THE INTERPRETATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE:

SHARING MĀORI CULTURAL TOURISM EXPERIENCES

WITH INTERNATIONAL VISITORS

by

Trisha Dwyer

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ABSTRACT

Māori cultural tourism can be an important part of the experience for visitors to New Zealand. The purpose of this research is to gain insights into the way guides manage visitor experiences in order to enhance the understanding and appreciation of Māori culture.

International visitors are culturally and linguistically diverse. Therefore, not only are there differences in perspectives and beliefs, but also in communication. Furthermore, visitors arrive with differences in knowledge, interest and expectations. This thesis considers approaches to guiding and interpretation in Māori cultural tourism experiences by examining how guides, as cross-cultural mediators, share Māori cultural heritage so that it is meaningful and relevant to visitors. The literature on Māori tourism has examined issues of ownership, participation, control over representation, and the diversification of Māori tourism products. In spite of the shift to reflect tribal diversity, stereotypes are still reinforced in marketing images and tourism products. Although acknowledged as important, there are no published studies on the role of Māori guides.

Developed from a social constructivist perspective, this study compares perspectives on and approaches to guiding and interpretation by Māori and non-Māori guides. Data collection was through semi-structured interviews with tour guides and a manager from the chosen case studies, Te Puia and Te Papa, with 21 interviews conducted in June and July 2011. Using a visitor-centred approach to interpretation, guides select information and find relevant connections. Furthermore, the quantity and complexity of information, as well as the style and level of communication is considered. Guides manage the relationship so that visitors feel comfortable, which not only enables interaction and encourages questions but is also important for managing visitors' attitudes. The main challenge identified is the language barrier and working with outside language interpreters. In the comparison between Māori and non-Māori guides, the key differences are found in the guide's background and ways of learning about Māori cultural heritage.

This research contributes to the literature on interpretation and indigenous tourism by identifying factors influencing the process of the interpretation of cultural heritage. Furthermore, comparing the perceptions of Māori and non-Māori guides provides a key contribution. The findings of this study have management implications for training of guides.

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1   INTRODUCTION

1.1   Introduction to guided Māori cultural tourism experiences

For international visitors, Māori culture provides an experience unique to New Zealand. Māori have a long history in cultural tourism and guiding, already being actively involved in the 1870s when tourism to New Zealand was in the early stages. International travellers were attracted by the landscape and the indigenous culture (McClure, 2004). The majority of Māori cultural tourists are international visitors from a range of visitor markets which, in terms of language and cultural background, are becoming increasingly diverse.

In any cultural tourism experience, there is cultural exchange between the host culture and the visitors. In a guided tour this exchange is facilitated by the tour guide. In a Māori cultural tourism experience guides aim to enhance the visitors' understanding and appreciation of Māori culture and provide an enjoyable experience. It is important to consider that cultural heritage is a form of cultural and intellectual property. This raises the question of how guides control the tour content and manage the experience for visitors of diverse characteristics so that it is meaningful and relevant. It is also important to consider the challenges which may lead to misinterpretation. This research therefore explores the approaches to and perspectives on guiding and face-to-face interpretation in Māori cultural tourism experiences for international visitors.

From this research project, there are implications for Māori tourism, guide training, and the visitor experience. The guide is a facilitator and a mediator who is responsible for sharing an understanding of Māori culture. By gaining insights into the guide's role and how the interpretation process is managed, it is possible to identify factors influencing control over representation and content. Furthermore, through examining the ways in which guides facilitate understanding and mediate meaning with visitors of different characteristics and identifying the main challenges, this research has implications for guide training.

1.2   Researcher background

In cultural exchange and cross-cultural tourism interactions, guides play a key role in enhancing the visitor experience. Through my previous role as a tour leader in Asia and Latin America, I have been a participant in the process of interpretation of cultural heritage, both as a visitor and as a language interpreter. My personal experience has made me aware of the complexities of cross-cultural communication and the differences in the

perspectives visitors of diverse backgrounds bring to the exchange. Cross-cultural encounters can build understanding and also result in misunderstanding. Furthermore, there may be negotiation of differing viewpoints.

In my experience, in particular tourism settings and contexts, guides may be required to follow a tour script which is provided by the tourism organisation or officially approved by the government. However, many guides adapt these scripts to include their own stories and at times personal and political agendas. It is not uncommon for non-indigenous guides, with official guiding qualifications or language skills, to be responsible for sharing indigenous cultural heritage with international visitors. However, it is never clear to what extent the voices of indigenous people are represented and how much is dependent on the guide's own knowledge, understanding, and perceptions of the indigenous culture.

Working with a diversity of tourists internationally has also allowed me the opportunity to consider factors influencing their understanding and perceptions of different cultures and the comparisons made with their own or other cultures. From observation I believe that guides can play an important and powerful role in influencing the visitors' understanding and perceptions. Guides are questioned by visitors who come with their own ideas and do not always understand or accept what they are being told. Visitors may, in some cases, wish to challenge certain viewpoints.

1.3   Indigenous cultural heritage and tourism

This section outlines some of the key issues in the relationship between indigenous cultural heritage and tourism. Heritage is defined as that which is inherited or handed on from one generation to the next (Nuryanti, 1996; Smith, M.K, 2003) and in the context of tourism, it may refer to cultural or natural heritage (Sofield & Li, 2000). Cultural heritage includes tangible aspects, such as architecture, art and artefacts; and intangibles, like oral traditions, language, performing arts, traditional craftsmanship, social practices, rituals, knowledge and practices connected to nature and the universe (Yoshida, 2004). Intangible cultural heritage, which is influenced by nature and history, evolves in the people's response to the environment and provides a sense of identity and continuity (Yoshida, 2004). For indigenous peoples, tangible and intangible heritage are very often inseparable. Intangible meanings may be connected to the physical aspects of landscapes (Kurin, 2004). However, preserving tangible items does not necessarily result in protecting the intangible aspects of culture (Kurin, 2004). Heritage can be seen as part of the cultural traditions of a society because it carries historical values from the past. Due to the dynamic nature of tourism, the interaction with heritage can result in its reinterpretation (Nuryanti, 1996).

Increasingly there have been moves to protect, preserve, and promote indigenous cultures throughout the world. Preservation of cultural values, beliefs, traditions, and language helps strengthen cultural identity and reinforces a sense of pride and the validity of indigenous cultures. Cultural revival and revitalisation is critical to self-determination and control (Bunten, 2010).

The relationship between indigenous cultures and tourism is one which has developed from the tourists' interest in cultures which are perceived as exotic. With increasing interest in indigenous tourism, the positive and negative impacts on indigenous cultures have been studied (Moscardo & Pearce, 1999). The implications of indigenous cultural tourism can be manifold. Positive impacts include economic and cultural development (McIntosh & Johnson, 2004; Yang, 2011). Indigenous cultural tourism can support the revival of cultural traditions and generate pride in indigenous communities (Bunten, 2010; Moscardo & Pearce, 1999). It can also be a way of safeguarding natural resources (Bunten, 2010). There can however be negative impacts on culture and identity (Yang, 2011), with commercialisation resulting in cultural degradation (Bunten, 2010). Cultural integrity is said to be maintained through ownership and control over cultural content (Moscardo & Pearce, 1999). Moreover, it is claimed that tourism can be used as a strategy to preserve traditional identities, through meeting the demands of visitors who attribute importance to local cultures (Bunten, 2010). Undeniably, tourism shapes the cultural images of ethnic groups. Furthermore, the representation in tourism attractions may be influenced by historical and political factors (Yang, 2011). Participation of indigenous people in tourism is therefore no assurance of indigenous control and empowerment (Mason, K., 2004).

The issue of control and representation is highly relevant to indigenous cultural tourism and frequently re-emerges in the literature as one of the major challenges. Cultural heritage is cultural property and tourism can conflict with traditional protocols, intellectual property and the need for secrecy (Bunten, 2010). Although guides and interpreters may have good intentions, providing interpretation without approval can cause conflict with indigenous communities. What and how heritage is interpreted must be negotiated with the communities, as in the case of Aboriginal communities who have their own stories and secrets (Uzzell & Ballantyne, 2008). There may be differences when sharing cultural content amongst members of the indigenous community and sharing with outsiders.

Furthermore, tourism images tend to present stereotypical representations of indigenous cultures fixed in the past, rather than reflecting contemporary life (McArthur & Hall, 1996; Smith, M.K., 2003; Yang, 2011). However, stereotypes can be re-appraised and used to empower indigenous peoples at cultural sites (Benton, 2009). Empowerment may be

achieved through ownership of the political and social aspects of heritage (McArthur & Hall, 1996). In indigenous tourism experiences there is an opportunity to challenge these stereotypes and change attitudes (Bunten, 2008, 2010; Howard, Thwaites, & Smith, 2001).

1.4 The research context: Māori cultural heritage and tourism in New Zealand

1.4.1 General background

In the 1870s there was a growing awareness of the potential value of tourism to New Zealand (McClure, 2004). Since the very beginning Māori have been involved in tourism in a number of roles including entrepreneurs, guides, and performers with the earliest Māori guides hosting international visitors who travelled to see the Pink and White Terraces prior to their destruction in 1886. These guides from the Te Arawa iwi (tribal group) later settled in the Whakarewarewa geothermal valley where they have continued guiding (Tourism New Zealand, 2001). The early travellers to New Zealand wanted to "experience the novelty of the landscape and the difference of an indigenous people" (McClure, 2004, p. 9) and were motivated by curiosity and the opportunity to gain an understanding of the world through such experiences. For over one hundred years Māori culture has been used to promote New Zealand as a tourism destination, with images of Māori warriors and maidens made popular on postcards (McClure, 2004).

The majority (76%) of Māori cultural tourists are international visitors (Ministry of Tourism, 2009a). Although Māori cultural tourism is not the main motivator, it is an important part of the visitor experience (Colmar Brunton, 2004). Two of the most popular ways to experience and learn about Māori culture in New Zealand is through cultural performances, attended by 351,900 or 90% of all international Māori cultural tourists in 2008 (Ministry of Tourism, 2009a), and through museums, visited by 598,300 international tourists in the same year (Ministry of Tourism, 2009b). 16% of all international visitors (361,600) participated in Māori cultural activities, (Ministry of Tourism, 2009a). Rotorua, where tourism is based around Māori cultural heritage and the geothermal area, was the most popular region with 86% of all international Māori cultural tourists (Ministry of Tourism, 2009a). Museums were visited by 27% of international visitors. In Wellington 43% of international visitors went to a museum which reflects the popularity of the national museum Te Papa (Ministry of Tourism, 2009b).

The differences in visitor profiles for international Māori cultural tourists and international museum tourists, regarding the country of origin, are shown in figure 1 and figure 3. A large number of visitors from non-English-speaking countries participate in Māori cultural tourism experiences (figure 1),

Figure 1: Origin of international Māori cultural tourists (Ministry of Tourism, 2009a)
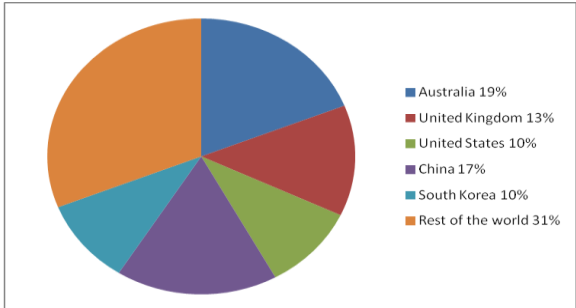
In 2008, a high proportion of Māori cultural tourists were from China (17%) and South Korea (10%) (figure 1). These visitor markets, followed by Germany, show the highest propensity for participation in Māori cultural activities (figure 2) (Ministry of Tourism, 2009a).

Figure 2: Propensity for Māori cultural activities (Ministry of Tourism, 2009a)
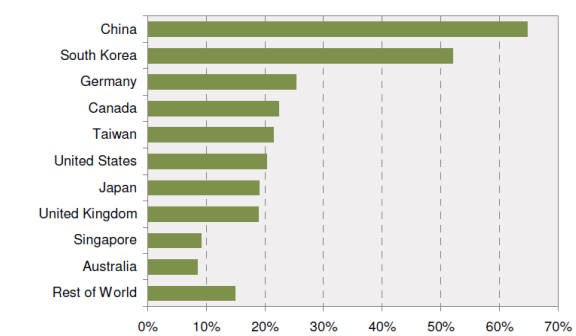
Figure 3: Origin of international museum tourists (Ministry of Tourism, 2009b)
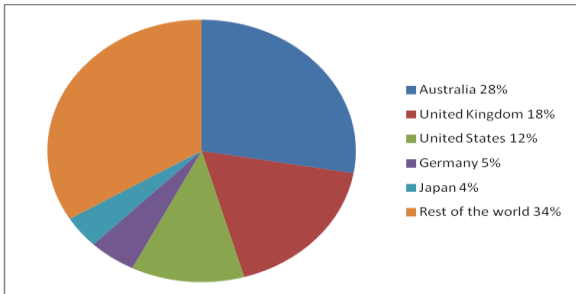
Visitors from the key English-speaking markets, Australia, United Kingdom, and the United States, made up the majority (58%) of international museum visitors (figure 3) (Ministry of

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Tourism, 2009b), whereas only 42% of the international Māori cultural tourists originated from these countries (figure 1).

Reports on the demand side state that international visitors are interested in increased interaction and having the opportunity to meet and talk with Māori hosts. However, time constraints are often a barrier to longer stays. The need for translations of explanations at performances was also identified, in particular for Asian visitors (Colmar Brunton, 2004).

Increased Māori tourism development as well as diversification of Māori cultural tourism products is part of the New Zealand tourism strategy. Furthermore, tourism is considered as a strategy to stimulate economic growth in Māori communities (McIntosh & Ryan, 2007; McIntosh & Zahra, 2007).

1.4.2 Māori cultural tourism – ownership and representation

In Māori tourism ownership and control by Māori and participation and consultation with Māori are fundamental considerations. Within the context of Māori tourism development, ownership and control over representation are critical in order to preserve cultural integrity. Māori elders may need to be consulted over which aspects of culture can be shared to ensure control over cultural content (Amoamo, 2007). Strategies for increased involvement of Māori in tourism extend beyond employment. Ownership and use of resources to benefit communities, as well as sustainability of resources for future generations are key considerations.

Although indigenous people in the context of tourism are often perceived as powerless or manipulated by the dominant force, tourism for Māori may be considered as a way to empower and to achieve legitimacy (Ryan & Crotts, 1997). The image of Māori which has been used as a marketing tool to promote tourism in New Zealand for over a hundred years has reinforced stereotypes of the Māori maiden and the noble savage (Olsen, 2008). These images also reinforce a stereotypical homogenised view, failing to represent tribal diversity (Amoamo, 2007). Olsen (2008) points out that although current representations present images with notions of contemporary culture, the prevalent image in brochures is of Māori as traditional people and as tourist attractions.

In terms of development of the Māori cultural tourism product, there are moves towards contemporary Māori experiences based around interaction and cultural exchange. Furthermore, there is regional diversification incorporating local tribal narratives and perspectives.

There has been criticism that the Māori cultural product is centred only on traditional cultural perspectives and provides superficial and stereotypical experiences for tourists (McIntosh, 2004; McIntosh & Zahra, 2007). Presenting stereotypical images and packaging culture into a short time frame for commercial gain is considered a threat to cultural integrity (Keelan, 1996; cited in McIntosh & Johnson, 2004). However, Bunten (2010) claims that a shift in ownership and control in indigenous tourism enables indigenous perspectives to be incorporated into these commercially successful models for the mass market. In this way indigenous people regain control over representation. In Māori tourism there has been increased participation and involvement by Māori, and consultation about what aspects of culture are to be presented and shared. In addition there is discussion about whether it is appropriate for Māori owners to make changes to protocols so that visitors feel comfortable (McIntosh & Johnson, 2004). Diversification of the Māori tourism product allows for tribal identity through storytelling, showing the heterogeneity of Māori culture acting as a counter-narrative to presenting a homogenous image (Amoamo, 2007).

1.5   *Research objectives*

The research objectives are at the intersection of the above issues. Ownership and control over representation, and the inclusion of tribal perspectives are important issues in Māori tourism. Whilst there has been criticism of tourism marketing images and stereotypical traditional representations of Māori, tourism is also considered as a vehicle for Māori to reaffirm identity, revive cultural traditions and to achieve legitimacy. Furthermore, it is a strategy for economic development. Māori tourism mainly attracts international visitors and Māori cultural experiences are known to be an important part of the visitor experience. It is necessary to consider that international visitors have mixed characteristics and can be culturally and linguistically diverse. The visitors' interest and knowledge varies and their own cultural frames influence their way of understanding the world (Hutchison, 2006). The socio-cultural contexts of visitors also influence their expectations, perceptions and attitudes. Visitors may arrive with preconceived ideas based on stereotypical images of Māori as a homogenous traditional culture fixed in the past. Therefore, it may be important to consider how these differences are reconciled during the Māori cultural tourism experience. Interpretation and cultural mediation are central to the process of enabling visitors to gain an understanding and appreciation of a tribally diverse and contemporary living culture.

Tour guides play a key role in tourism experiences and face-to-face interpretation is considered a powerful and effective way of engaging visitors and changing attitudes. However, to date there are no published studies on the role of the guide in Māori tourism

and how guides manage the tour experience with international visitors to enhance their understanding and appreciation of Māori culture.

Interpretation is a communication process which in the context of heritage has often focused on the supply side. It is used as a management tool in order to raise awareness and educate, protect cultural and natural resources, and also to enhance the visitor experience (Beck & Cable, 2002). However the interpretation process is influenced not only by the organisational goals but also by the visitor characteristics and the type of experience they want. The guide is at the centre of facilitating the interpretation process and the desired visitor experience. In order to be effective, guides need to take into account the visitors' knowledge and may need to reconcile stereotypical images and attitudes visitors have brought with them. Furthermore, it has long been known that the information provided needs to be relevant and meaningful to the visitors (Tilden, 1977). Cultural concepts may be difficult for visitors from other cultures to understand. Cross-cultural communication is complex and language barriers are an additional challenge. To share an understanding and appreciation of Māori cultural heritage with international visitors depends also on the guide's ability to make meaningful connections with visitors whose cultural background may or may not be familiar.

Guides also have diverse characteristics and backgrounds which lead to differences in knowledge and understanding of Māori cultural heritage. Learning may have taken place as part of life growing up, or through reading or studying. Life experience and socio-cultural contexts are factors which influence learning. Furthermore, the guide's understanding of international visitors of different origins is expected to vary. In the process of interpretation guides, drawing on their own knowledge of Māori cultural heritage, mediate an understanding with visitors of diverse characteristics. Guides are also expected to facilitate a positive visitor experience. However, in the eyes of the visitors, informative interpretation may fail to entertain; whilst for others entertaining interpretation may fail to raise awareness and enhance appreciation.

The first research objective is therefore to examine how tour guides manage visitor experiences in order to enhance the understanding and appreciation of Māori culture for international visitors.

The second research objective is to compare and contrast perspectives on and approaches to tour guiding and interpretation by Māori and non-Māori guides when sharing Māori cultural heritage.

This research, by taking a tourism supply-side perspective, aims to gain insights into how guides manage the visitor experience for international visitors and facilitate an understanding and appreciation of Māori cultural heritage through face-to-face interpretation. Gaining insights into the role of the guide in managing the process of interpretation and identifying the challenges of sharing Māori cultural heritage with international visitors has important practical implications. The research addresses a gap in the literature on Māori cultural tourism and makes a contribution to the wider literature on the role of the guide as an interpreter and the cross-cultural dimensions of the process of the interpretation of cultural heritage.

1.6   Research gap and methodology

Gaining insights into managing the guided Māori tourism experience and approaches to and perspectives on guiding and interpretation for international visitors by Māori and non-Māori guides has important implications for Māori tourism, guide training and visitor management. The research addresses a gap in the literature on the role of the guide in the interpretation of Māori cultural heritage. As mentioned above, the study contributes to understanding the cross-cultural dimensions of the interpretation of cultural heritage. There is a further contribution to the literature on indigenous tourism regarding the comparison of indigenous and non-indigenous guides. The conceptual framework developed for this research serves as a tool for further studies in related areas.

Understanding is mediated by our cultural frame and by the influence of external factors of our socio-cultural contexts. In cultural exchange, meaning-making and understanding may depend on how similar or dissimilar our cultural frames are (Hutchison, 2006). From a philosophical perspective in the social constructivist paradigm, knowledge and truth are created and there are different world views (Schwandt, 1994). This research views the process of interpretation and meaning-making from a social constructivist paradigm where there are multiple perspectives which are all meaningful (Schwandt, 1994). Constructivist learning theories are applied to new models of communication where audiences are active and the focus is on meaning-making (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). The process of interpretation depends on the visitors and the guide as participants in the experience and the co-creation of knowledge and meaning-making. The researcher is also part of the meaning-making process when analysing the data. Unlike other studies in the social constructivist paradigm, the researcher has chosen not to use 'I', except in the section on the researcher background (see 1.2). In this way there is a greater emphasis on the voices of the research participants. Qualitative research is subjective and the researcher's own perspectives

influence the research process and the interpretation of the data. The researcher's way of seeing the world may be influenced by her life experience and cultural frames, such as her Irish ancestry, her upbringing in New Zealand, and her experience living and working in a range of cultural contexts.

The research method is qualitative with in-depth interviews of tour guides at two case study sites. A qualitative approach allows for in-depth study of the perceptions of guides regarding their approaches to and perspectives on guiding and interpretation in Māori cultural tourism experiences for international visitors.

A case study approach is chosen making it possible to compare and contrast, taking into account the differences in the organisational frameworks. The research focuses on guided tourism experiences at two prominent Māori tourism attractions (see chapter 4). One is Te Puia, the New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute (NZMACI), a cultural centre and Māori organisation located in Rotorua. The other is Te Papa, the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa, a bicultural public sector organisation with Māori and non-Māori participation located in Wellington. The criteria for the selection of case study sites is that the attraction offers a guided Māori cultural tourism experience for visitors and has a guide training programme. Organisational responsibilities and goals regarding Māori cultural heritage are stated in the mission statements. Due to organisational and contextual differences, the way the Māori cultural tourism experiences are managed is expected to differ.

The interviews are face-to-face and semi-structured in order to enable participants to talk freely. The semi-structured nature also allows emerging themes to be addressed. Interviews are conducted with a similar number of participants from each case including one manager. There are 21 participants, of whom 14 are Māori and 7 non-Māori. An inductive approach to data analysis, whereby the categories emerge from the data collected during interviews, is chosen.

1.7   Chapter outline

The thesis is divided into 7 chapters, the first being the introduction which has outlined the research context and presented the background to Māori cultural tourism in New Zealand.

The second chapter is the literature review which is comprised of two main sections. The first section examines the literature on Māori cultural tourism. This is followed by a section on interpretation and the role of the guide as an interpreter. The Conceptual Framework for

this study is presented as the last section of this chapter. Chapter 3 provides an outline of the research method. The two case study sites are presented in chapter 4, followed by the research findings in chapter 5. The discussion of the findings is presented in chapter 6. The conclusion is the final chapter which provides a summary of the research, implications, and recommendations for further research.

2   LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1   Introduction

There are three main strands of literature for this research. First, there is the cultural tourism literature, with a focus on indigenous tourism and Māori tourism. The broader literature on interpretation provides an overview of the principles. Particular attention is paid to face-to-face interpretation and the role of the guide. Within the literature on guiding, the communication function and mediatory role of the guide is examined. Additional studies from the museum literature regarding the more recent focus on the inclusion of indigenous perspectives in museums are included. Although these refer mainly to non-personal interpretation, they are of particular relevance to one of the case study sites.

First, the literature on Māori cultural tourism is presented. This is followed by the literature on interpretation and the guide's role in the interpretation process. Next there is a summary of the literature highlighting the gaps which this research aims to address. In the final section the conceptual framework for this research is presented.

2.2   Māori cultural tourism

This section reviews the literature on Māori cultural tourism by first giving a general overview of previous research. The issues of ownership in Māori tourism are presented, followed by issues of representation. The research conducted on the Māori cultural tourism product, which focuses on product development and issues regarding stereotyping and tourism marketing, is examined. Next, an outline of recent studies examining the nature of the Māori cultural experience is given. This is followed by a summary of current issues in Māori cultural tourism and the relevance of the literature to this research.

2.2.1   Previous research

Key themes in earlier research on Māori tourism are the inclusion of Māori perspectives and control over resource management, promotion and representation, as well as economic development (Hall, Mitchell & Keelan, 1993; Ryan & Crotts, 1997; Walsh, 1996). Studies identified increasing involvement of Māori in the control and management of tourism in order to have control over representation as well as economic benefits (Walsh, 1996). Definitions of Māori tourism examine the degree of control and ownership by Māori,

participation of Māori, and control over representation and cultural content by Māori (Hinch, McIntosh, & Ingram, 1999).

Cultural integrity, which is a highly relevant theme, has been discussed in terms of issues of intellectual property and representation (Ryan & Crotts, 1997). The incorporation of Māori perspectives into cultural and natural heritage interpretation programmes, and the communication challenges involved for outsiders, has received attention in the context of national parks and museums (Hall & McArthur, 1993). Tribal diversity and regional differentiation in product development is another important theme in Māori tourism. Walsh (1996) found that tourism marketing shows a generic image. Māori cultural tourism products have been criticised for threatening cultural values and failing to challenge stereotypes (Keelan, 1996; cited in McIntosh & Johnson, 2004; Ryan & Pike, 2003).

Recent definitions of Māori tourism go beyond issues of ownership and control of Māori tourism operations, emphasising the importance of Māori values and cultural integrity (McIntosh, Zygadlo, & Matunga, 2004). Diversification of tourism development and the tourism product forms part of a strategy for economic development in Māori communities (McIntosh & Zahra, 2007). Control over representation and reflecting tribal identity and diversity is still a current issue (Amoamo, 2007; Amoamo & Thompson, 2010). Furthermore, tourism marketing has been criticised for continuing to present a traditional homogenous image of Māori (Amoamo & Thompson, 2010).

As previously mentioned, Māori culture is reportedly an important part of the international visitor experience to New Zealand (Colmar Brunton, 2004; McIntosh, 2004). Studies on the demand for Māori tourism, such as Colmar Brunton (2004), have generally had a marketing focus with little attention paid to the nature of Māori cultural experience until recently (McIntosh & Ryan, 2007). Studies have found that international visitors are more interested in Māori cultural tourism than domestic tourists; however the interest level is modest (Ryan, 2002; Ryan & Higgins, 2006; Ryan & Pike, 2003). Ryan (2002) suggests that low levels of domestic interest may be due to cultural proximity and familiarity. Ryan and Pike (2003) found that there is a lack of understanding of Māori world view by the non-Māori population. McIntosh (2004) found that the motivations of international Māori cultural tourists appear to be generalist in nature, as reported in other studies (Kercher & Du Cros, 2002; Ryan & Huyton, 2002). Although international visitors are aware of Māori culture, McIntosh (2004) found them to have low levels of prior knowledge and hold stereotypical views of Māori. The recent in-depth qualitative studies which have focussed on visitors' perceptions of the cultural experience inform this research (McIntosh, 2004; McIntosh & Johnson, 2004; McIntosh & Zahra, 2007; Ryan & Higgins, 2006).

2.2.2   Issues of ownership in Māori tourism

Several studies have examined issues of ownership and control of Māori tourism businesses, and participation of Māori in tourism (Hall et al., 1993; Walsh, 1996). Māori self-determination and control of Māori tourism are important, not only in terms of the economic benefits but also cultural integrity (Ryan & Crotts, 1997). Definitions of Māori tourism take into account the amount of control and ownership by Māori and whether there is a Māori cultural theme. This is based on Hinch and Butler's (1996) definition: "indigenous tourism refers to tourism activity in which indigenous people are directly involved either through control and/or by having their culture serve as the essence of the attraction" (p. 9) (see figure 4).

Figure 4: Indigenous Tourism (Hinch & Butler, 1996)

Māori tourism may refer to any tourist activities or attractions directly owned, operated by, or with the participation of Māori.   Defined from a values-based perspective, values, ownership, and control are key components of Māori-centred tourism (McIntosh et al., 2004; Zygadlo, Matunga, Simmons, & Fairweather, 2001).

Studies on Māori tourism have also identified benefits for indigenous workers (Bunten, 2010; Hinch et al., 1999). Hinch et al.'s (1999) study of three successful Māori tourist attractions identified that management guided by Māori traditions, promoting cultural pride among employees and empowering them to speak with authority, as well as cultural integrity and honesty as a foundation are key management strategies. According to the study, fostering the respect and appreciation of visitors for Māori culture, as well as having respect for the cultural background of the visitors and focussing on their needs are key

considerations. Furthermore, emphasis is placed on the emotional and spiritual dimension of culture, not only the intellectual dimension (Hinch et al., 1999).

Bunten's (2010) study of a privately-owned Māori tourism enterprise identified that cultural integrity was maintained through responsibility to and participation with the local community. Her study found that Māori employees enjoyed sharing their culture, and that their personal experiences added value to the Māori cultural tourism products. Although Tahana, Grant, Simmons, and Fairweather (2000) confirmed that guides are considered amongst the leaders in Māori tourism, there are no published studies on Māori guides. Studies of guides in the indigenous tourism literature noted that the cultural identities of Native American guides are connected to the workplace (Bunten, 2010), and Howard et al. (2001) pointed out that Aboriginal guides in Australia interpret within their own cultural context. These findings are particularly relevant and are discussed further in section 2.3.3.3 on interpretation.

2.2.3   Issues of representation

Cultural tourism involves the protection of cultural property (Ryan & Crotts, 1997). On examining storytelling within the Māori tourism product, Amoamo (2007) explains how historically stories were adapted to fit with European knowledge systems for better understanding. Furthermore, it was important to protect certain knowledge and Māori elders were responsible for deciding what aspects could be shared with other cultures (Amoamo, 2007). Sharing stories and connections with past and present is part of a contemporary Māori tourism experience. Cultural concepts can, however, be challenging to translate (Ryan & Crotts, 1997). Gaining insights into the way stories are adapted to the visitors' knowledge system or worldview, and what information is suitable and appropriate to be shared with visitors is relevant to this research.

Visitors, who bring their own perspectives, may have trouble understanding values and beliefs shared by indigenous peoples which could result in cultural misunderstandings (McIntosh & Johnson, 2004). It is important to consider the cultural background and cultural distance of visitors, as well as their experience and understanding of other indigenous cultures. In relation to this research, the guide's ability to bridge the gap and transfer an understanding of the culture is highly relevant.

Amoamo (2007) emphasises the need to address tribal diversity in tourism. Through these new approaches to Māori tourism products whereby tribal identity and narratives are recognised, culture can be re-articulated and re-presented by Māori in order to reflect this

diversity (Amoamo, 2007; Amoamo & Thompson, 2010). The issue of tribal diversity and incorporation of multiple narratives and perspectives by Māori is highly relevant (Amoamo, 2007; Amoamo & Thompson, 2010; Walsh, 1996), yet when considering face-to-face interpretation it also raises the question of who is granted the authority to share these narratives. Not only is it important to consider whether both Māori and non-Māori can facilitate an understanding of Māori cultural heritage, but whether tribal perspectives can be shared by those of other tribes.

Hall et al. (1993) highlighted the importance of Māori perspectives on visitor management and the adherence to traditional protocol in the relationship between hosts and guests in tourism. However, some Māori hosts believed that when considering the role of hosting visitors in Māori cultural tourism, adjustments to protocols to make visitors feel more comfortable or to avoid embarrassment are appropriate (Walsh, 1996; Wikitera & Bremner, 2009). The concern that cultural comprises in tourism threaten cultural integrity has been debated from different perspectives by Māori tourism operators and the community. Furthermore, visitors' perceptions regarding cultural integrity may differ (McIntosh, 2004). Regarding these matters, Ryan and Huyton (2002) stated that cultural integrity in indigenous tourism relates to control over content in terms of what is being shared, whose cultural perspective it is and on whose authority.

New forms of culturally appropriate and sustainable forms of indigenous tourism are emerging (Bunten, 2010). According to Bunten (2010), a higher value is placed on cultural integrity and control over representation than on economic benefits. Importantly, Howard et al. (2001) found that one of the main aims of guides is to challenge visitors' attitudes and stereotypes, which they described as the indigenous guide's resource management role (see 2.3.1.2 and 2.3.3.3).

In the context of museums, McCarthy (2011) traces the changes in museum practice in New Zealand and the shift in control over representation with increased participation of Māori and inclusion of Māori perspectives. In museums elsewhere, there has also been a shift from non-indigenous perspectives and scientific explanations of the indigenous past, to reveal the perspectives of indigenous people themselves with explanation through cultural beliefs, as found in Batten's (2005) study in Australia. The implications of this shift in control and perspectives are discussed further in terms of the interpretation of cultural heritage (see 2.3.2) and the guide's role in the mediation of these perspectives (see 2.3.3).

2.2.4   Cultural tourism product

2.2.4.1   *Māori cultural tourism product*

The most popular Māori cultural tourism products include cultural performances and entertainment in the form of Māori hangi and concert. Exhibits of Māori culture in museums are also popular with international visitors wanting to learn about Māori heritage (Colmar Brunton, 2004). Māori cultural tourism products developed more recently include homestays and marae (Māori village) stays, visits to national parks, and urban walking tours.

Māori cultural tourism products such as performances have however been criticised for reinforcing stereotypes and threatening cultural integrity (Keelan, 1996; cited in McIntosh & Johnson, 2004). However, Bunten (2010) points out the benefits of using commercially successful operational models and cultural products as the foundation of contemporary Māori tourism under Māori ownership and control. By contrast, McIntosh and Johnson (2004) claim that Māori tourism experiences offered for mass tourists allow little time and opportunity for personal contact and interaction with Māori hosts, as identified by Colmar Brunton (2004). New Māori tourism products should allow for less structured interaction with visitors, providing an opportunity for meaningful cultural exchange or "exchange of sincerity" (McIntosh, 2004, p. 13) and incorporate tribal narratives and perspectives (Amoamo, 2007). Although there are new cultural tourism experiences which are based on a more personal interaction, Amoamo and Thompson (2010) claim that tourism operators still present a generic image.

There has been a shift towards increased Māori ownership and control in contemporary Māori tourism. Consequently, regional differences and tribal perspectives are being recognised in Māori tourism products. In some cases these contemporary products are based on commercially successful models (Bunten, 2010). Authors have also observed diversification of the tourism product regarding the nature of the experience (Amoamo & Thompson, 2010; McIntosh, 2004). In spite of these changes, tourism marketing continues to present a stereotypical image of traditional Māori as tourist attractions (Amoamo & Thompson, 2010; Olsen, 2008).

In the literature on indigenous tourism, Bunten (2010) examines the question of ownership and control over representation by comparing indigenous and non-indigenous ownership of cultural centres based on similar models. Bunten (2010) claims that a standardised cultural script of a model culture is produced by anthropologists rather than by the indigenous communities at the non-indigenous owned Polynesian Cultural Centre. Control over

representation and inclusion of indigenous perspectives is critical for cultural integrity. Although the tourism industry tends to satisfy preconceived expectations by using stereotypical images without considering threats to cultural values, K. Mason (2004) suggests that cultural performances and visual representations can be re-coded with indigenous meanings; therefore allowing cultural integrity and commercial goals to be achieved together. The literature indicates that a commercially successful product based on stereotypes which satisfies visitors' expectations can be recoded to articulate an indigenous perspective and also confront these same stereotypes by telling stories from indigenous points of view (Bunten, 2010; Mason, K., 2004). It is important to consider the paradox of how a product which is successful yet stereotypical can be used to convey indigenous perspectives.

2.2.4.2 *Visitor experience*

Recent studies have focussed on the nature of the cultural exchange in Māori cultural tourism. The potential for cross-cultural experiences to enhance learning, appreciation, and foster respect can provide a model for sustainable tourism (Hinch & Butler, 1996; Sofield, 1991; cited in McIntosh & Zahra, 2007). Visitor experiences are subjective and influenced by personal backgrounds and agendas, and in a cross-cultural experience cultural distance and motivation are additional factors (McIntosh & Johnson, 2004). Visitors are diverse and there are cultural differences in values and beliefs (Amoamo & Thompson, 2010; McIntosh & Johnson, 2004). Cultural understanding may be hindered as visitors have their own ways of understanding an experience, which can lead to misinterpretation and misunderstandings (McIntosh & Johnson, 2004). Furthermore, McIntosh (2004) states that prior knowledge and personal meaning can influence how cultural experiences are understood. The key dimensions of the visitor experience in Māori tourism, identified by McIntosh (2004), are gazing, lifestyle, authenticity, personal interaction, and informal learning.

In the Māori tourism literature, little attention has been paid to the nature of the visitor experience and the cross-cultural dimensions. McIntosh and Johnson's (2004) study of a marae (Māori village) experience found that sincerity and integrity were important dimensions of the interaction. The authors identified that the visitors' cultural experiences are emotional and educational. The affective dimension of the experience has been overlooked in the literature (McIntosh and Johnson, 2004). Schorch's (2010) study of visitors on museum tours with Māori guides at Te Papa also reported the dimension of visitors "feeling culture" (p.277). The meanings visitors attached to their experience of Māori culture were reinterpreted through their own socio-cultural frameworks by drawing comparisons and reflecting on indigenous peoples in their own countries (Schorch, 2010). It

is possible that through the guide "the abstract cultural category Māori transforms into a face with a story" (Schorch, 2010, p. 277). This indicates that visitors find personal links and meaningful connections through interacting with a Māori guide on a guided tour in a museum setting. The findings of this project are of particular interest as it is the only published research on Māori cultural experiences and guided tours. The affective or feeling dimension of culture, as well as the connections and meanings visitors find related to their own context and whether these are mediated in any way by the guide are important considerations for this research.

Ryan and Higgins (2006) conducted a study of the visitor experience at the New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute (currently trading as Te Puia). The authors found that although visitors expressed interest in Māori culture and considered it to be important, little reading was done before the visit. Although both are considered important, Ryan and Higgins (2006) observed that the geothermal activity appeared to be a greater attraction for visitors than the cultural experience. This indicates that participation in an indigenous cultural experience does not mean that there is a high level of interest, as indicated in studies elsewhere (Moscardo & Pearce, 1999; Ryan & Huyton, 2002). As Ryan and Higgin's (2006) study was conducted through face-to-face interviews in English, the large number of Asian and non-English speaking visitors arriving with a tour group are not included.

A. Carr's (2004) study on visitors' experiences of cultural interpretation mainly focussed on non-personal interpretation in the visitor centre at a national park, where the local Māori present their cultural perspectives. Despite the limited interest in cultural interpretation in the natural heritage setting and a low level of awareness of Māori values, the study found that interpretation did manage to raise awareness. A preference was shown for myths and legends, possibly appearing "politically neutral when compared to contemporary issues relating to land ownership" (Carr, A., 2004, p. 454). The study indicates that although the provision of information does not necessarily result in increased interest, presenting information in an accessible way may result in increased awareness (Carr, A., 2004).

McIntosh and Zahra (2007) looked at volunteer tourism experiences developed by Māori communities by examining the nature of the interaction between host and guest. The authors found that the tourists' demand for more meaningful experiences may be satisfied. Although this study is based on a long-term volunteer tourism initiative rather than short-term interaction, the qualitative method and inductive approach to data analysis informs the current study.

The current qualitative studies do not reflect the experiences of a culturally diverse range of visitors, although cultural differences are considered important (Amoamo & Thompson, 2010; McIntosh & Johnson, 2004). The qualitative research on the visitor experience has mainly focussed on English-speaking visitors, with the exception of McIntosh (2004) who conducted arrival and departure interviews in a number of languages, albeit with a small sample. Attention should be paid to the apparent need for improved communication and translation in order to enhance understanding in Māori cultural experiences (Colmar Brunton, 2004; Wilson, Horn, Sampson, Doherty, Becken, & Hart, 2006). The language barrier is an important consideration for guides when managing the interpretation process, in particular for international visitors from non-English speaking countries, such as China, South Korea, and Germany, which have high participation levels in Māori cultural tourism experiences (Ministry of Tourism, 2009a). However, when considering cultural differences and visitors' characteristics, Dann (1993) cautions that classifying visitors by nationality is inadequate.

2.2.5   Current issues in Māori tourism and relevance

The literature to date examines Māori tourism in terms of the importance of Māori ownership of tourism operations, and control over representation and the content of Māori tourism products. The importance of ownership of cultural content and narratives to ensure cultural integrity is emphasised. Stereotypes reinforced by marketing images, and the tourism product itself can pose a threat to cultural integrity. However, some scholars point out that it is possible to challenge stereotypes and use commercially successful products to convey indigenous perspectives. Although there has been an emphasis on the inclusion of tribal perspectives and regional differentiation, a generic image of Māori is still prevalent in tourism marketing. It is recognised that participation of Māori in tourism can generate pride and be empowering, yet there are no published studies regarding the role of tour guides in managing Māori cultural tourism experiences. Although the ability of guide to make or break a tourism experience is widely acknowledged in the tourism literature, this has been overlooked in the Māori tourism literature.

Limited in-depth research has been conducted to gain an understanding of the visitor experience. There are no studies which provide insights into how the interpretation process for Māori cultural tourism experiences is managed for visitors of diverse characteristics.

2.3   *Interpretation*

Interpretation is employed as a tool to enhance understanding and appreciation of cultural and natural heritage. Furthermore, it may be employed to develop empathy, change attitudes, and to enhance the visitor experience. Interpretation, which can be informative, inspirational and entertaining, is a way of connecting visitors to the resource and should be a visitor-centred process (Beck & Cable, 2002). The key focus for this research is face-to-face interpretation. This section provides an overview of the interpretation literature and the relevant issues for the interpretation of indigenous cultural heritage by examining studies on interpretation and guiding.

First of all, the definition, principles, and aims of interpretation are outlined. The following section examines interpretation as a visitor management tool and in terms of the visitor experience. This section also provides an outline of techniques in face-to-face interpretation, and theoretical approaches to interpretation. Following on from this, studies on the interpretation of cultural heritage are examined. Issues of ownership of narrative, and organisational goals for interpretation are discussed. The next section looks at the guide's communication function and role as a cross-cultural mediator. The guide's role as a mediator of cultural heritage is also examined. The final section concludes by highlighting the relevance of the literature to the present study.

2.3.1   Interpretation – principles, organisational goals, aims and techniques

2.3.1.1   *Definition, principles and aims of interpretation*

Interpretation is a communication process that helps visitors make intellectual and emotional connections with heritage resources and can enrich their understanding and appreciation (McArthur & Hall, 1996). According to Tilden's definition, interpretation is: "An educational activity which aims to reveal meanings and relationships through the use of original objects, by firsthand experience, and by illustrative media, rather than simply to communicate factual information" (Tilden, 1957, 1977, p. 8). Significantly, Tilden's definition focussed on meanings, rather than just providing facts. Tilden (1957, 1977) states that "the visitor ultimately is seeing things through his own eyes, not those of the interpreter, and he is forever and finally translating your words as best he can into whatever he can refer to his own intimate knowledge and experience" (p. 14). This suggests that the creation of meaning ultimately depends on the visitors and the visitors' own knowledge and experience. As a result, personal meaning will vary. The aim of interpretation for Moscardo (1996) is to produce change in thinking in visitors. "Interpretation is clearly trying to produce mindful

visitors who are active, interested, questioning and capable of reassessing the way they view the world" (Moscardo, 1996, p. 382). For Weiler and Yu (2007) interpretation is "the process of communicating significance in order to facilitate enjoyment, understanding and appreciation" (p. 20).

For the purpose of this research project, Weiler and Yu's (2007) broad definition of enjoyment, understanding, and appreciation is used as all aspects are applicable to varying degrees in different cultural tourism experiences and settings. What constitutes a memorable and meaningful experience differs depending on the visitors, and the context and setting. For some visitors the main focus may be on learning and gaining knowledge, whereas for others the experience is about enjoyment and fun.

It has long been recognised that interpretation should be visitor-centred (Beck & Cable, 2002; Tilden, 1977). According to Beck and Cable (2002), interpretation should reveal meanings and make connections between the tangible and intangible aspects of the resource, and universal concepts. Furthermore, as well as considering the quantity and quality, information should be relevant and meaningful for visitors. It is important to make the past come alive so that it is more enjoyable and inject passion (Beck & Cable, 2002). For Nuryanti (1996), interpretation has spiritual and emotional aspects which can produce a more in-depth meaning and understanding.

Regarding face-to-face interpretation, Wang, Larsen, and Meredith (1999; cited in Gross and Zimmerman, 2002) state that for effective visitor-centred interpretation which facilitates connections between visitors and the resource "interpreters must not only have in-depth knowledge of the resource and be proficient in a range of interpretive techniques, but also must know the audience and understand the significance that visitors attach to the resources" (p. 273).

Applied to the current research, it is suggested that guides require knowledge of Māori cultural heritage, knowledge of the visitors' culture(s) and the relevance of Māori cultural heritage to the visitors, as well as knowledge of interpretive techniques. This is an important consideration for the present study and informs the conceptual framework.

2.3.1.2   *Interpretation as a visitor management tool – organisational goals*

Interpretation of cultural and natural heritage is employed as a management tool (McArthur & Hall, 1996; McKercher & du Cros, 2002). In terms of organisational aims, Benton (2009) states that there are beliefs that interpretation must add value to achieving the mission of the organisation. As a form of control, interpretation can be used as a way of controlling the

message, the visitors, and the resource (Benton, 2009). McKercher and du Cros (2002) claim that interpretation may be viewed as a tool for sustainable cultural tourism.

Guided tours can be an effective way of delivering images and information satisfying the organisational goals (Dahles, 2002; cited in Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). In face-to-face interpretation being able to adjust to the visitors' characteristics and needs, can make it powerful (McArthur & Hall, 1996). Ham and Weiler (2003) affirm that interpretation is persuasive when themes are compelling, and point out how the organisational goals can be achieved through interpretation. The guide or interpreter therefore becomes the 'manipulator' in the process of meaning-making (Ham & Weiler, 2003). It is widely claimed that interpretation can be used to change attitudes and behaviours. However Ham (2009) states that in order to influence an attitude, it is necessary to influence a person's beliefs first. Interpretation which intentionally challenges visitors' attitudes may cause tension if opinions are expressed and there is disagreement (Beck & Cable, 2002). Tour guides may have their own agendas based on their socio-cultural, historical, political and economic contexts (McArthur & Hall, 1996; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006) or due to the context of their employment (Ap & Wong, 2001). Furthermore, Bunten (2008) refers to a sophisticated style of manipulation which as part of a strategy of resistance used in indigenous tourism when challenging stereotypes. As interpretation can be a powerful mechanism, it is important to consider whether guides have their own particular mindset and motivations.

2.3.1.3 *Interpretation and the visitor experience*

While one of the aims of interpretation is to enrich visitors' experience, other aims seek to develop awareness, appreciation and understanding; to achieve management objectives and encourage thoughtful use of the resource; and to promote public understanding (McArthur & Hall, 1996). However, the priorities and requirements of the organisation and the visitors may differ (Benton, 2009; McArthur & Hall, 1996), as reported in the study on cultural interpretation programmes in national parks (Carr, A., 2004) (see 2.2.4.2). Thus, it is the guide's responsibility to provide experiences and meet the requirements and goals of both the supply-side and the demand-side (Nuryanti, 1996).

Interpretation could even have a negative effect and pose a barrier to the visitor experience as O'Toole pointed out "the product of an over-active mind, a mind that must always substitute meaning for experience" (1992; cited in Moscardo, 2007, p. 59). Interpretation, viewed in this light, may be putting ideas in the mind of the visitors and indicating what they are experiencing rather than letting them experience it for themselves by allowing them to make their own meanings. Interpretation can be used to achieve different purposes;

however there may be conflicting priorities and interests between the organisation, the visitors, and the guide regarding the aim of interpretation, the choice of techniques, and the desired experience and outcomes.

2.3.1.4   Techniques in face-to-face interpretation

The literature on interpretation emphasises the importance of transferring complex ideas into simple language and avoiding technical language and unfamiliar terms (McArthur & Hall, 1996). This is important because cultural heritage is complex, yet requires simple explanations without being overly simplistic. Furthermore, language barriers and cross-cultural communication issues are concerns when interpreting for international visitors.

There may also be cultural barriers. Indigenous cultural heritage may be difficult for non-indigenous visitors to understand due to differences in cultural systems (see 2.2.4.2) (Amoamo & Thompson, 2010; McIntosh & Johnson, 2004), which makes the task of connecting tangibles and intangibles to universal concepts more challenging as visitors do not all relate to universal concepts in the same way (Beck & Cable, 2002). In order to facilitate relevant and meaningful connections, it is necessary to have an understanding of the visitors and have an awareness of their knowledge. Differences may be expected in the visitors' knowledge of Māori culture; as well as their understanding of their own cultures or that of other cultures.

Beck and Cable (2002) believe that communication by guides should be individualised and that guides should share personal perspectives. This way guides "seem more human as we bridge the gap between 'expert' and audience" (p. 29). Therefore, instead of following a script, guides draw on their own understanding and meanings. The guide's background and experience is therefore a factor which can influence the interpretation. In the case of the interpretation of indigenous cultural heritage, personal experience and relevance is expected to differ for indigenous and non-indigenous guides.

Common techniques in face-to-face interpretation include presenting information through talks and discussions as well as responding to questions. Other participatory techniques described in the literature include the use of different senses, hands on interaction, analogies, and metaphors; which Howard et al. (2001) reported were used to facilitate connections and to explain indigenous cultural concepts. Technology may also be used as a tool to enhance interpretation (Beck & Cable, 2002).

Although the interpretation literature suggests using a variety of techniques, the choice of techniques in face-to-face interpretation may be constrained by group size and time

availability, visitor characteristics such as age and language, as well as visitors' level of interest, knowledge, and expectations of the experience and the level of interaction.

2.3.1.5   The interpretive process

Tilden (1977) claimed that visitors make sense from their own knowledge and experience and that ultimately meaning is in the eyes of the visitor. According to Ajzen (1992; cited in Ham, 2009), Tilden's understanding of communication was intuitive. His constructivist idea that meanings were generated in the visitor's mind was contrary to the didactic and linear views of communication prevalent at that time. According to constructivist theories, which have been applied to the process of interpretation and meaning-making, communication is not linear and meaning is not fixed. Meaning is constructivism is produced (Mason, R., 2005). This way of understanding communication is highly relevant as meaning depends not entirely on what is presented to the visitors, but rather the understanding and meanings that the visitors themselves create. In contrast, a didactic transmission model of communication focuses on technical aspects yet ignores the social and cultural influences of the processes of communication and interpretation (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). Hooper-Greenhill (2000) identifies two key challenges in the context of museums and interpretation. First, there are issues of narrative and voice which are related to what is said and who says it. The second relates to "who is listening, and is an issue of interpretation, understanding and the construction of meaning" (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, p.18). Rather than concentrating on teaching, constructivist education theories focus on the process of learning and making sense, taking into consideration prior knowledge to develop new knowledge (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000; Moscardo, 2007). Moscardo (2007) applies social psychological theories and takes a constructivist approach to interpretation. Her proposed framework incorporates the cultural dimensions of the interpretation process regarding the content, concept, and context. These cultural dimensions which may be considered at different levels of culture, such as ethnic, national, or generational; are important yet have been ignored in the literature (Moscardo, 2007).

In the context of museums, galleries and heritage; several authors have studied the meaning making process in terms of intended and unintended messages, as well as individual and collective meanings and multiple viewpoints (Carr, D., 2006; Mason, R., 2005; Paris, 2006). D. Carr (2006) adopts a constructivist approach to meaning and the construction of knowledge. R. Mason (2005) applies semiotic and constructivist theories to the complexity of meaning-making and communication. Recognising the cultural politics of constructing meaning, this raises the question of whether interpretation is 'summing up' or

'opening up' (Mason, R., 2005). In the context of museums, Paris (2006) claims that personal and socio-cultural contexts of the visitors give rise to multiple viewpoints.

The cultural dimensions of interpretation (Moscardo, 2007) in Māori cultural tourism experiences are related to Māori culture, as the resource; the visitor characteristics and the guide characteristics. Communication depends on understanding culture and cultural contexts, as well as language. Cultural dimensions are influenced by external factors of the cultural context. Beliefs, values, practices, and expectations influence understanding and meaning. For interpretation to be engaging and the content relevant to the visitors, it is necessary to be aware of the visitors' own knowledge, understanding and experience. With a group of mixed characteristics what is relevant to one visitor may have little meaning for another.

By applying constructivist theories to the interpretation and meaning making process, communication is not linear and that knowledge is not fixed. Through the interpretation process there may be multiple meanings. The interaction between the guide and the visitors implies the co-construction of knowledge and meaning making.

2.3.2   Interpretation of indigenous cultural heritage

Recent studies have looked at the inclusion of indigenous perspectives in interpretation practices (Carr, A., 2004; Stone, 2005). In heritage interpretation one of the main challenges is the reconstruction of the past through interpretation in the present (Nuryanti, 1996). Although heritage is associated with cultural traditions carrying values from the past, Nuryanti (1996) claims the effect of the dynamic nature of tourism can result in a reinterpretation of heritage.

In Māori cultural heritage, sharing of stories provides the connection between the past and present and is a way of transferring cultural knowledge. As mentioned, stories were often adapted to fit other cultural systems (Amoamo, 2007) (see 2.2.3). In the context of national parks, A. Carr (2004) examined an interpretation programme where a Māori cultural perspective of the significance of the natural heritage is included, in contrast to a scientific approach.

Regarding indigenous narratives, Bunten (2008) claims that there may be manipulation in the way cultures are presented and certain viewpoints are suppressed. Furthermore, indigenous perspectives may not always be included in the accepted cultural script (Bunten, 2010). In the context of developing education and interpretive programmes in museums,

Stone (2005) examines the issues and tensions of diverse disciplinary approaches and agendas, such as those of archaeologists, historians, and indigenous perspectives.

In the context of museums, Hooper-Greenhill (2006) claims that the institutional power and ideological frameworks through which meaning is conveyed may favour some viewpoints and conceal others. The changing external factors such as politics, socio-cultural and economic factors influence these ideological frameworks and the resulting interpretation and meaning. In the case of Māori cultural heritage, Hooper-Greenhill observed that Māori "have successfully demanded that their cultural treasures be re-valued" (2000, p.19). McCarthy (2011), who examines the participation of Māori in museums (see 2.2.3), states that the academic literature fails to reflect current museum practice and the inclusion of indigenous voices. The Te Māori exhibition in the 1980s was significant in the transition process towards Māori control over representation and display. However, McCarthy (2011) notes that "the final product was a somewhat ambiguous display that was interpreted in different ways by different audiences" (p. 62). Similarly, in Māori cultural tourism experiences visitors experience culture and interpret in their own personal ways which are influenced by factors such as knowledge, interests and personal meanings (McIntosh, 2004).

Uncertainty resulting from the interpretation of the 'shared past' was also identified in Batten's (2005) Australian study, whereby multiple layers of interpretation either stimulate visitors to make their own meanings, or leave them confused if the message is unclear. This is reiterated in Foxlee's (2007) study of the interpretation of Aboriginal culture at Uluru which identified multiple and potentially conflicting meanings arising when visitors create their own meanings of place. Furthermore, the question of authorship of the narrative and the purposeful inclusion and exclusion of stories and perspectives, as well as the integration of indigenous knowledge systems into the interpretation practice is examined (Foxlee, 2007).

There are multiple narratives and diverse voices of representation which can be viewed from different perspectives. These are subject to multiple interpretations which may or may not be desirable. Interpretation practices may aim to provide visitors with a specific message within a particular framework or encourage visitors to find meaning from within their own frameworks, allowing for a diversity of interpretations and different meanings. The key issues are whether interpretation may confuse rather than stimulate, or the reinterpretation results in misinterpretation of the intended message. In the interpretation process for guided tours, the guide mediates these multiple interpretations for and with the

visitors. However, there are no studies in the tourism or museum literature reflecting the inclusion of multiple perspectives and the role of the guide.

2.3.3 The role of the guide in face-to-face interpretation

This section examines the communication function and the guide's role as a cross-cultural mediator in interpretation, with particular attention to guide competence and effectiveness. Studies on guides and interpretation of indigenous cultural heritage are then reviewed in order to identify the key issues relevant to this research.

2.3.3.1 *The communicative function of the guide*

McKercher and du Cros (2002) describe guides as gatekeepers who control and limit information. According to Nuryanti (1996), guides are mediators between tradition and modernity. Interpretation is the communicative function and guides make decisions on the inclusion and exclusion of information and ensure its correctness (Cohen, 1985; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). Guides provide the interpretation of what is seen and experienced; and although not considered favourable, information may even be fabricated and presented as if it were real or true (Cohen, 1985; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006).

The interpretive work of tour guides is key to enhancing the quality of tourists' experience and understanding of a destination and its culture (Ap & Wong, 2001; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). Through interpretation and storytelling guides can enhance enjoyment and also encourage visitors to reflect. Although guides are recognised as being valuable in interpretation, Sikoryak (2008) warns that they may become conceited and self-important. McArthur and Hall claim there could be resentment if guides decide to push their own agenda (1996; cited in Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). Quality interpretation, according to Sikoryak (2008), requires honesty and professionalism.

2.3.3.2 *The guide as a cross-cultural mediator*

The interpretation process with international visitors is a cross-cultural encounter in which guides perform mediating and culture broking functions (Ap & Wong, 2001; Holloway, 1981; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). Mediating is facilitating learning; whereas culture broking is having an understanding of cultural systems and being able to shift between reference frames and negotiate differences (Gay, 1993; cited in Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). Culture broking is more than being a language interpreter, although this may also be important. Cross-cultural mediators may be bilingual, having had "the opportunity to know, to move and to live in and between two cultures" (Smith, V.L., 2001, p.276). Cultural mediation, in

the context of the interpretation of cultural heritage, is mediating an understanding of the cultural heritage with visitors in a cross-cultural encounter. Weiler and Yu (2007) state that the guide influences and has the ability to control the way the host culture is represented. The literature suggests that for effective cross-cultural interpretation, the guide requires knowledge of the host culture and that of the visitors (Kuo, 2007; Smith, V.L., 2001). Although it is agreed that guides should be able to handle visitors of mixed characteristics (Nuryanti, 1996), to date researchers have focussed on visitor groups of a single nationality, language group, or similar cultural background. Little attention has been paid to groups of mixed characteristics despite them becoming increasingly common in cultural tourism settings. Weiler and Yu (2007) state that although there is an increasing need to gain insights into the characteristics of an effective cultural mediator, there has been insufficient theory-building and empirical testing.

Drawing on theories of intercultural communication, Yu, Weiler, and Ham (2002) developed a conceptual framework to examine the relationship between the guide's intercultural competence and the visitor satisfaction with the experience (figure 5). According to the framework, the guide's intercultural competence depends on the guide's background characteristics such as education, language fluency, prior training and experience, and ethnic identity. Furthermore, it is influenced by the destination and tour operator factors. Visitor satisfaction depends not only on the guide's intercultural competence, but also the background characteristics of visitors, as well as the motivations, expectations, and aspirations of the visitors (Yu et al., 2002).

Figure 5: Conceptual framework for analysing the factors contributing to tour guides' intercultural competence and the tourist experience (Yu et al., 2002)
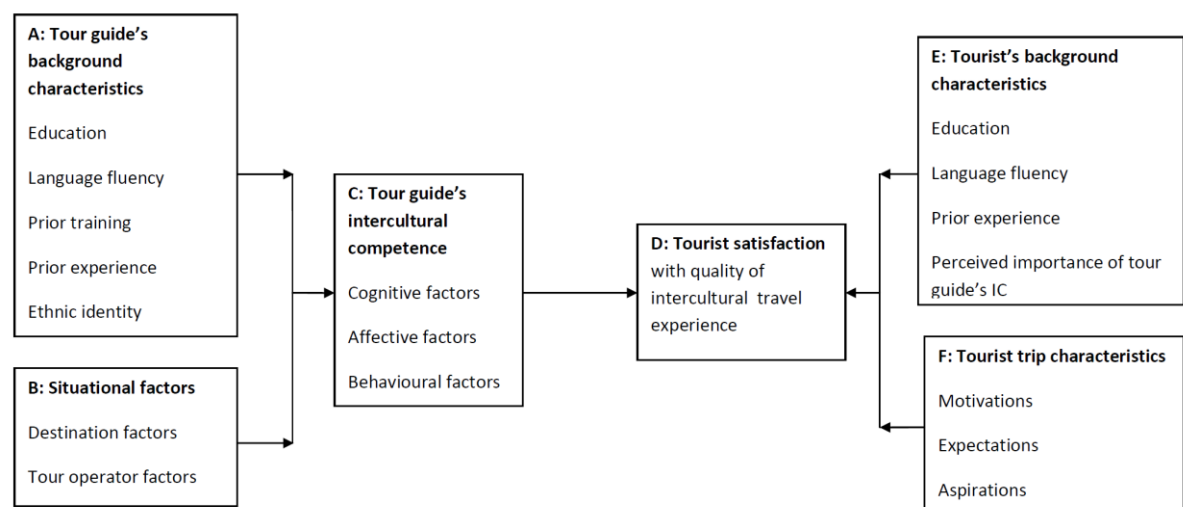
Although Yu et al.'s (2002) framework focuses on satisfaction rather than on understanding and appreciation, what is interesting and relevant to this research is that the guide's intercultural competence is not assumed to be a fixed value as it is dependent on situational factors. Furthermore, measuring the outcomes in terms of visitor satisfaction also depends on visitor factors. Therefore, guides could be perceived as very competent in one particular setting with a group of visitors of certain characteristics, yet show a different level of competence in another. This makes the measurement dynamic and subject to change. It is possible that conceptualising intercultural communication competence for diverse visitor groups may depend on the guide's ability to adapt and manage the visitor factors, and also situational factors. Yu et al.'s (2002) framework informs the conceptual framework for this research.

As an alternative to the competency-based training in interpretation using a knowledge transmission model, Christie and Mason (2003) propose a transformative model for evaluation of the guide's own performance through reflective practice. This approach to training, which considers improvements in practice based on learning from experience, is important for this research. Although conventional assessments of the guide's knowledge may provide a point of reference, they may not be sufficient to convey an ability to manage situations of dynamic characteristics in cross-cultural communication encounters. Competence therefore may depend on the ability to improve practice by reflecting and learning from previous experiences.

With the exception of Weiler and Yu's (2007) study in Australia of cultural mediation in guiding Chinese tour groups, little attention has been paid to the mediation of understanding and meaning in the cross-cultural tourism encounter. Weiler and Yu (2007), whose study was mainly constructivist and inductive, found that guides who were Chinese nationals and from the culture of the visitors failed to mediate an understanding of the host culture due to insufficient knowledge and interpretation skills. Other studies reported that although guides had sufficient knowledge, poor communication and interpretive skills lead to an unsatisfactory experience (Weiler & Yu, 2007). This study is relevant because it draws attention to some of the issues which may relate to accompanying tour guides who perform the function of language interpreter at cultural tourism attractions. The issues of insufficient knowledge and interpretation skills identified suggest that this is a potential area of concern.

Kuo (2007) compares the demographic characteristics of two guides as cultural mediators in the interpretation of religious heritage for non-Muslim mosque visitors. According to Kuo (2007), the Muslim-born Emiriti male guide who embraces a Western mindset may hold an advantage of being authoritative, whereas the Western female who is a convert to Islam,

may have a disadvantage and appear defensive. Both guides demonstrated awareness of cultural differences and selected information in order to manage misconceptions held by visitors. However, Kuo (2007) claims that interpretation is influenced by culture and therefore cannot be unbiased. The guides had different approaches yet delivered similar messages.

For visitors, the guide's knowledge about Islam and the local culture as well as Western culture, with the ability to mediate between cultures was considered important. Truthfulness was a key aspect. However, this also depends on the visitors' perceptions of whether the information is credible and truthful (Kuo, 2007). Visitors' preferences were mixed, however some favoured a guide from the culture of the visitors "in order to interpret matters from their perspective" (Kuo, 2007, p. 37), and a preference for a female guide regarding women's issues.

Personal qualities of guides, such as friendliness, passion, and humour are considered important (Howard et al., 2001; Kuo, 2007). Although humour is used to form a closer relationship with visitors, Salazar (2007) states that due to the influence of cultural factors, it cannot be appreciated in the same way by all visitors. The interpretation of cultural heritage in tourism experiences occurs within a global framework and Salazar (2007), in his study of guides in Indonesia and Tanzania, found that guides shift position between local and global frameworks. Within the interpretation of cultural heritage there is a complex process of negotiation and mediation which is flexible and changing dependent on those involved in the process (Salazar, 2007).

2.3.3.3 *Indigenous guides and the interpretation of Indigenous cultural heritage*

"Intangible heritage requires the presence of traditional culture bearers to give it life" (McKercher & du Cros, 2002, p. 83), yet there are no published studies on Māori guides and the interpretation of Māori cultural heritage.

In the context of Australian Aboriginal guides, Howard et al. (2001) found that guides tell their own personal stories as well as those related to the site. The indigenous tour guide is "part of the fabric of the experience" (Howard et al., 2001, p. 38) and shares within their own cultural context. In order to convey important messages, Howard et al. (2001) propose that guides need to learn to explain concepts from the visitors' own perspective which can be done using analogies and metaphors. This suggests that in order to enhance understanding, guides need to develop the ability to share stories from their own context as well as from the visitors' context, or cultural system (Amoamo, 2007).

Bunten (2008), in her study of Native American guides, indicates that guides have multiple identities and shift reference frames. According to Bunten (2008), guides present themselves as modern yet also as exotic, resisting and reinforcing stereotypes at the same time. Furthermore, these guides "present history on their own terms" (Bunten, 2008, p. 390). For the interpretation of indigenous cultural heritage, the guide's background and ethnic identity is particularly important in terms of indigenous representation and sharing indigenous perspectives (Bunten, 2008, 2010; Howard et al., 2001). In addition to creating personal links through interaction with visitors, the guides challenge stereotypes and endeavour to change attitudes and perceptions of visitors (Bunten, 2008; Howard et al., 2001). The source of information and truthfulness is important. There may be restrictions on sharing certain information, and permission may be required to discuss stories of other tribes (Bunten, 2008; Howard et al., 2001).

Howard et al. (2001) state that "cultural exchange with an indigenous tour guide may be a critical part of the experience" (p. 35). The authors also claim that non-indigenous guides cannot interpret in the same way, however there are no published studies which compare guiding and interpretation by indigenous and non-indigenous guides in indigenous cultural tourism experiences and museum and heritage settings.

2.3.4 Face-to-face interpretation and implications for this research

Interpretation can be employed as a management tool to raise awareness, enhance understanding and appreciation, and to enrich the visitor experience. Furthermore, through interpretation it may be possible to change attitudes and behaviours. Although interpretation should be visitor-centred (Beck & Cable, 2002; Tilden, 1977), meeting visitors' requirements may not satisfy organisational goals. Face-to-face interpretation is powerful because the guide can adjust to the visitors' characteristics and requirements. Effective interpretation depends on the guide's knowledge of the resource, interpretive techniques, the visitors, and knowledge of the significance of the resource to the visitors. Through interpretation, guides enhance understanding by finding meaningful connections. However, ultimately meaning depends on the visitors. For the interpretation of indigenous cultural heritage, there are issues of narrative and voice and the incorporation of indigenous perspectives. Furthermore, there are also cultural differences in perspectives and knowledge systems which can lead to multiple interpretations. In the interpretation process, cross-cultural communication and mediation are important functions of the guide's role. Despite this, scholars have overlooked the cultural dimensions of interpretation, and the guide's role in mediating perspectives and transferring an understanding of cultural heritage. For the interpretation of indigenous cultural heritage, the role of the guide has received little

attention. As a consequence there are no published studies comparing indigenous and non-indigenous guides.

2.4 Māori tourism experiences, the interpretation of cultural heritage and the guide

This chapter has provided an overview of the literature for the current study by focussing on Māori tourism (see 2.2), and interpretation and the role of the guide (see 2.3). Relevant to this research are previous studies on Māori tourism, indigenous tourism, interpretation and guiding, and some studies from the museum and heritage literature.

Key issues regarding Māori tourism for the supply-side are issues of ownership and participation in the tourism operation, and control over representation. Narrative and voice is an important theme which is reflected through the incorporation of Māori perspectives, recognising tribal identity and narratives in Māori tourism. There has been a focus on the supply-side of Māori tourism in the literature. Quantitative studies on the tourism demand have focussed on marketing strategies. This research reflects the demand for cultural exchange and meaningful interaction. However, only a few recent qualitative studies have actually explored the nature of the cultural exchange and the visitor experience in Māori tourism. Furthermore, there are no published studies on the role of the guide in Māori tourism experiences. Despite the importance of control over representation and recognition of the indigenous tour guide as an important part of the indigenous tourism experience, scholars have paid little attention to face-to-face interpretation in indigenous tourism. There are no published studies which examine how guides mediate multiple perspectives and transfer an understanding of indigenous cultural heritage.

The interpretation literature outlines how interpretation is used as a management tool and highlights the importance of the guide. Whilst scholars have shown interest in the cross-cultural communication and mediation function of the guide, little attention has been paid to the cultural dimensions of the interpretation process (Moscardo, 2007). These cultural dimensions are found in the indigenous cultural heritage, the background of the guide (Howard et al., 2001; Kuo, 2007) and the background of the visitors. There are no published studies on the cross-cultural dimensions in the interpretation of indigenous cultural heritage.

The research aims to address the gaps identified by gaining insights into the role of the guide in the interpretation of Māori cultural heritage for international visitors. The study examines the cultural dimensions of the interpretation of indigenous cultural heritage, and the cross-cultural dimensions of the interpretation process and the role of the guide.

The research has implications for Māori tourism and guide training. Although cultural integrity is critical in Māori tourism, little attention has been paid to how the interpretation process is managed by guides to ensure a greater awareness, understanding and appreciation of Māori cultural heritage. Furthermore, gaining insights into the guide's role in facilitating a meaningful experience for international visitors contributes to the understanding of guided Māori cultural tourism experiences. Key international tourism markets are becoming culturally and linguistically more diverse. By gaining an understanding of the cross-cultural components of the Māori tourism experience and identifying management implications, this research is valuable to tour operators and the wider tourism industry. Although gaining a demand-side perspective is beneficial, it is however beyond the scope of the current research.

2.5   Conceptual framework

The conceptual framework (figure 6) is developed from the literature review. The three areas of the framework are tourism supply, tourism demand, and interpretation. First, the supply side of Māori cultural tourism takes into account the situational factors, the organisational framework and operational factors, as well as the context and setting of the tourism experience. The demand side of Māori tourism includes visitor factors such as visitor background characteristics as well as considering motivations, attitudes, and expectations. Linking the supply and demand is the process of interpretation, and the role of the guide as an interpreter. Factors influencing the interpretation process include the guide's background characteristics, supply-side factors, and demand-side factors.

Figure 6: Conceptual Framework for guided Māori cultural tourism experiences and interpretation (author)
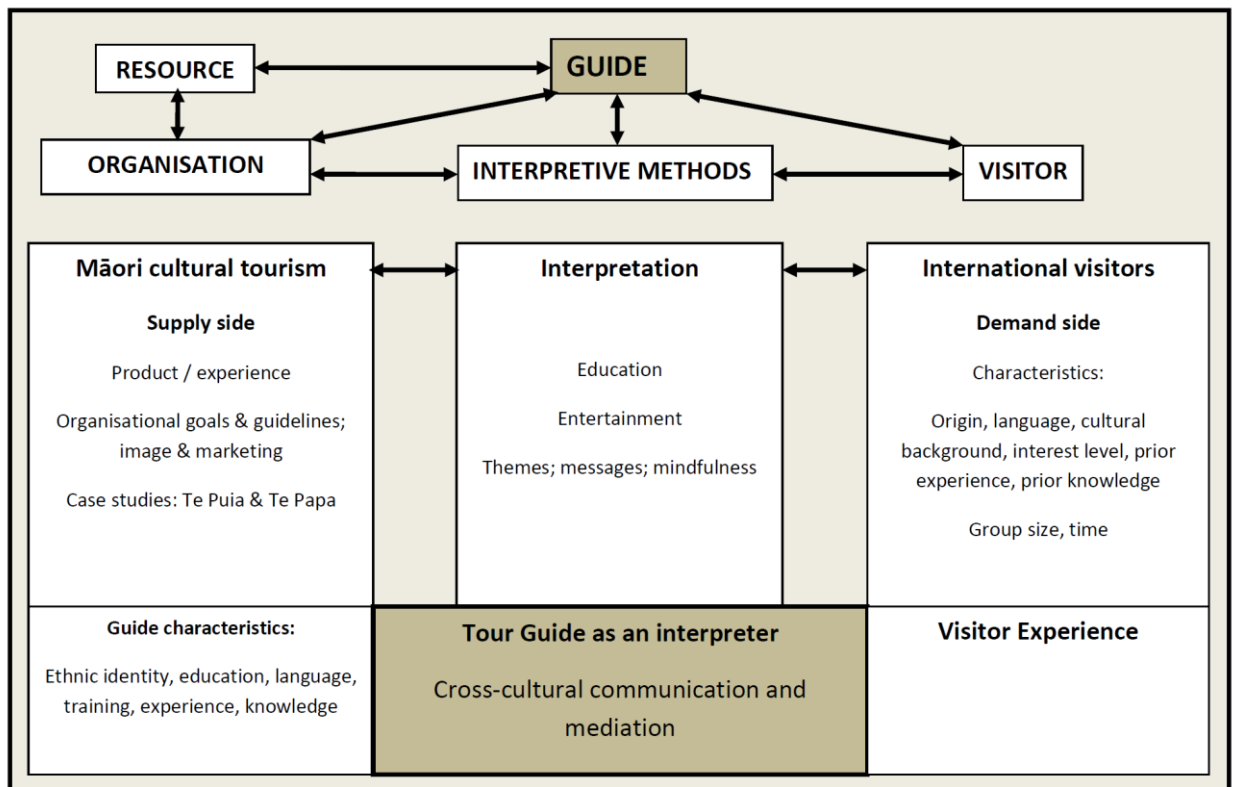
This framework is based on three key components, identified by Wang et al. (1999; in Gross & Zimmerman, 2002), required by guides for effective interpretation. These are in-depth knowledge of the resource; knowledge of the visitor and understanding the significance of the resources to the visitor; and finally knowledge of interpretive methods (see 2.3.1.1). In addition to the guide's knowledge, this conceptual framework, drawing on Yu et al.'s (2002)

framework (figure 5, see 2.3.3.2) for the intercultural communication competence, identifies the situational factors, the organisational context and setting for the Māori cultural tourism experience, and also visitor factors. The organisational framework includes the mission statement, as well as operational guidelines and training programmes. The international visitor factors include the socio-demographic profile, the cultural background and language, as well as their interest, prior experience and knowledge. Further considerations are motivations, attitudes, and expectations they bring to the Māori cultural tourism experience.

As suggested by Yu et al. (2002), the guide characteristics are identified as having an influence on the interpretation process. These characteristics therefore include the ethnic identity, education, language fluency, prior training, and prior experience of the guide. In terms of the guide's knowledge, there are three key components. These are knowledge of Māori cultural heritage, interpretive techniques, and knowledge of international visitors and the significance of the resources to the visitor, as proposed by Wang et al., (1999; cited in Gross & Zimmerman, 2002). A further consideration is the guide's connection to the resource, which for the current study is the guide's connection to Māori culture.

Interpretation, according to Yu and Weiler (2007), aims to facilitate enjoyment, understanding, and appreciation through the process of communicating significance. Interpretation includes education and entertainment (Tilden, 1977), as well as mindfulness (Moscardo, 1996). The tour guide is located at the centre of the interpretation process which links the supply-side with the demand-side. This research aims to gain insights into how guides manage the interpretation process in order to enhance the visitors' understanding and appreciation of Māori culture, as well as providing a positive visitor experience. The above-mentioned conceptual framework provides a foundation for identifying the data required and developing a series of interview questions.

3 METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH METHOD

3.1 Research problem and background

To date scholars have focussed on issues of ownership, control over representation, participation and inclusion of indigenous perspectives in Māori tourism. However, little attention has been paid to the role of the guide in Māori tourism experiences. This case study research examines two cases, Te Puia (NZMACI) and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. An outline of each organisation is found in chapter 4. The research objectives are to examine how tour guides manage visitor experiences in order to enhance the understanding and appreciation of Māori culture for international visitors, and to compare and contrast perspectives on and approaches to tour guiding and interpretation by Māori and non-Māori guides.

Taking a supply-side perspective the research explores a real life phenomenon by examining the way guides facilitate an understanding of Māori culture through interpretation. The research aims to gain insights into the dimensions of the interpretation of cultural heritage and the factors influencing the way guides manage the visitor experience and interpretation process. These include the context and setting, the guide's characteristics, the characteristics of international visitors, and the choice of interpretive techniques. The process of communication and meaning-making is complex and depends not only on the guide but also on the visitors.

Interpretation is a socially constructed process (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000; Mason, R., 2005; Moscardo, 2007). In a guided tour the guide and the visitors are participants in the interpretation process. Through this communication process the guide and visitors participate in creating knowledge and producing meaning. A qualitative approach is appropriate to examine a socially constructed phenomenon as it will allow for a deeper understanding. Qualitative data can provide context and convey meanings (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). To explore complex real-life phenomenon, a qualitative approach is taken to gain a deeper understanding of the multiple factors influencing the process and the interrelationship between them. Qualitative researchers address how social experience is created and meanings attributed (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994, 2011). Taking into consideration the multiple perspectives and different ways of seeing, understanding and attributing meaning, this research aims to gain an understanding of the guide's role in managing the interpretation process for different international visitors.

The researcher is familiar with the complexity of cross-cultural communication and meaning making, through her own experience working internationally for over twenty years. As a tour leader in Asia and Latin America, the researcher has experienced a range of approaches to tour guiding and the interpretation of cultural heritage. Furthermore, from spending time with tour groups the researcher observed how visitors may gain a different understanding from the same experience. Besides language barriers, there are differences in visitors' perspectives and how relevant or meaningful an experience may be.

The role of the researcher is blurred, being both an outsider and an insider. As a non-Māori with a limited knowledge and understanding of Māori culture, the researcher considers herself an outsider with respect to the interpretation of Māori cultural heritage. Nevertheless, regarding the role of the guide in a cross-cultural encounter, her experience working with international groups provides an insider perspective. In addition, the researcher has gained insights into international visitors and Māori cultural tourism experiences in her work as a visitor market research assistant at Te Papa.

The research problem focuses on approaches to tour guiding and interpretation for Māori cultural tourism experiences for international visitors which is a real life socially constructed phenomenon. Within a guided cultural tourism experience there may be multiple perspectives and different ways of understanding. What guides and visitors contribute and take away from a shared encounter may differ. In addition to the characteristics of a particular setting and context, the background of the guide and the characteristics of the visitors influence the process of meaning-making and sense-making. The visitors are participants in the 'co-creation' and 'co-construction' of knowledge.

A qualitative approach is taken to gain a deeper understanding into how guides manage the visitor experience, taking into consideration that those involved in the interpretation process have diverse characteristics and bring multiple perspectives. To meet the research objectives a research method which is appropriate for understanding the research problem is required. Managing the tour experience and the interpretation of Māori cultural heritage is a socially constructed phenomenon. Therefore, the social constructivist paradigm is considered appropriate to address the research problem. The researcher is also part of the meaning-making process when analysing and interpreting the data (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

The research method chapter gives an outline of the research design, the reasons for a case study approach, an overview of the data required, validity and reliability in qualitative research, ethical considerations, and research limitations. The stages of data collection are described in the following section. The final section describes the process of data analysis.

The process for coding of transcripts and data reduction is outlined. The framework for findings and case analysis is described, followed by a summary of the research challenges and strengths.

3.2   Research design

3.2.1   A social constructivist approach to research on interpretation

According to social learning theorists, meaning is created in context. People from different cultural-perceptual contexts potentially create different meanings of the same experiences, and multiple realities are mediated by multiple cultural frames (Hutchison, 2006). In terms of meaning making it is more likely that there is a similarity for people from similar contextual backgrounds than those from dissimilar cultures (Hutchison, 2006). In the context of the research problem, the indigenous Māori culture may be dissimilar to that of the international visitors. There is diversity amongst visitors and the extent to which their cultures may be similar or dissimilar. Amongst a mixed group of visitors there may be multiple cultural frames. An understanding of Māori culture will be mediated by the cultural frame of the guide and those of the visitors which may be similar or dissimilar.

In the constructivist paradigm, there are multiple constructions, some conflicting, and all may be meaningful (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Schwandt, 1994). From constructivist thinking, knowledge and truth are created, and reality, according to Schwandt (1994), is of a "pluralistic and plastic" nature (p.125). Reality can be expressed in a variety of symbol and language systems; and it is "stretched and shaped to fit purposeful acts of intentional human agents" (Schwandt, 1994, p.125). There are different world versions. For Gergen and Gergen (1991; cited in Schwandt, 1994), these versions take place within shared systems such as a spoken or written language, focussing on the collective generation of meaning influenced by language and other social processes rather than being limited to the individual mind.

Versions of the world can be inherent in language systems, influencing the way of seeing, thinking, and understanding. In addition to language, it is necessary to consider the cultural context and social processes. When English is used as a tool for communication, even when there may be a high level of comprehension it is not possible to assume that the same world version, the way of seeing and understanding is shared. However gaining insights into language systems may enhance the understanding of world versions, including that of the visitors and of Māori culture.

For Māori cultural tourism experiences, learning and understanding depends on the interaction and participation of the guide and the visitors in the construction of knowledge. Palincsar (1998) examines the construction of meaning and co-construction of knowledge through social constructivist perspectives which focus on the interdependence of social and individual processes. Learning and understanding are regarded as social. Integral to conceptual development are cultural activities, as well as symbols, artefacts, and language (Palinscar, 1998). Separating the individual from social influences is not seen as possible from a social constructivist perspective. Learning is considered to be culturally and contextually specific, occurring through processes of interaction, negotiation, and collaboration. Furthermore, social, motivational, emotional, and identity processes are considered (Palinscar, 1998). Constructivist learning theories support the cultural approach to communication (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000).

Further considerations are the contextual factors influencing the meaning making process for the visitors as well as the guide. Taking a social constructivist approach, meaning is influenced by external factors, such as politics and economics, of the context of the individual rather than the individual mind (Sigala, 2005). In constructivism, the mind of the learner is actively involved in deciding on the nature of the knowledge. According to Sigala (2005), personal meaning and understanding determine value in visitor-centred experiences.

The research problem examines not only the process of interpretation and understanding of Māori cultural heritage but also needs to consider that the process of learning and meaning making is dependent on interaction, negotiation and collaboration. The guide and the visitors are participants in the process and meanings are mediated by cultural frames which may be similar or dissimilar, giving rise to multiple realities and different meanings within the same experience.

3.2.2   Case study approach

This research takes a case study approach to gain a deeper understanding of how guides manage the tour experience and the interpretation of Māori cultural heritage and the ways in which this may vary for different international visitors. According to Yin (2009), a case study approach is favoured for research problems with how and why questions which require a description and an explanation of a real life phenomenon. Stake (1994) states that interest in cases can be intrinsic or instrumental. Furthermore, for a collective case study the cases chosen may be similar or dissimilar, and it may be unknown whether individual cases have a common characteristic (Stake, 1994). This case study research is instrumental in that the

choice of cases is expected to advance our understanding by gaining insight into approaches to tour guiding and interpretation of cultural heritage. Both cases, Te Puia and Te Papa, are of intrinsic interest due to their prominence and unique characteristics (see chapter 4). This research can contribute to the understanding of the interpretation of Māori cultural heritage and may have implications elsewhere.

At Te Puia and Te Papa, the context and setting of each case differs. Therefore, differences in approaches to the guided Māori cultural tourism experience and the interpretation process may be expected. Stake (1994) claims that from description rather than from direct comparison it is possible to learn more about each case. According to Stake, if there is too much focus on finding comparisons based on only a few aspects this may obscure other knowledge about the case. Direct comparison between cases may lessen the opportunity to learn (Stake, 1994). To gain a greater understanding of each case, it is necessary to focus on how guides manage the tour experience and the interpretation in the particular context and setting of the Māori tourism attraction. According to Stake (1994), describing the nature of the phenomenon and how it occurs in the setting and context of a particular case can be valued and trustworthy knowledge.

3.2.3 Selection criteria

3.2.3.1 Selection of cases

In the selection of the cases with guided Māori cultural tourism experiences, it was important to consider not only typical cases but also the opportunity to learn. Cases are opportunities to study the phenomena and making a good choice of case may influence the understanding the critical phenomena (Patton, 1990; Yin, 1989; cited in Stake, 1994). For a case study to be exemplary it is likely that the case or cases are unusual and of general public interest. In addition, there may be issues which are considered important in terms of theory, policy, or practical terms (Yin, 2009). According to Stake (1994) the opportunity to learn is the greatest priority. Sampling by attributes should not be the most important aspect (Stake, 1994). For purposeful sampling strategies, according to Patton (2002), the underlying principle is being able to learn about whatever is considered important.

Addressing the research objectives the key criteria is that for each case there is a guided Māori cultural tourism experience for international visitors and a training programme for tour guides. In addition, the potential to learn from the cases is important. The two cases, Te Puia and Te Papa, are exemplary in that each organisation is unique and of public interest.

Māori cultural heritage is central to the mission and core principles of each institution. Further background information on each case can be found in chapter 4.

3.2.3.2   Selection of participants: Sampling within the case

The research participants in this study are tour guides with experience in the interpretation of Māori cultural heritage for international visitors. For each case a manager responsible for recruitment and/or training of guides was interviewed. The purposeful selection of a relatively small sample of participants is appropriate for qualitative inquiry (Patton, 2002).

A total of 21 interviews were conducted, 10 at Te Puia and 11 at Te Papa. As Te Puia is a smaller organisation, it was possible to interview the majority of the core group of guides. However, it was beyond the scope of this research to interview all the guides at Te Papa. Patton (2002) recommends minimum samples which gain reasonable coverage. In order to provide an opportunity to learn the selection at Te Papa is intended to reflect some of the diversity in terms of the ethnicity and background of the guides. According to Stake (1994), if there is no strong reason for typicality, then it is possible to choose variety yet without needing to be representative.

Selection of tour guides was discussed with the contact person for each case study who had the opportunity to pre-select participants. The pre-selection by management may create a potential bias regarding the skills and experience of guides. It is not possible to know whether some guides may have been excluded or have other reasons for not participating. Participation of the guides and the manager was voluntary.

3.2.4   Arrangements for data collection

3.2.4.1   Māori cultural tourism experiences - data required

The conceptual framework (figure 6) provided a structure to identify the data required (figure 7) in order to gain insights into the approaches to tour guiding and interpretation in Māori cultural tourism experiences. Primary data was collected through interviews. Secondary documents provided background information. The interview schedule for semi-structured interviews is attached in Appendices D and E.

Figure 7: Māori cultural tourism experiences – data required (author)
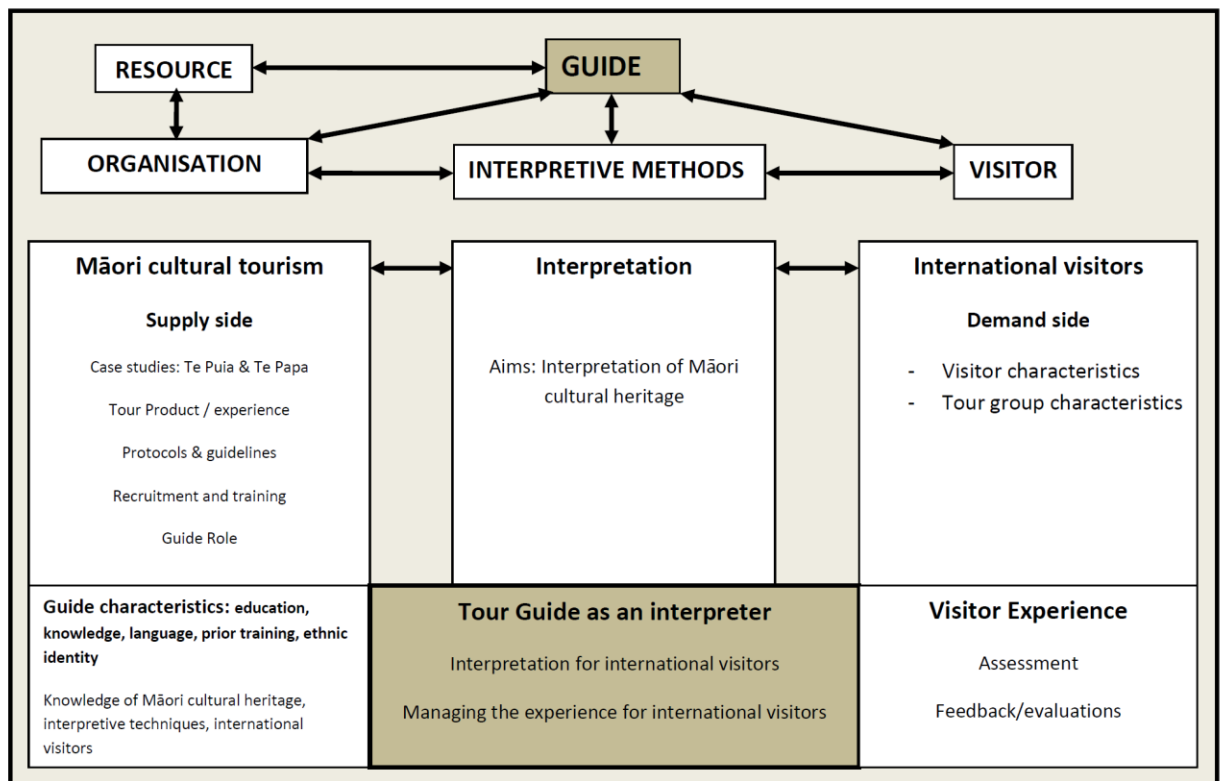
The interview schedule for managers (Appendix D) included questions about the role of the guide, the recruitment and training of guides, and about the aims and approaches to interpretation in Māori cultural tourism experiences for international visitors. The interview schedule for guides (Appendix E) included questions about the background of the guides, their knowledge of Māori cultural heritage, interpretive techniques, and international visitors. Further questions were about the role of the guide and approaches to interpretation of Māori cultural heritage for international visitors.

The interview schedule provided a structure with an outline of the topics and issues to be addressed, whilst allowing the researcher and research participants to address emerging themes during the interview. The semi-structured nature made it conversational so it is possible to build a rapport and to respond to the individual participants, as well as situational factors (Patton, 2002). Each interview took 45 to 60 minutes and is conducted at the workplace. Semi-structured interviews were considered appropriate because they enable participants to speak freely, thus generating thick description and rich data.

Secondary data such as documents on recruitment and training which were made available were used to provide context and background to the study. These documents were not

used in a structured way during the data analysis, however in the case analysis these documents provided context for the findings.

3.2.5 Validity and reliability

Qualitative research aims to understand phenomena in context-specific settings like real world settings (Golafshani, 2003). Rather than prediction and generalisation of findings sought by quantitative researchers, qualitative researchers look for understanding and transferability to similar situations (Hoefl, 1997; cited in Golafshani, 2003). According to Golafshani (2003), the terms validity and reliability need to be redefined for qualitative research in order to reflect the multiple ways of establishing the truth. According to Healy and Perry, the quality of a study should be assessed in accordance with the conditions of the paradigm (2000; cited in Golafshani, 2003).

For qualitative research from a social constructivist perspective, knowledge is considered to be socially constructed and depending on the circumstances it may change. Multiple realities contained in people's minds are valued, and there is an acceptance that reality is changing and there may be multiple or diverse constructions of reality, rather than multiple perceptions of a single reality (Hipps, 1993; cited in Golafshani, 2003).

In qualitative research reliability and validity are not viewed separately and are better understood by the terms credibility, transferability, and trustworthiness (Golafshani, 2003). Dependability can be checked by examining the consistency of the process as well as the product of the research (Hoepfl, 1997; cited in Golafshani, 2003). It is possible to check the consistency of data by examining raw data, the products of data reduction, and notes of the process (Campbell, 1996; cited in Golafshani, 2003). Trustworthiness is demonstrated through establishing confidence in the findings (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; cited in Golafshani, 2003). Having interview transcripts checked by research participants and using a thorough and systematic process for coding and data reduction increases the consistency of the data and confidence in the findings. Dependability and trustworthiness are found in both the process and the product of the research.

Credibility in qualitative research depends on the researcher's ability and effort because the "researcher is the instrument" (Patton, 2002, p.14). The process and product of the research has been made more credible as a result of the researcher's own experience and understanding the nature of the research problem, rapport with the research participants, making notes and observations during fieldwork and data analysis, and being reflective and reflexive (Alvesson & Skōldberg, 2000; Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Patton, 2002). The

researcher followed a consistent and rigorous approach with careful interpretation and reflection. Consideration was given to how the data was interpreted, the underlying theoretical assumptions, the researcher's previous understanding, and the subjectivity of the researcher herself (Alvesson & Skōldberg, 2000). The researcher was reflexive in her approach to the process of developing knowledge. The multiple factors and contexts influencing the creation of knowledge were taken into account, thus appropriate in the social constructivist paradigm.

3.2.6   Ethics

Prior to conducting any interviews, approval was obtained from Pipitea Human Ethics Committee (HEC) at Victoria University of Wellington. The two case study organisations are identified in the research as each is prominent and of unique characteristics. There may be intrinsic interest in each case. Furthermore, identifying the organisations may provide opportunities for learning. Previous research and information from other sources may be consulted by the researcher and the reader and be reappraised in the light of the new case study (Yin, 2009).

Before each interview an information sheet (Appendix A) was provided, the implications of participating in the research explained, and a consent form for the guides (Appendix B) and the organisation (Appendix C) was signed by participants or relevant manager. Audio-recording of interviews was subject to consent.

Although it was the intention that the identity of individual participants remain confidential and findings are reported in an aggregated manner, due to the nature of the case study organisations and the existing work relationships between some of the participants, the possibility that participants may be able to identify each other could not be excluded. For this reason, the research participants were given the opportunity to check interview transcripts and discuss them in person. The participants were able to make amendments, exclude any sensitive information, and decide whether quotes from the interview transcripts could be associated with personal details. Regarding the attribution of quotes, the participants were able to choose a pseudonym or use their own names. The form for verifying the transcript is included in Appendix F.

3.2.7   Limitations

The following limitations are identified in the present study. The research examines the tourism supply-side perspective and is limited to the perceptions of guides and managers.

Examining the demand side to gain insights into the perceptions of visitors is beyond the scope of the current research.

For this case study research it is possible that even by presenting the findings in an aggregated manner to ensure confidentiality, the identity of the participants may become apparent to others in the organisation due to the nature of working relationships in each case. As a result the participants may have restricted the way they express themselves due to issues of confidentiality. Furthermore, the researcher was unable to have full access to documentation which may be considered confidential and sensitive.

The researcher is non-Māori and her understanding of Māori cultural tourism experiences is limited to participating as a visitor. The researcher does not claim to have in-depth knowledge of the interpretation of Māori cultural heritage. However, the researcher's experience and understanding of the cross-cultural dimensions of the process of interpretation provides a valuable contribution to this research and credibility in interpreting the data.

3.3 Data collection

3.3.1 Fieldwork – primary data collection

3.3.1.1 Preparation

The institutions were contacted in the early stages of research design, prior to applying for HEC approval. After official acceptance by each institution to participate in the research, a contact person was appointed to facilitate the research process. In each case study the organisation was responsible for inviting guides to participate. On obtaining HEC approval from the Pipitea Human Ethics Committee, interviews were scheduled during June and July 2011. The interview questions had been sent to the contact person for comment prior to commencing the interviews.

3.3.1.2 Interviews

21 face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted in June and July 2011 at Te Puia and at Te Papa (see chapter 4). There were 14 Māori participants, including a manager from each organisation, and 7 non-Māori guides. A summary of the characteristics of the research participants is provided in Appendix G. The interview with each manager took place in the initial stages. Each interview was digitally recorded and the duration was

45 to 60 minutes in most cases. The semi-structured nature of the interviews allowed the researcher to identify some key points and refer back to them at a later stage to gain a more in-depth explanation. The participants had the opportunity to respond in a natural and spontaneous manner. In some cases permission was given to audio-record additional comments after the interview.

During the interviews it was necessary to consider the choice of words and avoid technical terms and unfamiliar language (Fontana & Frey, 1994). For example, the use of the word 'interpretation' and 'interpreter' could at times be confused with 'language interpretation' and 'data interpretation'. Furthermore, for some participants 'interpret culture' lead to different and potentially conflicting meanings. The researcher used alternative words or expressions such as 'sharing Māori cultural heritage with visitors', 'explaining' or 'giving an understanding'.

Te Puia

The researcher arranged an informal trip to Te Puia to become familiar with the research context prior to conducting interviews. On the second trip the researcher was formally introduced to the participants and conducted a total of 10 face-to-face interviews with 1 manager and 9 tour guides over a period of 6 days. Arrangements for the interviews were coordinated by the relevant manager on the day. Staying on site for a period of 6 days allowed time to join guided tours and build a rapport with the guides. Interviews took place in a closed room to ensure privacy.

Te Papa

The contact person assisted in the selection of research participants. The researcher then contacted the participants directly and made arrangements for interviews by email, by phone, or in person. Interviews were conducted on site at Te Papa over a 4-week period with the majority of the interviews taking place within a period of 10 days. All of the 11 participants interviewed, including the manager, have worked as tour guides. Interviews took place in the library where at times there was less privacy.

3.3.1.3   Follow up – checking transcripts

After transcribing the interviews, the researcher sent participants a full transcription of the interview and followed up by meeting participants in person. On a three-day visit to Te Puia in September the transcripts were discussed with all but one participant who was unavailable. At Te Papa more time was needed to arrange to meet with each of the

participants. Throughout the follow-up process participants shared their reflections and thoughts on the research. During this stage the researcher also made notes and recorded these and her own reflections about the process. For confidentiality participants were given the opportunity to choose a pseudonym. Several participants chose to use their own names.

3.3.2 Secondary data

Documentation was accessed online and in some cases provided by the organisations. Extensive documentation such as tour training notes, job descriptions, and visitor data were available for Te Papa. There was not the same level of documentation for Te Puia.

3.4 Data analysis

3.4.1 Raw data and coding of transcripts

The process for data analysis is outlined in Figure 8. An inductive approach to data analysis was followed. This allowed the researcher to identify frequent, dominant, or significant themes emerging from the raw data (Thomas, 2006). Data analysis began with open coding of interview transcripts, then clustering of themes to define categories. Systematic coding of all the interview transcripts followed. Data reduction was guided by the research objectives and a framework (figure 9) for presenting the key findings was developed as the result of inductive analysis (Thomas, 2006). NVivo was used to re-code transcripts and manage data within categories. Finally, the case analysis was conducted, supported by secondary documents.

Figure 8: Data analysis – inductive approach (author)

Open coding	Initial coding (first cut coding) of raw data. Manual coding of interview transcripts. Write descriptive notes in margins of interview transcripts
Clustering of themes	Copy descriptive notes on separate pieces of paper and cluster to identify emerging themes and define categories
Defining categories	Coding categories are defined in such a way so that there is no overlap
Systematic coding	Re-code transcripts systematically with newly defined coding categories. Refine coding categories as necessary. Identify patterns in the data.
Development of framework for categories from data analysis	A framework was developed as a result of inductive data analysis. This framework is used to present the findings. Categories are arranged to address the two main research objectives. Chronological arrangement of categories represents the process. The categories emerged from the analysis of primary data and from the conceptual framework.
Coding using NVivo	Use NVivo software to re-code all transcripts (amended version after checking of transcripts). For each coded category and sub-category, notes were written in margins to identify themes and patterns.
Identifying and presenting findings	Findings for each research objective are presented within a framework. Themes within categories and sub-categories are presented for each research objective.
Case analysis and findings	Data analysis of primary data, supported by documents for background and context.

The interviews were fully transcribed. An inductive approach to data analysis began with open coding of raw data. The coding process involved several readings of the transcripts to develop a coding scheme (Patton, 2002; Thomas, 2006). During this stage interview transcripts were coded manually by writing descriptive notes in the margins. These notes were later copied onto separate pieces of paper and clustered in order to identify emerging themes and define categories. During coding and clustering there appeared to be inter-dependence between the categories. After the clustering of themes, coding categories were defined in such a way to avoid overlap, and systematic coding of transcripts followed. Coloured post-it notes were used to re-code the transcripts manually with the new coding categories which were refined as necessary during the process. Patterns in the data were also identified. Having developed categories and coded all transcripts accordingly, the researcher was able to identify links between a new and emergent pattern and all patterns observed previously (Patton, 2002; Thomas 2006). The key categories from the raw data were then developed into a framework for presenting the findings (Thomas, 2006). Data and categories addressing the two research objectives are arranged chronologically to show the process of managing the tour experience and also the background of the guide and learning as an on-going process. Within this framework it is possible to identify the categories which arise from the conceptual framework and are based on the literature, as well as those categories which are the result of inductive analysis and data reduction.

The interview transcripts, with amendments made by participants, were uploaded to NVivo. These were coded electronically applying the coding categories and sub-categories previously defined during data analysis. NVivo software was used primarily as a tool to manage large amounts of text. Coded sections of transcripts were viewed within single categories and where necessary categories and sub-categories for coding were added and modified during the process (Thomas, 2006).

With coding in NVivo complete, it was possible to focus on each category and sub-category separately by printing quotes from all the interviews related to a particular category. Further manual coding within each category followed with notes written in the margins in order to identify sub-themes. Some of these sub-themes had been previously identified in the initial coding of raw data and others emerged in the coding and data reduction process.

In order to identify the key findings, categories were examined separately then all together with the research objectives. For the first objective this was done by examining how the components of managing the tour experience fitted together. For each category the main themes were written on an A3 sheet and related ideas clustered to identify themes, patterns, and relationships. Diagrams and pictures to represent aspects of the process were

drawn (Thomas, 2006). The same process was followed for the second research objective for themes identified in the guide characteristics and learning. The preliminary findings were then presented with suitable quotes.

3.4.2 Framework for managing interpretation in Māori cultural tourism experiences

The framework for managing interpretation in Māori cultural tourism experiences (figure 9) was developed from the process of inductive data analysis. The two research objectives for this study on tour guiding and interpretation in Māori cultural tourism experiences are addressed through the framework. 'Managing the tour experience' addresses the first objective examining how experiences for international visitors are managed in order to enhance understanding and appreciation of Māori culture. The second objective, comparing and contrasting perspectives on and approaches to guiding and interpretation by Māori and non-Māori guides, is addressed in the sections 'Guide' and 'Learning'. The categories are arranged as a process and are the result of data analysis. Some of these categories emerged from the primary data as a result of inductive data analysis, whereas others relate directly to the interview questions derived from the conceptual framework which is based on the literature.

Figure 9: Framework of managing interpretation in Māori cultural tourism experiences (author)
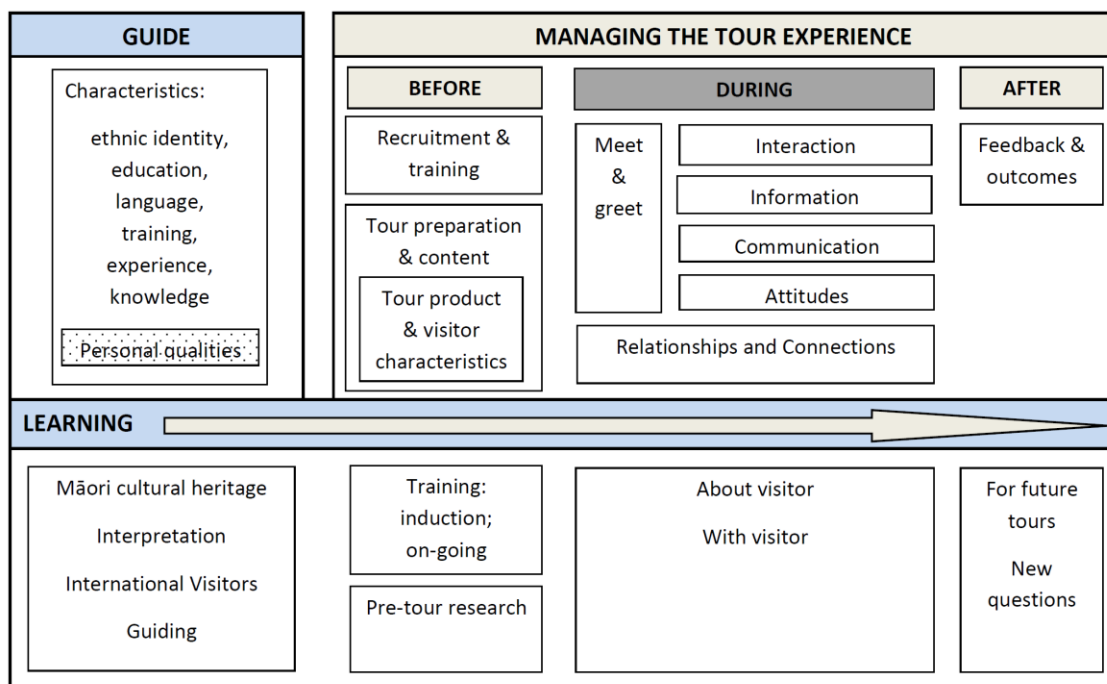
'Managing the tour experience' is a process divided into three chronological stages: before, during, and after the tour. The 'before' stage is related to the context and setting for each case. Organisational factors regarding recruitment and training of guides are presented. Tour preparation and content considers the tour product and the visitor characteristics. The categories in the 'during' stage are the result of inductive data analysis. The meet and greet is the starting point for welcoming and finding out about the visitors. This is inter-linked with the categories for managing interaction, information, communication, and attitudes. Throughout the tour and the interpretation process there is management of relationships and connections. The 'after' stage includes processes for tour feedback and evaluation, as well as the guide's own reflections.

The main components of 'Guide' and 'Learning', which stem from the literature, are the guide characteristics and learning. In the literature the guide's ethnic identity, education, language fluency, prior training, and prior experience are characteristics from the intercultural competence framework (Yu et al., 2002) (see figure 5). Another sub-category emerging from the interviews, which is also found in the literature, is the guide's personal qualities. Learning is the other component which relates to the guide's knowledge, as mentioned in the literature and the conceptual framework. For effective interpretation the guide must have knowledge of the resource, knowledge of interpretive methods, and knowledge of the visitors and the significance of the resource to the visitors (Wang et al., 1999; cited in Gross and Zimmerman, 2002). Learning about guiding has also been added as a separate sub-category and is related to the guide's background. Knowledge is conceptualised as diverse learning processes which may lead to different types of knowledge.

The findings for each case are presented separately to gain further insights into how the context and setting of each case may influence approaches to guiding and interpretation. In addition the guide characteristics are examined to gain a further understanding of the perspectives on and approaches to guiding and interpretation within each case.

3.4.3 Case analysis and secondary data

Throughout the data analysis process there was criss-crossing between the analysis of the phenomenon as a process, and each case analysis. NVivo allowed data for each case to be viewed separately and examined within a particular category or sub-category. For case analysis 10-11 interviews were aggregated at this level of reporting, making it easier to see similarities and differences in the findings.

Case study evidence included primary data from interviews and supporting secondary documents for each organisation which provided context.

3.4.4   Research challenges and strengths

One of the challenges of this research was the need to decide the cut-off point for data collection. Although minimum samples were exceeded, only a small number of guides with foreign language abilities, and guides born outside New Zealand were interviewed. This is a consideration for future research.

Furthermore, defining coding categories from the inductive analysis of raw data was a challenge due to the inter-dependence between categories in the 'during' stage of managing the tour experience.

One of the strengths of the present study is the choice of cases which provided an opportunity for learning. By examining two cases with different contexts and settings for guided Māori tourism experiences, it is possible to consider the importance of the factors which influence interpretation within the parameters of each case. The approaches to guiding and interpretation can be examined in relation to the guide's background and learning, recruitment and training, and the context and setting for the visitor experience.

The choice of an appropriate methodology and research method is a further strength. Choosing a social constructivist paradigm is appropriate for the research problem. Furthermore, conducting face-to-face interviews is important for building rapport with participants and gaining trust. Providing participants with the opportunity to check transcripts is important for ethical reasons and also increases the trustworthiness of data.

Being reflective and reflexive was an integral part of the researcher's approach (Alvesson & Skōldberg, 2006; Patton, 2002). The process of recording her own thoughts immediately after each interview by writing in the research journal or making an audio-recording allowed her to become familiar with preliminary findings and capture unexpected responses. Making notes during data analysis was a valuable way of recording the process. Throughout the data analysis process, the researcher was continually interpreting and trying to make sense of the data; looking at the overall process of managing the tour experience, and also within the parameters of each case study. In this manner the research involved careful interpretation and reflection. From a constructivist perspective, multiple interpretations are acknowledged and the researcher's own subjectivity is recognised (Alvesson & Skōldberg, 2006).

4 CASE STUDIES AND CONTEXT

4.1 *Māori cultural tourism*

The early history of guiding and Māori tourism developed around the attraction of the Pink and White terraces prior to the Tarawera eruption in 1886, and the geothermal area of the Whakarewarewa valley where guiding continues today (McClure, 2004; Tahana et al., 2000). In 2008 three quarters (76%) of Māori cultural tourists were international visitors (Ministry of Tourism, 2009a). Overall, 16% of all international tourists participated in Māori cultural activities (Ministry of Tourism, 2009a) and 27% visited a museum (Ministry of Tourism, 2009b). Museums, in their role as guardians of Māori cultural heritage, are also an important setting for guided Māori cultural tourism experiences.

The early guides found that whilst guiding visitors around the geothermal valley, much of the conversation was about the lifestyle of Māori. Guide Rangi, one of the most well-known guides, emphasised the importance of the role: "A guide could well become an ambassador, serving by example to show visitors the true worth of our race" (Dennan & Annabell, 1968, p. 74). Growing up in the village of Whakarewarewa, guiding was part of the lifestyle. Guide Rangi recalled how she started: "In December 1921 Guide Susan asked me to help with a tourist party. I followed her round the Whakarewarewa circuit, listening to her stories and noting the places of interest. Before long Susan handed me over a bunch of tourists and I was in business" (Dennan & Annabell, 1968, p. 73). "I already knew my Whakarewarewa. I had played round practically every pool and steam vent as a child and knew every nook and cranny of the place" (Dennan & Annabell, 1968, p. 74).

In 1910 the Department of Tourist and Health Resorts got involved in the licensing of guides (Tahana et al., 2000). Guides had to be 18, speak good English, pay a licensing fee, and produce character references (Dennan & Annabell, 1968). Traditionally guide training was through mentoring.

In the context of museums, the 1980s was an important period of change in New Zealand with the Te Māori exhibition playing an important role in the shift from monocultural museums to bicultural institutions (McCarthy, 2011). With recent practices based on indigenous perspectives, McCarthy notes that "curators have become facilitators who work in collaboration with iwi [tribal groups]" (2011, p. 245). Current changes in museum practice explore how Māori can manage their own heritage inside or outside the walls of museums (McCarthy, 2011).

Currently in New Zealand it is possible to practice guiding or work in a museum without holding formal qualifications. Guide training programmes are integrated into workplaces. This allows guides the opportunity to obtain national certificates in attraction guiding through the Aviation Tourism and Travel Training Organisation (ATTTO) training programmes. In museums, although there is a national framework, most training is museum-based and informal (McCarthy, 2011). According to McCarthy (2011), for national certificates in museum practice, the training is aimed at teaching non-Māori about Māori culture rather than empowering Māori museum staff.

4.2   Selection of Te Puia and Te Papa

Two cases, Te Puia (NZMACI) in Rotorua and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa in Wellington were selected for the research. Both offer guided Māori cultural tourism experiences for international visitors and have formal recruitment and training programmes for tour guides and therefore meet the case selection criteria (see chapter 3). Each institution is prominent and has unique characteristics. Although the setting and context may lead to differences in the guided Māori cultural tourism experience, each case provides an opportunity to learn.

4.3   Te Puia (NZMACI)

New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute Act of 1963

Te Puia (NZMACI) was established by the New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute Act of 1963. By the 1960s Māori carving traditions were in danger of being lost forever. This lead to the New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute (NZMACI) being founded in 1967, in the Whakarewarewa geothermal valley. With re-branding in 2005 the current name of Te Puia is an umbrella term which includes the geothermal area, the Māori cultural experience, and the Māori Arts and Crafts School.

Function

As outlined in the New Zealand Māori Arts and Crafts Institute Act 1963, Te Puia has the role and function to encourage, foster, and promote all types of Māori culture and the practice and appreciation of Māori arts and crafts; and to arrange and conduct exhibitions of Māori arts and crafts and of tours of performers demonstrating Māori arts and aspects of Māori culture. The purpose is to build and invest in Māori cultural capital (NZMACI, 2010).

Image 1: Te Puia: the visitor experience at the geothermal area (author)

Te Puia Mission and Principles

The mission of Te Puia is to be the centre of knowledge and excellence for the preservation, presentation, education and growth of traditional expressions of Māori arts, crafts and culture. The principles of the organisation are: custodians of treasured heritage; guardians of our resources; exceptional hospitality; preservation and sharing of our history and knowledge. These principles were set by Māori elders in 1963 at the establishment of NZMACI (Te Puia, 2011a). Te Puia is described as a living cultural institution whose art forms and culture are a connection to the past and pathway into the future (Te Puia, 2011c).

Known as an iconic Māori tourism attraction, the organisation is self-sustaining with tourism generating income to support the Māori Arts and Crafts School (NZMACI, 2010). Guiding at Te Puia is a core activity. All visitors can join hourly tours in English which are included in the entry fee. Tours include the geothermal area and the carving and weaving schools, as well as exhibition spaces and the kiwi house. Pre-booked tours for tour groups can be tailored to suit the visitor requirements (Te Puia, 2011b). There are also opportunities for visitors to attend a cultural performance or participate in interactive workshops with hands on activities.

Te Puia and guiding legacy

Many of the guides at Te Puia can claim links to the original Te Arawa guides and the people who settled in the geothermal area. "At Te Puia, guiding is as natural as our humour. It is in our bones" (Te Puia, 2011d). During tours guides share stories that have been passed down through generations as well as some of their own. In addition to a core group of about 10 guides, seasonal and casual guides are also employed. Guiding positions are open to all New Zealand Māori. The organisation has a recruitment and selection process, and training is through an induction programme and mentoring.

Ryan and Higgins (2006) examined the cultural tourism experience of visitors at Te Puia (see 2.2.4.2). The authors noted that Te Puia is probably best known for the geothermal area and the geysers. Tourism capacity at Te Puia is used to strengthen cultural traditions. Taurima and Cash (2005) pointed out that this relationship recognizes the value of Māori cultural heritage, is a source of pride, and also reinforces the sense of a "living culture".

4.4   Te Papa

Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act 1992

The museum was officially opened in 1998 and is a result of merging the national museum and the national art gallery. Te Papa was established in 1992 under the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa Act and is an autonomous Crown entity for the purposes of the Crown Entities Act 2004 (Te Papa, 2011c).

Function

Te Papa's purpose is defined in the Act: "as a forum for the nation to present, explore, and preserve the heritage of its cultures and knowledge of the natural environment in order to better understand and treasure the past, enrich the present and meet the challenges of the future" (Te Papa, 2011c).

Image 2: Te Papa – the visitor experience at Te Marae (author)

Te Papa Mission and Principles

In performing the functions defined by the Act, Te Papa must "endeavour to ensure both that the Museum expresses and recognises the mana and significance of Māori, European and other major traditions and cultural heritages and that the Museum provides the means for every such culture to contribute effectively to the Museum as a statement of New Zealand's identity" (Te Papa, 2011c, p. 9).

According to Te Papa's bicultural policy: "[Te Papa] acknowledges the unique position of Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand and the need to secure their participation in the governance, management, and operation of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa" (Te Papa, 2010).

Leadership at Te Papa is shared between the kaihautū (Māori leader) and the CEO, and there is increased Māori participation as curators and in processes of consultation (McCarthy, 2011). The incorporation of an indigenous approach through knowledge and understanding founded on Māori custom, culture, and protocol acknowledges intangible heritage (Mahina, 2004).

By definition the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa can be considered a Māori tourism attraction. Even though it is not solely controlled by Māori, there is a Māori cultural theme (Hinch et al., 1999). About 50% of the total operating revenue is crown revenue (Te Papa, 2011b). Te Papa has been successful in attracting over a million visitors annually (Te

Papa, 2011b), of which around 500,000 are international visitors (Visitor Market Research-Te Papa, personal communication, Dec 19, 2011). Entry to the museum is free and visitors have the option of paying for a guided tour. Introductory museum tours in English are offered daily and can be booked on arrival. There are also Māori experience tours with a Māori tour host which can be booked in advance. Pre-booked tours can be tailored for specific requirements and are offered in a number of languages (Te Papa, 2011a).

Te Papa Hosts and Tour Hosts

The initial recruitment and training programme is for Te Papa hosts (Te Papa, 2007). In order to be accredited as a guide (Te Papa tour host), there is a specific tour training programme which includes eight hours of training a week over a period of twenty weeks. The training includes classroom work and practical exercises. Attaining ATTTO and/or NZQA qualifications through this training is one of the performance measures for guides (Te Papa, 2007).There are around 40 accredited guides who are all trained to share Māori content on general museum tours. The guides are culturally diverse and in addition to English, they have some knowledge of Te Reo (Māori language) and a number of guides also speak other languages. Only Māori guides are trained to conduct the Māori Experience tours.

Academic studies particularly relevant to the current research include Schorch's (2010) longitudinal study of international visitors on guided tours at Te Papa with Māori tour guides (see 2.2.4.2) and the findings of Hinch et al.'s (1999) study of Māori tourism attractions (see 2.2.2).

5   ANALYSIS - FINDINGS

5.1   *Introduction*

The findings from the data analysis are presented in this chapter through the framework for managing interpretation in guided Māori cultural tourism experiences (figure 9), first introduced in chapter 3. The framework is divided into the sections (figures 10 and 11) which address each research objective. The first research objective is addressed in 'Managing the Tour Experience' (see figure 10 in 5.2). These findings show how guides manage the tour experience to enhance appreciation and understanding of Māori culture. The second research objective, the perspectives on and approaches to tour guiding and interpretation by Māori and non-Māori guides, is addressed in 'Guide' and 'Learning' (see figure 11 in 5.3).

Addressing the first research objective, 'Managing the Tour Experience' (figure 10) presents the findings in three chronological stages of tour management: Before, During and After the tour (see 5.2). The Before stage examines the organisation's approach to recruitment and training, and tour preparation. Following this, the During stage is when the guide is on tour managing the experience with the visitors, starting with the initial Meet and Greet. The other categories of managing the interpretation process are managing Interaction, Information, Communication, Attitudes, and managing Relationships and Connections. The After stage presents findings on Feedback and Outcomes. The findings are derived from the data analysis of both cases. Findings are cross-referenced between categories to show the inter-relationship, as discussed in the method chapter (see chapter 3). Differences between the findings for each case are identified in the summary of this chapter (see 5.4).

The second research objective, to compare perspectives on and approaches to tour guiding and interpretation by Māori and non-Māori guides, is addressed in 5.3. These findings examine guide characteristics and learning (see figure 11). From the conceptual framework, the guide characteristics include the ethnic identity, education, language, training, experience and knowledge. The guide's background characteristics are influenced by the guide's upbringing and socio-cultural context. From the data analysis the guide's personal qualities, as documented in the literature (e.g. Ap & Wong, 2001), emerged as a theme within the guide characteristics. Both managers highlighted the importance of such qualities when discussing recruitment (see 5.2.1). However, as no particular questions were asked in the interviews (see Appendix D & E) and it was not discussed with the guides, there are no specific findings on personal qualities from this research.

The learning section presents findings on learning about Māori cultural heritage, interpretation techniques, international visitors, and learning about guiding. These findings are presented chronologically in three 'life stages'. These are Early stages of life, Later in life, and the Current position. Within these life stages there are different learning processes which relate to the guide's upbringing and background, the guide's professional background and life experience, as well as training and experience related to the current position. The findings illustrate the influence of the guide's background on learning, and how training programmes, mentoring, and workplace experience also contribute to learning. The concluding section provides an overview of the key differences between the two case study sites.

Consequently, the findings presented from this research are limited to that which responds to the research objectives. This research does not address the age group of the visitors, mobility, and the physical management of the group, although these are important considerations mentioned in the interviews. The interpretation literature reiterates that fundamentally different approaches are needed for different age groups (Tilden, 1977; Beck and Cable, 2002). Age group may also influence the visitors' viewpoints. Furthermore, matters which are not specific to international visitors, such as managing group dynamics and the presence of a dominant personality, are excluded. The findings focus on the approaches and decision-making processes of guides rather than specific details of the Māori cultural tour content.

Quotes in the findings section are attributed to individual research participants who were able to choose a pseudonym or use their own names. The symbol * is placed after the name of those participants who identified themselves as Māori. The name of the organisation, either Te Puia or Te Papa, is identified for each participant. The two managers, who chose to use their own names, are identified as Taparoto*-TePuiaM and Jay*-Te PapaM.

5.2 Managing the experience

Figure 10: Section of figure 9 – Research objective 1 (author)
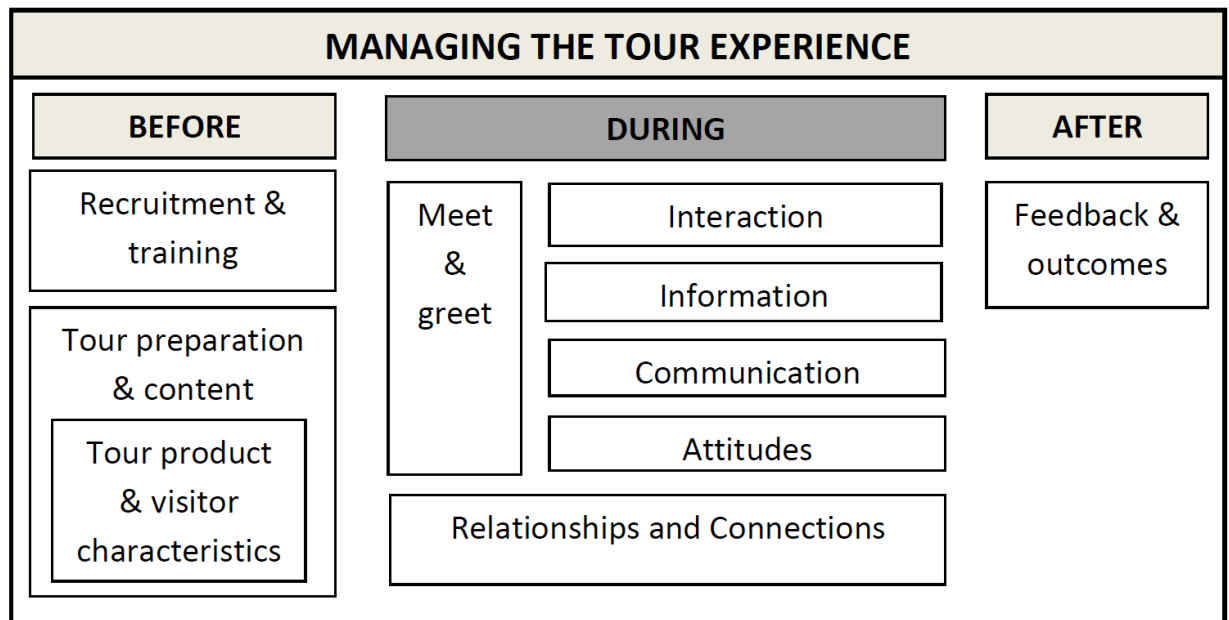
5.2.1 Before the tour – Recruitment and training, and tour preparation

There are multiple functions within a guide's role on a guided tour. These findings focus on the key functions regarding the interpretation of Māori cultural heritage. The role of guides at Te Puia includes looking after visitors, making them feel welcome and part of the family, and showing them the geothermal area and sharing knowledge about Māori culture.

Many of the participants placed importance on the way in which Māori culture is shared.

> *"To be the best and most honest representation of Māori, anything Māori." (Shane*-TePuia)*

Guides at Te Papa are expected to promote a bicultural focus on general tours (see chapter 4). The bicultural context of New Zealand is reflected in the following quote regarding the aims of interpretation when sharing Māori cultural heritage:

> *"To give people an understanding of what Māori culture is, and what are the important aspects of Māori culture to Māori and to non-Māori here in New Zealand." (Jay*-TePapaM)*

Māori-themed tours with Māori guides are also available at Te Papa. These tours focus on Māori cultural tour content, and the experiences and perspectives of Māori.

> *"At the request of one of the leading tour companies in Germany who said we want Māori tour hosts (...) we want to have a chance to talk with them about the impact of New Zealand society on them as modern Māori." (James-TePapa)*

For these particular tours visitors have the opportunity to interact with a Māori guide who is able to share Māori perspectives. As an extension of the principal tour content, the guide's own stories are an integral part of the tour experience.

5.2.1.1   Recruitment and training

At Te Puia, traditionally guides have been part of the guiding legacy and have learnt through growing up in the geothermal valley, observing and being mentored by older guides. However, today there are challenges in finding people with the type of knowledge and connections held by previous generations.

> *"And the next generation we found didn't have that, that apparent connectiveness that didn't need training and didn't need to be taught, didn't need to be learnt, that we enjoyed of the generation before." (Taparoto*-TePuiaM)*

Changes over time have influenced the current generation. This presents recruitment challenges for the organisation and guides need to undergo formal training as well as reading and doing research. There may be gaps in knowledge and understanding of aspects of Māori culture which used to be part of everyday life.

> *"The confidence in young people to be able to articulate something they possibly know very little about now. (...) We have to (...) teach people these values which were once upon a time everyday normal life." (Taparoto*-TePuiaM)*

Guides need to be open to taking on new knowledge and show a responsibility towards this knowledge. It is necessary to have an understanding of the importance of the information and whose perspective is being shared.

> *"We don't want robots but we do want you to appreciate that where you are is of special significance to both you and I and the people whose history we're dealing with." (Taparoto*-TePuiaM)*

When recruiting, the managers from both organisations placed an emphasis on the personal qualities of guides and interpersonal skills, and the importance of individual styles. Although desirable, managers claimed that certain skills and knowledge can be developed

and built on through training and mentoring. This is indicated by the manager interviewed at Te Papa.

> *"We're not necessarily looking for experts in art or history, or Mātauranga Māori.[Māori knowledge] (...) We're looking for people that have got real people skills. (...) then we mould them into what we need." (Jay*-TePapaM)*

Furthermore, the job description (Te Papa, 2007) places importance on interpersonal skills, customer service experience and good communication skills. There is an understanding that knowledge of the tour content can be built on through the extensive training programme (see chapter 4). There have been some changes in the tour training and the approach to interpretation, moving away from a scripted tour to a more visitor-centred approach (James-TePapa., personal communication, 7 July 2011). Training now includes learning styles, interpretive techniques, different audiences, and theory on themes and messages (Jay*-TePapaM., personal communication, 30 June 2011).

5.2.1.2   Tour preparation

For pre-booked tours guides may receive details about the group and special requirements in advance and have the opportunity to do research and preparation. At Te Papa instructions from tour operators to exclude Māori content is one of the challenges identified by a number of guides and the manager.

> *"It's equally challenging when they have instructions not to focus on tikanga [customary rules or habits] or Māori art, and yet they may have a few people within the actual tour party that are very interested." (Jay*-TePapaM)*

The importance of meeting the visitors' needs when providing information (see 5.2.2.3) was also emphasised by the manager.

> *"It would be unfortunate and really disappointing for a host to continue on the theme that they've already prepared, particularly if it has no relevance to what their party wants. (...) that's a really selfish thing to do." (Jay*-TePapaM)*

A visitor-centred approach is adopted at both organisations. In addition to checking the visitors' requirements, some guides mentioned the need to clarify the nature of the tour content for visitors.

5.2.2   During the tour - managing interpretation and the visitor experience

In the During stage the guide is with the visitors. This section starts with the initial Meet and Greet, followed by managing Interaction, Information, Communication, Attitudes, Relationships, and Connections. The findings for each category are presented in this section. As all of the categories are inter-dependent, the inter-relationships are discussed in chapter 6.

5.2.2.1   Meet and greet

Welcoming visitors is not only part of hospitality but also important for finding out about visitors, building rapport, and checking requirements for the visitor experience. In addition to greeting visitors in Te Reo (Māori language), many guides try to greet visitors in their own language as a way of welcoming and acknowledging them.

> *"I can also say hello to them in their language to make them feel at home." (Ryl*-TePuia)*

By finding out about visitors, guides can build a rapport and also make decisions about how to manage the tour in an appropriate way for a particular group of visitors. In the words of one of the guides:

> *"You gotta actually relate with your people at your meeting and greeting to try and understand what information was the right information to give them. I mean, do you go deep into your culture, or do you just skim over the parts that they could understand or they're more comfortable with." (Hapeta*-TePuia)*

Many guides mentioned that for groups of mixed characteristics it may be difficult to provide the right type of information and experience to satisfy everyone. As a result guides may decide to do quite a general tour if it is difficult to satisfy the diverse and sometimes conflicting needs of the visitors.

> *"They all come in with some wanting to know more information, some they just want to come along and take pictures, some they just want to be lead for a little while and then go off and do their own thing." (Haupiri*-TePuia)*

In order to select appropriate information it is important to find out about visitors and their interests. Furthermore, so that the tour content is relevant, it is important to find out about visitors' prior knowledge and experience of Māori culture.

> *"Because the last thing you wanna do is pay for your third tour and get the same thing again." (Hamana*-TePapa)*

The tour may need to be restructured to meet the needs of the visitors. Guides generally ask questions to find out about where visitors are from and where they have been in New Zealand. In this way guides can choose appropriate content, building on the visitors' existing knowledge and experience, and make connections.

> *"I do try to ask questions along the way as much as possible (...) I'll often ask that because often they have been on a Māori experience tour - so then I can compare what we've got here with what they've seen before." (LucyM-TePapa)*

Where there are specific instructions from tour operators not to include Māori content (see 5.2.1.2), some guides will check the requirements directly with visitors.

> *"I say (...) that the way we tell our stories here is specific to this place and this institution and (...) there will be fresh material available. (...)I often find that those very groups (...) that we've been told don't need any more things Māori are actually interested in the content that I'm delivering." (Norrie-TePapa)*

In addition to checking the visitors' requirements, with smaller groups it may also be possible to find out visitors' attitudes and viewpoints in order to ascertain the best way to present information.

> *"You can find out what they're specifically wanting, you can even get an idea of what their viewpoints may be, where their prejudices may lie (...), so you can store that up and think right, I'm going to do this interpretation in this way so I'm going to bring out these things." (James-TePapa)*

In summary, the Meet and Greet stage is important not only for welcoming visitors and developing a relationship, but also for finding out about them in order to facilitate connections. At this stage guides also make decisions about what information is appropriate, the style of communication and the type of interaction. Furthermore, they may bear in mind the different attitudes and viewpoints expressed by the visitors. In particular for the hourly tours or introductory tours which are not pre-booked, the characteristics of the group may be mixed in terms of nationality, cultural background, language, and also age group. Guides may make decisions to either do a very general tour or make adjustments according to the visitors' characteristics.

5.2.2.2   Interaction

Interaction between the guide and the visitors may vary with a one-way or two-way flow. The type of interaction may depend on the expectations and perceptions regarding the role of the guide. Some visitors may expect to listen to the guide and receive information,

whereas others may be keen on active involvement by asking questions and contributing information. In addition to the characteristics of the visitors, the group size, time available, and the tour content may influence the interaction. The approach to guiding and the guiding style is another factor. Some guides believe that the visitors come to listen and it is the guide's role to deliver information, as the following statement suggests:

> *"When I'm their guide, they want to see me and hear what I have to say." (Tom*-TePuia)*

One guide pointed out the importance of allowing visitors the opportunity to reflect and process the information.

> *"I allow them time to actually think and just soak it in themselves. For me, that's really important that they have to understand themselves instead of me forcing it upon them." (Shane*-TePuia)*

By allowing visitors time to think and by encouraging questions and comments, guides can then clarify information by giving further explanations.

> *"Those that don't understand or want to know more (...) come and ask questions (...) I build an environment where people can feel comfortable with asking questions." (Shane*-TePuia)*

Facilitating two-way interaction allows visitors to participate by asking questions. A number of guides mentioned that it is important to involve visitors by asking them questions and encouraging discussion.

> *"The temptation as a tour guide is to kind of go 'blah' on top of your visitors (...) I try to remind myself (...) to stop and ask them questions as well, and to try and get information back from them" (LucyM-TePapa)*

Visitors may also contribute their thoughts and knowledge to the cultural exchange. A number of guides mentioned that through listening to visitors' questions and comments, it is possible to find out not only about their interests and understanding but also their attitudes. Two-way interaction may be valuable in terms of learning more about visitors and other cultures, as well as gaining an understanding of different viewpoints. A number of guides pointed out however that it is necessary to keep a balance because it is still the guide's job to provide information. Interaction also takes place in the form of hands on activities. Interactive activities may be used in some cases as tools to overcome the language barrier (see 5.2.2.4). Drawing on cultural similarities may make it easier for visitors to interact as the following quote suggests.

> *"There's some very strong similarities between Japanese and Māori (...) and because their language, it's easy for them to pronounce (...).the weaving component (...) Japanese - origami, Māori - weaving with flax." (Kiri*-TePuia)*

5.2.2.3 Information

Reliable source – whose perspective

When managing information, guides take into account the tour product and the visitors requirements (see 5.2.1.2 & 5.2.2.1). There are diverse sources of information and also differences due to tribal diversity. Guides agreed that information must be from a reliable source which in some cases may be family, as one guide mentioned:

> *"If you don't really know and you're going to find out, make sure the source is reliable. (...) And there's nothing better than going back to the source that you came from, you know, from within your own family." (Hapeta*-TePuia)*

The information provided may depend on the guide's own knowledge and understanding as explained by Norrie:

> *"I'm very careful that the detail there, and the stories I tell are things that I do know about to the extent that I'm able to learn and understand from reliable sources." (Norrie-TePapa)*

Guides explained that they provide visitors with general information about Māori culture and may also talk more specifically about tribal diversity in relation to their own tribes. Many guides have mixed tribal ancestry, however it appears that they may choose to share the stories and perspectives of the tribe which has influenced them most (see 5.3). Guides may limit themselves to their own understanding and may restrict the extent to which they speak on behalf of other tribes and share other tribal perspectives.

> *"We only have the one native language (...) our custom, our tradition, and our values amongst all Māori people throughout New Zealand are the same. (...) Different stories different areas but they are the same people." (Tom*-TePuia)*

> *"I look at the generalness of being Māori. (...) I believe that what I say is very common. It might change with different iwi [tribal group] that we have because of slightly different influences. I believe I represent my people first and foremost, my iwi [tribal group], and then my entire people second." (Shane*-TePuia)*

Information shared by guides may reflect a sense of homogeneity in Māori culture and also diversity. When drawing on their own experiences and talking on a more personal level, guides may share an understanding from their own upbringing and tribal influences. Tribal

differences can make sharing information more complex. A concern about providing trustworthy information is expressed in the following quotes.

> *"When it comes to interpretation I can't interpret 550 tribes. It has to be compact, (...), one little idea, Māori people are this." (Anil-TePapa)*

> *"What is the meaning of the tongues in Māori carving? So you would try and find out because there's a variety of opinions to what it should be." (Dennis-TePapa)*

Most guides mentioned the importance of checking information and consulting knowledgeable people. The guides are not expected to know everything but are expected to be open to learning (see 5.2.1).

> *"This is why we have people like kaumātua, other kaumātua [Māori elders], which we can discuss things with and talk about things, and look at differences. But we're there, I'm there also as a safety net if you like for some of our non-Māori guides." (Rangimoana*-TePapa)*

In addition to checking that information is from a reliable source and understanding differences, it is important to be aware whose perspective is being presented. Some guides also mentioned the need to be careful about the influence of the guide's own personal perspective when discussing certain topics.

> *"Also a perspective that's not coloured by my own views too (...) especially when you get into speaking about politics. But I try and give an unbiased view as much as I can." (Maraea*-TePapa)*

There are multiple sources of information and also multiple perspectives which could be shared, including that of the guide. Information must be from a reliable source which in some cases could include the stories and life experiences of the guides. This type of information is shared from their own individual and collective frameworks, such as family or iwi (tribal groups).

Guide's own stories and perspectives

In most cases the narratives and experiences of the guides, in particular for Māori guides, are an integral part of the tour (see chapter 4). This personalisation is a key aspect of engaging visitors.

> *"I know that Hosts have to draw on their own experience in order to be sincere and genuine. A visitor does not want carbon copied interpretation on the floor." (Jay*-TePapaM)*

Most Māori guides interviewed mentioned including stories about their families, their upbringing, gatherings at the marae (Māori village) and personal experiences.

> *"I put a lot of my own personal experiences into my tour, as much as I can inject, without going too far off certain facts that people like to hear though." (Carla*-TePuia)*

The above statement indicates that the amount of personal information needs to be balanced with the principal tour content. In some cases personal stories may be linked to the tour content. By sharing a first-hand account of a real life experience and providing a personal perspective, the information becomes more meaningful for visitors.

> *"Because we cover a little bit about urban Māori and the effect of European Colonisation, and I talk a bit about my own experience growing up without Te Reo and having to learn it as an adult and how that's impacted my life and things. They can have more of a, I suppose a personal perspective from me." (Maraea*-TePapa)*

The guides interviewed have diverse backgrounds. As a result, their experiences and personal perspectives may differ. Non-Māori guides will also share a range of different perspectives.

> *"Yeah, yeah, if I've got little stories that relate to my own history. Because being a European in two Māori areas (...) I saw things from quite a different perspective." (James-TePapa)*

The above quote indicates that this perspective may be quite an individual perspective and different from other non-Māori. Not only are there multiple sources of information and variety due to tribal diversity, but also guides may need to acknowledge whose viewpoint or perspective is being shared. In some cases the guide's own experiences allow for a more personal perspective and a real life example which relates to the tour content. When discussing topics which might be controversial, guides may make decisions about how different perspectives are presented and whether to share personal viewpoints.

Selection of information

Many guides confirmed that they try to adapt the tour and tour content to fit the visitors' requirements. Deciding what information to provide depends on the tour product and also the visitor characteristics (see 5.2.2.1). A number of guides mentioned not only the importance of acknowledging what the visitor already knows, but also being aware of the misconceptions they may have.

> *"Also a lot of international visitors are more educated than they were in days of old so it's to reiterate whatever they've learnt or to dispel some of the myths." (Piripi*-TePuia)*

Guides may choose to do a general tour at a basic level, in particular for large groups of mixed characteristics. Questions and interest shown during the tour may determine whether more time is spent in certain areas and further explanations given. For general tours at Te Papa, by focussing on the visitors' needs, the guides may fail to fulfil the requirement of providing a bicultural focus. This is explained by Maraea:

> *"But I often find (...) international visitors are just so keen to soak it up and they encourage me to speak about the Māori experience in New Zealand, (...) sometimes I find that my tour has become a little lop-sided. (...) I'll be talking more about Māori themes and the Māori perspective. And yeah, not so much about the European perspective which is not encouraged." (Maraea*-TePapa)*

This suggests that by satisfying the interests of the visitors, the guide may end up providing more information on certain aspects with a particular focus or perspective. However, guides may view that in excluding tour content, this conflicts with the aims of interpretation and the goals of the organisation.

> *"Somebody would say to me - I want to see the New Zealand material but not that Māori stuff. I would say, Māori culture is woven through the whole museum, you cannot separate us." (Dennis-TePapa)*

In some cases the tour content may be adapted to meet the visitors' requirements. However, it may not always be considered appropriate to do so. During the tour, guides make choices about the balance of tour content and which information to provide.

The amount of information provided and the level of complexity may depend on the visitor characteristics and the type of experience required. Some of the guides interviewed mentioned that particular visitor groups expect a lot of detailed and precise information whereas others may be more interested in photos and enjoying the experience. The guides interviewed are also expected to have different styles and approaches which may influence how information is shared. The context and setting of the visitor experience is another factor.

> *"But my main goal is to get as much of the story across as possible because I feel I have so much to tell that it is always a struggle for me to get my full message across in the hour time." (Joe-TePapa)*

> *"A very basic understanding first and foremost (...) if they are interested, they will ask for more and I will give them more. But I don't want to overawe them too much from the start otherwise they just won't be interested." (Haupiri*-TePuia)*

Approaches to providing information vary. Some guides may attempt to provide as much information as possible, whereas others may prefer to start with less and build. Guides pointed out that factors such as the visitors' knowledge, interest, and age influence the amount and complexity of information to be provided. Language ability is another significant factor (see 5.2.2.4).

5.2.2.4   Communication

Verbal and non-verbal communication

The findings are based on tours given in English. Guides emphasised the importance of speaking clearly, pointing out that many visitors find the New Zealand accent difficult to understand. Further adjustments are needed for visitors who are non-native English-speakers.

Guides use Te Reo (Māori language) in greetings and explanations to help foster connections to the culture. They also involve visitors by getting them to pronounce certain words. However, some guides mentioned that its overuse may lead to confusion.

> *"With people who have not had a lot of exposure to Māori culture (...) you use more simple terms, you don't use too many Māori words because they become confused." (Dennis-TePapa)*

Although most guides interviewed use humour to make visitors feel more relaxed and the experience more enjoyable, humour may not always be understood or appreciated by the visitor group. A number of guides commented that even if visitors are from English-speaking countries, they do not always understand the same humour.

Most guides mentioned the benefits of body language and using gestures when giving explanations. Observing non-verbal responses to determine how visitors feel and to check levels of interest and understanding is also considered important.

> *"You see their heads go like this and then they turn away, and you haven't got their attention. There could be other reasons why that happens but the chances are that they've heard a lot of this before. Or you might be talking too long." (Hamana*-TePapa)*

> *"You know people are looking a bit vague in the Treaty segment for instance, I'll trim it." (Norrie-TePapa)*

The above quotes indicate that decisions regarding the selection of information may be based on the reading non-verbal cues. A number of guides pointed out that due to cross-

cultural differences in body language, in some cases visitors may appear disinterested even when they are actually very interested. When communicating with visitors and sharing information, most guides also emphasized the importance of gestures to overcome a language barrier.

As thoroughly documented in the interpretation literature, tools such as pictures, maps, and interactive exhibits can be used to enhance communication. These tools are particularly useful when there is a language barrier and, as pointed out by one guide, some visitors may find it easier to read English (see 5.2.2.2).

Language barrier

Most of the research participants recognised the language barrier as being one of the main challenges. However, one guide made the point that the relationship with visitors is just as important.

> *"If they can't understand (...) you make them just as important as the next person (...) as long as they feel comfortable and welcomed (...) that shows who we are as a people, Māori." (Tom*-TePuia)*

As discussed previously, most guides provide simple explanations, use gestures and body language; which is particularly relevant for those international visitors with limited English. Guided tours in foreign languages are relevant to this research. However, as only two of the research participants do tours in foreign languages, there are no specific findings presented in this study.

Groups of international visitors who speak little or no English often arrive with an interpreter. Many guides identified difficulties in managing tours through an interpreter. The style of tour changes and the amount of information and complexity needs to be reduced, as explained by Anil:

> *"The interpreter is also talking, trying to understand you first, and interpreting. So you have to curtail immediately about fifty percent of your information." (Anil-TePapa)*

Several guides voiced concern regarding the lack of control over what information is being translated and how, as expressed in the following quote:

> *"You just hope that they're repeating exactly what we're saying and not going off on tangents." (Maraea*-TePapa)*

With an interpreter there are challenges for the guide regarding the style of the tour and the guide's relationship and interaction with visitors.

> *"Keeping the flow of the tour, ensuring that you don't make the tour too simplistic, and keeping the entertainment value going. But it's very difficult, and you find that you can't take refuge in humour like you would to sort of spice the tour up a bit." (Maraea*-TePapa)*

Although most guides identified the challenges of working with interpreters, some positive experiences were also mentioned.

> *"Sometimes they're very good, they understand very good English so they can tell your jokes and they're laughing, the whole group's laughing." (Haupiri*-TePuia)*

In addition to the challenges of managing tour content and enabling information to be communicated effectively, the way in which guides manage the visitor experience when working with an interpreter is definitely more complex.

5.2.2.5   Attitudes

Most guides mentioned that visitors may arrive with preconceived ideas about Māori culture based on stereotypes, or on what they've read or seen on the internet or in films. Many guides emphasised the importance of presenting visitors with a different perspective so that they can gain a different understanding.

> *"Some people (...) with preconceived ideas about our culture, maybe slight prejudices (...). And I find those people are great because they're the ones that challenge you to try and turn them around by the end of the tour." (Carla*-TePuia)*

A number of guides interviewed mentioned that visitors may come to challenge particular viewpoints and may want to find out about potentially sensitive or controversial subjects. From the interviews it appeared that not all guides felt comfortable about discussing certain issues with all visitors. This suggests that guides may limit or restrict the information they provide. However, facilitating understanding and enabling visitors to see things in a different light also gives guides a sense of achievement and satisfaction.

> *"If I can lead people through the very touchy subjects (...) made them understand a lot better what it was really like (...) then I feel good." (Haupiri*-TePuia)*

Guides may be keen to change the visitors' way of thinking by offering them a different viewpoint. A few guides also stated that it was important to gain an understanding of visitors and why they may think in a certain way.

"So when people arrive here with different views or different opinions, I have to listen to it and try to see where it's coming from." (Shane*-TePuia)

This statement indicates that guides take into account the way in which the visitors' own context may influence their attitudes. When making comparisons, many of the guides interviewed appeared to take into account the socio-cultural context of the visitors (see 5.2.2.7).

"And you bring them in some reality, well you can compare it with the way they look at their country." (Kiri*-TePuia)

"I've had to very gently not quite correct them but in, a way it is kind of correcting them to their own history, some of them seem quite ignorant of." (Maraea*-TePapa)

As well as enabling visitors to see Māori culture from another viewpoint and gain an understanding, some guides consider it important for visitors to reflect on the situation in their own countries.

"Not directly but we challenge their ideas and we hope that they'll leave with a slightly different perspective (...) either of New Zealand or of people in their own countries which will be of a positive nature for them." (James-TePapa)

Many guides emphasised the need to find an appropriate way to offer alternative explanations which provide another way of seeing things. The findings indicate that guides try to change attitudes without challenging visitors directly.

"We try never ever to say 'that is wrong'. Because that's the way they've been brought up." (Rangimoana*-TePapa)

Guides have different approaches and strategies when presenting information and managing visitors' attitudes. Guides may reframe the information in a particular way depending on the characteristics of the visitors.

"So you get that answer out before they come at you with it. And have it in a nicer light than how it should be." (Kiri*-TePuia)

"I've had to be very careful in what I say but I also have to, I have to keep the tour still entertaining and informative, but I also have to speak the truth, the way I see it." (Maraea*-TePapa)

These statements indicate that the process of managing attitudes needs to be handled carefully. It is important to bear in mind the visitor experience, yet at the same time being honest and maintaining both cultural and personal integrity. In managing the tour

experience the guides are also trying to determine the visitors' viewpoints so that they can decide the most appropriate way to present the information. Alternative explanations which enable visitors to gain a different understanding can be provided. The findings indicate that in response to different viewpoints and attitudes of visitors, information is presented in such a way that it may be seen from a different perspective, without directly challenging the visitors.

5.2.2.6   Relationship

During the tour a relationship develops between the guide and the visitors. On the subject of welcoming and looking after visitors, most guides mentioned the importance of acknowledging visitors, often by way of references to their country of origin, and building a rapport.

Many guides draw on their own awareness and understanding of other cultures, such as cultural practices and beliefs, in order to identify cultural similarities and differences. The following quote suggests that identifying similarities may enhance the relationship.

> *"I like to compare as well because there's a lot of similarities, people feel a bit more closer to you. You can say - oh, you're like us, then immediately they feel closer to us." (Carla*-TePuia)*

A number of guides mentioned that it is important to respect cultural differences and show empathy towards visitors and ensure they feel at ease.

> *"Inform them in a way they feel comfortable in. You know, you've got to have that respect for them as people, and their different religions and their ways of life." (Hapeta*-TePuia)*

Many of the Māori guides interviewed emphasised that the guided tour may be the visitors' only opportunity to interact with a Māori. The interpersonal relationship is not only focussed on showing visitors around and providing explanations. As Kiri explained, there may be emotional or spiritual aspects.

> *"It's that personal interaction (...) when you've got that one-on-one, (...) you know your ihi [essential force], or your spiritual (...) has come in between you two, you feel good inside, they feel good inside." (Kiri*-TePuia)*

Importantly, the relationship with visitors may change for groups with a language interpreter (see 5.2.2.4). It may be influenced by the guide's relationship with the interpreter as well as the interpreter's relationship with the group. The following quotes indicate that a good

relationship with the interpreter can help the guide connect with the group. However, at times the guide may feel excluded.

> *"If I know the interpreter (...) you form that rapport as soon as they come off the coach. The people may see us hug (...) And then from there I form a rapport with the group." (Ryl*-TePuia)*

> *"The interpreters come along and they've basically taken over your tour, you know, just hijacked your tour." (Hamana*-TePapa)*

Guides mentioned different approaches when working with an interpreter. One guide emphasised the importance of speaking directly to the group and maintaining their presence as the Māori guide, relying only on the assistance of the interpreter to translate.

> *"To interpret the words I'm saying, not interpret the person I am." (Tom*-TePuia)*

Talking to the interpreter beforehand about their preferences of how to work together in order to avoid situations where the interpreter may have difficulty translating was the strategy used by another guide. This approach indicates that developing a collaborative working relationship, which is positive for both the guide and the interpreter, may be important. The challenges of doing tours through an interpreter were identified at both organisations.

5.2.2.7 Connections

Acknowledgement, greetings & general references

As discussed in the previous section, finding connections helps build a rapport and develop a relationship with visitors. As thoroughly documented in the literature, connections may be made through universal themes as a way of engaging visitors and adding to visitors' existing knowledge in a meaningful and memorable way.

Guides find connections with visitors from their own general knowledge, knowledge gained from experience with previous visitors, doing research and staying informed. The following quote reveals that this process of finding connections is also part of the guiding legacy.

> *"Some of us still go with the philosophy of the old guides. You watch the news, you read the newspaper. And I suppose that's your connection with different cultures (...) this is happening and what are your thoughts" (Piripi*-TePuia)*

According to a number of guides, connections which are made at a more personal level, where the guides draw on their own experience, are valuable.

"Cos I've travelled the world it makes it so much easier because I can remember places (...). But you know, you can relate to places that you know they know and it sort of brings that extra." (Hapeta-TePuia)*

Guides use connections and references to acknowledge visitors and to draw them into the place or the story. Some of the connections with the visitors are from the guide's general knowledge of places and events, shared history, and also personal experience.

Cultural comparisons: similarities and differences

Guides also make connections by comparing cultures and finding similarities and differences. Connections may be found through themes such as cultural beliefs and practices, family values, as well as shared history. Guides mentioned using previous knowledge, doing research beforehand, and learning from visitors during the tour.

"But we find that other nationalities, quite often there are commonalities in our histories and in our societies and in our structures, our social structures. Once we find those, we connect and we're away. So as a guide host our people listen for that connectiveness or if they know a bit about the group, they'll tap into that connectiveness and they'll draw the visitor in." (Taparoto-TePuiaM)*

Connections are often found through similarities with other cultures in terms of values, beliefs, customs and practices. Similarity may create a feeling of proximity. Connections with several Asian cultures, and also Irish and Scottish were frequently cited. The findings show that guides draw on similarities with other indigenous cultures.

"Weaving, carving, (...) in a lot of their ways connecting in with your cultural sense, indigenous people of the world (...) there's so many similarities with every culture in the world." (Hapeta-TePuia)*

A number of guides identified that when the visitors are indigenous people, they are interested in making comparisons with their own cultural context and experience.

"A lot of indigenous people, you will try to find a common ground whether it be political or whether it be within their culture (...) explaining the Māori side, but also getting their side." (Piripi-TePuia)*

Comparisons of indigenous cultures and cultural contexts made by indigenous people may be perceived differently to those made by non-indigenous visitors. Tom made the following point:

"When European tourists come here (...) they will always say 'but in Australia, the Aborigines, or in America, the American Indians' (...) they're not actually the native

inhabitants of that land." (Tom*-TePuia)

Many of the guides mentioned that visitors often ask questions and make comparisons of indigenous people in the context of their own country.

"When we come to the treaty area it causes lots of questions, particularly for people from Australia, United States, and Canada where they've had experience of indigenous culture's development in various ways, not normally as positive as our history. So they bring up questions about that". (James-TePapa)

The above statement indicates that the tour content may lead to comparisons with the visitors' own experience. This may lead to judgements by visitors and guides as to which situation is better or worse. However, as a number of guides pointed out, it is important to have an understanding of the context. Differences in perspectives and understanding could lead to discussion and debate when making comparisons. Guides need to manage these differences in attitudes and viewpoints (see 5.2.2.5).

Guide and Māori culture

The guide's own connection to Māori culture, to the place and the information is an important aspect of engaging the visitors.

"Once your visitor sees you are connected to the information that you are sharing, they just go - oh, look at this, listen to this guy, listen to this lady she loves-, this is her place and we are privileged to be here." (Taparoto*-TePuiaM)

Guides also connect their own stories and experiences to a particular exhibition or aspect of the tour content (see 5.2.2.3).

A number of non-Māori guides also spoke of their own connections to Māori culture by identifying similar values within their own cultural backgrounds. Some international visitors may also share some of these values.

"Well I think through my upbringing, the values are similar to Māori culture. The Chinese people they believe in hospitality, welcoming people, making people feel welcome (...). But also having respect for our elders - Māori culture does so." (Basil-TePapa)

Apart from similarities in cultural values, Anil also described connections to Māori culture through the feeling generated.

"Even I feel they're like my brothers and sisters. (...) When they, their chants, their prayers, I feel, I feel I understand - from my heart I understand.(...) although all the

words are different but the sound I get is the same, what I got in India, when I'm doing my own chants." (Anil-TePapa)

This explanation from Anil reveals that the connection is based on the guide's own experience of his own culture. It is not something which has been studied. This is a more emotional and spiritual connection based on living and feeling, rather than thinking.

Guides and visitors may experience different types of connections to Māori culture. Some are intellectual connections, whereas others may be through feeling and experiencing aspects of Māori culture.

5.2.3   After the tour – feedback and outcomes

After the tour, feedback may be received directly from visitors in the form of verbal and non-verbal expressions of appreciation and thanks. Visitor surveys may be conducted and feedback is also received from tour operators and industry partners. Other processes mentioned include feedback from peers and self-evaluation. Secondary documents show that these processes for evaluating performance are done in a structured way at Te Papa. The following statement from the manager at Te Puia indicates that feedback needs to be viewed in a holistic sense.

> *"We can all point out the bad things. But then I think that has to be measured up against the good that comes back as well." (Taparoto*-TePuiaM)*

Interviews revealed that at times guides may be surprised when visitors who had appeared less interested were forth-coming in expressing appreciation. This study indicates that guides reflect on their own performance.

> *"If you feel it inside that you've done a great job." (Piripi*-TePuia)*

Outcomes mentioned by research participants include whether they have engaged visitors in learning, and promoting a positive change in attitudes towards Māori culture.

> *"When people go away they have more of the story that they can add to, and it sparks some kind of interest in them to go and learn some more." (Hamana*-TePapa)*

> *"At least I changed his thoughts about Māori." (Hapeta*-TePuia)*

Feedback and outcomes of the tours may be measured and understood in different ways. Outside evaluations and self-reflection may contribute to the guide's learning from the tour experience (see 5.3.2).

5.3 Perspectives on and approaches to guiding and interpretation

The findings in this section address the second research objective which compares perspectives on and approaches to guiding and interpretation by Māori and non-Māori guides. This is explained through the guide characteristics and learning (figure 11). The guide characteristics (see 5.3.1) and learning (see 5.3.2) are influenced by the guide's upbringing, socio-cultural context, and life experience. Learning (see 5.3.2) includes both formal and informal learning processes. The guide's own learning experiences and learning preferences can influence perspectives on and approaches to guiding and interpretation. When examining the learning theme during data analysis, there appeared to be a distinction made between learning as part of life and through experience living, and learning as a deliberate choice made by guides due to a variety of factors and motivations.

Figure 11: Section of figure 9 – Research objective 2 (author)
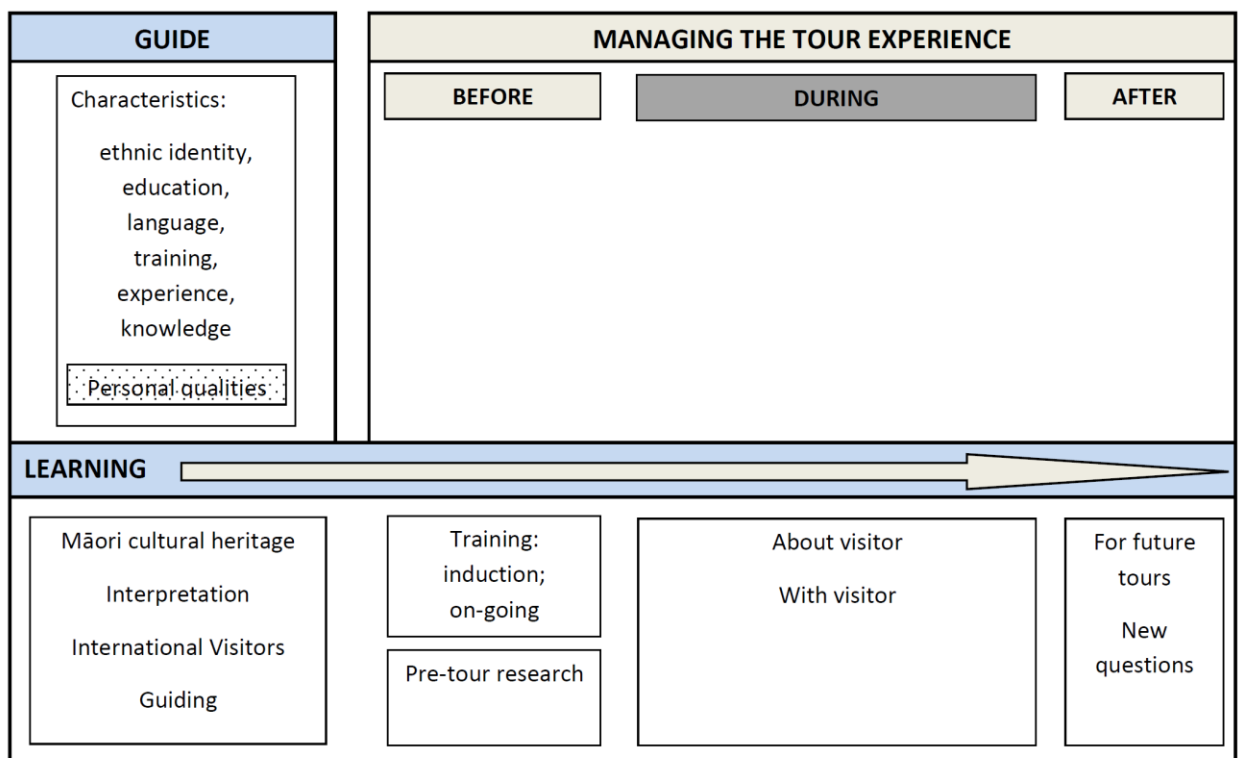
5.3.1   Guide characteristics

The guide characteristics include the guide's ethnic identity, education, language, training, experience and knowledge. Interviews with managers regarding recruitment indicate that personal qualities are an important characteristic (see 5.2.1), as stated in the literature on guiding. The guide's understanding of Māori culture may be influenced by the guide's background and the type of connections the guide has to Māori culture. The guides interviewed have diverse backgrounds and a range of professional and life experience (Appendix G).

The Māori tourism experience may be the one and only opportunity for visitors to meet with a Māori. The guide therefore may be the sole representation of Māori culture. The following statement indicates that guides are aware that visitors may be strongly influenced by the guide and what the guide does.

> "With non-Māori you are everything you say. People will arrive here and if you're the only Māori they're going to meet (...), you are everything they think, they see, they speak of." (Shane*-TePuia)

A number of guides pointed out that it is important to share Māori culture, not only through the information provided but also through their behaviour and the interpersonal relationship. The guides interviewed explained that visitors often arrive with a stereotypical image of Māori (see 5.2.2.5), as described in the following quote:

> "I want to see the real Māoris, you know the ones with the bones in the nose and the flax skirts." (Hamana*-TePapa)

Tour guides at Te Puia and Te Papa wear contemporary uniforms rather than 'traditional dress'. Furthermore, the guide's physical appearance may not be what visitors expect.

> "In my mother's side we've got green eyes and blond hair." (Hapeta*-TePuia)

The backgrounds and personal characteristics of the guides interviewed are varied. This may result not only in different approaches to guiding but also a diversity of perspectives and viewpoints being presented. Guides with mixed tribal ancestry may be more strongly influenced by one iwi (tribal group). In addition many guides have ancestry other than Māori.

> "It should always be positive, you know. (...) But I'm not biased, I'm also positive within the Pākehā-Māori [New Zealand European] within me as well – which they are interested in. So I'm not biased to one part, I bring the whole package in." (Kiri*-TePuia)

The personal narratives and perspectives shared with visitors may differ due to the influence of the guide's background. In some cases these personal experiences include the impact of the guide's lack of knowledge of their culture or language when growing up.

> *"When I'm doing my tours I think I can engage people really well because I wasn't brought up with my culture at all. And my parents spoke fluent Māori and they knew a lot about our customs, but they never shared it with us children." (Hamana*-TePapa)*

From this explanation it appears that the guide's first-hand account can effectively engage visitors. In the above example the guide's own story may enable visitors to gain an understanding of changes in New Zealand society and impacts on Māori during a particular period in time.

Most non-Māori guides expressed a sense of responsibility when sharing an understanding of Māori culture. A number of non-Māori guides were careful to point out that they couldn't speak from a Māori perspective, even though some felt that they had a good understanding.

> *"I think the biggest thing for me is pointing out to them that it's not really for me to speak about how the current situation's affecting Māori because I'm not Māori myself." (James-TePapa)*

> *"I can't speak as a Māori, I'm a Pākehā (...) I'm talking to them as a person who has this place as their heritage and their home. And, as I say, the Treaty is my story as well." (Joe-TePapa)*

The above statements highlight the importance of acknowledging whose perspective is being shared. The narratives and perspectives shared by guides are expected to be influenced by the guide's background and upbringing, family and tribal influences, and other aspects of the guide's socio-cultural context as well as individual experiences. Taking into account the diversity of the guides interviewed, there are multiple perspectives which could be presented to visitors. If guides manage to engage visitors effectively, the narratives and perspectives they choose to share could potentially be one of the more memorable and influential aspects of the tour.

5.3.2 Learning

5.3.2.1 Learning during the early stages of life

Research participants discussed a diverse range of learning experiences. Learning has occurred in numerous ways at different stages of life and for various reasons. As explained in 5.1, the following section focuses on learning experiences which relate to tour guiding and interpretation during three stages of life. These are learning during the early stages of life, then later in life, and in the current role as a guide. This section focuses on learning about Māori cultural heritage, guiding, interpretation, and learning about international visitors.

For the guides at Te Puia who are part of the guiding legacy, learning about guiding and sharing Māori cultural heritage started early on. They grew up observing family members and older guides. As children, they were used to interacting with international visitors in the village (see chapter 4).

> *"Guiding is a legacy in my family, (...) and so it's a lifestyle that you live. It's not something you learn, you actually live it but you're always teachable every day (...) I was a little sponge and soaked up the wonderful information". (Kiri*-TePuia)*

The quote indicates that in addition to being part of life, an open attitude and enthusiasm towards learning is also important. For many of the Māori guides interviewed, learning about Māori culture has been an integral part of life. It started as children growing up, mostly learning by living, learning from family and at the marae (Māori village). For many of the guides interviewed, learning about the culture is part of being Māori.

> *"Being ingrained from a very young age we learnt, you portray yourself as Māori (...) and then of course you can speak Māori as well, it's the actions, the things that you do as a person that make you Māori." (...)"Things that we're taught, they were just part of chores, as children". (Haupiri*-TePuia)*

As a result of the diversity in the backgrounds of the research participants, there are differences in experiences and knowledge.

> *"On the marae[Māori village] – that's where I started learning (...) I'm not a fluent speaker (...) I was brought up here so I only know one tribal side here." (Ryl*-TePuia)*

The above quotes indicate that for some guides learning was through living and experiencing. The guide's knowledge and understanding may depend on their upbringing and certain tribal influences may be stronger than others. Guides have different

backgrounds and consequently diverse learning experiences. Studying about Māori culture at school or by reading books was also mentioned by a couple of guides. However, this way of learning appeared to be less influential when sharing knowledge with visitors.

> *"The information that I portray to the visitors is what I have been taught. Not (...) out of a book. But what I have been taught verbally; eat, living and breathing being Māori." (Ryl*-TePuia)*

> *"But how we were taught was easier (...) and I think (...) (the visitors) were really comfortable being told about it how we learnt about it. It wasn't too clinical I suppose." (Hapeta*-TePuia)*

The way guides share information is not exclusively about facts and thinking. There is also a sense of feeling. Many guides mentioned that learning was often through being told stories by the elders. This research suggests that this style of learning influences the way guides share information with visitors.

On the subject of learning about international visitors, one guide mentioned that being brought up with mixed ancestry helped develop an awareness of cultural difference.

> *"Even though it was a stronger Māori upbringing, with my mother being Chinese that added that natural ability to adapt to different groups (...) so just the way we've been brought up (...) taught us both sides." (Shane*-TePuia)*

The guide's upbringing, family, iwi (tribal group) and factors influencing the guide's socio-cultural context had an impact on the early stages of learning.

5.3.2.2   Learning later in life

Not all of the Māori guides interviewed grew up immersed in their culture. A number of guides made deliberate choices to learn more about their own culture later in life. Some of this learning took place through courses and in formal academic settings such as the university.

> *"I wasn't raised with Māoritanga [Māori culture]. (...) I'm very much an urban Māori (...) And it's sort of an on-going process really. My learning has been self-directed." (Maraea*-TePapa)*

Most of the non-Māori guides said they had limited awareness and understanding of Māori culture growing up and started learning as adults due to a range of personal and professional reasons.

> *"I came hard up against the fact that I was teaching Māori students and had no idea about things Māori so that caused me to start looking into that and learning Māori."* (James-TePapa)

> *"I grew up in a social situation, (...) where very little of Maoridom was evident (...) in early adulthood I went through a period of intense learning and understanding about Māori issues and political and social issues in this country around race relations and colonisation and all those aspects."* (Norrie-TePapa)

Several guides, both Māori and non-Māori, took deliberate steps to learn more about Māori culture as adults. Learning has taken place in different settings and through different learning processes. A range of reasons for learning were mentioned by guides.

Learning about visitors has varied and in many cases it has been through interaction with people from different cultures. Guides mentioned studying a language, interaction in work situations such as hospitality and teaching roles, travelling internationally, as well as general life experience and being open to meeting people.

> *"Teaching students that came from places like China, Thailand, Vietnam (...) gave me some (...) understanding of their cultures but even more importantly an appreciation of the fact that people look at things in different ways and have different sets of values."* (Dennis-TePapa)

The settings for learning about visitors have been formal and informal. The personal and professional experience of the guides contributes to their knowledge and understanding of international visitors.

In terms of learning about guiding, as mentioned previously, guides who are part of the guiding legacy started learning through family when growing up. For these guides it was an integral part of life. Most guides at Te Puia and almost all of the guides at Te Papa mentioned having previously worked and trained in other areas including teaching, hospitality, and customer service roles. In terms of learning about interpretation prior to becoming a guide, skills were developed through a range of professional and personal experiences, such as performing arts and giving presentations.

> *"I've always been (...) a bit of a storyteller (...) before I joined Te Papa I was part of a marketing company so never had any problems, like standing up and talking to people."* (Hamana*-TePapa)

Not all guides claimed to have a strong background in storytelling and presentations prior to training as a guide.

5.3.2.3   Current position as a guide

In terms of the current position as a guide, learning emerged as a significant theme in this research. At Te Puia, the guides from the area were familiar with the guiding role prior to officially becoming guides. The other guides appeared to combine skills learnt in other areas, such as customer service or teaching roles, with their own knowledge and experience of being brought up in their culture.

> *"We only had I think it was 2 weeks of training and then straight into it. (...) I think it's a learning experience every day I come to work." (Ryl*-TePuia)*

On-going learning through mentoring was mentioned by several guides at Te Puia. The initial guide training was hardly referred to. As nearly all of the participants have worked at Te Puia for several years, more emphasis was placed on the on-going mentoring. Some guides talked about participating in classroom training sessions including ATTTO courses. However, there was no mention of obtaining formal qualifications prior to starting work as a guide. In contrast, nearly all of the guides at Te Papa highlighted the importance of the in-house training programme. A number of participants mentioned the benefits of classes for learning Te Reo (Māori language), as well as informal discussions with peers and mentoring. Only two of the guides stated that they had obtained guiding qualifications prior to starting at Te Papa.

Nearly all of the guides emphasised that they are still learning. Mentoring and talking to colleagues appeared to be important. Some guides showed a preference for learning from other people, rather than reading.

> *"I always have that collection of books, or we have the library here (...) but I still prefer to hear it from one of my mentors or from people who are in the know, and that way I think it sinks in better with me." (Haupiri*-TePuia)*

Learning and extending knowledge is considered important and may be developed through reading or through discussions with knowledgeable people. Learning, building knowledge, and passing on knowledge to the next generation is an important aspect of keeping Māori culture alive. This is also central to the mission statement and organisational goals of Te Puia and Te Papa as centres of learning and building knowledge (chapter 4). The need for re-education and on-going learning was mentioned by a number of the research participants.

> *"Some of the things I had to come back and re-educate myself." (Hapeta*-TePuia)*

In many cases, the motivation for on-going learning by guides extends beyond the workplace. Learning is important in order to be able to pass on knowledge of Māori culture to the next generation.

> "There's some things that we can pass over (...) but there's some things that we can't, because we haven't practised enough." (Hapeta*-TePuia)

Regarding interpretive techniques and storytelling, the following explanation indicates that observing other guides contributes to developing these skills.

> "I'm not a natural storyteller, I don't think (...) it was really coming here and watching wonderful tour guides (...) they have such a gift of telling a wonderful story and employing their environment to, I suppose, you know putting that sweet sauce on the story and as I walk around with them I observe the tours, I really wanted to be as good as that". (Maraea*-TePapa)

Guides also mentioned learning during the tour experience through interaction with visitor groups of different characteristics and finding out about the visitors' cultures. It was noted that visitors may arrive with new questions and also contribute information.

> "I just learn about who they are and what they're like. (...) I still learn new things from different cultures." (Carla*-TePuia)

The above quote reiterates that learning from experience is on-going. A number of guides also mentioned attending cross-cultural training sessions where they became aware of certain cultural sensitivities and differences in behaviour. Research participants spoke of on-going learning by doing research about visitor groups before the tour, as well as talking to peers.

> "From other hosts that we meet, we talk about that when we have a particular nationality coming in, someone's mentioned they have particular customs (...) please be careful of that." (Basil-TePapa)

Apart from some general training sessions on cross-cultural awareness, there was no mention in the interviews of specific training focussing on particular visitor groups.

The guide characteristics and learning processes influence the approaches to interpretation. Learning about Māori culture may be a result of upbringing and life experience, or through formal study or more deliberate learning. At Te Puia learning from family, older guides, and mentors was emphasised. At Te Papa the extensive formal tour training programme stood out as being important. Learning may take place through a variety of learning experiences and settings. All guides indicated that they are still learning.

5.4   Comparison of Te Puia and Te Papa

This section provides a summary of the key findings for each case study organisation. Both organisations take a visitor-centred approach to interpretation and guides make adjustments during the tour to suit the visitors' characteristics and requirements. The main challenge identified was the language barrier and working with outside interpreters. The findings suggest that when managing attitudes and dealing with misconceptions about Māori culture, it is important to do this in an appropriate way and maintain a positive relationship with visitors. Learning emerged as an important theme for all guides.

At Te Puia the visitor experience includes being guided around the geothermal area in the company of a Māori guide (see chapter 4). The interpersonal experience with the guide is part of the overall experience. Most guides provide basic information and allow visitors free time in which they can enjoy the landscape and take photos. By making themselves available for further questions, guides can then provide more detailed information in accordance with the visitors' interests. Guides appear to be used to adapting tours for visitors with limited English language ability. Even when there is a language barrier, guides still emphasise the importance of sharing Māori culture through their behaviour. The relationship with visitors is important in facilitating a positive experience. Although guides acknowledged challenges working with language interpreters, examples of effective relationships were also mentioned. A number of guides grew up in the area and are part of the guiding legacy. The stories of their own tribe are connected to the geothermal area. Guides from other areas may bring different experiences and perspectives. For guides at Te Puia, learning about Māori culture started in the early stages of life as part of their upbringing. Guides indicated a preference for learning from other people and through mentoring.

At Te Papa, tours are an extra activity and there is a focus on providing information related to the content of the museum exhibitions. In some cases making adjustments to meet the visitors' requirements may not result in the intended balance of bicultural tour content on introductory tours. The museum content and exhibits, which include social and political history, may provoke and encourage discussion and debate. In some cases guides personalise by linking their own experience to the tour content. The language barrier was mainly identified as a problem when working with outside interpreters. A number of non-Māori guides at Te Papa, who are trained to deliver Māori tour content, pointed out that although they can share an understanding of Māori culture with visitors, they cannot speak as Māori or from a Māori perspective. For Māori Experience Tours, which are only with

Māori guides, there is a focus on providing a Māori perspective. These tours allow extra time for visitors to ask questions and for guides to share their own stories and experiences. The Māori guides interviewed have diverse backgrounds and not all grew up in their culture. There is also diversity in the background of non-Māori guides, many of whom had limited knowledge and experience of Māori culture when growing up. For many guides at Te Papa, learning about Māori culture started later in life through a range of learning experiences. Importance is placed on the extensive guide training programme at Te Papa.

6   DISCUSSION

6.1   *Guiding and interpretation in Māori cultural tourism experiences for international visitors*

The approaches to interpretation in this study reflect the key principles discussed in the interpretation literature. The study finds that guides use the interpretation process as a management tool (McArthur & Hall, 1996), not only to provide an enjoyable and positive visitor experience but in order to increase awareness, promote learning, appreciation and understanding of Māori cultural heritage and 'who we are as a people'. The main contribution of this research is providing insights into the cultural dimensions of interpretation and the guide's interpretive role in Māori cultural tourism experiences for international visitors.

This chapter locates the key findings (see chapter 5) within the literature and presents an outline of the key contributions of this research. Section 6.2 of the discussion addresses the first research objective by examining the following aspects of managing interpretation.

- First, selecting and mediating information. The guide as a gatekeeper (McKercher & du Cros, 2002) and a culture broker (Kuo, 2007).
- Second, the inclusion of guide's own narratives and perspectives. Considering the guide as part of the resource.
- Third, communication and facilitating interaction. The challenge of language barriers and reliance on outside gatekeepers.
- Fourth, facilitating connections and meaning making, developing relationships and mediating attitudes. Socio-cultural contexts and shifting reference frames in a cross-cultural encounter.

As this research is conducted from a social constructivist perspective, it is recognised that the researcher is actively part of the process of sense making. As discussed in Chapter 3, from the data analysis there is an inter-relationship between categories which produces overlap. This overlap is also apparent in the discussion whereby inter-related themes from the findings chapter are drawn together to discuss individual points.

In section 6.3 the implications of the organisational differences at Te Puia and Te Papa are discussed in terms of organisational goals, the visitor experience, and the role of the guide. Section 6.4 addresses the second research objective by comparing approaches to and

perspectives on guiding and interpretation of Māori and non-Māori guides taking into account the influence of the guide's background and learning. Section 6.5 presents a summary of the key issues in response to the research objectives. Practical management implications and areas for further research are discussed in Chapter 7.

6.2 Managing the Experience

6.2.1 Selecting and mediating information

6.2.1.1 Narrative and voice

When sharing information in Māori cultural tourism experiences, an important theme for the guides interviewed is ensuring that information is from a reliable source and being aware whose stories and whose perspectives are being shared (see 5.2.2.3). However, it is important to highlight that there are multiple sources of information and multiple perspectives. Guides provide general introductory information about Māori culture in ways that enable visitors to gain an understanding. Furthermore, this research finds that an understanding of tribal diversity is also shared with visitors, in particular when guides share their own personal experiences and understanding of their own tribe(s) and tribal perspective(s). However, some guides pointed out that even though they have mixed tribal ancestry, their own understanding and experiences may be more strongly influenced by one of the tribes depending on their upbringing (see 5.3).

The differences in tribal influences results in a diversity of narratives and perspectives. Consequently, for the guides this makes the interpretation of Māori cultural heritage more complex because what is valid for some tribes may not be for others. There has been criticism that tourism marketing presents a generic image of Māori (Amoamo, 2007; McIntosh, 2004; McIntosh & Zahra, 2007). Scholars have emphasised the importance of control over cultural content (Amoamo, 2007) and the importance of recognising tribal diversity in Māori tourism experiences (Amoamo & Thompson, 2010). Tribal diversity is complex and guides indicated that they limit what they share within their own capacity. Regardless of their level of knowledge and understanding, a number of guides indicated that they did not always feel comfortable, confident, or in authority to speak about or on behalf of other tribes. This finding is supported by previous studies by Bunten (2008) and Howard et al. (2001) indicating that guides limit and control the information they share, and may require permission to share certain information.

As discussed by Foxlee (2007), the multiple sources of information, multiple voices and perspectives may have conflicting meanings. The shift in cultural representation and the incorporation of indigenous perspectives has been discussed in the literature on indigenous tourism and Māori tourism (Amoamo, 2007; Amoamo & Thompson, 2010; Batten, 2005; Bunten, 2010; Carr, A., 2004; Foxlee, 2007), and in the context of museums (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, 2006; McCarthy, 2011). This shift towards the incorporation of indigenous perspectives implies the inclusion of tribal perspectives. However, little attention has been paid to how guides mediate an understanding of multiple tribal narratives and multiple tribal perspectives in indigenous tourism experiences. This has important management and training implications when considering to what extent guides have the capacity to mediate multiple voices.

6.2.1.2   Interpretation as a management tool

The interpretation process is managed by guides in order to enhance the visitor experience and also to satisfy organisational goals (see chapter 4). The organisations in this study provide information and training for guides, but there is no official tour script which must be followed. The guides are expected to give individualised tours which are also visitor-centred (see 5.2.1). Even if the guides have planned the tour, they may be expected to check visitor requirements (see 5.2.2.1) and make adjustments during the tour (see 5.2.2.3).

According to the guides interviewed, learning something about Māori culture and having an enjoyable experience are the general aims of interpretation for international visitors. The principles of interpretation as discussed in the interpretation literature were reflected in this research (Beck & Cable, 2002; Ham & Weiler, 2003; McArthur & Hall, 1996; Moscardo, 1996; Tilden, 1977). Furthermore, the visitor-centred approach to interpretation found in this study has been favoured in the interpretation literature (Beck & Cable, 2002; Tilden, 1977).

Guides indicated that sometimes the requirements of the visitors differ from the organisational goals (see chapter 4, 5.2.1.2 and 5.2.2.1). This is demonstrated through the example of general tours at Te Papa. The visitors' interest or disinterest in learning about Māori culture may diverge from the intended balance of bicultural content (see 6.3.2). In some cases guides may choose a visitor-centred approach, for instance when there is a greater interest in Māori culture. By contrast, when visitors express a lack of interest in learning about Māori culture, the interviews indicated that guides may try to create interest. From this research it appears that there is certain flexibility in the approaches of the guides interviewed depending on how the guides perceive the visitors' level of interest and preferences. The guides make decisions about how to facilitate a satisfactory visitor

experience and to what extent this is balanced with the organisational goals and intended tour content.

As discussed in the literature, guides are responsible for selecting information and communicating it to visitors, acting as culture brokers (Kuo, 2007) and gatekeepers who filter information prior to delivery which may lead to omissions or biases (McKercher & du Cros, 2002). Furthermore, interpretation is employed as a management tool and may contribute to achieving the mission of the organization (Benton, 2009; McKercher & du Cros, 2002) which may be influenced by ideological frameworks (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). Guides are faced with competing agendas and, as McArthur and Hall (1996) pointed out, the organisational goals and visitor requirements may differ. Although there is no confirmation in this study, guides may also choose to focus on their own aims and agendas, as indicated in the literature (Ap & Wong, 2001; McArthur & Hall, 1996; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006).

The interviews indicated that guides take a flexible approach whereby adjustments are made to tour content during the tour. As a result more emphasis is placed on certain aspects or particular areas of interest to visitors in order to keep them engaged and facilitate a positive visitor experience. The guides mentioned that in some cases visitors do not require a lot of information and may prefer free time to take photos, in particular in the case of the geothermal area at Te Puia. Providing too much information in this case may present a barrier to the visitor experience, as pointed out by O'Toole (1992; cited in Moscardo, 2007). There may be limits to whether guides can stimulate interest and inspire visitors because, as McKercher and du Cros (2002) state, in cultural tourism not all visitors require the same levels of information. An important consideration for management is that visitors participating in Māori cultural tourism experiences have different motivations and levels of interest, as discussed in the literature (Moscardo & Pearce, 1999; Ryan & Huyton, 2002). Whilst some visitors may require a high level of detail, others are there for leisure, or as part of a tour itinerary. Consequently, in some cases providing too much information may have a negative effect on the overall visitor experience.

The need to simplify the interpretation and also provide an enjoyable experience can create a challenge for guides, in particular when faced with a language barrier. A number of guides voiced concerns about oversimplifying the interpretation which makes it difficult to convey the importance and complexity of cultural heritage, as cautioned by McArthur and Hall (1996) (see 5.2.2.4; 6.2.3). One key consideration here is when groups have mixed characteristics in terms of cultural background and also language. Even if the language is

clear, cultural concepts may still be difficult for visitors to understand. In some cases similar concepts are found in other cultures (see 5.2.2.7).

In managing information in the interpretation process, there is a tension between simplicity and complexity, uniformity and diversity. There are multiple sources and multiple voices which may give rise to conflicting meanings. Guides make decisions about what to include or exclude. Information is presented and the interpretation process is managed in order to satisfy organisational goals and standards of cultural representation, as well as meeting visitor requirements and facilitating a positive visitor experience. When faced with visitors' preconceptions, guides aim to change attitudes by presenting information in such a way that visitors still feel comfortable and welcome (see 6.2.4.2).

6.2.2   Inclusion of the guide's own narrative and perspectives

The case study organisations encourage guides to individualise tours and draw on their own personal experiences to explain diverse aspects of Māori culture (see 5.2.2.3). Many of the Māori guides interviewed explained how they share their own experiences to reflect family values, traditional practices, and changes in society, as opposed to taking all of the information directly from a book. Māori guides are an integral part of Māori cultural heritage and can share their own stories and perspectives of their heritage. This research indicates that guides may feel comfortable sharing their own tribal perspectives, but not necessarily those of others (see 6.2.1.1). In the case of Te Puia, for the guides who are part of the guiding legacy, their own stories are connected to the geothermal area which is not only the key tourism attraction but also part of their cultural heritage. In contrast, guides from elsewhere learn stories about the geothermal area as well as bringing stories and perspectives from their own tribal areas.

Interviews with non-Māori guides at Te Papa indicate that they also share some aspects of their own personal experiences and understanding with visitors. However, the guides pointed out that they cannot speak as Māori or from a Māori perspective. This distinction is an important finding. It is discussed further in 6.4 when examining the similarities in approaches to interpretation and also ways in which Māori and non-Māori guides differ.

From this research it appears that the inclusion of the guide's own personal narratives and perspectives is an important way of engaging visitors on a more personal level, sharing a more personal understanding of what it means to be Māori today, in the past, and in the future. An important consideration is that the Māori guides interviewed are from diverse backgrounds (see 5.3.1) including a number of guides who did not grow up immersed in

Māori culture. The guide's own socio-cultural context, life experience, and learning may influence the understanding and perspectives shared with visitors (see 5.3.2). This is supported by Bunten (2008) who claims that the diversity in the guides' backgrounds produces multiple voices rather than a unified voice.

According to the guides interviewed, personal experiences shared with visitors include stories about family life, and gatherings at the marae (Māori village). It appears that the guides in this study share stories as individuals, as members of family groups and their iwi (tribal group), and as New Zealanders. Personal and collective understandings are shared by guides from within their own reference frames and socio-cultural contexts. Howard et al. (2001) claim that indigenous guides interpret within their own cultural context, whereas this research suggests that guides may have multiple contexts and reference frames through which they interpret.

The findings of this study indicate that the presence of indigenous guides in the role as 'culture bearers' sharing intangible heritage (McKercher & du Cros, 2002) may be a critical part of the cultural experience, as stated in the literature (Howard et al., 2001). Schorch (2010) suggests that through the guide the abstract nature of culture is transformed into a face with a story. This self-representation through sharing personal experiences appears to be a way of sharing not only intellectual, but also physical, emotional and spiritual connections to Māori culture. These personal narratives shared by guides provide evidence of a living culture.

The guides interviewed appeared to enjoy sharing their own experiences with visitors. However, if discussing politics or sensitive issues, several guides indicated that they may limit their own views and personal bias. The findings suggest that there is an emphasis on honesty and personal integrity, as discussed by Kuo (2007). However, it appears that for the guides this is also balanced with the professional role within the organisation, and the role of representing their own people in terms of cultural integrity. Although this research does not identify in what way the priorities for the guides may differ, the findings indicate that within the role of the guide there are different types of responsibility.

Kuo (2007) claims that it is possible to be 'truthful' but not impartial. Furthermore, the literature reiterates that face-to-face interpretation is powerful and may be persuasive (Ham & Weiler, 2003), therefore allowing guides the opportunity to push their own agendas (McArthur & Hall, 1996; Reisinger & Steiner, 2006). The guide's own personal stories and experiences are an engaging and potentially powerful dimension in the interpretation of Māori cultural heritage. However, an honest perspective from the guide may open up an

opportunity not only for including multiple perspectives but also for promoting alternative agendas.

6.2.3   Communication and interaction; managing language barriers

The most common interpretive techniques discussed by the guides included explanations and presentations, storytelling, and providing opportunities to ask questions. Furthermore, asking visitors questions as a way of finding out more and getting them involved is considered important. Storytelling, which is a traditional the way of passing on knowledge in Māori culture, is a popular technique. Many of the Māori guides interviewed who grew up in their culture explained that they themselves learnt through listening to stories told by the elders and older guides. Within Māori tourism experiences it is also a way of sharing an understanding with visitors (see chapter 4 and 5.3).

Following a visitor-centred approach, this research indicates that guides make adjustments to the language level and style of communication for different visitor groups based on feedback through verbal and non-verbal cues. Adjustments are made for age, language ability, and familiarity with terms in Māori language. A further consideration is the style of humour (see 5.2.2.4). According to the guides in this study it is important to build a rapport, sometimes using humour to make visitors feel relaxed and open up to questions, so that there is a positive interpersonal relationship with visitors (see 5.2.2.6), as described by Kuo (2007). An important consideration, mentioned by some of the guides, is that humour is not always understood due to differences in culture and language, as reported by Salazar (2007).

Interactive techniques, such as hands on activities (see 5.2.2.2), and audio visual tools were used by guides interviewed in this study, as proposed by Beck and Cable (2002). In addition to providing a more interactive and enjoyable experience for visitors, these techniques may enable guides to overcome language barriers. As discussed in the literature on interpretation and cross-cultural mediation, interpretation depends on the visitors' ability not only to understand the spoken words, but also their ability to transfer the meaning to their own reference frame (Beck & Cable, 2002; Smith, V.L., 2001; Tilden, 1977). The simplification of both language and concepts may lead to misinterpretation and unintended messages. This becomes particularly important when considering the situation where an outside language interpreter is needed to mediate between the guide and the group of visitors.

One of the main challenges identified by research participants is the language barrier and working with outside language interpreters (see 5.2.2.4). The interviews reported uncertainty and some concern as to how effectively and appropriately messages are translated by outside interpreters. This concern regarding the potential misinterpretation of Māori cultural heritage due to language barriers is clearly an important finding and highlights the need for further research. Previous studies have indicated the need for more translation (Colmar Brunton, 2004) and the tourism literature on guiding and cross-cultural mediation identifies issues regarding the adequacy of the guide's knowledge and communication skills (Weiler & Yu, 2007). However, to discuss this matter in further detail is beyond the scope of this research.

Whilst it is important for guides to be knowledgeable, an important consideration for management is whether the guides can communicate effectively with visitors. The guide's ability to explain complex concepts in a way that enables visitors to gain an understanding is also influenced by the characteristics of the visitors. Cultural concepts may be difficult to understand if there is not anything similar in the visitors' culture. Cultural distance may result in a cultural barrier. Furthermore, there may be communication difficulties due to language. Managing these potential barriers requires attention, in particular when working with an outside language interpreter.

6.2.4   Connections, relationships and mediating attitudes

6.2.4.1   *Facilitating connections and meaning making*

The guides interviewed often deal with visitor groups of mixed characteristics. Through finding connections guides actively facilitate the meaning making and the negotiation of multiple perspectives <u>for</u> and <u>with</u> the participation of visitors. The interpretation process aims to enhance the visitors' understanding and appreciation of Māori culture.

Māori guides, through their physical presence and personal narratives, provide a direct connection to Māori culture (see 6.2.2), as discussed in the literature (Bunten, 2008, 2010; Howard et al., 2001). An important finding is that non-Māori guides also draw on examples of their own personal meanings and connections to Māori culture (see 5.2.2.7 and 5.3.2). This research indicates that both Māori and non-Māori guides draw on their own understanding of Māori culture and personal meanings, and convey not only intellectual connections but in some cases emotional and spiritual connections.

According to this study, finding relevant connections is an important dimension of the interpretation process (see 5.2.2.7). Guides reported giving explanations through analogies and examples which are familiar and relevant to visitors. These connections are important for the relationship with visitors (see 5.2.2.6), and also to facilitate an understanding of Māori cultural heritage by making the interpretation more relevant and meaningful. Visitors bring their own perspectives, values and contexts for understanding and gaining meaning, as reiterated in the literature (Amoamo & Thompson, 2010; Foxlee, 2007; Hooper-Greenhill, 2000; McIntosh & Johnson, 2004; Moscardo, 1996). Schorch's (2010) study demonstrates how visitors use their own reference frame to gain an understanding of Māori culture.

One management implication is that to enable connections, guides need to have knowledge of the visitors and the relevance of Māori cultural heritage to the visitors, as suggested by Wang et al. (1999; in Gross & Zimmerman, 2002). The guide's knowledge of international visitors stems from a range of learning experiences (see 5.3). One key consideration identified in this research is that when finding connections through comparisons with other cultures, incorrect assumptions about cultural similarities and differences may be made if there is not a deeper understanding of the cultural context. This study revealed that when facilitating connections, guides need to be aware of the attitudes and misconceptions that visitors might have, not only about Māori culture but also about other cultures (see 5.2.2.5). The issue of misconceptions of indigenous cultures held by visitors has been discussed in the literature (Bunten, 2008, 2010; Howard et al., 2001; McArthur & Hall, 1996; Yang, 2011). With the exception of Howard et al. (2001) and Bunten (2008), little attention has been paid to how guides may facilitate a change in attitudes through the interpretation process (see 6.2.4.2).

6.2.4.2   *Managing relationships and mediating attitudes*

When asked about their role, several guides emphasised the importance of looking after visitors and making them feel welcome (see 5.2.2.1). At the same time guides share stories and an understanding of Māori culture, as well as dispelling myths (see 5.2.2.5). This research indicates that when managing the relationship with visitors, guides take into consideration their hosting role and the interpersonal interaction with visitors, as well as their resource management role (Howard et al., 2001) when challenging stereotypes and mediating attitudes.

From this research it appears that Māori guides endeavour to change visitors' attitudes, as found in previous studies on indigenous guides (Bunten, 2008; Howard et al., 2001). A key finding of this study is that non-Māori guides also challenge the stereotypes and

misconceptions of Māori culture held by visitors (see 5.2.2.5). This even includes reconciling stereotypical images held about the physical appearance of a Māori guide (see 5.3.1).

Although many guides indicated that it is important to challenge visitors' attitudes, it was also pointed out that it must be done 'in the right way', and in a non-threatening way (see 5.2.2.5), as discussed by Bunten (2008). The findings of this research suggest that maintaining a positive relationship and building a rapport with visitors is the foundation for being able to mediate attitudes, and consequently change how visitors view Māori culture. According to this study, through face-to-face interpretation guides are able to clarify differences and in some cases discuss complex issues, as claimed by Howard et al. (2001).

The key management implications are that there is an opportunity to change attitudes through face-to-face interpretation, and facilitate a positive experience at the same time. The guides interviewed indicated that understanding the visitors' country or culture may enable them to facilitate connections and help understand their beliefs (Ham, 2009). This research indicates that guides reflect and examine the reasons why visitors might think in a certain way in order to understand their attitudes. It is, however, important to note that the relationship, as Moscardo (2007) cautioned, may be hindered by the stereotypes visitors and guides have of each other. From this study it appears that guides may shift towards the visitors' frame of reference, as suggested by Salazar (2007).

This research reveals that interpretation is used to influence visitors' attitudes about Māori culture. Gaining an understanding of the visitors' perspectives may enable this process. A key consideration when managing attitudes, described by guides interviewed, is ensuring that the relationship with visitors is positive and the experience is enjoyable. Therefore, when managing attitudes, in addition to understanding the visitors' perspectives, maintaining a positive relationship may be critical. The guide's own perceptions of visitors may change and evolve with experience doing tours. The management implications are later discussed in chapter 7.

6.3 Implications of organisational differences at Te Puia and Te Papa

This section examines the similarities and differences in approaches to and perspectives on guiding and interpretation for international visitors at Te Papa and Te Puia. The key themes in the comparison are the differences in visitor experience, organisational framework, and the background of the guides and training programmes.

6.3.1 Te Puia

6.3.1.1 Visitor experience and organisational goals

At Te Puia where the geothermal area is a main attraction, it appears that for many visitors enjoying the experience of visiting the geothermal area may be more important than gaining in-depth knowledge of Māori culture, (see 6.2.1.2 and 6.2.3). As a result, guides manage the experience by providing less information and allowing visitors some free time to enjoy the landscapes and take photos. During this time though, those with further questions or specific interests can interact directly with the guide. The findings indicate that depending on the visitors' requirements, guides may choose to limit the amount of information provided so that interpretation does not become a barrier to facilitating an enjoyable visitor experience (see 6.2.1.2). It appears that the guide's role as a host in providing an enjoyable and memorable experience is an important way of sharing Māori culture and 'who we are as people'. This suggests that culture is shared through behaviour and a positive interpersonal relationship. Generating a positive feeling is important, not only intellectual connections. As stated in the literature, providing a lot of information does not make visitors more mindful if they are not interested (see 6.2.1). This research indicates that fostering an understanding and appreciation of Māori culture is not only through providing information and giving explanations, although this is one of the main functions of the guide. It is also the way of sharing Māori culture which can generate an understanding. In the case of Te Puia this understanding may be through positive interaction with a Māori guide who facilitates a memorable experience of a culturally significant place. Considering these dimensions of providing a memorable cultural experience could become increasingly important when there is a language barrier. At Te Puia tours are included in the entry and groups may have mixed characteristics. Visitors arrive with different levels of English and also different levels of knowledge and interest.

6.3.1.2   The guide as part of the resource

The Māori cultural tourism experience at Te Puia has the guiding legacy as a foundation. Over generations guiding has been passed on through mentoring, long before the organisation was established. The guides are integral to the resource (see 5.2.2.3; 6.2.2). An important feature of the interpretation process at Te Puia, (see chapter 4), is the presence of a Māori guide sharing personal stories and understandings of their own heritage.

An important relationship between the guide's own knowledge and learning experiences was identified in this research (see 5.3.1 and 5.3.2). The guides at Te Puia reported learning about Māori culture as part of life. Learning included oral histories and storytelling by listening to the elders. The guides interviewed at Te Puia emphasised that learning about Māori culture has been mainly through living and not out of a book. Although formal training appeared to be less important within the organisation, guides emphasised that they are still learning and mentioned on-going consultation with peers, mentors and knowledgeable people both inside and outside of the organisation. Although the guides indicated that they conducted some research by reading, there appeared to be a preference for learning from other people and being able to discuss questions. This study reveals that the learning experiences of guides may be an important dimension influencing the approaches to interpretation and the way guides share their understanding with visitors (see 6.4). Importantly, the interviews indicate that learning is considered to be on-going and an investment in building knowledge, not only for the organisation and the individual guides. The broader implications extend beyond the guiding role, in particular with regards to passing on and extending knowledge within family and communities (see 6.4).

6.3.2   Te Papa

6.3.2.1   Visitor experience and organisational goals

At Te Papa all guides do general tours with bicultural content. In addition, there are Māori Experience Tours with Māori guides. From the interviews it appears that there is a focus on sharing knowledge through providing extensive tour content which not only focuses on the tangible collections but also the intangible concepts of Māori cultural heritage, such as traditions, beliefs and values. This research finds that the focus of the tour experience and interpretation is information-based with educational aims. Yet at the same time guides are expected to facilitate a positive and enjoyable visitor experience. To achieve this some guides reported using a range of interpretive strategies and techniques, in some cases

facilitating a more interactive experience to suit the visitors' interests, age group, and to overcome language barriers (see 6.2.1 and 6.2.3). Tours are not included in the entry of the museum and guides indicated that visitor groups may have mixed characteristics, including different levels of knowledge, interest and motivations. Although visitors are expected to understand English in order to participate on general tours, language abilities may vary. Some foreign language groups are managed by guides at Te Papa with particular language skills or through an outside language interpreter. One of the main challenges identified is the language barrier when working through outside language interpreters. This provides an area for further research (see chapter 7).

The research suggests that guides make judgements when there is a need to find a balance between visitor requirements and the organisational goals. Such decisions may be influenced by the preferences of the guides. Taking a visitor-centred approach, if visitors show an interest in Māori content, guides cater to their interests thus keeping them mindful and satisfied and facilitating a positive experience. However, this may result in an imbalance of bicultural content (see 6.2.1.2). In other cases, visitors or the tour operator may state a preference for no Māori content. From this study it appears that some guides may still encourage visitors by creating interest in the Māori tour content at Te Papa. By engaging or persuading visitors in this way, it may be possible that the guides aim to satisfy the organisational goals, and in some cases personal preferences. This research found that the Māori guides interviewed appeared to enjoy sharing their own personal stories, experiences and perspectives, and having time to respond to visitors' questions, in particular on Māori experience tours.

6.3.2.2 *The guides in the context of the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa*

Guides at Te Papa aim to share an understanding of Māori culture and Māori perspectives within a bicultural framework. The Māori and non-Māori guides interviewed for this study have diverse backgrounds and life experiences (see 5.3.1 & 5.3.2; 6.4). From the interviews it appears that the guide training programme is considered to be extremely important and valuable. Further learning opportunities include on-going training sessions, informal discussions with peers and mentors within the organisation. Training for guides at Te Papa covers the overall museum content. This includes sessions on Māori cultural content for tours, as well as opportunities to learn Te Reo (Māori language). Not all of the Māori guides interviewed grew up speaking their language or immersed in their culture. The previous experience and type of knowledge of the non-Māori guides interviewed appears to be mixed.

Although all guides received similar tour training, this research indicates that Māori and non-Māori guides share knowledge about Māori cultural heritage in different ways. This suggests that Māori guides are able to link their own experiences to the tour content and share cultural knowledge from a Māori perspective and share an understanding on a more personal level, regardless of whether they were raised in their culture or not. The guide's life experience is 'knowledge' which cannot be measured in the same way as knowledge of the tour content. However, it is a way of connecting tangibles to intangibles making the culture come alive and be meaningful. Non-Māori guides also share some of their own experiences and personal meaning but recognise that although they cannot share from a Māori perspective (see 6.4), they may foster an understanding and inspire visitors to learn more. The research suggests that the non-Māori guides share as individuals within their own socio-cultural contexts and as New Zealanders.

6.4 Guiding and interpretation by Māori and non-Māori

This section of the discussion compares and contrasts approaches to and perspectives on guiding and interpretation by Māori and non-Māori guides and addresses the second research objective. The comparison focuses on the following aspects.

- First, interpretation 'by whom?' and the guide's ethnic identity as a dimension of the interpretation process when sharing Māori cultural heritage.
- Second, the influence of the guide's background, socio-cultural context and life experience on ways of learning and developing knowledge. Learning is also discussed as an on-going process and an investment in building knowledge to uphold cultural heritage.
- Third, 'for whom?' examines the transfer of cultural knowledge and the influence of the guide's background and ways of learning about visitors and understanding the significance of Māori cultural heritage to the visitors.

This study suggests that interaction with a Māori guide is a key component of all guided tours; in particular at Te Puia and on Māori Experience Tours at Te Papa. Both Māori and non-Māori guides do general tours at Te Papa in which knowledge and an understanding of Māori cultural heritage is shared. The similarities and differences in approaches are discussed in this section. The key contribution of this research is providing insights into the role of non-Māori guides in transferring an understanding of Māori culture to international visitors.

6.4.1   The guide's ethnic identity

As discussed in 6.2.2, and as supported by the literature, this study indicates that the presence of a Māori guide who can create personal links and share from within their own cultural context may be critical for the Māori tourism experience. All Māori guides are part of Māori cultural heritage and can speak therefore from a Māori perspective, as well as from their own tribal perspectives and their personal experiences. As discussed in 6.2.1.1, guides may choose to limit whose tribal perspective they share. In addition to mixed tribal ancestry, many guides also have ancestry other than Māori which suggests differences in backgrounds and upbringing, as well as physical appearance (see 5.3.1). Guides draw on their own knowledge and personal experience, which enables multiple voices to be heard. The perspectives of guides are influenced by diverse socio-cultural contexts and a range of life experiences. However in a cross-cultural encounter, although the presence of a Māori guide is important, other factors influence the guide's ability to transfer an appropriate understanding of Māori culture to international visitors. Meaning and understanding ultimately depends on the visitors (see 6.2.4).

A key contribution of this research is gaining insights into the role of non-Māori guides in Māori tourism experiences. Furthermore, the research provides insights into the cross-cultural dimensions of the interpretation process. The non-Māori guides interviewed are also diverse in ethnic identity, backgrounds and life experience. They have undergone training so that they can share an understanding of Māori culture within the framework of a bicultural organisation. However, the guides emphasised that they cannot speak as Māori or from a Māori perspective. Instead they speak within the context of New Zealand society or as New Zealanders. The non-Māori guides in this study also draw on their own knowledge and experiences. It appears that these guides also attach personal meanings to the information they share.

From this research in two case study sites, similarities in the approaches to guiding and interpretation by Māori and non-Māori guides can be drawn. Firstly, all the guides interviewed appeared to show enthusiasm and passion when talking about their role. Both Māori and non-Māori guides stressed the importance of making sure that information is from a reliable source and shared in an honest way (see 6.2.1). A key finding from this research is that both Māori and non-Māori guides challenge stereotypes and misconceptions (see 6.2.4.2). They seek to change visitors' attitudes about Māori culture by enhancing their understanding.

6.4.2   The guide's background and learning

In this research, in order to compare and contrast Māori and non-Māori approaches to guiding and interpretation, the guide's background and learning processes are considered. It is important to note that personal qualities appear to be a key consideration when recruiting. Through training, skills and knowledge can be developed (see 5.2.1.1). Rather than attempting to compare the levels of knowledge, this study considers the differences in the types of knowledge and understanding guides have based on the way they have learned. As discussed in 6.2.1 and 6.4.1, there are also important differences when considering whose story is being shared and by whom.

Guides are encouraged to draw on their own personal experiences and the guiding style is individualised (see 6.2.1.2). This allows guides to contribute their own stories and perspectives (see 6.2.2). There is no official tour script at either of the case study sites. The assumption therefore is that for non-standardised non-scripted tours some of the information and perspectives shared are influenced by the guide's background and socio-cultural context.

For the Māori guides interviewed, in addition to the diversity of tribal influences, there are differences in upbringing. Whilst most Māori guides interviewed grew up learning about their culture, not all have in-depth knowledge of their language. A number of guides have attended training courses and university later in life, whereas others have learnt in more traditional ways at the marae (Māori village), from family members, respected elders, and mentors. Having different backgrounds also implies a diversity of experiences and ways of learning about Māori culture. Learning appears to have been a natural process and an on-going part of daily life for some, whereas others have made more deliberate decisions to learn about Māori culture, both inside and outside of their own cultural context (see 5.3).

The non-Māori guides interviewed are also influenced by contextual factors and have a range of life and learning experiences. Most of the non-Māori guides interviewed explained that they had grown up with little understanding and awareness of Māori culture, due to factors such as geographical location as well as external socio-cultural factors of the New Zealand context during a particular era. These guides have learnt about Māori culture in various ways through academic studies, workplace training courses, and as a result of personal interests and experiences. Many of these guides referred to the influence of living through a period of change in New Zealand society. In addition the study reveals that for some non-Māori guides, their own way of understanding Māori culture appears to hold quite personal meanings (see 6.2.4.1).

According to this study, the background characteristics and learning processes of all guides may influence not only what information, understandings and perspectives guides share, but also how they share. Whether they have learnt from living, listening to stories, reading books or by talking to knowledgeable people, the guides interviewed evidently draw on their own experiences and understandings. The information the guides choose to share may have personal meanings and intellectual, emotional, spiritual, and physical connections. Individual guide's perspectives are influenced by diverse factors.

This research conceptualises the guide's background as an on-going learning process, whereby different learning experiences build knowledge and understanding. This is therefore one of the dimensions influencing the interpretation process. When the guide is drawing on their own experience and understanding, this extends the tour content beyond a fixed script to include personal meanings. Although information may be presented as facts and figures, the process of learning and sharing information is subjective. The guides interviewed share knowledge and understanding at different levels of intimacy. The way they share may also depend on the guide's perception of what is most relevant to the visitors.

The importance of the on-going nature of learning is identified in this project. In addition to drawing on previous knowledge and experience, guides learn through interaction with visitors, through conversations with peers, mentors and elders. Learning occurs through reading and research. As a result, guides extend their knowledge and understanding of Māori culture, their knowledge of visitors, and develop their interpretation skills. This may enhance the guide's ability to facilitate cross-cultural connections, mediate meaning and manage attitudes. For all guides this learning may be important for both professional and personal development and also satisfaction. This research indicates that for Māori guides in particular, this learning process is also an investment in their culture. It is important for guides to develop the ability to pass on knowledge not only to visitors but also within family and the community for future generations.

6.4.3 Connecting with the visitors

The guide's characteristics and factors influencing the ability to share cultural understanding with a range of international visitors are examined in this section. Facilitating cross-cultural connections may be critical to enhancing the understanding and appreciation of Māori culture. Furthermore, the experience should be enjoyable and memorable.

When asked about their knowledge of international visitors, guides mentioned a range of learning experiences prior to their role as a guide. Previous learning experiences include university studies, language learning, experience in hospitality, working and travelling abroad, as well as personal interests such as music and cinema. Some of the guides interviewed found connections with visitors through their own ethnic identity and growing up with more than one cultural influence. The study reveals that guides draw on sameness and commonalities to become closer, yet also identify cultural differences which may also be to show uniqueness. The guides indicated that when sharing an understanding of Māori culture, it is possible to find connections within any culture. Similarities with other indigenous cultures appeared to be more easily identified. The findings indicate that through interaction and discussion during the tour experience, visitors also identify some of these connections within their own cultural contexts and their contributions allow the guides to learn more about cultural similarities and differences. In addition, guides draw on other connections from previous learning experiences and accumulated knowledge. At both Te Puia and Te Papa guides also mentioned learning from peers. In the case of Te Papa where the host team is more diverse culturally, there is an increased opportunity for learning and building knowledge.

From interviews with two of the guides who provide tours in foreign languages, it appears that these guides have a more in-depth understanding of particular visitor groups. Although this project has focussed on tours given in English, the need to gain insights into interpretation in other languages is highlighted as an important area for future research, in particular when considering the challenges of working with outside interpreters.

For all guides, learning about visitors is on-going and the guide's own life experience contributes to this knowledge. In addition to doing research, guides said that they also learned about visitors and from visitors during the tour. Furthermore, by learning from their experiences with visitors of how to share an understanding of Māori culture, this research indicates that the approaches to interpretation may change. The findings suggest that there is an on-going learning process which takes place during the tours, in discussions with peers, and through reflective practice. The implications are that as the guide's understanding of visitors is enhanced, the approaches to interpretation and ways of sharing Māori culture evolve.

6.5　Managing Māori cultural tourism experiences

6.5.1　Approaches to guiding and interpretation in Māori cultural tourism experiences

Guides aim to enhance visitors' understanding and appreciation of Māori culture, as well as providing an enjoyable experience. The findings from this study indicate that control of the cultural content is important. Therefore, guides make sure that the information is from a reliable source. Acknowledging whose perspective is being shared is a further consideration. Generic information about Māori culture is shared in a way that is accessible to visitors. Tribal diversity is also acknowledged but may add complexity to the interpretation. For some guides, an understanding of tribal differences is shared through their own experiences and understanding and through their own tribal perspectives. However, not all guides may have the capacity or feel comfortable to speak on behalf of others. During the tour experience guides may need to decide on an appropriate balance between the visitor requirements and the organisational goals as these may differ. Following a visitor-centred approach, guides make adjustments to meet the needs of visitors so as to facilitate a positive experience. They make decisions about the amount and level of information to be provided, the style of communication, and the level of interaction. Concepts are explained in a way that is accessible and by finding connections which are relevant to visitors. As part of the Māori cultural experience guides contribute their own stories and personal perspectives. However, guides may choose to limit the extent to which they share their viewpoints on certain issues. Building a positive relationship with visitors is of prime importance. Maintaining a comfortable relationship with visitors may enable guides to challenge stereotypes and manage attitudes in a way which is appropriate. Face-to-face interpretation can provide an opportunity for visitors to see Māori culture in a different light.

6.5.2　Comparing and contrasting Te Puia and Te Papa

Both Te Puia and Te Papa offer guided experiences with storytelling. Both organisations provide information and training for guides to develop individualised tours. The approach to interpretation is visitor-centred. Guides, therefore, make decisions about how to manage the tour and adjust the tour content and style in accordance with the visitors' needs. Interaction with a Māori guide is an important and integral part of the Māori tour experience. The guide's own stories and perspectives are shared as part of the tour content. Guides at both organisations identified challenges in working with language interpreters.

The visitor experience at Te Puia is part of an outdoor experience in a geothermal area. Enjoyment of the experience and the site is an important aspect as well as learning about Māori culture. The style and pace of guiding allows for some free time. At Te Papa extensive information is provided during the tour. Tours at Te Puia are included in the entry. Consequently, guides appeared used to dealing with groups of mixed characteristics and simplifying explanations for visitors with little English. At Te Papa, although visitors on regular tours are expected to understand English, groups can have diverse characteristics.

At Te Puia guide training is mainly through mentoring. The guides are all New Zealand Māori, many of whom are from the local tribe and linked to the guiding legacy. These guides grew up in the area learning from older guides. There are also guides from other tribal areas who have grown up with different influences. At Te Papa there is an extensive formal training programme which includes some mentoring. Māori and non-Māori guides interviewed at Te Papa are from diverse backgrounds. Not all the Māori guides grew up immersed in their culture and many of the non-Māori guides had little understanding of Māori culture when growing up. Guides have diverse professional and personal experience.

Regarding the organisational frameworks, Te Puia is a Māori organisation and Te Papa is a bicultural organisation. General tours at Te Papa have bicultural content which allows non-Māori guides to share an understanding of Māori culture.

6.5.3   Perceptions of Māori and non-Māori guides

For Māori and non-Māori guides interviewed, it is important that information is from a reliable source. Some Māori guides may find a reliable source within their own family, whereas non-Māori guides rely more on people within the organisation. Māori guides are an integral part of the resource which allows them to speak from their own tribal perspective and present a Māori perspective. Regardless of whether they have grown up immersed in their culture or not, Māori guides can contribute their own stories and perspectives linked to their own cultural heritage. This research indicates that non-Māori guides speak of their understanding of Māori cultural heritage, but not as Māori nor from a Māori perspective. They share personal meanings which relate to their own stories in the context of New Zealand, or as a New Zealander. In certain cases, non-Māori guides may be considered as a catalyst in fostering understanding and inspiring visitors to learn more about Māori culture.

For Māori guides, sharing an understanding of tribal diversity may be through personal experience of their own tribe(s). However several guides recognised the limitations of their capacity to share knowledge and understanding of different tribes. For most Māori guides,

learning about Māori cultural heritage is part of life. In contrast, for most non-Māori guides interviewed there has been a deliberate decision to learn later in life. Storytelling for many of the Māori guides interviewed is based on the way the guides themselves learnt through listening to others, as opposed to studying from a book. All of the guides interviewed have been exposed to a range of formal and informal learning experiences. Certain learning processes appear more influential for some guides than others.

Regarding connections to Māori cultural heritage, it is clear that Māori guides are born with a connection. Due to the diversity of backgrounds of the guides, it appears that the types of connections are also diverse. The research reveals that non-Māori guides also find personal meanings in aspects of Māori culture. These connections may be emotional, spiritual, physical, as well as intellectual.

As discussed in 6.2.2 and 6.4, and emphasised by Howard et al. (2001), it is clear from this research that non-Māori guides cannot interpret in the same way as Māori guides. In saying this, the research also suggests that there are differences in the way individual guides interpret. Besides personality and individual style, there are differences in tribal influences, upbringings, life experiences and learning. By taking away the script and giving guides the ability to share their own personal experiences, meanings and ways of understanding, no two guides can ever be the same. Even when there may be a common understanding of knowledge from the same source, the way the guides share with the visitors can also differ. It may depend on what each guide believes the visitors will understand. Meaning-making is in the mind of the visitor but as this study indicates, even though it cannot be the same, both Māori and non-Māori guides in their approach to guiding and interpretation may challenge stereotypes in order to produce a positive change in attitudes. In their different ways the guides interviewed endeavour to facilitate an understanding and appreciation of Māori culture, and an enjoyable and memorable experience for visitors.

7 CONCLUSION AND FURTHER RESEARCH

7.1 Summary of the research

The insights into guiding and interpretation in Māori cultural tourism experiences for international visitors contribute to the literature on Māori tourism and interpretation. By providing an understanding of the cultural dimensions of the interpretation of Māori cultural heritage, this research also adds to the wider literature on indigenous tourism. Moreover, through a comparison of Māori and non-Māori guides the study contributes to the understanding of the cross-cultural dimensions of the interpretation process and the influence of the guide's characteristics. The findings also make a contribution to the literature on indigenous tourism by providing insights into the role of non-indigenous guides in sharing indigenous cultural heritage. In addition, the comparison between the perceptions of Māori and non-Māori guides provides a key contribution in an area yet to be addressed in the academic literature.

One of the key strengths of this study is found in the research method and the choice of a constructivist perspective which is appropriate for examining the interpretation process. The development of the conceptual framework to address the research problem provided a structure for data collection. This framework provides a tool for future studies on face-to-face interpretation in Māori and indigenous tourism and may be adapted for studies on interpretation in other fields. Furthermore, a systematic approach to data analysis and coding was followed, and the framework developed from inductive analysis allows the data to be summarised through the key themes. This framework provides a foundation for future research on the interpretation of cultural heritage.

The findings of this project contribute to the literature on interpretation and Māori tourism. The dimensions and factors influencing the interpretation process are identified, and the findings highlight the complexity of mediating multiple narratives and perspectives in Māori cultural tourism experiences. Furthermore, the insights into the guide's role in facilitating understanding and mediating the visitors' perspectives have implications for management and guide training. The findings from the two case study sites are a point of departure for understanding the role of the guide in the interpretation of Māori cultural heritage. The management implications identified in this research may apply to other Māori tourism experiences and indigenous tourism elsewhere.

The research method for this project increases the trustworthiness of the findings. The choice of a social constructivist approach has allowed multiple voices to be heard. As

learning emerged as an important theme in this research, the social constructivist perspective allowed the researcher to identify the multiple influences and dimensions of learning. Had the researcher chosen a positivist and quantitative approach, learning and the differentiation of learning processes may not have emerged as such an influential theme. Furthermore, approaches to interpretation are based on constructivist learning theories. Semi-structured face-to-face interviews allowed the participants to speak freely. Checking of transcripts by participants was an important stage in the process to ensure confidence in the data. An inductive approach to data analysis allowed the primary data to determine the themes and categories. The researcher's own background in guiding and cross-cultural communication and mediation gave validity to the researcher's ability to interpret the data.

By viewing knowledge as learning processes, this research therefore provides a conceptual contribution. The guide's knowledge is conceptualised in terms of the guide's learning processes which lead to different types of knowledge. The different ways of learning influence the guide's approach to interpretation. The way cultural knowledge and understanding is shared involves thinking, feeling, and being. The background and learning processes of the guide is an important dimension influencing the guide's approach to face-to-face interpretation of indigenous cultural heritage. Knowledge and learning are considered to be on-going. During tours valuable learning can occur through interaction with international visitors. Building knowledge and learning occurs both inside and outside the workplace. These considerations are important for recruitment, the on-going training of guides, and the generation of knowledge within the organisation. Direction for future research has been identified (see 7.4), in particular to address the key challenges, such as the language barrier and working with outside interpreters.

7.2   *Key management implications*

The research has implications for Māori tourism and guide training. Although cultural integrity is critical in Māori tourism, little attention has been paid to the role of the guide in the Māori cultural tourism experience for international visitors and how the interpretation process is managed by guides to ensure a greater awareness, understanding and appreciation of Māori cultural heritage. Regarding the nature of the Māori cultural experience this research provides insights by examining the guide's role in facilitating a meaningful visitor experience and understanding the cultural and cross-cultural dimensions of the interpretation of Māori cultural heritage.

For international visitors Māori culture is an important part of the visitor experience. The key international tourism markets are becoming culturally more diverse. By gaining an

understanding of the cross-cultural components of the Māori tourism experience and the management implications, this research is valuable for tour operators and the wider tourism industry.

The guide's own personal stories and experiences are an important source of knowledge and play a potentially powerful role in the interpretation process. External factors, such as the guide's socio-cultural context, shape these experiences and perspectives. It is important for management to consider the ways in which the guide's own experience and narrative can add value, yet at the same time consider the guide's responsibilities and priorities not only in terms of the organisation but also the guide's personal and collective interests. The guide's contributions may provide learning opportunities for visitors. However, they may also lead to the promotion of alternative agendas.

Guides make decisions about how to facilitate a satisfactory visitor experience and to what extent this is balanced with the organisational goals and intended tour content. Management need to be aware not only of the priorities of the organisation, but also those of the visitors and of the guides.

The language barrier and communication through an outside interpreter is a key challenge identified in this research. This has direct implications for control over representation. Communication through an interpreter is a complex process and the simplification of both language and concepts may lead to misinterpretation. Outside interpreters, in a similar way to the guides, may also aim to satisfy the requirements of their organisation, of the visitors and their own interests. This could have important implications not only for the managing the visitor experience but also for cultural integrity.

The extent to which guides have the capacity or the desire to mediate an understanding of multiple tribal narratives and tribal perspectives in indigenous tourism has important management and training implications. The ability to share cultural heritage is not only a matter of knowledge and understanding. It may not always be appropriate for guides to speak on behalf of others or share their perspectives. Furthermore, mediating visitors' multiple perspectives adds further complexity and may require greater levels of awareness and flexibility amongst guides.

In terms of recruitment and training, management need to consider in what ways different types of learning lead to different types of knowledge. For recruitment, it is necessary to consider formal and informal learning processes that contribute to the guide's knowledge. This research suggests that creating a positive environment for sharing knowledge and

learning through mentoring and discussions with peers can provide opportunities for building knowledge and confidence in individuals and within the organisation. Guides also learn through interaction with visitors. The resulting knowledge, if shared within the organisation, can contribute to the organisation's body of knowledge and the development of training programmes. Collaborative training programmes which include training for non-Māori guides may be critical in order to maintain control over the cultural content in Māori tourism experiences. Furthermore, training for outside language interpreters is a key consideration, in particular for visitor markets with high levels of participation in Māori tourism.

7.3 Limitations

Gaining a demand-side perspective of guiding and interpretation in Māori cultural tourism experiences is beneficial. However, it was beyond the scope of the current study to conduct research with visitors. The research is limited to the supply side by gaining insights into the role of the guide and the perspectives on and approaches to guiding and interpretation. The findings relate to managing tour experiences with international visitors, rather than domestic ones. As visitor characteristics influence how the interpretation is managed, it is expected that there may be differences when considering domestic visitors.

The research focuses on the perspectives of guides and their approaches to managing the interpretation process at two Māori tourism attractions with different characteristics in terms of the setting and visitor experience. It was not the aim of this research to analyse specific details regarding the interpretation of Māori cultural content. This is outside the scope of the current research.

One of the limitations of the findings is the extent to which they may be applicable to other organisational frameworks and settings for Māori cultural tourism experiences. This research is limited to two organisations, one Māori and one bicultural. Each organisation has key responsibilities regarding Māori cultural heritage which extend beyond the commercial tourism operations and the visitor experience. Although other organisational frameworks and tourism setting may differ, the findings do highlight important factors related to the control over representation of Māori cultural heritage and the role of the guide in managing the interpretation process. These findings may have implications for management in other Māori tourism operations.

The research focuses on sharing Māori cultural heritage on guided tours in English with international visitors. Due to the characteristics of the research participants, the findings do

not focus on tours given in other languages. It is outside the scope of this research to discuss further the challenges regarding language barriers and outside interpreters which are identified in this study. However, as the language barrier is one of the key challenges identified, this indicates an important area for future research.

7.4   Future research

The current study is based on a Māori organisation, Te Puia, and a bicultural organisation with public sector input, Te Papa. Other organisational frameworks, such as privately or collectively owned and operated Māori tourism businesses and non-Māori commercial operations, could be the subject of future research.

The visitor experience cannot be understood through the supply-side perspective of the current project. Further research could examine the demand side to gain an understanding of the visitors' perceptions.

Further research could examine the formal and informal learning processes of guides and how these influence the interpretation process. Understanding learning processes inside and outside the workplace and the contribution of the guide's background, interests, and motivations has implications for recruitment and the development of training programmes. This project identified the language barrier as a key challenge. Therefore, future research could examine interpretation in other languages, including sign language. The development of cooperative and collaborative training models with Māori and non-Māori guides is an area for future studies. Developing effective training models may be important for overcoming barriers when working with outside interpreters.

The current research identifies aspects of managing the interpretation process which can be applied to international visitors in general. Future research could identify specific approaches and strategies not only for visitor groups of a particular nationality, cultural background, or language group, but also for groups with mixed characteristics. With increasingly diverse visitor markets, tour groups can be culturally and linguistically diverse. Another area for studies is examining approaches to guiding and interpretation with Māori and non-Māori New Zealand visitors.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: Information sheet for Project Participants

APPENDIX B: Consent form for Project Participants

APPENDIX C: Consent form for Managers of Participating Organisations

APPENDIX D: Interview schedule for Managers

APPENDIX E: Interview schedule for Guides

APPENDIX F: Form for checking transcripts

APPENDIX G: Research Participants

APPENDIX A: INFORMATION SHEET FOR PROJECT PARTICIPANTS

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wānanga o te Ūpoko o te Ika a Māui

TOUR 591 Masters Thesis   Trisha Dwyer
The Interpretation of Cultural Heritage: Sharing Māori Cultural Tourism Experiences with International Visitors
Information Sheet for Project Participants

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate I thank you. If you decide not to take part, I thank you for considering my request.

The project

This project is part of the Master of Tourism Management at Victoria University of Wellington. This research will explore the role of the tour guide as an interpreter when sharing Māori cultural heritage with international visitors. The research aims to compare and contrast the perceptions of Māori and non-Māori tour guides and to gain insight into how the interpretation by guides is adapted for international visitors to enhance understanding and appreciation of Māori culture. The research has implications for visitor management and tour guide training.

The task

The research is based on two case studies. Participants in this research are guides with experience in the interpretation of Māori cultural heritage for international visitors, and managers responsible for recruitment and training of guides. Face-to-face interviews with each participant are conducted in order to gain insights into the ways guides adapt the interpretation for international visitors. The research attempts to identify relevant themes, key challenges and implications for visitor management and tour guide training which will be presented in the thesis report as the output of the research.

Participation in the project

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to participate in up to two interviews of 45-60 minutes each. You will be asked to sign a consent form prior to the first interview. With your consent the interview will be recorded. Please be aware that you may withdraw from participation in the project at any time within two weeks following the interview, in which case all data collected will be destroyed. You will be emailed a copy of your interview transcript and provided with the opportunity to comment within 7 days.

Processing of data and confidentiality

The data collected will be securely stored; only I and my supervisors will be able to access to it. Your confidentiality is ensured. Due to the nature of the case study organisations and existing work relationships between some of the research participants, the possibility that participants may be able to identify each other cannot be excluded. Two years after the conclusion of the project, in February 2014, all raw data collected will be destroyed. The thesis report will be available in the University Library and may be used for publication in academic or professional journals and for dissemination at academic or professional conferences.

Outputs of the project

You can indicate on the consent form if you wish to receive an electronic copy of the research report at the conclusion of the project.

If you have any questions about the project, either now or in the near future, please feel free to contact me.

Trisha Dwyer
Trisha.Dwyer@vuw.ac.nz
Tel: 021-104-7157

Supervisors

Dr Julia N. Albrecht   Teurikore Biddle
VMS, VUW   Māori Studies, VUW
julia.albrecht@vuw.ac.nz   teurikore.biddle@vuw.ac.nz
Tel: 64-4-463 5726   Tel: 64-4-463 6733

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Victoria University of Wellington, Pipitea Ethics Committee.

APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM FOR PROJECT PARTICIPANTS

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wānanga o te Ūpoko o te Ika a Māui

TOUR 591   Masters Thesis   Trisha Dwyer   **The Interpretation of Cultural Heritage: Sharing Māori Cultural Tourism Experiences with International Visitors**   Consent Form for Project Participants

I have read the Information Sheet concerning this project and understand what it is about. All my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I am free to request further information and/or withdraw.

I know that:

- my participation in this project is entirely voluntary;

- all information and opinions will be presented in an aggregated form; my identity will remain confidential but the name of the company I work for will be identified. Due to the nature of the case study organisations and existing work relationships between some of the research participants, the possibility that participants may be able to identify each other cannot be excluded.

- I am free to withdraw from the project at any time within two weeks following the interview in which case all data collected will be destroyed;

- the interview(s) conducted by the student researcher will be recorded unless requested otherwise;

- audio-tapes will be destroyed in February 2014, 2 years after the completion of this project.

- in the event that the line of questioning during the interview develops in such a way that I feel hesitant or uncomfortable I may decline to answer any particular question(s) and/or may withdraw from the project immediately; in the case of participant withdrawal data will be destroyed immediately

- I will be emailed a copy of my interview transcript and provided with the opportunity to comment within 7 days

- the results of this research will be used for a student Masters thesis project and may be published in academic journals.

I agree to take part in this project.

....

(Name of participant)

....

(Signature of participant)   (Date)

❒   The interview(s) conducted by the student researcher may be recorded.

❒   I would like to receive a copy of the report that forms the output of this project.

Student researcher's consent:

I confirm that I will act in accordance with all confidentiality requirements as outlined in the information sheet for this project.

....

(Student researcher)

APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORM FOR MANAGERS OF PARTICIPATING ORGANISATIONS

<table>
<tr><td>

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wānanga o te Ūpoko o te Ika a Māui

</td><td>

TOUR 591   Masters Thesis   Trisha Dwyer

The Interpretation of Cultural Heritage: Sharing Māori Cultural Tourism Experiences with International Visitors

Consent Form for Managers of Participating Organisations/Institutions

</td></tr>
</table>

I have been given and have understood an explanation of this research project. I have had an opportunity to ask questions and have them answered to my satisfaction   □

I confirm that the name of my organisation/institution can be listed in the thesis as a participating organisation/institution, on the understanding that no comments will be attributed to any individual member of my organisation/institution.   □

(Organisation)

Signed: _____

Print name: _____

Date: _____2011

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR MANAGERS

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wānanga o te Ūpoko o te Ika a Māui

Interview schedule for managers

Guides – job description, recruitment, training

What is the role of guides?

How are guides selected?

How are guides trained?

Interpretation

Can you describe the training programme for interpretation techniques?

Can you describe the training programme for the interpretation of Māori cultural heritage?

In what ways do guides personalise the interpretation?

In what ways are guides allowed and/or encouraged to adapt the interpretation for different visitor groups?

Interpretation of Māori cultural heritage for international visitors:

Where do the international visitors come from?

How is Māori cultural heritage interpreted for international visitors?

When tour guides share Māori cultural heritage with international visitors what are the aims of interpretation?

Which cultural values are interpreted by guides for international visitors?

How are these cultural values interpreted?

How do guides interpret the relevance of traditional values to contemporary "living culture"?

Are there any challenges when interpreting Māori cultural heritage for international visitors? If so, describe.

How is successful interpretation evaluated?

Is there anything else I should have asked you? Anything you would like to add?

APPENDIX E: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR GUIDES

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wānanga o te Ūpoko o te Ika a Māui

Interview schedule for guides

Guides – general background

- How long have you been working as a guide?
- What education and training have you had?
- What guide training and experience have you had?
- What is your origin and cultural background?
- What cross-cultural training and experience have you had?
- Could you tell me about your travel and tourism experience?

Guide – Māori cultural heritage
Could you tell me about your knowledge and understanding of Māori cultural heritage?
Have you had any education and training about Māori cultural heritage? If so, please describe.
To what extent do you identify with Māori culture?
Do you feel that in your role as a guide you are sharing Māori cultural values? If so, describe.

Guide – Interpretation
Could you tell me about your knowledge and experience of interpretation skills?
Have you had any training in interpretation?
How does the training you have had help you with interpretation?
When sharing Māori cultural heritage with international visitors, in your role as a guide what are the aims of interpretation?

Guide - Interpretation of Māori cultural heritage
How is Māori cultural heritage interpreted for international visitors?
What/which cultural values are interpreted (by Māori guides and non-Māori guides) for international visitors? How are these cultural values interpreted?
How do you interpret the relevance of traditional values to contemporary "living culture"?
How do you personalize the interpretation?
Do you adapt the style and content of interpretation? If so, in what ways?
Could you give an example of the way the interpretation is adapted for different experiences?
How are visitors involved in the interpretation process?

International Visitors
How do you view your relationship with the international visitors?
Could you tell me about your knowledge and understanding of international visitors?
To what extent do you identify with different international visitor groups?
What are the challenges of interpreting for visitors from different cultural backgrounds?

Interpretation of Māori Cultural Heritage for International Visitors
Are there any challenges when interpreting Māori cultural heritage for international visitors? If so, describe.

Could you give an example of the way the interpretation is adapted for different international visitors?

Could you give an example of when you have adapted the interpretation for international visitors? Why did you do this?

At what stage of the interpretation process do you decide how to adapt the interpretation?

Can you give an example of how you (bridge the cultural gap and make connections to) ensure a greater appreciation and understanding of Māori culture?

Guide – Culture broker

How do you see your role as a culture broker?

Culturally, where do you position yourself when interpreting Māori cultural heritage?

What techniques do you use to bridge the cultural gap?

How does the training you have had help you with your role as a culture broker?

How do you evaluate the level of interest, appreciation and understanding of visitors?

Does this influence the style and content of interpretation? If so, how?

What other challenges do you encounter when interpreting Māori cultural heritage for international visitors?

How is successful interpretation evaluated?

Is there anything else I should have asked you? Anything you would like to add?

APPENDIX F: FORM FOR CHECKING TRANSCRIPTS

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY OF WELLINGTON
Te Whare Wānanga o te Ūpoko o te Ika a Māui

Project Name: The Interpretation of Cultural Heritage: Sharing Māori Cultural Tourism Experiences

Interview Transcript

(TE PUIA/TE PAPA)

Please make any changes on the hard copy.

You will have the opportunity to discuss the transcripts with the researcher before 5 September 2011. You will be advised of the exact date of the visit from researcher soon. If you are not available then the transcripts may be discussed by phone or email (Trisha.Dwyer@vuw.ac.nz), or posted back with comments to Trisha Dwyer, 12G/20 Oriental Terrace, Wellington.

Please note that the interviews were transcribed ad verbum so please do not worry about making changes to grammar as in the analysis I will focus on the content.

General comments or thoughts (optional):

Please choose a pseudonym that I shall attribute your quotes to throughout my thesis. You may choose your own name but not the name of a colleague in the same or a similar role as yours.

Pseudonym:

☐   I hereby confirm that the transcript accurately reflects the content of the interview.

The names of third persons mentioned in the interview will not be used.

The quotes from my interview transcript may be associated with personal details that I myself have mentioned in the interview. Please circle your choice.

- My ethnicity   Yes / No
- My origin   Yes / No
- My iwi (and hapu)   Yes / No / n/a
- My family   Yes / No

Name:

Signed:

APPENDIX G: RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

There were 21 research participants, 14 Māori(*) and 7 non-Māori. There were 14 male and 7 female participants, nearly all of whom were aged between 40 and 65.

TE PUIA

Te Puia – 10 participants - 9 guides and 1 manager

Ethnic identity – all New Zealand Māori – local tribe and from other tribal areas, mixed tribal ancestry and/or ancestry other than Māori (e.g. European, Asian)

A number of participants are 4th and 5th generation guides. Most guides have more than 10 years guiding experience and a few participants have been at Te Puia for more than 20 years in a variety of roles.

Professional experience of participants includes Māori cultural performance, training in Māori carving, overseas travel to promote Māori tourism, working in hospitality and tourism, teaching, and working overseas.

1 Japanese speaking guide

4 female - Carla*, Kiri*, Ryl*, Anon*(no quotes listed)

6 male – Taparoto*-manager, Hapeta*, Haupiri*, Piripi*, Shane*, and Tom*

TE PAPA

Te Papa – 11 participants – 10 guides (2 also involved in tour training) and 1 manager

Ethnic identity – 4 Māori and 7 non-Māori

4 identified themselves as New Zealand Māori – some with mixed tribal ancestry and/or ancestry other than Māori. 7 participants are non-Māori – the majority are New Zealand European (i.e. New Zealand-born with English, Scottish, Irish ancestry). 1 guide is New Zealand-born Chinese and another was born in India.

2 guides had obtained guiding qualifications prior to their position at Te Papa. Most guides have more than 10 years experience at Te Papa.

Professional experience of participants includes hospitality and tourism, guiding, teaching and training roles, journalism, design, performing arts, administration and technical roles.

Studies include anthropology, history, design, foreign languages, and courses in Māori studies.

1 multilingual guide (tours in German and other languages)

3 female – Jay*-manager, LucyM, Maraea*

8 male – Anil, Basil, Dennis, Hamana*, James, Joe, Norrie, Rangimoana*