visitors did recognise the design as being cultural. Neither domestic nor international tourists were particularly attracted to a restaurant by the menu with elements of Māori design.

4.2.3   Publications
- Fitt H 2007. Attractiveness of hovercraft trips to tourists. Webpage/Information sheet. [ID:11-1]

- Fitt H 2007. Recognition and design of Māori design elements in a restaurant menu. Webpage/Information sheet. [ID:11-2]

4.2.4   Outcomes

Although the surveys generated some useful information, there remained some significant questions surrounding who would actually be involved in setting up a tourism business and running it and how such a business might need to be structured. Reference group members noted that there was a shortage of talented and capable people available to be employed in local development initiatives. Put alongside the desire of rūnanga representatives to draw people back to the local area, these observations became the basis of a study looking at the perceptions of young people in relation to their home communities and the idea of developing tourism businesses in these rural areas (see Section 4.4).

While reference group members saw that they, as rūnanga representatives, could have a role in supporting business, they were not at all clear about how that model might actually work 'on the ground'. Another important factor in this case study was that the rūnanga were charged with looking after financial resources for their hapū and that they were highly risk averse when it came to managing this money. At the time of the research the groups had relatively little collective experience of business and financial management, which made them unlikely candidates for either supporting the practical aspects of business, or for providing financial support by investing in potential business ventures. Reflecting on this issue it became clear that there were questions about the roles and responsibilities of the different parts of the Ngāi Tahu institutional body and that there was some work to be done in assisting people to think about these and relate them to the different perceptions of development. This led to a qualitative study to explore these questions (see Section 4.5).

4.3   Visitor interest in cultural tourism on Banks Peninsula (12)

In conjunction with Lincoln University, a postgraduate student was offered a summer studentship to undertake further demand-side research on Banks Peninsula. The aim was to collect more detailed data on visitor activities and their interest in already existing cultural heritage attractions in the case study area. To some extent, the research paralleled the Lake Waikaremoana visitor research undertaken in the northern case study area.

4.3.1   Research

A face-to-face survey of visitors to Banks Peninsula was conducted over the summer of 2006/07. Altogether 395 visitors were surveyed in a variety of Banks Peninsula locations. The survey asked about visitation to Banks Peninsula, visitor knowledge of the area's cultural history, visitor interest in learning more about cultural history, and how visitors felt about different methods of learning. The focus was on cultural heritage tourism in general, with Māori tourism as a subset of this.

4.3.2   Results/findings

The survey sample was roughly equal with 54% domestic visitors and 46% international visitors. Altogether, 60% of the visitors surveyed were either day trippers or stayed only one night on Banks Peninsula. International visitors primarily visited Akaroa, whereas domestic visitors had a much more dispersed visitation profile. The majority (93%) of the domestic visitors surveyed had visited Banks Peninsula previously; of these, 77% had visited more than 20 times. This suggests a similar repeat-visitor profile to that found at Lake Waikaremoana, reflecting the area's status as a popular recreational and domestic holiday area.

Visitors found Māori-related attractions less appealing than other cultural heritage attractions. In the case of international visitors this was often because they had already

experienced Māori culture in places like Rotorua. Domestic visitors appeared to have little interest in learning about Māori culture and history in a tourism setting. Both these patterns may be because both international and domestic tourists tend to visit Māori cultural attractions only once or twice in their lifetime.

The preferred methods of learning about history were looking at written and visual displays and by hearing a tour guide tell stories about the area. The third most popular way of learning, particularly with younger visitors, was through trying out activities.

4.3.3 Publications
- White R, Fountain J, Horn C 2008. Tourists' participation and interest in cultural heritage tourism activities on Banks Peninsula. Landcare Research Contract Report LC0708/075, prepared for FRST. [ID:12-1]
- Horn C, Fountain J, White R 2008. Present visitors' interest in Māori cultural tourism on Banks Peninsula. Presented at the New Zealand Tourism Research and Hospitality Conference 'Re-Creating Tourism', Hanmer, 3–5 December. [ID:12-2]

4.3.4 Outcomes
This research explored interest in cultural tourism attractions in more depth than did the previous demand study. Similar to the Lake Waikaremoana study in the northern case study area, the research also produced a detailed visitor profile which, in itself, is potentially useful to those interested in any future tourism development in the area. With regard to interest in cultural tourism, there appear to be distinct differences between international and domestic visitors that must be considered by those interested in the development of tourism attractions and services.

As international visitors were found to be the ones most likely to visit cultural attractions, the best location for future development of these would be where international travellers are concentrated, either in Akaroa or on the main route to Akaroa. Also, as the initial demand-side research project found, Banks Peninsula's main drawcards are its natural features and scenery, so a good way to introduce cultural experiences to the area would be to use these to build on the natural attractions.

In the case of domestic visitors, it may be that they are interested in heritage and culture but are more likely to engage with these as part of their educational or working lives, rather than in a tourism or holiday context. Banks Peninsula is an area that attracts a high number of repeat domestic visitors, similar to Lake Waikaremoana. Associated with this are high levels of place attachment and limited tolerance for change, which have implications for any development in the area.

4.4 Young-Māori perspectives on community and development (13)

As part of the supply-side research in the south, this project sought to explore in more detail some of the issues that emerged surrounding the involvement of young people in the rūnanga and potentially in eco-cultural tourism. Specifically this research sought to:
- Understand the relationship of young people to their whānau, rūnanga and land, and how it affects their participation in community development initiatives
- Identify the barriers faced by young people to participating in community development initiatives
- Explore conditions that might facilitate their involvement in developing eco-cultural tourism businesses in their communities.

4.4.1 Research

The research began with interviews with five young Māori who lived in Christchurch, but who were all descendants of families from three of the five Banks Peninsula rūnunga. While the initial objectives were explored through these interviews, the grounded theory approach used in the research allowed a process of continual reflection on the data collected through the interviews, in discussion within the main research group, and preliminary analysis of the interview material. These processes led the research team to expand the sample to include a group of older participants who had returned to live in Christchurch and work with communities from their ancestral areas in the South Island. Christchurch is also where the Ngāi Tahu corporate entity is situated, thus providing opportunities for employment focused on Ngāi Tahu development. These people had negotiated a role or roles for themselves in tribal or rūnanga activities. The purpose of interviewing this group was largely to shed more light on the kinds of barriers that younger Māori might face in establishing tourism activities in the area through the eyes of the kinds of people who may be currently most interested in doing it. Altogether, five Māori in their 30s and 40s, representing the five Banks Peninsula rūnanga, were interviewed.

4.4.2 Results/findings

Young people experience several barriers to their participation in community development activities such as working on the marae and assisting with resource management and development initiatives. Young people perceived the idea of setting up a tourism business in their home area as potentially difficult. This difficulty was associated with their understanding of tikanga; something they saw as limiting the extent and ways in which they might participate in community life. Furthermore, young people saw only limited opportunities to participate at some time in the future and not all of those looked attractive. The opportunities for younger people to exercise leadership, in its various forms, appeared fewer at home than elsewhere. For those who chose to return home when they were older, the key motivator was often cultural identity, which included attachment to place and a cultural community.

Development of cultural identity is a complex task for young Māori, who may be part of several different communities, e.g. schools or universities, sports teams, young professionals developing their careers, iwi/hapū members, New Zealanders within a global community, and as members of special-interest communities. The negotiation necessary for them to become active members of their communities in a changing world only heightens this complexity.

This research indicated that the process of developing Māori leadership in marae-based communities may not be serving those communities well in terms of the engagement of their rangitahi, particularly in a world where young people have many choices and opportunities open to them in the world beyond their home communities. The young people in this study indicated that they needed encouragement to participate. This included ways to stay in touch with the community when they left to broaden their experience and a range of options for bringing back their skills and experience – whether that meant moving back home or being encouraged to visit home and participate from further afield.

For the people in our sample, finding ways to sidestep or manage the impact of 'rūnanga politics' was seen to be good. As people take on employment related to iwi and rūnanga development, some new models of participation are occurring. These include contributing knowledge and skills without having to participate in the decision processes of the rūnanga groups, although few may actually be able to participate in this way. Rūnanga groups may, however, be able to learn how to engage people in different ways (both formal and informal) to foster internal and external networks that might be used to contribute to community development.

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4.4.3 Publication

- Agpar M, Horn C 2008. Young-Māori perspectives on eco-cultural tourism and Māori communities: A scoping study in cultural identity, community development and participation. Landcare Research Contract Report LC0708/119, prepared as part of the Te Tāpoitanga Māori project. [ID:13-1]

4.4.4 Outcomes

This research provided insight into the ways young Māori interact with and perceive their roles within their home, but not necessarily local, communities. It also highlighted capacity and community development issues associated with rural depopulation that are common to many communities in New Zealand, both Māori and non-Māori. Capable individuals tend to leave rural areas to pursue educational and career opportunities. Those that return home with skills and capacity can find life highly challenging because of the ways in which local 'politics' work, and the needs of the local community. For many it is better to stay away from home to avoid the demands that are likely to be made there. It is clear also that in a fast-changing world, the knowledge of younger people is important in a development context and yet young people may find it difficult to contribute their knowledge meaningfully into community processes.

The issues here are complex, particularly around thinking what change might be needed and how that change might be achieved. This finding was made late in the programme and it seems unlikely that there will be any formal facilitation of discussion on this. However, we hope that the work gets people thinking.

4.5 What do Ngāi Tahu people think about tribal economic development? (14)

Another outcome of the impasse described in the supply-side research and feasibility studies (Sections 4.1 and 4.2) was a decision to look at how people in different parts of the Ngāi Tahu institutional structure see economic development and how people see their relative roles and responsbilities for economic development.

4.5.1 Research

Iaean Cranwell, with assistance from Chrys Horn, completed 40 interviews with key individuals throughout Ngāi Tahu from representatives of the Papatipu Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu and Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (TRONT), and those working in Ngai Tahu Holdings (the business arm of the organisation). The interviews explored how people understood economic development, what it is for in a tribal context, what the important elements of it are, and what roles tribal structures might play in the process.

4.5.2 Results/findings

Tino rangatiratanga was the most commonly cited reason for wanting economic development at the level of the Papatipu Rūnanga. Financial independence was seen as an important element of this process, including independence from government handouts, and also handouts from TRONT. Many we spoke to felt that independence emerges from the development of assets, wealth, and income, which increase access to opportunities and the freedom to participate in things that matter to Ngāi Tahu people. Some linked wealth to standing and influence with local authorities and within local communities. Others wanted to increase the visibility and presence of Ngāi Tahu within their communities and on the landscape. Thus respondents were interested in building the capacity and opportunity for iwi to participate in community life within Ngāi Tahu and more broadly. A strong theme associated with this was a desire to draw people back home to their ancestral areas. Business development in rural areas was seen as one way to achieve this range of goals.

However, not everyone saw the need to acquire wealth before becoming self-determined. One person suggested that equipping people with skills that matter to them (helping them become self-determined) will lead them to achieve economic development in line with their interests and values. Education was seen to open up options and opportunities that people might not otherwise have, and allows the development of the kinds of tino rangatiratanga outlined above.

Capacity building was also seen as important. Iwi might choose to learn about economic development and wealth generation through experience and practice rather than through formal education channels. Thus, respondents felt that it was important to foster, provide or link people with opportunities for assistance in their endeavours.

Some saw it as important to align people, institutions and projects so that they could leverage off each other. Still others saw a need to develop networks and relationships as part of the development process.

Respondents noted the importance of having leaders who are prepared to push a project along, put in hours of hard work, and with the skills or capacity to enlist and work with others to identify and achieve mutually agreed goals. People also saw that it was important to have different leadership skills that may not reside in a single person and that would be needed at various stages of a project or to push along different parts of the project.

Some saw a need to align economic development with social, cultural and environmental aspects of the place and people involved. In the Ngāi Tahu community, people felt that having clear values, such as those that TRONT are required to work within, was important in a tribal context. The project identified some tension between these values and the fact that Ngāi Tahu Holdings, the corporate arm, is mandated to focus on making money for the tribe.

There were a range of opinions about where to focus economic development activity. Some respondents felt that rūnanga were the place to focus such development, but some countered this idea citing the lack of capacity in many of the different rūnanga. Some interviewees felt that economic development work should be focused at the whānau rather than on the rūnanga or iwi level, for a number of reasons. The rūnanga are risk averse because they are widely seen as caretakers for the money given to them by TRONT. This puts pressure on them to ensure that the putea (collective interest) is not eroded or diminished. Another problem with developoment projects run by the rūnanga is that the executive can change every three years based on voting of affiliates; this makes for a potentially volatile environment for the development of business. However, some felt that rūnanga should be involved in promoting economic development even if they should not be directly involved in establishing businesses.

Capacity is a significant issue for people working at Papatipu Rūnanga level, who are generally highly capable individuals, but who are stretched by the amount of work that they take on alongside their other work and family responsibilities. The Papatipu Rūnanga level may be the point in the institutional structure where capacity problems are greatest particularly because people working in the rūnanga may have multiple roles alongside their high levels of volunteerism. Furthermore expectations of these people from the wider community have grown significantly over the last decade.

4.5.3 Publication
Cranwell I, Horn C, Lambert S 2009. Ngai Tahu views of economic development in a tribal context. Forthcoming report by Takuahi Research and Development. [ID:14-1]

4.5.4 Outcomes

This project was not yet complete at the time this report went to print so there are few outcomes to report. The project built research capacity within Takuahi Research and Development and it also increased the researchers' understanding of the workings of Ngāi Tahu. We envisage that documenting the views of people throughout the tribe may be of use to future development work within TRONT.

4.6   Summary of research (15)

The research undertaken throughout the Te Tāpoitanga Māori programme examined the potential for tourism development in two case study areas, Te Urewera in the North Island and Banks Peninsula in the South Island. While the individual research projects primarily focused on each of the case study areas, the findings or outcomes and outputs of these studies often had application beyond the original research project and the research area. In addition to the outputs listed under each individual project above, the programme has generated a number of outputs that draw on the information and data collected across multiple individual projects and from both case study areas. These outputs are listed below. A synthesis of the overall findings and outcomes of the research programme is presented in Part Five.

4.6.1 Other publications

- Fraser T 2008. Developing rural Māori tourism. Discovery 20, p. 7. Landcare Research Newsletter, Lincoln, New Zealand. [ID:15-1]
- Horn C, Doherty J, Tahi B 2008. An actor network perspective on rural Māori tourism development. Extended abstract of a working paper presented at the New Zealand Tourism Research and Hospitality Conference 'Re-Creating Tourism', Hanmer, 2–5 December. [ID:15-2]
- *Te Urewera Rainforest Route*, Strategic Plan 2008–2013. [ID:15-3]
- Fitt H, Horn C 2007. Domestic cultural tourists – who are they and does it matter? Abstract of a working paper presented at Public Sociologies: Lessons and Trans Tasman Comparisons. TASA (The Australian Sociological Association) & SAANZ (Sociological Association of Aotearoa/New Zealand) Joint Conference. The University of Auckland, 4–7 December. [ID:15-4]

Part Five: Programme Synthesis

This section synthesises the findings of the four-year programme, reflecting on the process and drawing out our major learnings.

5.1   Research methodology

The research broadly comprised two parts, which we labelled demand-side and supply-side. Methodologically they differed significantly. The demand-side work used surveys and in-depth interviews to explore tourist interest in, and understanding of, eco-cultural tourism. These methods are well documented within the projects outlined above and are relatively straightforward in their application in the field. However, it must be noted that because they were part of a participatory research project, the focus of the surveys was shaped significantly by the needs and interests of those people with whom we were working on the supply side. This meant that the research was often exploratory and had a tendency towards trying to understand tourist interest in Māori tourism and tourism in rural areas, rather than being informed mainly by the research questions that were emerging from the field of tourist behaviour, as occurs in more academic, less applied work.

In comparison, the supply-side research used participatory action research (PAR) methodology (Reason & Bradbury 2001) to learn about the capacity-building process associated with rural tourism business development as it unfolded ('in real time'). This was a complex process that emerged from the need to adapt continually to the evolving needs, interests and capacities of those involved in each case study. It also required the ongoing and active participation of people developing and supporting businesses. Thus the supply-side work followed a less well defined, more highly negotiated research path (and a different path in each case study area) than the demand-side research. The actions of participants were also situated within the broader background of their everyday lives and practices. As such actions are influenced by myriad personal and social factors of which the research is only one, there is little researchers can do to 'control' the situation, a fact that puts the research process at the mercy of circumstances well beyond the sphere of influence of the researchers or even the participants. To provide an example, as we came to the end of the research programme, it appeared that tourism in New Zealand might face challenges as fuel prices become increasingly volatile and as the world economic system heads into what is forecast to be a significant and deep depression. This will have a significant impact on tourism as a form of highly discretionary spending and one that relies heavily on air travel in the New Zealand context. In this context the influence of research lies potentially in unexpected directions and we may well want to measure success in quite different terms to what we have been judging it here.

Despite the risks inherent in PAR, there is much to be learned and gained directly through the process. There is much to be learned from working in real-world systems to apply new knowledge in a reflective and systematic way. This process then results in new and useful understandings that can be transferred and contribute to outcomes in other situations. So, for example, as the supply-side work progressed, we were able to learn what the demand-side work might mean for businesses and how it might best be used in their planning and marketing activities. Similarly, running and reflecting on two workshops with rural iwi groups in Northland clarified for us how we might best develop written material to present the information we had generated from our research. In short we have had significant opportunities in this research to generate new knowledge by endeavouring to put our new knowledge into action. It is the results of this process of synthesis and reflection that we are presenting in this final part of the report.

Likewise, the research process results in significant learning within the community system under study. The process brings in knowledge from outside which is then integrated with the knowledge and skills that exist within the community to generate something new. In both case study areas this has included a wide range of knowledge and skills – from a greater understanding of how other people view the community, an increased capacity to work together with others both inside and outside of the local area, to an increased collective understanding of business and business processes.

The outline above points to the importance of context in a development process. In this project, the contexts we have chosen to write about because they seemed most pertinent are the background and skills of the people involved in the research, the way in which the research progressed in each case study, and some aspects of the history of both case study areas. Thus we begin this part by providing background information about the different individuals and groups involved with this research in each of the case studies. Following this we discuss the challenges of participatory action research as they arose in this research programme. This is part of the process of presenting the evidence we have accrued to support our findings and, as such, provides the basis on which we later discuss the findings from the work. Together these two sections highlight the importance of building and maintaining the key relationships which underlay the successful completion of the research.

Following this we provide a comparison of the two case study areas and a small amount of geographical and historical information, before moving into detailing some of our major research findings for both aspects of the work. A final section provides a reflection on what outcomes have emerged to date from the programme.

Figure 6 provides a visual representation of the various parts of the programme and how they linked to each other. The various projects in the programme (documented in Parts Two and Three and numbered in the diagram to link to the appropriate section) led to the development of new projects and all of them contributed to the overall learning and outcomes from the programme. The upper part of the diagram shows how the individual projects connect, while the overall outcomes of the programme, in respect to each case study area and overall, are shown across the bottom.

As the diagram shows, the mentoring work was central to the outcomes that were achieved in the northern case study. Mentoring provided a means for participants to engage with information about business and business development as well as with the research outputs. It also provided means for the researchers to get feedback about what new research was needed. The two-way arrows between each individual project and mentoring indicate action research in process. In the south, this part of the project was missing and the research suffered from a lack of connection between projects and a lack of development outcomes. The lack of direct business or economic development also meant that the research had less impact on the communities with which we worked. Consequently, we achieved few of the outcomes that we had originally intended from the research.

North

South

DEMAND PROJECT (1)

Supply research (2)

Supply research (10)

Lake Waikaremoana (4)

Feasibility studies (11)

Mentoring (3)

Young Maori (13)

IBOs (7)

Te Urewera surveys (5)

Cultural tourism (12)

Ngai Tahu Economic Development (14)

Industry map (6)

TRENZ (8)

Place Attachment (9)

Te Urewera Rainforest Route (TURR)
Increased research capacity
Increased business capacity
Increased community engagement

Learnings re:
    Building business capacity
    Research capacity
    Community development
    Leadership
    Domestic tourism patterns
    Demand for Maori tourism
    IBO interest in Maori tourism

Increased collaborative capacity
Increased research capacity
Some learning about business development
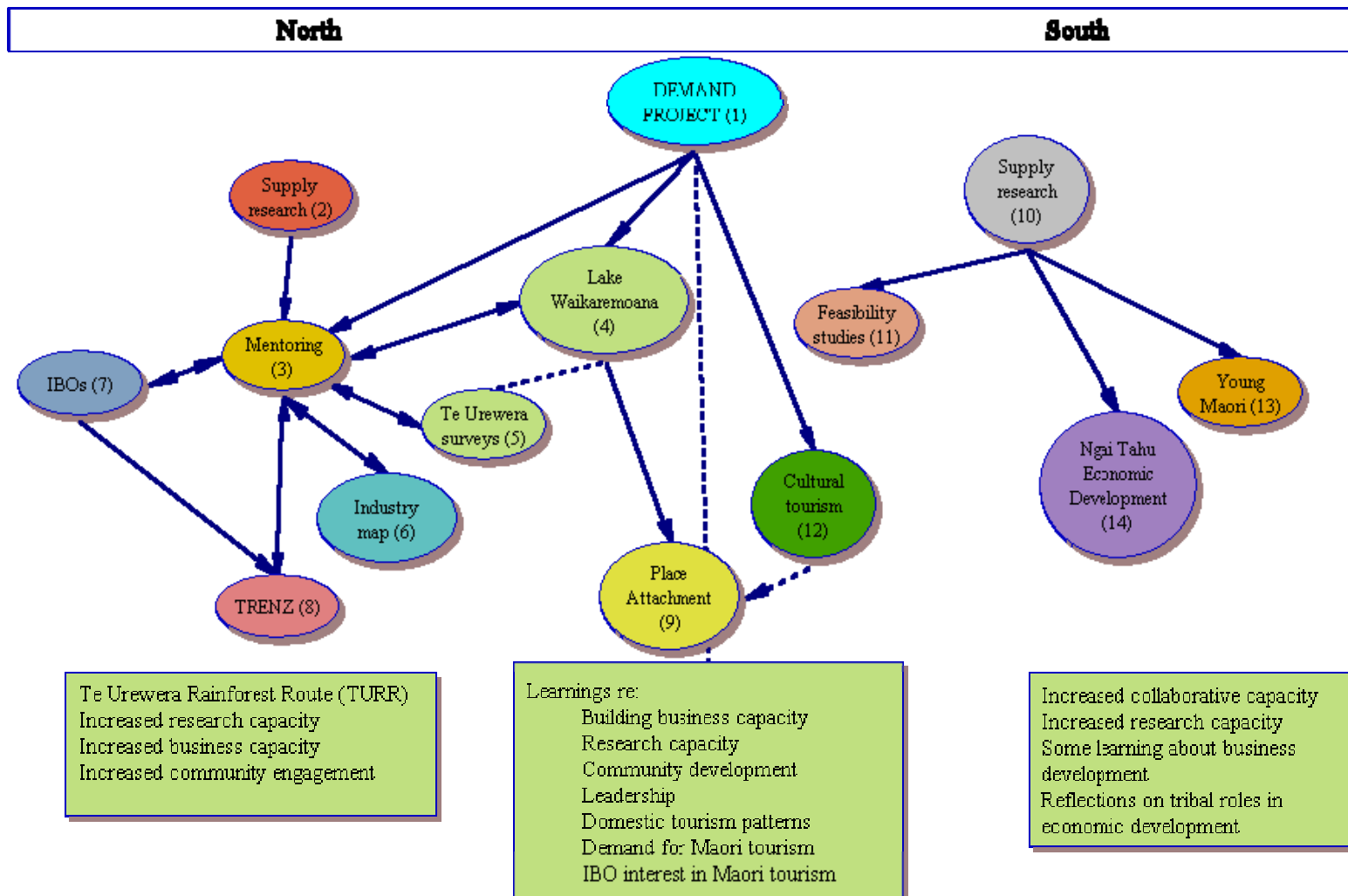Reflections on tribal roles in economic development

Fig. 6 Overview of programme components and their linkages.

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The mentoring work is also central to the way in which the research findings were synthesised on the ground to produce outcomes. The synthesis emerges as a result of our being able to make comparisons between two case studies that followed very different trajectories. It is therefore appropriate that we document many of our key findings from the mentoring work and the comparison of the two cases in this part of the report.

5.2   Participatory Action Research (PAR)

The overall process and philosophies of PAR are outlined in Section 2.3. Here we reflect on the use of this approach.

5.2.1   Process

Perhaps most importantly the use of a PAR approach in our supply-side research meant that those being researched were also involved in *doing* the research. To research business development, we had to find people who wanted to develop businesses, and who were willing to work with us. Developing a business requires a considerable commitment of time, effort and money and finding people to work on this was, to some extent, a matter of good timing and luck.

In the north, where we did find participants willing to work on business development, there was a strong imperative to do the work. Most of the people we were working with, including our researchers, were living in very remote locations in Te Urewera, often on ancestral land owned collectively. A small number of people were already engaged with the idea of setting up a business. One or two were already in business and were interested in thinking through their future operations and some of the difficulties they were having. Despite this enthusiasm, some of those who began working with us to develop businesses found that they were not up to the task at the time, or that tourism was not for them. This meant that people moved in and out of the project over the course of the four years.

In the south, we were unable to locate people through the channels open to us. Most of the people associated with the rural marae on Banks Peninsula were in fact living in Christchurch – an urban centre of some 400,000 people that was within 90 minutes' drive. Those who were not retired had employment in the city, so there was a relatively low imperative amongst the group to develop businesses. This made the job of focusing the work more complex and it took us some time to uncover the interventions that might assist the people we were working with. We had to step back to look more carefully at the capacity issues we found.

Subsequently, the team moved to explore this further, by looking at how Ngāi Tahu people think economic development might best be achieved in their rural areas, and by looking at what young people think about the idea of working in tourism in their home areas (see Sections 4.4 and 4.5). These projects were completed relatively late in the programme, so we have been unable to work with the groups to apply the findings in any practical way. However, we are hopeful that these two projects will help the people we have worked with to understand some of the conditions required for business development in rural areas, and have raised awareness of the issues that they might face in future development projects.

From a researcher's standpoint, PAR opens up significant opportunities for learning and reflection in applied settings. However, it also presents some significant challenges beyond what one experiences using other methodologies. Formulating, agreeing and executing the research requires considerable evaluation and negotiation throughout the whole process. The research must be shaped by the situation within the systems under study. In this work, for example, we had to account for the:
- Aspirations and preferences of the research partners involved
- Skills and aspirations of the researchers from each place

- Social, institutional and physical context in which the research evolved
- Capacities of the people involved
- Local history and experience of tourism, and
- Actual number of tourism businesses already on the ground or in development.

Thus it is unsurprising that the research unfolded very differently in the two case study areas.

The differences between the outcomes in the two case studies have implications for the focus of this report. There is more discussion of the northern case study throughout the following section because there was more existing capacity for business development already present in the northern research area, so there were more achievements there of the type we were initially aiming for (i.e. tourism business development). This means that to discuss how these outcomes were achieved, most of our examples will come from the processes in the north.

Initially, we describe the different groups of people involved in the research. As part of this we document the skills and interests of the researchers and provide information about the research settings and the different groups involved in the two case studies. Following this we reflect on the importance of the social processes within the research team and on the relationships that we built with other research participants. We then reflect in some depth on the outcomes of the research and what we learned from the overall research process.

5.2.2 Research team, partners and stakeholders

Over the four years of the programme, many people were involved. Table 1 displays the different players who were either involved with or had an interest in this research and shows the terms that we will be using in this report to refer to the different groups. Each of the groups in Table 1 are discussed in more detail below.

5.2.3 Researchers from Landcare Research

This research was led by Landcare Research. The team based there initially comprised four members: the programme leader, a highly experienced and well-regarded Māori liaison person, a researcher with a strong interest in tourist behaviour, and an action researcher with an interest in community development and tourism.. By the end of the four years only one of these people remained in the programme. One left the programme to pursue other projects, another left because of company restructuring, and the third person retired. As a result of this turnover, the demand-side work was led by three or four different people over the course of the research, and the programme leadership changed halfway through. The latter represented significant risk to the programme, particularly as the Māori liaison person also left the company about the same time.

It was perhaps a matter of luck that the Landcare Research researcher who stayed the length of the programme was most involved with the supply-side work, and that none of the locally based researchers involved left the programme. The ongoing nature of the supply-side work and its reliance on strong, trust-based relationships meant that any staff turnover in this part of the work would have significantly lessened the quality of the outcomes and the research process.

Table 1 Outline of groups and individuals with involvement in this research

Research Team / researchers	Research partners	Research participants	Stakeholders
Landcare Research: Chrys Horn Helen Fitt Jude Wilson[1] Phil Hart[2] Susanne Becken[2] Rau Kirikiri (Māori liason)[4] Kaylene Sampson[3]			Ministry of Tourism Tourism New Zealand NZ Māori Tourism Council Iwi Māori from other tribes with a interest in rural tourism Foundation for Research, Science and Technology (our funders)
Northern case study: Jo Doherty Brenda Tahi Makere Biddle[3]	Tūhoe Tourism Federation Te Urewera-Tairawhiti Tourism Forum Self-selected community members Te Urewera Rainforest Route	Tourists Local business people & potential business people IBOs RTOs & visitor centres	Tribal interests / community members Local council staff Regional tourism organisations and Māori RTOs from nearby
Southern case study: Iaean Cranwell Robin Wybrow[4] Joanna Fountain[3] Marina Apgar[3] Robyn White[3]	Takuahi Research & Development Group of 5–8 representatives from five Banks Peninsula rūnanga	Tourists Selected reps from Ngāi Tahu rūnanga Ngāi Tahu development interests Reps from Ngāi Tahu Holdings	Rūnanga members Ngāi Tahu development interests

[1]External contractor who joined the programme about a year in and saw it through to completion

[2]Withdrew partway through project

[3]People contracted in for specific projects within the overall programme

[4]Had a major role in overseeing and mediating relationships but a minor role in the research itself

This staff turnover could have broken the continuity across the project. However, it was manageable for a number of reasons. First, from the outset the aim of the research was to integrate the supply and demand sides of the programme. This meant that all researchers had input into all parts of the research project, particularly at the beginning. Second, the demand-side research was clearly divided into a series of discrete tasks, which made it easier for personnel to change when the task changed. Third, the ongoing presence of a contractor in the Landcare Research team who has had significant input into all the demand-side work meant continuity was maintained. There have also been benefits from having input from the new people as they brought new insights and perspectives into the programme as it progressed.

5.2.4 Locally based researchers

In both case study areas, the local researchers had key roles in the team and were of critical importance to the success of the project. Without them the project would not and could not have progressed as it did in each place. All of the locally based researchers had good links into their respective Māori communities and a focus on sharing and developing the capacities of others. Likewise they had a good understanding of how their communities worked and a strong focus on trying to produce outcomes that would benefit the local people – outcomes that require the application of research findings. Having locally based researchers also meant that local people had good access to the research work that was going on.

The roles taken by the local researchers varied between the two case study areas, according to their skills, interests and aspirations. In the north, the researchers saw the research programme as an opportunity to work locally with people interested in business development, to further local thinking in this area, and to assist people with the process of developing good business practice. This fitted well with the skills and experience they brought to the programme.

Both of our researchers in the northern case study were experienced businesswomen and were already running consultancy businesses in a rural environment within a Māori community before the research began. For both, the research was one job among a number of other research and consultancy jobs that were funded externally and were focused in different parts of the country. Both researchers also had experience working in tourism. One had been involved in a local tourism business some years earlier. The other was involved in starting up a locally based tourism business during the time that she was involved with the research, having had extensive experience in the New Zealand tourism industry.

We were aware that there might be a potential conflict of interest around someone setting up a tourism business at the same time as working on the research. We managed this issue through ongoing discussions about what the research programme would pay for and what it would not. In hindsight, however, the research programme benefited significantly from having a researcher with a strong personal interest in working to develop tourism in Te Urewera. As a business person, this researcher attended many meetings and events to which she is unlikely to have been invited in a research capacity. This meant that she was well linked into local developments of particular relevance to the outcomes from this project. Similarly, her personal interests aligned strongly with research project goals, and therefore she was able to focus more time and effort on the project than was the second researcher. This high level of engagement with the goals of the programme was further increased by the focus she and her husband had on helping the community as a whole with local economic development. These two strong interests meant that this researcher put many unpaid hours into developing the *Te Urewera Rainforest Route* network. This network now aims to continue some of the support functions that the research programme identified as important for local business development.

Another strength of this arrangement was that this researcher greatly increased our capacity to learn about rural tourism business development and was able to reflect on the process of business development through her work both with other businesses and with setting up her own rural tourism business. This was supplemented by the experience and reflections of the second researcher who used her previous experience to reflect on her work assisting other local tourism businesses or potential businesses.

In comparison, the skills, knowledge and personal interests of those involved in the research in the south were less easily applied to developing tourism businesses, despite one of them having a strong background in community development. Both were highly involved in their local communities as part of their paid work, which they supplemented with a great deal of

voluntary work. They were able to use their many contacts and linkages within Ngāi Tahu to draw in the reference group who were there to help formulate and reflect on the research and consider the process of local business development and help direct the focus on the research.

5.2.5 Building the research team

An important part of the capacity development process in this project was building a research team that could work together efficiently and well. At the beginning of the programme, research team members did not know each other. Team members in each case study came from different backgrounds and had different expectations of the research. In the north particularly, where the local researchers had a strong sense of direction and the resources to move in that direction, we gradually built a common vision for the project and worked from there towards achieving that vision given our respective skills and knowledge. This work benefited significantly from the very different knowledge, experience and networks that each person brought to the research and the research process, but it took considerable time for us to recognise each other's strengths and to learn how to best use them in the research process. In the south we were more easily able to create a vision, but were less able to formulate the steps to achieving that vision.

Face-to-face meetings were very important for getting to know each other and to deal with complex tasks and issues. In the north particularly these were infrequent because of the geographical separation between the Landcare Research researchers based in Christchurch and the northern researchers based in Te Urewera. This was exacerbated by the fact that all involved in these meetings were managing a number of different projects. Face-to-face meetings were supplemented by monthly telephone conference calls in the north that covered much ground and were often followed by a surge in email activity and one-to-one phone calls. Much of our work was done via email. Communication overall was not always straightforward with our researchers in the north. One of the researchers had a particularly bad telephone line, and road access into Te Urewera was also an issue at times. For example, at the beginning of the project a storm washed out the road, making it impassable for several weeks. Also, the researchers living in the northern area did not have access to broadband at the beginning of the programme although this situation was remedied about halfway through, making it possible to use Skype occasionally and to email large files.

In the south, the communication problems were less acute because the southern research group was also based in Christchurch. It was still relatively difficult to meet because everyone involved was busy. We had more face-to-face meetings and fewer telephone calls.

As the research progressed, it became clear that there were a range of capacities that the research team had to develop to complete both the research and the development goals of the programme. This included developing:
- The research team's ability to work together
- The capacity of the lead institution and partner organisations to work together
- The capacity of the non-Māori researchers to work in a Māori context
- Research capability and capability associated with the interventions we made (mentoring, community development) within the research team
- Business knowledge and skills among operators or potential operators
- The operators' capacity to work with other operators to develop local and national networks
- The capacity of groups to support others in their business endeavours.

Each of the bullet points above represents considerable learning and development, all of which needed time and an action research approach to work through. As with any

development process, these all required social learning and reflection, on both our successes and failures.

5.2.6 Integrating two case studies

At the beginning of the project we had envisaged that the researchers from the two areas would meet about a year into the project to consider how we might all work together. However, we were unable to get everyone to such a meeting early in the programme (despite two attempts). As the case studies diverged, it became more difficult to see how we might work together as a single team and the idea of meeting seemed less useful. Team members did eventually meet once or twice during the course of the programme and discussed their different perspectives and backgrounds, but they never actually visited each other's areas, nor engaged in depth with what was going on in the other case study. Partly this was because time was short for all of the team, and such an endeavour would have required significant time to make it work. Partly it was because the Landcare Research staff were able to provide enough of a conduit between the local researchers when needed.

5.2.7 Research partners

In the north, as indicated in Table 1, we had two research partner organisations (Tūhoe Tourism Federation and the Te Urewera Tairāwhiti Tourism Forum), which had each nominated one researcher to work on the project. Both entities were directed at the start of the project mainly by one individual (common to both) who was good at acquiring funding and was interested in trying to develop tourism in the area. He had many good ideas but had been unable to get many of them up and running, perhaps because he struggled to work with other community leaders who may have been able to assist. This issue meant that these two organisations became generally less active and influential in their work. As businesses in the area developed they found it easier to set up another organisation rather than trying to work with the already existing ones. This added to the complexity of managing local relationships.

In the south, our partner organisation was Takuahi Research and Development – a subsidiary of the Wairewa Rūnanga. The organisation had a very broad focus in the kinds of projects that it took on. This presented challenges for the one person employed there. We worked with a reference group of anywhere from 5 to 8 people. These people were self-selected representatives from the five rūnanga from around Banks Peninsula (Wairewa, Onuku, Koukourarata, Rapaki and Taumutu), and as such were a mixed group in respect of their tourism and business experience. Without exception they had little time to put into working with the programme because they were already highly involved in a range of local community work.

These groups provided ideas, reflections and guidance as to the direction of the research throughout the project. In the north some members of the two groups also chose to participate in the research as business or potential business people. In the south the group that came together initially gave some thought to the idea that the group itself might set up or invest in some kind of enterprise. As they worked through the process of thinking about business ideas, they realised that it would be impractical, and it became clear that the only way for such a group to work would be to support individual(s) with the time and passion to set up a business. However, there was no one around to do this at the time of the research.

As the research evolved over time, so too did the relationships between the various groups. Many of the players who had originally supported the research, particularly in the north, actually found that they were not interested in setting up in business. As a result, their enthusiasm for attending hui and engaging with the research and its findings dwindled. The organisations themselves also lost some direction for reasons not necessarily associated with the research, and at the same time people and groups who were not party to setting up the research became more interested as it progressed. The group with the strongest interest

by the end of the research was the *Te Urewera Rainforest Route* network, which was set up as a direct consequence of the research. This meant that by the end of the research, we were working with different people and the old 'official' partnerships were less important, despite the programme being locked into them by our funding arrangements.

Another tension that arose was around the focus of the funding stream. Funded by the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology as part of a tourism portfolio, this research began with a specific focus on tourism business development. However, in the south particularly, it emerged that a number of general development questions and issues had to be addressed before focusing on tourism business development per se. This created some tension between managing the requirements of our funders, while also working with the needs of our research participants. Of course, this is also a tension in any funding situation where boundaries have to be put around what can be funded. Funding for tourism, for example, will focus people on tourism when it is possible that there may be good reasons to work on projects with a broader focus.

5.2.8   Research participants

The demand- and supply-side aspects of the research worked very differently in terms of their relationships with their research participants. In the demand-side work researchers spoke to many tourists for a relatively short time and required no ongoing engagement on their part. On the supply-side of the project our research participants included all of those people and groups who assisted us in some way to learn about the process of business development and the development of a local network. As Table 1 shows, this included local business people, and potential business people in the north with whom we had ongoing interactions over the course of the research. Likewise, we interviewed inbound operators and people from regional tourism organisations etc. While we did not have the same depth of relationship, our interactions with them were ongoing, since they were key players in the activities that emerged as the research went on. In the south research participants included the reference groups outlined above and a range of people from various parts of Ngāi Tahu and the Ngāi Tahu rūnanga with an interest in rural economic development. Our pool of research participants varied a little over the length of the programme with some people opting in or pulling out as their circumstances or inclinations changed.

5.2.9   Other stakeholders

Other stakeholders included all those institutions and individuals with an interest or role in supporting Māori tourism development (see Table 1). In both case studies, new groups of stakeholders developed an interest in the project over time, often through their participation in some aspect of the research (e.g. interviews, working with businesses on tourism-related projects) In the north, this tended to be government agencies such as the Department of Conservation and agencies such as tourism organisations and local councils, which became part of the tourism support networks of the local community. In the south it extended out into the wider group of Ngāi Tahu organisations.

The overall process of building strong working relationships with the various groups was not so much about teaching others (a process that has connotations of one-way information flow), as it was a multi-way process of mutual learning, where we all shared our knowledge and experience and learned from others in the team. At any moment in time, those involved in the research were all learners and all experts. The challenge was learning how to recognise the interplay of roles, and the expertise that others carried in a way that allowed us to formulate constructive actions. Putting a range of knowledge forms together to develop new practices is a highly complex task! This issue was of particular importance, given that the programme was only four years' long and that it took the first 12–18 months to get the research team and the associated institutions and community groups to a point where the project was running relatively smoothly.

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5.2.10 Information flow between the research team and other stakeholders
This research both fed into a development process and reported on that process. As such the flow of information between the various players and groups was an important element of the research. Communication with our funders consisted of regular milestone reports, most of which were very straightforward and very unidirectional. Given the development focus of the research, it was very important and quite challenging to generate good quality information exchange between the different groups involved in this programme. Initially, we tried using email newsletters. However, many of our local stakeholders in the north were unfamiliar with email, so this was not an effective way of making information available to them.

Hui were a useful way of exchanging information, planning and debating direction in both case studies and beyond. In the north, the most effective way of informing stakeholder groups of our hui was to send them a letter (phone calls could be forgotten and emails often were not opened). Hui attendance was mixed, particularly in the north where we found that hui held in nearby urban areas such as Rotorua or Whakatane were generally better attended by a wider range of people than were hui at marae in Te Urewera. In the south, most hui occurred in Christchurch in the offices of the Ngāi Tahu rūnanga in the area. Towards the end of the programme, we were contracted by our funders to run two workshops with rural Māori from a different area. We ran these workshops in Whangarei and Kaitaia in Northland. The workshops and the hui were well received and gave the researchers who attended useful feedback on what research information people were most interested in and how it would best be presented. We also had regular meetings with interested agencies in Wellington (e.g. the Māori Tourism Council, the Ministry of Tourism, Tourism New Zealand, The Tourism Industry Association of New Zealand, and Te Puni Kōkiri).

The written nature of many of our research outputs and the fact that we could not hope to meet face to face with many of the people in other areas who would have an interest in this work meant that much of our communication was written and was unidirectional – put out by the research team. We made this information available in a range of ways (Appendix 4). They included in-depth research reports, papers, abstracts and easy-to-read popular articles. These were circulated to a wide range of our various stakeholders including local groups, people working in support roles or in government agencies with an interest in tourism, and to our research partners. Copies of the research reports were bought by libraries around New Zealand and/or were made available through electronic library databases. All written outputs were put on a website that can be found at: http://www.landcareresearch.co.nz/research/sustainablesoc/tourism/maori/. Because many of the people we were working with were unfamiliar with the Internet, these written outputs were also distributed in hard copy at various hui and conferences.

Another avenue that proved helpful in making people outside of the case studies aware of the research was media releases and media exposure where team members or others talked about our research (as in the case of the Lake Waikaremoana visitor research noted earlier). As a result of presenting at a hui on ecotourism a number of newspaper articles, magazine articles and radio interviews eventuated in August 2008. Papers were also presented at five tourism conferences for people interested in tourism research. These included people from universities, the tourism industry and Government agencies.

The mentoring work in the north was by far the most effective way of delivering our research results to businesses and groups. Working one-on-one allowed our mentors to pass on findings. So, for example, they could talk about strategies and techniques that worked for other businesses, or they could talk about what the demand-side work might mean for the development and marketing of new Māori tourism products and for the wider Te Urewera area.

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5.3 Ethics

There were a number of ethical considerations in this process. We had to manage the differing expectations of funders, fellow researchers and the communities with which we were working. We had to keep a critical eye on how local relationships were being played out and how that affected who was involved in the research and who was not. All communities have their own dynamics that reflect the ways in which power is played out between groups and individuals. Māori communities also have their own leadership structures and traditions around leadership. In work like this where we were working to introduce change (development), there were inevitably tensions that developed as different groups in the community became empowered and the power structures shifted.

It was also clear in this research that while the people that we worked with were interested in developing tourism, in the north some community members were unhappy about increasing tourism into the area. As a research team, we did not engage with these people, and nor could or should we, given the basis on which we had been begun working in the area. At a local level then, we worked within the power structures within the community and were not in a position to challenge them. However, given the extremely marginal nature of the communities we worked with (particularly in the north), we can argue that we have worked towards changing the relationships between these communities and those around them and that this represents some challenge to a status quo that might be considered negative at a regional level.

Another more immediate consideration for the research team was the importance of balancing encouragement against the possibility of pushing people into something that they might not be ready for. In this project, for example, the team were very aware that setting up and running a business requires a high level of financial and time commitment. Locating and building relationships with the people who had a strong enough interest to do this was a difficult task, particularly when the research was based in a remote, sparsely populated rural area. Likewise, it was important to support people working on setting up a business perhaps by pushing them to learn something new, but it was equally important not to push people to continue with business development if they were in any way uncertain about continuing the process. Our local researchers in the north were absolutely central to managing that balance and to locating the people who had an interest in learning more as part of the research project.

5.4 Research findings – demand

This section records the way in which the demand-side research developed over the course of the programme and how it was incorporated into the business development research to generate new findings about marketing Māori tourism. It also documents some of the major findings that emerged as the research unfolded. Full details of the research are available in the reports (see Sections 2.5, 3.3 to 3.6, 4.2 and 4.3).

Our demand-side work explored demand for Māori tourism products across three different groups of tourists:
- Among a population of 'general' or mainstream tourists travelling around New Zealand
- Among a population of visitors already in the places where rural Māori are setting up their businesses, and
- Among a population of tourists who are already buying rural Māori tourism products.

The overall focus was on understanding tourist interest in eco-cultural tourism products. These kinds of products include a range of activities in natural environments (e.g. walking, overnight hiking, horse trekking, marae visits) that involve cultural elements such as story

telling, or providing information about Māori culture. The findings from each project contributed considerably to our knowledge of tourist behaviour in a general sense. The mix of survey and interview methods in the first study allowed some valuable insights into tourists' interest in, and perceptions of, Māori tourism products.

The last piece of work involved talking with inbound operators who suggested that there is a growing international interest in authentic Māori cultural experiences beyond those of the standard concert performance. This represents something of a mismatch when put against our findings in the demand-side part of the work. There may be a number of reasons for this. First, it is possible that there is a small but growing interest in Māori culture and that IBOs see more people with this specific interest. This may be the case since not all IBOs are interested in Māori culture as part of their tours – beyond the standard hangi and concert performances that many visitors attend. Another possibility is that IBOs are and have to be ahead of the market – and so their interest may herald a growing interest in indigenous cultures as part of world tourism. Another possibility is that IBOs strive to position themselves uniquely in the marketplace, so incorporating new Māori tourism experiences is a way to achieve that.

5.4.1   Implications for businesses
We found that only a small proportion of tourists expressed interest in Māori eco-tourism products, indicating that both rural tourism and rural Māori tourism are specialised markets or market segments. Only a small number of general of mainstream tourists reported interest in Māori tourism products.

We were surprised to discover how little international visitors know about Māori culture. Even those already interacting with Māori tourism products were often unaware that the product they had purchased had a Māori element. Many visitors do not recognise forms of Māori culture more subtle than well-marketed and -staged kapahaka performances in which Māori are dressed in traditional costume. This gap in visitor knowledge appears to emerge from the way in which Māori tourism is marketed in New Zealand. This is not to imply that tourists do not enjoy participating in Māori products. However, at the point of sale, they know very little about the product they are purchasing and many of them are unaware that the products they purchase do in fact have Māori content. The research with IBOs (see Section 3.6) also indicated that representatives in the tourism industry reinforce (and find it easier to market) these more obvious and traditional forms of Māori cultural product. Despite this lack of recognition, the research indicated that people enjoy the tourism experiences that they have that contain Māori elements.

As the model in Fig. 6 showed, each of the demand-side projects grew out of a previous one, but, perhaps more importantly, they were also connected in the north to the supply-side research through the mentoring project. The two-way arrows indicate this relationship and depict an important iterative process that further increased our understanding of the rural Māori tourism system as a whole and also increased the usefulness of research findings from the individual demand-side projects.

By working with businesses to think about what to do with this information, we found that the implications of the findings of our demand-side work are subtle. Interest in Māori tourism is not limited to people with any particular demographic characteristics. The demand-side research indicated that younger, international and female respondents showed slightly more interest than most other visitors. However, targeting all young females from overseas, or even mainly this group, would not be a cost-effective marketing strategy. The research indicates that there is a market for Māori eco-cultural tourism and that it would be possible to increase the size of that market. However, there are no easily distinguishable characteristics that make the market segment easy to access at present. Domestic tourists are less interested in Māori tourism than international visitors, and yet we met New Zealanders

participating in Māori tourism products. Thus, even here, there is a market segment with an expressed interest. These observations indicate that locating the market for rural Māori tourism and working to develop that market is an important and sometimes complex task for rural Māori eco-cultural tourism interests, both collectively through the marketing that draws visitors to New Zealand, and as individual businesses. So, for example, this work has been used by Tourism New Zealand to plan their overseas marketing, and it has also been used by individual business people in our study who have been learning how to open effective channels for selling their respective products. For example, the businesses that have gone to TRENZ as part of *Te Urewera Rainforest Route* reported learning a great deal about the needs of overseas travellers and tour buyers. They have also worked hard on how their marketing material promotes their product, with some making it more explicitly about Māori culture and others choosing to focus more on the activity that they provide.

The rural locations in which our business people live and run their businesses currently attract few tourists. This indicates the importance of finding marketing approaches that will draw people into the area. In this project, it was the need for this approach that was one of the reasons for forming the *Te Urewera Rainforest Route* network.

In working with these findings with developing businesses, we found a number of successful marketing strategies and techniques that businesses developed and used. For example, some businesses did not market their business as being a primarily Māori product. The main focus of their advertising was on the activities and services they offered. While the Māori nature of the product was not hidden, it was deliberately kept low key. For most of these businesses, New Zealanders did still recognise them as Māori through the Māori imagery used in advertising, whereas most overseas visitors did not notice this Māori imagery as anything special or different. Having attracted visitors in, they then judged their interest in the cultural aspects and adjusted their product accordingly. Another strategy involved setting up systems to record where their customers were coming from so that future marketing activity could focus more on those channels that resulted in paying customers. In these rural areas, developing websites and linking them to other tourism websites was also found to be an effective tool for generating custom.

These findings about marketing have emerged from working with the businesses through the mentoring work to help them interpret and use the demand-side research findings. These findings have then been passed on to others starting out in business, having been tested in situ and found to work. Furthermore, in doing the mentoring work the research team have developed stories that they can tell about how businesses have used their research. We used these stories as part of workshops that we ran with interested iwi groups in rural Northland, and noted that using this story-telling approach appeared to make it easier for people not involved in the research to engage with the research results.

As researchers, it is encouraging to have one's research used, as often the research process ends when the findings are written up and there is little or no practical application. The dissemination of research findings is also often poor, as many research reports do not make it into the public arena. One notable achievement of this programme, in this respect, was an interview on National Radio with the manager of the Lake Waikaremoana camping ground during which he discussed the findings of the Lake Waikaremoana visitor survey in some detail.

5.4.2   Understanding domestic holidaymakers
Another important feature of these demand studies was the high number of domestic tourists in the survey samples. The place-attachment research, in particular, focused on an important group of New Zealand tourists – domestic holidaymakers – about whom little is known.

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In the New Zealand context at least, because of the way research funding is allocated on the basis of potential overseas income, there is little research into domestic tourism. Domestic tourists make up a large proportion of the tourism market, and are more likely to visit on a year-round basis. Their tastes and visitation patterns differ from those of international visitors and they are the group most likely to return to a destination as repeat visitors. Arguably, also, as we head into a post-peak-oil, post-financial-crisis world, that is increasingly worried about climate change, it is possible that fewer international tourists will visit New Zealand and fewer New Zealanders will travel offshore. This scenario will increase the contribution and importance of domestic tourism to the New Zealand economy. Thus, research on these visitors is valuable in the current context.

The place-attachment work highlighted some large overlaps between New Zealand holidaymakers and outdoor recreation patterns. The outdoor recreation literature and the domestic tourism literature are largely separate and yet there is much to be gained by understanding how New Zealanders interact with natural areas through domestic tourism or outdoor recreation activities. We note also that most New Zealanders who return regularly to an area for recreation do not regard themselves as tourists, and, as people who visit regularly, they are very likely to want different kinds of activities from visitors who are new to the area. Furthermore defining an activity as tourism or recreation (as is often done either explicitly or tacitly in surveys) may hide other possibilities with regard to domestic tourists and their low interest in Māori tourism products. For example, our surveys indicated that some New Zealanders may not regard Māori experiences as a holiday or recreational activity, but they may well participate in some of them as an educational or work-related activity. By questioning them in a tourism frame we may be missing some potential markets.

5.5   Research findings – supply

This section documents the tourism business development aspects of the research and the major findings that emerged from reflection on that process. Context is a key factor in determining the process for development in any community (Horn 2005), as it was in this research. All communities and all cultures are not the same, thus the first part of this section is aimed at providing information about the cultural, social and geographic contexts of the two communities involved in this work and the issues they face in trying to develop economically. Once we have provided some reflections on how context affects tourism development, we look at what we learned in working with people to assist them with their business development. We then go on to reflect on what we learned from developing the *Te Urewera Rainforest Route* network – that is, working more at community level to build an organisation that supports tourism businesses.

5.5.1   Context

Colonial history and the Treaty of Waitangi

No analysis of New Zealand Māori development would be complete without some reference to colonialism and the history of the Treaty of Waitangi and the effect that these processes have had on different tribal groups. Here, we give a very brief background to this and direct the reader to other sources for more information.

The Treaty of Waitangi and the associated Treaty settlement processes provide an important backdrop against which all Māori economic development work lies. The Treaty of Waitangi is considered New Zealand's founding document. Signed between the Crown and Māori tribal groups around 1840, 'Te Tiriti' serves as both an iconic founding document (there are actually several versions) for New Zealanders and as a template for the ongoing negotiations that express the partnership between Māori and Pākehā. Not all iwi signed the Treaty, either by choice or through neglect on the part of the Crown's representatives (King 2003; Petrie 2006).

Unfortunately, the Treaty and its promises were soon forgotten as the expediency of a settler government overtook any ideals that early European operatives may have held and the New Zealand wars irredeemably altered the political and economic landscape for Māori (Salmond 1991; Belich 1996).

In our current context, tribal groups are in various stages of negotiating with the Crown over redress for infringements made by the Crown with regard to this treaty. The contemporary context of Treaty 'settlement' packages coalesced from the continued protests and petitioning of the Crown by Māori, boosted by what became known as the Māori 'Renaissance', a general increase in Māori cultural expressions and support that is evident from the 1970s (Walker 1992).

Ngāi Tahu, the tribal group associated with those in our southern case study, were one of the first Māori tribal groups in New Zealand to settle with the Crown over compensation for long-standing grievances between the iwi and the Crown (Evison 2006). The Ngāi Tahu Settlement was signed on 24 September 1997 after 150 years of trying to get the Crown to address the tribe's grievances. Settlement required the tribe as a whole to shift its focus from the long-term goal of seeking redress to building up their economic and cultural base. In economic terms, Ngāi Tahu has increased its asset base from the original settlement of $170 million in 1998 to in excess of $500 million in 2007 (TRONT 2007). Ngāi Tahu are now the largest private landowners in the South Island and own interests in a number of businesses including tourism ventures both in the South and the North Island.

In comparison, Tūhoe have not yet settled their grievances with the Crown, although their grievances have been heard by the Waitangi Tribunal, which then considers the evidence and makes recommendations to the Crown and the iwi. Thus, the economic status of the two tribes is significantly different. Tūhoe do not have the same resources available to them to assist with economic development, and many of their resources are channelled into their claim process. Because of this critical difference between the two groups, there was some expectation that business development might be more difficult in the northern case study area than in the south. In fact the opposite has been true – an outcome that reflects the importance of contextual elements other than economic status.

Culture

Culture is a key reason for the engagement of rural Māori in tourism development. In both case studies, cultural connection to ancestral land is what was drawing Māori to live in remote areas and to develop businesses there. Research participants saw returning to their ancestral areas, or somewhere close by, as a part of nurturing Māori culture and tradition. They saw tourism as a part of this in two ways. First, tourism business may enable them to live in the area and to make enough money to support themselves and their families. Second, tourism can also provide a way of presenting the culture to a broader audience and therefore it may provide a means of protecting and even developing it. However, considerable tension can exist alongside this, given commonly discussed questions about which stories should be offered to visitors as part of a tourism product, particularly as many are considered private and not something to be divulged to others, including tourists. Our participants had few unequivocal answers to these questions. Finding workable answers to these questions was something each operator and their families had to work through for themselves as part of the journey of starting up a tourism business. Thus, there are reasons to view tourism negatively as a risk to the local culture but also positively as a reason for passing on and perpetuating local stories and knowledge, whether they are used as part of a tourism product or not.

Māori communities function on a great deal of voluntary work and appear to have high expectations of people within the community with regard to that work. This had two documented effects in our work. First, people may feel that they should not or that they do not want to be paid to do work associated with business development. Alternatively they may not see their time as something that needs to be accounted for in the business accounts, which in turn can lead to some unrealistic pricing. Second, a small number of our business people in the north had an expectation that family members would work in the business voluntarily and not need paying. This became problematic when an unpaid family member became less willing to put personal time into the business. The issue took some time to emerge because it was largely a tacit expectation and therefore not talked about. Both issues will affect the long-term sustainability of a business.

Culture impacts on business in another way. In the southern case study area, we talked with younger people (Section 4.4) and discovered that returning home may be difficult even for people who are in their 30s and 40s. Young people with leadership skills and leadership capacity feel they have many more leadership opportunities away from their home areas than they do in them. Younger people feel that traditions around leadership mean that they have to 'do their time' helping out in the kitchen or wherever the elders decide they should help. While the young people we spoke to did not mind helping out in the kitchen, some expressed frustration at the difficulty of contributing to the community in ways that made use of their skills, expertise and personal interests. Returning home to live, therefore, may not look like an attractive option for younger people. Informal discussion with participants in the northern area indicates that this is not confined to the south. If rural Māori communities want some capable young people to return, it is important that they find ways to help them participate within their communities in a way that is meaningful to the young people. Similarly the younger people in our southern study (Section 4.4) also felt that they would struggle to set up a tourism business in their local area because it would require the agreement and support of their wider family – something they were not confident about getting. People in both case studies acknowledged that it would be easier to set up business away from their home areas, because there would be fewer obstacles to doing so than there would be in their home communities. This is an issue for the communities that we worked with since people had often engaged with the idea of setting up a business in order to bring younger family members home.

Remoteness

Developing a tourism business in a remote rural area is a difficult task even without the additional questions around managing culture and the needs of a marginalised group of people. In rural areas, roading and communications infrastructure is minimal, poverty is often high, and a significant number of people living locally may have minimal skills and capacity, making them unsuitable as potential staff in a small business. Furthermore training staff or attending courses to assist with business development is more difficult when one lives a long way from urban areas. Few visitors pass the door in remote rural areas, so marketing becomes significantly more complex than it is for businesses in urban areas or in busier tourism areas. These issues were explored in some detail in the literature review (see Section 3.1), and were confirmed as issues in our communities through the early supply-side research in the north (Section 3.1).

Age-related community patterns

Remoteness and peripherality also affect the age patterns within the community and this had a number of direct effects on the businesses that we worked with in Te Urewera. In particular finding staff was a major issue for businesses in the area.

First, the rural communities we worked with generally had few young people with the capacity to work in or run a business. Mostly, young people have left the area (or their parents have) to complete their education or to find work. Discussions with a number of interviewees in the supply-side research and with some of the people in the area with viable businesses indicate it is unrealistic to expect that younger people will return to live in a remote place purely because there is a business to run. For example, the southern research found that young people are unlikely to come home to live because they have other things that they want to do (see Section 4.4). Furthermore, the lack of other young, capable people in the area means that young people who do return feel that they are isolated from friends of their own age and the social lives that they have had access to in urban areas. Young people already living in the area may not have the skills required to work in a tourism business, so the lack of capable young people in the area was seen as an issue for businesses wanting staff, particularly on a seasonal and casual basis.

In this respect, the seasonality of tourism may be an advantage. One business did attract back some young people to work for the summer and they were able to leave again at the end of the summer to live outside the area. The seasonal nature of tourism might therefore be framed in such a way as to provide a vehicle for maintaining connections between whānau or hapū members and their ancestral home, while not requiring them to move back into the area permanently.

Despite the barriers, some people do return. In our study in both case study areas younger to middle-aged community members brought back significant skills, capacities and experiences. These all played a significant role in progressing local development.

Another group who return are retirees. Some of these people were interested in the idea of setting up a business, which again they saw as a way of bringing younger family members back to the area. However, the researchers in the north observed that capable retirees living in the area are often called on for kaumatua duties. The draw these duties have on their time can be onerous, so much so that two people connected with this research project changed their phone number or cut off their phones in an attempt to slow down the requests for their time.

Previous experience of tourism

Some history of providing Māori tourism experiences or, at the very least, the existence of historical Māori tourism enterprises can provide important templates or role models for development. A tradition of involvement is important as it helps to create and foster greater familiarity and understanding of tourists, tourism businesses, and the tourism industry. In this, the two case studies differed.

Lake Waikaremoana and Te Urewera, in general, have a long history of tourism in which the local Māori population provided guiding and other services to travellers. Thus in the north there is a history of involvement in small-scale tourism businesses that could be adapted to current tourism demand. In contrast, in the south, there was little or no history of Māori involvement in tourism. Instead, tourism has been and continues to be the domain of international and domestic newcomers to the area who have been attracted by the lifestyle opportunities that small-scale tourism ventures offer. Likewise in the south, there are few, small exemplars for those local Māori interested in establishing new businesses. The model that our southern participants looked to most commonly was Whale Watch Kaikoura, one of the most (if not *the* most) successful Māori tourism businesses in New Zealand. With such a large role model, it was difficult to appreciate small development steps and to understand that Whale Watch itself had started small and had only grown as a result of immense financial, time and personal commitment and sacrifice from those involved.

Proximity of other Māori cultural attractions

It is also easier to develop tourism that centres around some aspect of Māori culture if there is a well-developed recognition of, and demand for, such tourism in the area. Our demand-side research (see Section 2.5), for example, indicated that visitors to the areas in and around Te Urewera are more likely to be interested in Māori cultural tourism products than are visitors to Banks Peninsula. Thus, it appears that the northern area's location close to Rotorua, the premier Māori tourism destination of New Zealand, and, perhaps, the fact that Te Urewera is known to be home to a significant Māori population, potentially makes it easier to develop and market Māori eco-tourism products to visitors already in the area. In contrast, the southern case study area is not traditionally a cultural tourism area and there are few Māori cultural attractions. Involvement in tourism by local Māori was almost non-existent. Most of the tourism products on offer on Banks Peninsula are based around eco-tourism products, rather than cultural attractions. This makes the setting up of businesses that offer Māori cultural elements more difficult than it is in the northern area.

Our demand-side research found that both areas primarily attract domestic tourists and holidaymakers. This pattern has implications for the appeal and feasibility of selling Māori tourism products (which are more attractive to international visitors than domestic visitors) but it also has implications for the development of any tourism businesses. The Banks Peninsula demand-side research, the Lake Waikaremoana visitor research, and the place-attachment research all found that many domestic visitors who visit a place regularly are resistant to change and to development of any kind. They are attracted to these places because they are not currently commercialised or developed. Marketing products to these people will need a different approach than that required for marketing to international visitors who visit only once. Also, many domestic visitors to Banks Peninsula are holiday-home owners, often with long familial attachment to the area and, as such, also need to be considered as stakeholders in what happens there. This, in itself, has implications for how successful any new tourism business might be.

5.5.2   Business development needs in rural Māori tourism

Working one to one

We gained a number of learnings from working one to one with people to assist them with business development (Section 3.2). Our researchers found a number of areas in which they could assist local people with business development. Most needed little assistance with the delivery of their product but they needed considerable assistance with learning how to market their product, price it, and set up business systems (e.g. accounting and booking systems) to manage the different aspects of the business. Those in the early stages of thinking about a business needed assistance to clarify what their product would be and also some help to map out the pathway to achieving that business.

At times businesses at the early stages of start-up benefited from having access to some hands-on help. Thus our researchers found that helping an individual to set up a database for keeping track of customers or assisting them to build a website (for example) meant that they were able to progress much more quickly than leaving them to find out how to do it for themselves as a mentor might.

Both our researchers and our research participants noted that it was important to find the right pace of work, and that, ideally, the learning process was delivered in short bursts relatively often rather than in one long session. This of course raises some problems when a business coach or mentor lives a long way from the businessperson who needs assistance. It is no surprise that the businesses that got the most out of working with our researchers were those situated closer to where the researchers lived. It was also clear, however, that as the business developed, mentoring work could achieve much more in a single session. Towards the end of the programme our researchers did some work with some more

established businesses around East Cape. With these businesses it was possible to achieve quite a lot during one meeting and to follow that up with email and telephone work.

Dedication and drive

Regardless of context, setting up a business is a difficult task that requires a wide range of skills and knowledge. On the whole, people had very good skills in providing the product, but they were unfamiliar with aspect of business such as health and safety requirements, legal issues, financial systems, accessing financial assistance, marketing, and pricing etc. It takes considerable dedication to learn and do the work necessary to get a business off the ground. In rural Māori communities, many of the people who are developing businesses are also seen as community leaders and as such have many calls on their time, as outlined above. The expectation that community leaders will provide significant voluntary time and their own desire to give that time to people in need can really slow business development down.

Getting started takes time

It can take a long time to develop a business and doing it can be a matter of getting the timing right. We note also that timing was an important factor in the success of the research programme in the north. In the southern case study, none of the people that we engaged with were already personally interested in leading the start-up of a new enterprise at the time of the research, although all were interested in having tourism out in the rural areas around their marae. The programme happened at a time when all of the reference group members were already fully involved in voluntary projects they were passionate about, or tasks they had been involved with for some time. While they all thought business development was a good idea, there was little capacity in that group to take on more work, and they had no contact with anyone who had an interest in setting up in business. The time, effort and passion required for setting up a business requires people to focus on business development and this requires considerable forward planning.

In comparison, in the north, the research programme came at a very good time for some of the businesses we worked with and for one of our researchers. She and her husband had returned to the area just a short time before the research began with the express purpose of leading local economic development. Because they had only recently moved back into the area, they were in the process of working out where to put their energy so it would have best effect. Furthermore they had been planning the development of their tourism business for some 5–6 years before they moved back to the area to set it up. We were lucky that our research project fitted in well alongside their interests and that they were just starting out on that path. Had they already established their roles in the community, the process of negotiating how to mesh their goals with the action research process may well have been more difficult.

Financial resources

A key aspect of developing a business is finding the necessary funding. While tourism is often considered to be a business option that has relatively low investment requirements, we found that even for relatively simple guiding businesses the investment required is significant, particularly for people who have little access to bank loans and little in the way of personal wealth. Our partners in the north had focused all their previous efforts on finding funding because that seemed to them at the time to be the biggest problem facing them. As a team, we went in with the view that it was probably one of a number of issues that businesses would have to address, and that those other issues could well present as much of a problem as financing businesses. In fact, this would appear to be the case. We know this because, arguably, the people in our southern case study had more potential access to money that they could use for local development purposes than did people in the northern

area, and yet it was the people in the northern area who achieved the most in terms of business development.

Finding finance is linked with the need for funders and businesses alike to manage their risk. For people on very low incomes, as people living in rural areas often are, the risks of borrowing money to start up a business may seem very high, which can make rural people nervous about setting up a business. Of course, providing access to funds that do not have to be paid back can be high risk for the funders concerned, since 'free' money might make people less inclined to really struggle to make the business work. Thus some funders of tourism development projects such as the Poutama Trust offer funding for Māori tourism businesses where business people can find half the funding themselves. While this can be difficult, it does mean that the risk is spread more evenly between the businessperson and the funder.

Ngāi Tahu, as an iwi body, manages its risk as a potential funder of rūnanga businesses by providing business development assistance time to put into rūnanga development projects. The organisation also manages its risk by working alongside rūnanga to assess the viability of a project or an investment and by helping them with getting businesses up and running. We note, however, that most Māori businesses are in fact developed at whānau (family) level, as were most of the businesses developed in the north.

Overall then, Māori businesses do have to engage with the problem of finding investment but it is not the only limiting factor that Māori face in setting up their business. For those with the drive and determination to set up in business, there is funding available, but funders understandably want to see that the thinking and systems behind the business are sound and well run and that those approaching them for funding are determined enough to make the business work in the long term.

Preferred ways of learning

Finding ways to learn, and people they could learn from, was also an important part of the process for the new business people we worked with. Many found they learned best by working in one-to-one situations on tasks relevant to their own business projects. An important form of learning that worked well for some of our business participants was the provision of hands-on help. Thus one participant described the process of learning to do the accounts by taking over the work of her accountant-teacher over the period of a year. Another found that having someone help him set up his website and show him how to manage it himself so that he could take it over was a useful approach. These kinds of learning opportunities can be difficult to find, particularly for people living in rural areas where there are few support services. It would indicate that support persons with the right skills who live near those they are supporting would be beneficial.

Well-defined product

A strong and well-defined product is an important starting point for a new business. Many people who were thinking of setting up needed time with a mentor to clarify what tourism product they wanted to provide. People starting up sometimes had to be encouraged to start with one or two clearly articulated products which then helped them learn about the process of running a business. The number of products can be increased once people understand the business process and have gained confidence in running the business.

Being consistently available

A significant issue faced by small businesses in an area like Te Urewera is how to maintain communications. Booking agents, inbound operators and potential customers want and need prompt responses to enquiries and bookings. However, this is not always easy for those

running small businesses in a rural area, particularly one in which there is no cellphone coverage. This is a bigger issue for those who may have to be away overnight and who run the business on their own and so cannot check emails. On top of this, communications into rural areas can be unreliable as was the case in Te Urewera. Generally where whānau are around, they can assist, but there may be reasons for developing some form of local assistance to manage communications at busy times.

At what level does business development work best?

In the north, most of the businesses that we worked with were developed by individuals or by whānau. One was run by a trust, but most of the work of running the enterprise fell to the woman paid to run it. In the Ngāi Tahu context, we were working with individuals from the rūnanga – organisations charged with making decisions for the collective. A few people in our Ngāi Tahu study felt that the rūnanga was an appropriate level for business development. However, those with some experience of business development in both case studies felt that it occurs more easily at whānau level. Furthermore, while some rūnanga had been involved in business work, it is usually the passion of one or two dedicated people that have managed the associated work.

5.5.3 Community/ network development'

Importance of networks

Reflecting on the different outcomes of the two areas has highlighted the importance of the networks of the people living in the two areas. First, the researchers in the northern area had very strong networks out into the wider New Zealand tourism industry. One had extensive experience of working in tourism marketing at national and international level. This experience gave her a strong understanding of the industry, how it works, and how important enlisting outsiders would be for progressing tourism development in Te Urewera. This was strongly supported by the other's experience of having been part of an early tourism venture in Te Urewera.

Having people with strong familial linkages into the local community was key in this research for both case studies. Through her husband Joe, Joanna (English by birth) was well connected into the local Tūhoe community. Brenda, although not Tūhoe herself, had married into the local Tūhoe community and had been associated with the area for about 30 years. Thus she was also strongly linked into the local Tūhoe community. Her familial linkages into the neighbouring Ngāti Porou tribe also allowed the research team access to a small amount of research work slightly further afield. Our researchers in the south were Ngāi Tahu people with direct links to their local Māori communities.

Another important set of linkages were those with government departments who have Māori social and economic development as their mandate. Joanna, Brenda and Joe were again able to work with these organisations drawing on their personal networks into these government departments and their knowledge of how they work. All three also had a strong instinctive understanding of the importance of networks in development work and so had a strong focus on further developing those networks and actively drawing other people from Te Urewera into them. In the southern case study area, our researchers did have some network linkages into government departments such as Te Puni Kōkiri (which focuses its work on Māori development).

Linkages into the wider tourism industry were also important. Joanna in particular had very good networks into tourism at national level and was able to build on those networks to further develop them locally and regionally. In the south, none of the people that we were working with had strong connections with the tourism industry locally, regionally or nationally. Some progress has been made in developing these in the south, although, until local

participation in the tourism industry develops, there is little point in trying to develop these networks much further. Developing them will become important if businesses do get underway.

Local businesses also need to link with and work with each other. A key achievement of this work was the development of the *Te Urewera Rainforest Route* (TURR) – a network of businesses situated along the road that runs through Te Urewera between Murupara and Lake Waikaremoana. This network has become an incorporated society with the goal of fostering sustainable tourism in the area. TURR also has a developing role in supporting new business, working with inbound operators or tourism wholesalers, and in marketing the area to potential visitors.

The development and functioning of this network also highlighted the need for Māori to work with non-Māori. Māori tourism does not stand alone, but is part of the overall New Zealand tourism product. While Māori-focused organisations at national and even regional level may help raise the profile of Māori tourism, in rural areas the challenge is finding ways to pool resources and foster the development of other high quality tourism experiences so as to raise awareness of, and draw people into, the area. There is benefit for all local businesses if everyone, whether Māori or non-Māori, can work together to do this. In rural areas the need to collaborate with everyone may be greater, simply because there are fewer businesses that one can work with to draw people into the area. What contributed to the success of TURR at marketing events such as TRENZ was that all of the businesses involved had similar products – all were based on natural environmental features present in the area.

There are also benefits in having new businesses work with more established businesses. Our researchers noted that there was benefit for them in assisting others with their businesses because it helped them reflect more about their own businesses. This may point to testing the development of community-based learning processes that could supplement a mentoring process perhaps by developing a supportive network that might help with problem solving. There are a number of caveats on this – such an arrangement requires significant trust and is therefore unlikely to work well unless set up from flax roots level. As a corollary to this, those involved in advising others must be genuinely interested in assisting others and be able to see the importance of collaboration over competition.

When networking is less constructive

Having pointed to the importance of networks, we note that to be effective, the networks have to be actively used and fostered and this represents a cost to businesses. We became aware of a situation in which there appeared to have been many 'networking meetings' but they were not necessarily resulting in strong local development. There are skills associated with networking and those doing it want to be clear about what they want to come out of the time that they spend doing it. In some situations it appears that it may be a way of avoiding the hard yards required! To some extent this comes down to the existence of strong local leadership.

Importance of local leadership

This project has taught us much about leadership and the different ways it can be exercised. First, observational and interview data gathered over the course of the supply-side work indicate that leadership in rural Māori environments is a matter of sheer hard work. There are many unpaid community leadership roles (such as managing the local marae, being on the school board, managing community infrastructure, completing funding applications, fostering local development, providing advice or oversight of projects), and relatively few people to take them on. Throughout the course of this research in both case study areas it

was clear that leaders in Māori communities put in much unpaid time to further the interests of their people, often on many different fronts.

Our observations are that leadership is a many-faceted phenomenon that does not translate as one person being in charge, pulling others along behind them. For a start, we learned through our experiences as a research team that in a well-functioning group, the leadership shifts according to what the group is doing and who has the relevant knowledge and skills at any particular moment. This, of course, is not a straightforward process, and working out where it should lie is a process of considerable negotiation, and debate. It was a particularly complex process where the way forward was not clear or obvious in the early stages of the process when we did not know each other well.

Observations and experience show that leadership styles are affected by the context and status of the people involved. For example, both of our researchers in the northern case study area were community leaders in their own right, but their status as women who had married into the area had a bearing on the ways in which they could influence local development. Both our researchers expressed frustration on occasions at the ways in which they were treated by other community members in various settings, and the point also came home to the first author of this report in an interview where a local male omitted the important role women in the community had played in certain projects, even when he was prompted.

The individual interests of the two northern researchers in specific local projects also affected their different roles within the research programme. One had a specific interest in tourism development in Te Urewera, and a great deal of highly relevant tourism marketing experience. The other was more broadly focused on work that included Te Urewera where she lived, but that also took her away to other places where she had family and business connections. Thus, the first researcher took the lead more frequently in the mentoring work particularly in the later stages of the programme.

In both case studies we saw that leadership involves facilitation and recognising others in the community who are working towards similar goals, and working alongside them to support and build the work from the flax roots up. For example, the husband and wife team from the north (outlined in the section above) had spent many years working outside the area, and had a good understanding of, and connection to, the local people. They brought with them a range of relevant experience and skills. However, at the beginning of the process they spent time learning about and looking for opportunities to support people and processes that were already working for similar ends. This allowed them to connect to the other leaders with particular skills, abilities and interests in the area and to mobilise a pool of local talent into the overall economic development project. To some extent the research process reflected this same approach, whereby the researchers aimed to understand what local people needed and what skills and knowledge we had as a team that might be useful in assisting people to meet those needs. Thus, in this context as in other community contexts, leadership is best seen as a learning/nurturing/support role aimed at helping others to articulate and attain their collective goals rather than a process of command and control.

The strength of this approach was reinforced by the observation that a more 'command and control' or top-down-based approach had been used by another individual who had also been working on development and tourism development in the local area. This person struggled to work with other local leaders. His inability to work with those others led to a gradual loss of support from people who could have contributed, and were initially trying to contribute, to his project.

To add to this it would appear that being able to enlist people who have different strengths is also of benefit in fostering development. In the south it seemed that all involved in the

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process were leaders with similar sets of skills and strengths. Thus, while the group had very good ideas and the capacity to develop a vision, they lacked the other kinds of skills (e.g. administrative, practical, and analytical) needed to begin a business development project in a collaborative setting.

5.6   Outcomes from the research

Figure 6 indicates that a number of outcomes emerged from the work completed in this research programme. In the north, a few Māori businesses were established to the point that they had the confidence to attend TRENZ – a major sales event in the New Zealand tourism calendar. A local network – known as *Te Urewera Rainforest Route* (TURR) – was formed, attended TRENZ twice, was registered as an incorporated society, and continues to work well to effect desired change in the local area and to market the area to potential visitors. The organisation has a strategy and risk management plan and has applied for funding for a local coordinator. As part of their work, they have been working towards improving the road through the area and getting it designated as an official touring route. These are all significant achievements in an area as remote and undeveloped as Te Urewera. This work emerged directly from the IBO research (Section 3.6), which explored the views of inbound operators on Māori tourism and the ways in which a newly developing place such as Te Urewera might engage with them. All of this work has significantly lifted the profile of Te Urewera as a new and interesting tourist destination.

The outcome achieved by some of our business participants in the north resulted from their engagement with the idea of business even before the beginning of the project. The business development aspect of the programme was built on the work that people had done before the project came into being. For example, one individual with whom the researchers worked was perfectly positioned to take advantage of this support. He had been working on setting up his business for some time and was providing a good service to visitors. An interview with him after a few months of mentoring indicated that he had realised he knew very little about what is needed for a viable business. Over the course of the programme and through working hard to put the principles he was learning into practice, he was able to remove many of the problems he had been experiencing and build a more profitable and sustainable business.

For others involved in the mentoring work, the outcomes were less obvious. Some found that although they remained interested in the idea of going into business, the timing was not right for them and they were unable to immediately progress their business idea. For still others, there was little obvious progress. Talking with these people indicated that looking at the process of setting up a business had left them realising that it was something they did not want to do, or that the barriers facing them were too great. Either way, the choices people made about whether or not to proceed became choices informed by some good understanding of what business development entails.

For the businesses involved, the value of the work lay in helping some people progress more confidently than they might otherwise have done in the direction of their choice. One business, for example, made an active choice to stay small. Others were interested in trying to grow and develop. The work also provided the business people concerned with a strong point of focus, and it helped them join forces with other businesses in the area. We are hopeful that this focus and support structure will continue now that the research has come to a close. For others, it simply gave them the space and the resources to learn about business and to think about their business ideas.

We would hope that the success of this programme lies as much in outcomes that are not yet evident as in those outcomes that are. So, for example, we may have awakened ideas in people who currently have only a peripheral interest in business development, but who later

may start something. Our success may lie in setting up a network of people who will be tomorrow's role models and mentors for business development, and who can continue the work of encouraging new development in the local area. There will also be ongoing benefits from having a group of people in the community who have been able to come together with people they may not have worked with normally to work collectively on issues of common concern. Thus, the fact that the TURR network contains both Māori and non-Māori business owners, some of whom do not live in the immediate local area, may be an important outcome of this work. Likewise, other networks and linkages have been made from Te Urewera outwards and we have raised some awareness of the importance of such linkages in a development process. We would hope that these learnings will all provide ongoing benefit to the local community. Time will tell!

It appears likely that there will be long-term benefits that accrue to the local community in the north through this work. The ongoing nature of TURR, the ongoing interest of the researcher with her own tourism business, and the joint capacity that each local researcher has developed in assisting local businesses all seem likely to contribute positively to future local development processes.

There is a sense, then, in which the research project increased the capacity of the two researchers based in Te Urewera to foster local development both during the research and in their work from the end of the research onwards. It did this by providing them with the resources to work with other local people to build local business capacity, and to reflect on this work so they could learn more about how to be effective. They have become known for their work over this time and they will carry the learning that the project helped them develop into future projects. Since both are movers and shakers in their own right, the impact of this is likely to be considerable.

When we began in the south, no one we were working with had thought seriously about setting up a business, and certainly none were actively pursuing that goal. It is perhaps unsurprising, therefore that no businesses began as a direct result of our work in the research programme. Despite this there have been outcomes from the research and these look set to continue. Outcomes in the south have centred around the kinds of capacity needed to develop tourism in the local area, and a significantly increased capacity for a number of rūnanga centred around Banks Peninsula to work together on joint projects. The latter outcome has resulted in a jointly run resource management initiative and it has also led to ongoing engagement with tourism opportunities in some parts of the area. In the southern area, local rūnanga have developed new linkages with the local council and the South Island Māori regional tourism organisation. This has led to a stronger presence of Māori history and art in tourism information about the area and has raised the profile of these Māori communities among those with an interest in tourism. As a result they have had enquiries that provide them with some potential opportunities in the coming summer.

There is still a long way to go in this area with regard to the development of business skills and businesses; however, the opportunities that have arisen may provide some impetus for groups to engage with this kind of learning. Discussions that began in the southern reference group supply-side research (Section 4.1) and the work on young Māori (Section 4.4) raised awareness of the need for training initiatives to assist Māori with business development opportunities. One result of this that has recently developed is a new course at the local polytechnic focused on marae catering. While Māori communities are experts at providing hospitality and food to visitors, the development of such a course means that they can now get recognised credits and qualifications for these skills.

The research-based outcomes are the things that you see outlined in this report. The research has led us to improved understanding about how to assist rural Māori to develop tourism in their areas and to develop their businesses. We have learned more about the

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process of community development, and the roles and styles of effective leadership at community level, as well as a great deal about the ways in which tourists understand and engage with Māori tourism products.

5.7   Concluding thoughts

It would appear that currently the market for authentic eco-cultural tourism experiences is relatively small. Overseas visitors show more interest than domestic visitors when asked about the appeal of Māori culture, but unlike domestic visitors, they have little familiarity with what exactly this means and how to recognise it when they come across it. Our research indicates that there are niche markets both internationally and domestically, but it is unclear at this point how to locate those markets – particularly the domestic market. However, we also know that there is a high tourist demand for activities associated with New Zealand's natural environments and that people really enjoy the elements of Māori culture that they encounter as they travel in New Zealand. Likewise it is clear that inbound operators see a demand for authentic Māori cultural products among their clientele. Therefore, we would argue that with careful attention to marketing and to providing good quality products, the relative popularity of Māori eco-tourism products could rise significantly as people get to know about them and recognise them. This implies that Māori tourism businesses, particularly those in remote areas, need to think carefully about how to package and market their products, and as a country, we need to think about the way in which New Zealand markets Māori culture as a point of difference to overseas markets.

The differences in the way the two case studies unfolded highlight the fact that development processes will differ in every community. Tourism development, and perhaps economic development in general, is a complex, collaborative process of aligning the networks, capacities and interests of people living in the local area. Economic development therefore cannot be separated from community/social development and human development – which were important elements of the work in both of our case studies. In the rural Māori communities we worked with, there were fewer people from whom to draw those capacities and interests, and many of them were already stretched by the voluntary work they were doing. Building the capacity for economic development therefore has to compete with many other possible calls on people's time and yet it arguably needs more time and resources than development in urban areas because there is a smaller pool of capacity already existing there.

Tourism development rests on strong linkages within the community and strong linkages out from the community to customers, agencies and individuals who can assist the local project in some way. The success of our northern case work arose from the extraordinary set of capacities that existed within a husband and wife team who had returned to the area with the specific intent of fostering local economic development. As a team, they were well equipped in terms of their networks, their capacity, and willingness to reflect on what they were doing and how they were doing it. Furthermore both were willing to put a great deal of work and time into the unfolding project and both had the social skills to allow them to do it. Others in the area and in the research team had considerable skills that contributed to this project, but without the leadership of these two, and their willingness to put time and effort into the broader community project, it is unlikely that quite as much would have been achieved.

That the confluence of skills and networks were centred around a husband and wife meant that less time was needed to build the team necessary to get things done. To bring together the same skills and networks in a more 'normal' situation would require a number of people to learn how to work closely together, to join up their networks and/or build them from scratch. These processes take considerable patience and social skill for anyone trying to facilitate such a project. We got some first-hand experience of this during the process of developing a well-functioning research team within the limitations of the project in hand.

The benefit of having a research process alongside a development process is that it provides the opportunity and skills to assist people to reflect on and document the process to capture the learnings that emerged during the project. The action research process that we used for this project was complex and at times very challenging for all concerned, but it has provided an enormous amount of learning and, we believe, has positively influenced the development of on-the-ground outcomes.

The 'mentoring work' was a key element of this project. In fact it involved a number of different interventions from assisting individual businesses on a number of fronts to fostering greater collaboration between other similar, local businesses, and assisting with setting up a new organisation to support tourism in the area. The centrality of this work (See Fig. 6) lay in the way it helped local people access the demand-centred work in an environment that helped apply it practically to the work they were doing. It also provided a practical feedback mechanism that helped connect up the different individual projects that took place within the programme. Thus it was through this set of activities that the different projects within the plan were integrated to build useful outcomes rather than remaining as isolated projects. In putting the information and the actions together, we were able to generate further learning about the process of economic development in rural areas.

Overall, however it is clear that the confluence of context and personnel that occurred in the northern case study was quite extraordinary in the scheme of things. While these same outcomes will be possible in other places, in most cases we would argue that it will take considerably longer than 3–4 years to enact them. In this work, for example, a significant amount of background work was in place prior to the programme starting. For example, a small number of people had begun work on developing a family business, the networks and leadership skills that the project required were already in place, and more importantly, the people with those skills were able to put significant time into mobilising other community members and they were strongly motivated to do so.

These observations are borne out by the apparent lack of outcomes that emerged from the work in the south, where we suspect a more 'normal' state of affairs existed. We would argue, however, that there have been significant outcomes in the south but that the people there did not have the ready-built, highly cohesive team, nor the skills, networks and conditions necessary to get businesses started. However, this programme has seen them begin the process of building a number of the capacities that will underlie future development. These include increased capacity for collaboration, increasing the profile of Māori culture in the Banks Peninsula area, building networks out to tourism operators and tourism organisations around the South Island, and thinking about the options that they might have for tourism development. These are significant outcomes in themselves, which have perhaps been downplayed by the fact that we set unreasonable goals given the context in which we were working.

5.8   Future research

Our demand-side work indicated significant scope for more research into domestic tourists' engagement with Māori tourism products. Although some New Zealanders are interested in things Māori, comments made during this survey suggest that learning about Māori is not seen as something to do on one's summer holiday – it is closely bound up with work and with school or other forms of education, some of which may essentially be enjoyable leisure activities but not tourism ones. Ryan (2002) offers some explanations of why domestic visitors may differ from internationals in terms of their interactions with Māori tourism, but we believe there are some interesting questions about how non-Māori New Zealanders perceive Māori tourism products, how they engage with Māori culture, and the different ways it is presented that would benefit from further qualitative research.

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Appendix 1 Glossary

Hapū	subtribe/clan
Hui	meeting or gathering
Iwi	tribe
Kaumātua	tribal elder
Kaitiakitanga	guardianship, caretaking role, custodianship, protection
Marae	communal centre and facilities for a subtribe
Pākehā	European/non-Māori
Papatipu Rūnanga	defined in Schedule 1 of the Te Runanga o Ngai Tahu Act 1996
Rangitahi	youth/younger generation
Rūnanga	tribal council or governing organisation, people's council
Tangata whenua	Indigenous people, literally the people of the land
Tāpoitanga	tourism operation
Tikanga	protocols, customary obligations, common practices
Tino rangatiratanga	Māori control of all things Māori – Māori sovereignty
Whānau	family

Appendix 2 Case study timelines and outputs

Timeline and outputs: Northern case study

	2004–2005												2005–2006												2006–2007												2007–2008											
	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J
Demand-side research	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓		▓																								▓		▓	
Supply-side research					▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒	▒
Mentoring prog.													▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓
Lake Waikaremoana															▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓																			▓	▓						
Te Urewera															▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓																											
Industry map																															▓	▓	▓	▓	▓													
In-bound ops																		▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓												
TRENZ																														▓	▓	▓	▓	▓								▓	▓	▓	▓	▓		
Place attachment																																								▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓	▓

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Timeline and outputs: Southern case study

	2004–2005												2005–2006												2006–2007												2007–2008											
	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	J	F	M	A	M	J
Demand-side research	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■		■																								■		■
Supply-side research	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨	▨																								
Feasibility studies																▥	▥	▥	▥	▥	▥	▥												▥														
Cultural tourism																											▦	▦	▦	▦	▦	▦	▦	▦	▦	▦	▦	▦	▦	▦	▦	▦	▦	▦	▦	▦	▦	▦
Young Māori																																					▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	▧	
Ngāi Tahu																									▩	▩	▩	▩	▩	▩	▩	▩	▩	▩	▩	▩	▩	▩	▩	▩	▩	▩	▩	▩	▩	▩	▩	▩

Appendix 3 Kawenata

Kā Rūnaka o Te Pātaka o Rākaihautū

Vision

To create prosperity for the people through economic development

Goals

- To promote and develop business opportunities by promoting and practising the values and Tikaka set out in our kā uara – values
- Maintain the group's integrity by protecting what we agree is commercially sensitive information – we will agree and minute what is commercially sensitive
- We are committed to resolve any conflict according to the values.

Kā Uara – Values

WHĀNAUKATAKA

Whānaukataka underpins the social organisation of whānau, hapū and iwi.
Whānaukataka includes rights and reciprocal obligations borne out over time.
Whānaukataka is part of being a collective and is the principle which binds individuals to the wider group.
Whānaukataka affirms the value of the collective and our interdependence with each other.
Whānaukataka acknowledges that people are our wealth.

Tikaka

To promote whānaukataka as a practice for the survival and success for us as a group.
To encourage relationships, first between ourselves followed by whānau, hapū, and other Māori organisations, plus wider society.
To foster relationships with other organisations that affirm interdependence.
To promote whānaukataka as the practice for positive agreements or arrangements between ourselves, hapū, and other organisations.

RAKATIRATAKA

Rakatirataka is the promotion of self-determination and is the expression of attributes of a Rakatira.
Rakatira attributes include humility, leadership, generosity, pride, and contribute to the benefit of the people.
Rakatira keep commitments, and demonstrate integrity and honesty. They walk the talk.
Rakatirataka is the expression of rights left to us by Mana Tupuna and Manawhenua.

Tikaka

To acknowledge the mana of whānau, and hapū.
To acknowledge and confirm Māori as tākata whenua.
To promote whānau and hapū self-determination.
To ensure our conduct is in line with attributes of a rakatira.

KOTAHITAKA

Kotahitaka is the principle of working as one or in unity with each other.

Kotahitaka allows each groupings to have their say in reaching a consensus.

Kotahitaka is the achievement of harmony and moving together as one with a purpose and direction.

Kotahitaka promotes harmonious relationships first with ourselves and then other groups.

Tikaka

To consistently work for unity among ourselves.

To talk and work towards harmony as opposed to approaches that lead to division.

To be committed to speaking as one voice on behalf of the group.

To promote harmony and honest relationships amongst all peoples.

KAITIAKITAKA

Kaitiakitaka is a responsibility handed down from kā tūpuna.

Kaitiaki have to be actively responsible to resources, so the resources benefit the welfare of the people.

Kaitiakitaka promotes growth and development so we can enjoy good health and reasonable prosperity.

Kaitiakitaka embraces spiritual and cultural guardianship.

Tikaka

To promote and encourage the well-being of our people.

To promote sustainable management of resources for future generations.

To restore and create a clean, safe, and healthy natural environment. To enhance mauri within our natural environment.

To encourage recordings of our people who are repositories of knowledge.

MANA TŪPUNA/WHAKAPAPA

Mana Tūpuna defines us, and links us to our tūpuna.

This linkage gives us our stories and informs us where we fit in the world.

Mana tūpuna informs us from whom we descend and our responsibilities to the generations to follow.

Whakapapa traces our descent and we should encourage the learning and recital of whakapapa.

Tikaka

To encourage us because of our close whakapapa to work in co-operation and unity.

To support projects that will benefit our whānau and hapū plus positive communication with wider society.

WAIRUATAKA

A knowing there is a spiritual realm and existence alongside the physical. This gives us a connection to our tūpuna and Atua.

There is also a connection to our maunga, awa, moana, and marae.

This knowledge and connections affirm understanding of the spiritual and physical, and must be nurtured toward achievement of wellness.

It is central to our daily lives and the way Māori view the world.

Tikaka

To encourage our connection to our tūpuna and the whenua.
To promote and practise a holistic approach to life.
To develop a wairua nourishing environment among ourselves, our whānau, and hapū.
To practise and promote the importance of oranga wairua for ourselves, whānau, and hapū.

MANAAKITAKA

Manaakitaka is a behavioural practice that acknowledges the mana of others as having equal or greater importance than one's own.
This occurs through the expression of aroha, hospitality, generosity, and mutual respect.
Manaakitanga elevates all parties, and our own status is enhanced, building unity through humility and the act of giving.
We must express manaakitaka towards others, be they allies or opponents, being careful not to trample mana, and to clearly define our own.

Tikaka

To be recognised as an organisation that does manaaki others, and at the same time our own aspirations.
To ensure our relationships with ourselves, whānau, hapū, and other organisations are elevating and enhancing.
To promote fairness, well-being, and create an environment where caring is still important.
To work towards working together, treat each other with respect, and to act with integrity.
To work towards inclusion and building based on mutual respect and harmonious relationships.

MANA WHENUA

Mana whenua defines tūrakawaewae and ūkaipō, where you belong, where you are important, and where you can contribute.
Manawhenua defines Māori by ancestral rights to the land.
Manawhenua is essential for Māori well-being.
Manawhenua is our strength, our energy, our home, where we are able to participate in a positive and productive manner.

Tikaka

To ensure we are of the people.
To assist others and ourselves to maintain connection to the land.
To develop arrangements that fosters the values of ūkaipō, of belonging among ourselves.
To promote manawhenua as the basis for land management and trusteeship.

REO RAKATIRA

Ki te kore tātou e korero Māori, ka ngaro te reo, Ka ngaro te reo, ka ngaro kā tikaka.
Ka ngaro ka tikaka, ka ngaro tātou ki te Ao. Ko te reo te kaipupuri i te Māoritaka.
Te Reo is a cornerstone of us as a people. Accelerating and maintaining Te Reo is part of our responsibility.
Te Reo is a medium of how we explain our world. For us to grow and develop will be enhanced through the maintenance of Te Reo.

Tikaka

To maintain and revive Te Reo Māori.
To first work on personal competency of Te Reo.
To promote mātauraka Māori pathways that are of benefit to ourselves, whānau, and hapū.
To promote Te Reo as the indigenous language of this country, and the appropriate language to maintain our customs, and to move us forward.

Appendix 4 Publication list and availability

ID No.	Reference	Type	Location of material
1-1	Horn C 2006. Differences between tourists in two different regions of New Zealand.	Popular article/ webpage	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
1-2	Horn C 2006. Reported attractiveness of activities in two New Zealand regions.	Popular article/ webpage	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
1-3	Wilson J, Doherty J, Hart P 2006. International tourist perceptions of New Zealand eco-cultural tourism products. Paper presented at the CAUTHE: 'To the city and beyond' Conference, Melbourne, Australia, 6–9 February.	Conference paper abstract	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
1-4	Wilson J, Horn C, Sampson K, Doherty J, Becken S, Hart P 2006. Demand for Maori eco-cultural tourism. Lincoln, Manaaki Whenua Press.	Report	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc Libraries[2]
1-5	Becken S, Sampson K 2007. Maori eco-cultural tourism. In: Buultjens J, Fuller D eds Case studies in indigenous tourism. Lismore. Southern Cross University Press. Pp. 107–138.	Book chapter	Landcare Research Website[1] (abstract only) Attached disc Libraries[2]
1-6	Horn C 2008. What tourists think about Maori eco-cultural tourism products.	Popular article/ webpage	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
2-1	Horn C, Tahi B 2006. Barriers to Maori tourism business. Paper presented at the CAUTHE: 'To the city and beyond' Conference, Melbourne, Australia, 6–9 February.	Conference paper abstract	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
2-2	Horn C 2007. Fostering rural Maori tourism business: A literature review. Landcare Research Contract Report LC0607/123, prepared for the Foundation for Research, Science and Technology, Wellington.	Literature review	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
2-3	Horn C, Tahi B. Some cultural and historical factors influencing rural Māori tourism business development. Submitted to the Journal of Rural and Community Development.	Journal article	Landcare Research Website[1] (Abstract only)
3-1	Horn C, Tahi B, Doherty J 2006. Some things that are helping people get moving on their business.	Popular article/ webpage	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
3-2	Horn C, Doherty J, Tahi B 2006. Mentoring Māori businesses at start-up. Abstract for a working paper presented to the New Zealand Tourism Research Conference, Otago University, Dunedin, 6–8 December.	Conference paper abstract	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc

3-3	Doherty J 2008. Marketing tips for tourism businesses.	Popular article/ webpage	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
3-4	Doherty J 2008. Tips on going to TRENZ.	Popular article/ webpage	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
3-5	Doherty J 2008. Reflections on starting a new tourism business.	Popular article/ webpage	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
3-6	Horn C, Doherty J, Tahi B 2008. Tips on starting up Māori eco-cultural tourism business.	Popular article/ webpage	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached Disc
3-7	Horn C, Doherty J, Tahi B 2008. An actor network perspective on rural Māori tourism development. Extended abstract of a working paper presented at the New Zealand Tourism Research and Hospitality Conference 'Re-Creating Tourism', Hanmer, 2–5 December.	Extended abstract	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
4-1	Fitt H 2006. A scenic drive, a necessary journey or an arduous slog? Tourists' differing views of the road into Lake Waikaremoana.	Popular article/ webpage	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
4-2	Fitt H 2006. Accommodating visitor needs: Accommodation patterns at Lake Waikaremoana.	Popular article/ webpage	Landcare Research Website1 Attached disc
4-3	Fitt H 2006. Hunting for women tourists: Women as a potential market for guided hunting.	Popular article/ webpage	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
4-4	Fitt H 2006. Information search and booking behaviour of visitors to Lake Waikaremoana: Distribution in rural New Zealand. Abstract for a working paper presented to the New Zealand Tourism Research Conference, Otago University, Dunedin, 6–8 December.	Conference paper abstract	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
4-5	Fitt H, Wilson J, Horn C 2007. A profile of tourism in the Lake Waikaremoana Region: Independent visitation in rural New Zealand. Lincoln, New Zealand: Manaaki Whenua Press.	Report	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc Libraries[2]
4-6	Horn C, Fitt H 2007. A profile of Visitors to Lake Waikaremoana, Te Urewera National Park	Popular article/ webpage	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
4-7	Fitt H, Horn C 2007. Domestic cultural tourists – who are they and does it matter? Abstract of a working paper presented at Public Sociologies: Lessons and Trans Tasman Comparisons. TASA (The Australian Sociological Association) & SAANZ (Sociological Association of Aotearoa/ New Zealand) Joint Conference. The	Conference paper abstract	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc

	University of Auckland, 4–7 December.		
7-1	Doherty J 2007. Barriers and opportunities for regional Maori tourism products in the international distribution chain: A case study of Te Urewera, New Zealand. Murupara, Kitea Developments.	Report	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
7-2	Doherty J 2007. Inbound operator / distribution channel literature review and background information paper.	Literature review	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc Kitea Developments[4]
7-3	Doherty J 2008. Barriers and opportunities for rural Maori tourism in the traditional distribution chain.	Popular article/ webpage	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
8-1	Doherty J 2008. Establishing a new tourism region.	Popular article/ webpage	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
8-2	Doherty J 2008. Going to TRENZ.	Popular article/ webpage	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
8-3	Doherty J 2008. Marketing tips for Māori tourism businesses.	Popular article/ webpage	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
9-1	Fitt H; Horn C 2008. Repeat visitation and place attachment: an accidental approach. Working paper presented at the New Zealand Tourism Research and Hospitality Conference 'Re-Creating Tourism', Hanmer, 2–5 December.	Conference paper abstract	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
9-3	Lake Waikaremoana survey results.	Posters	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
9-2	Totaranui survey results.	Posters	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
9-1	Wilson J, Fitt H 2008. Place attachment and repeat visitation at Totaranui and Lake Waikaremoana. Landcare Research contract report in process at time this report was published.	Report	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
11-1	Fitt H 2007. Attractiveness of hovercraft trips to tourists.	Popular article/ webpage	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
11-2	Fitt H 2007. Recognition and design of Maori design elements in a restaurant menu.	Popular article/ webpage	Landcare Research Website[1]
12-1	White R, Fountain J, Horn C 2008. Tourists' participation and interest in cultural heritage tourism activities on Banks Peninsula. Landcare Research Contract Report: LC0708/075, prepared for FRST.	Report	Landcare Research Website[1]
12-2	Horn C, Fountain J, White R 2008. Present visitors' interest in Māori cultural tourism on Banks Peninsula. Presented at the New Zealand Tourism & Hospitality	Abstract & Full Conference	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc

	Research Conference 'Re-Creating Tourism', Hanmer, 3–5 December.	paper	
13-1	Agpar M, Horn C 2008. Young-Maori perspectives on eco-cultural tourism and Maori communities: A scoping study in cultural identity, community development and participation. Landcare Research Contract Report: LC0708/119, prepared as part of the Te Tapoitanga Maori project.	Report	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
14-1	Cranwell I, Horn C, Lambert S 2009. Ngai Tahu views of economic development in a tribal context. Forthcoming report by Takuahi Research and Development.	Report	On application to Takuahi Research & Development[5]
15-1	Fraser T 2008. Developing rural Māori tourism. Discovery, 20, p.7. Landcare Research Newsletter, Lincoln, New Zealand.	Popular Article.	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
15-2	Horn C, Doherty J, Tahi B 2008. An actor network perspective on rural Māori tourism development. Extended abstract of a working paper presented at the New Zealand Tourism Research and Hospitality Conference 'Re-Creating Tourism', Hanmer, 2–5 December.	Extended abstract	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc
15-3	Te Urewera Rainforest Route, Strategic Plan 2008–2013.	Strategic Plan	On application to TURR http://www.teurewera.co.nz/
15-3	Fitt H, Horn C 2007. Domestic cultural tourists – who are they and does it matter? Abstract of a working paper presented at the New Zealand Tourism Research and Hospitality Conference 'Re-Creating Tourism', Hanmer, 2–5 December.	Abstract	Landcare Research Website[1] Attached disc

[1] Landcare Research Website URL: http://www.landcareresearch.co.nz/research/sustainablesoc/tourism/maori/

[2] Libraries: see Te Puna for holdings

On application to:

[3] Landcare Research: Contact Helen Fitt, http://www.landcareresearch.co.nz/about/contact/

[4] Kitea Developments: Contact Jo Doherty, http://www.kitea.co.nz/Index.html

[5] Takuahi Research and Development: Contact Iaean Cranwell http://www.hotfrog.co.nz/Companies/Takuahi-Research-And-Development

Acknowledgements