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**Between World Views:
Nascent Pacific Tourism Enterprise
in New Zealand**

by
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of the requirements for the degree of
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OPENING PRAYER

Prayer of the Elders of Niue, dating from before the Missionaries came to Niue.

‘MONU! MONU! TU TAGALOA!
MONU! MONU! TU TAGALOA!
KE HAKE KE PU HE LAGI I LUGA!
TI HIFO KE TU I LALO FONUA!
PUNA MAI AI E MONUINA!
KUA FAI HAU AI E LALOLAGI KATOA!
MONU! MONU! TU TAGALOA!’

‘BLESSED! BLESSED BE!
THE GOD WHO DWELL
IN THE HIGHEST HEAVEN!’
WHOSE BLESSINGS REACH DOWN
TO THE DEPTH OF THE EARTH!
THERE THE SPRING OF LIFE ARISE TO GIVE LIFE
TO THE WHOLE OF CREATION!’

Monu e atu hau penupenu! - Bless the senior generations!
Monu e atu hau matua! - Bless the parents’ generations!
Monu e atu hau pulapula ola! - Bless the grandchildren’s generations!
Monu e atu hau mata litolito! - Bless the European generations!
Monu e atu hau mokosola! - Bless the disability generations!
Monu e atu hau kekele fonua! - Bless every type of land/ soil!
Monu e atu hau tolo fonua! - Bless all the four legged animals!
Monu e atu hau kekelelemutu! - Bless all types of worms and insects!
Monu e atu hau nukanuka! - Bless all types of plants!
Monu e atu hau fufua manu! - Bless all types of birds!
Monu e atu hau sega me! - Bless all types of shell fish!
Monu e atu hau ika peau! - Bless all types of season fish!
Monu e atu hau tanimo! - Bless all types of sea mammals!
Monu e atu hau tala talai! - Bless all generations of carvers, wood, stone, etc!
Monu e atu hau lalaga! - Bless all the generations of weavers!
Monu e atu hau haka hakau! - Bless all the generations of performers!
Monu e atu hau vaga vagahau! - Bless all the generations of story tellers!
Monu e atu hau faiaoga! - Bless all the generations of teachers!
Monu e atu hau ta tikitiki! - Bless all the generations of painters!
Monu e atu hau pule tonu! - Bless all the generations of leaders!
Monu e atu hau liogi! - Bless all the generations of ministers!
He monu ti tonu e liogi motu! - May the prayers of the people be blessed!

Mitaki tugi e mafola! - We create peace!

Mitaki tugi e mafola! - We create prosperity!

Mitaki to faka faahi ua! - A dual blessings for God's people!

‘BLESSED BE! BLESSED BE!

THE ALMIGHTY GOD.....AMEN’

Given as the Opening Prayer to preface this research.

On behalf of the Pacific Peoples of Waitakere,

By the gracious goodwill of Reverend Sione Lagigie Faitala,

Patron, Waitakere Pacific Board,

Minister, Presbyterian Pacific Island Church, Henderson.

Abstract

This thesis considers the dynamics of entrepreneurship at the ‘pre-tourism’ stage of tourism development. It is written from the point of view of potential tourism hosts, diasporan Pacific peoples resident in New Zealand.

The central question is ‘that societal marginality can be a positive position from which to develop tourism enterprise and cultural product’. The author used a collaborative action approach (Lopez & Potter, 2001) to respond to a community, rather than an academic agenda. The research question reflects the aspirations of the Waitakere Pacific Board (WPB), an organisation which advocates for and undertakes projects to move towards economic, social and cultural equality with the mainstream western population, on behalf of nine diasporan Pacific communities. It tacitly assumes that the nine ‘Pacific’ communities share common views and values and are all at a similar stage of integration or hegemony and that the WPB speaks on their behalf. It further assumes that Pacific ethnic communities in Waitakere are in fact marginalised and that they all wish to and are capable of initiating commercial enterprise and tourism product. Also, there is an expectation that non-Pacific peoples consume products and services that are based upon Pacific cultural knowledge and resources. But most importantly, assumes that tourism can be as viable in a diasporan New Zealand non-indigenous context as it is in the Islands today.

The core thesis is underpinned by three other questions. Specifically, what are the diasporan Pacific community’s aspirations for tourism and cultural enterprise to support tourism? What factors enable or inhibit interaction at the interface between diasporan Pacific communities and tourism product/cultural enterprise? What happens at the interface between diasporan communities and consumers? Contemporary non-instrument navigation is used as a metaphor for the research voyage, the structure of the thesis, and each community’s journey in diasporan social worlds.

Structure

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the dissertation, its structure, aims and originality.

Chapter 2 reflects on several themes from literature which situate the research. Themes that include: social worlds created by global migration and tourism, encounters and transactions in public spheres such as tourism, collisions of mainstream versus informal economies, social and other forms of capital, developmental solutions to marginalisation and minority status for cultural communities, parameters of ethnic enterprise solutions and the importance of cultural values to ethnic enterprise.

Interactions between host and visitor in cultural tourism can be viewed as encounters with difference. The tourism industry spans the formal market and informal economies which support the supply of cultural product. If this is the case, then tourism encounters between cultures might be theorised as transactions that are culture-bound perceptions of Self/Other ranging across *utopic* [private selves, share with same], *heterotopic* [different than selves, share with others] and *dystopic* [strangers, to be avoided] viewpoints. As well, the types of Enterprise which deliver cultural product are seen in the ethnic and indigenous literature to span social intent [community focused enterprise], combinations of community and commercial to fully commercial enterprise models. These are underpinned by culture-specific *habitus* (values, internal structures and goals) and *autopoetic* (self-referent, self-generating) structures that operate at the interface. At their nexus, *heterotopic* ‘third spaces’ interactions, social encounters and financial transactions between visitors and hosts take place, some of which become hybrid. The model offers a paradigm for collisions of non-western informal community and western formal tourism industry, the veracity of which is tested by the thesis research and informed through a review of published literature.

Chapter 3 looks more specifically at current literature to identify the issues for the Pacific diaspora in New Zealand and the dynamics that sit behind Pacific entrepreneurship. For instance, migration aided over the last 100 years by constitutional ties and proactive immigration policies for seasonal labour. The resident diaspora comes from mainly Polynesian nations: 43% Samoan, 20% Cook Island, 15% Tongan, 8% Niuean, 3% Fijian, 2% Tokelauan, 1% Tuvaluan and small numbers of other groups. The majority live in the Auckland conurbation but are socio-economically disadvantaged due to linguistic, educational and skills barriers and characterised by continual flows of people, goods, ideas and funds.

Chapter 4 discusses wider epistemological issues that situate the research paradigm and the origins of a new methodology, the Mutuality Research approach (grounded in both Pacific and western theory) that was an outgrowth of this work. It also reviews the role of research as both physical and behavioural artefact resulting from the agendas and capacities of the participants and the evidentiary framework of the analysis. Further it described the methodologies employed, specifically dealing with the iterative nature of the research which allows the structure of analysis and thus later modelling to emerge from the data, as grounded theory framed by the initial model that provides the base for the research. It introduces the Waitakere Pacific Board (WPB), the collaborative action research partner and illustrates how the author responded to first the WPB research agenda and then the ethnic communities, assisted by a multilingual Pacific team from Waikato Management School (WMS).

Chapters 5 and 6 present the results of the research and together outline the ‘sailing conditions’ or realities of diasporan life, social cohesion and homeland linkages encountered by several Pacific communities in Waitakere. Chapter 5 reveals an emic perspective on the experiences and capacities (enablers and inhibitors) of Pacific entrepreneurs from five ethnicities, resident in Waitakere City (Auckland, New Zealand) as they interface with internal, internal/external and external marketplaces. Whereas Chapter 6 estimates the position of the New Zealand-Pacific ‘canoes’, first in terms of supply perspectives (cultural festival stallholders) and second, the motivations for interaction and purchase at the interface of Pacific and non-Pacific (cultural festival attendees). Thirdly it provides an *etic* assessment of Pacific cultural product from international and domestic tourists’ perspectives.

Chapter 7 is the synthesis that pulls together all the threads that have been noted. It radically re-aligns the first model in terms of information revealed by each cluster of studies in terms of aspirations set against the realities of community capacity and consumer demand. As a result it constructs a new model of the issues which inhibit and enable encounters between cultures and consumers through enterprise interfaces, disputing the central research thesis.

Method

This research was initiated from concept plans for a pan-Pacific community initiated visitor attraction, ‘Pacific Paradise’. The attraction was intended to showcase Pacific Island cultures and nurture nascent business for Pacific ethnic communities. Thirteen studies over five years addressed issues of market appeal (local, regional, national and international) and the capacity of diasporan cultural communities (Samoa, Cook Island, Tonga, Niue, Fiji, Tokelau, Tuvalu and Kiribati) to supply cultural product for the attraction.

The studies were undertaken in a social constructionist (Oja & Smulyan, 1989) frame using a ‘between world-views’ ontology (Harkin, 1995; Hviding, 2003; Hviding & Bayliss-Smith, 2000) that creates spaces between cultures to challenge yet respect cultural views but within which common understandings can emerge. In a Samoan context this is called ‘*teu le va*’ (‘Aanae, 2007). The researcher and the collaborative team developed an innovative, immersive approach to ethnic-specific data collection, validation, interpretation and analysis at ethnic-specific and aggregate levels. The multicultural collaborative team called this the ‘Mutuality Approach’ because it sought to establish common understanding between several cultures. It is achieved through continual interactions between members of the research team, the communities of interest and the project hierarchy, all of whom were of different cultural backgrounds.

The approach is based in Pacific cultural traditions as well as Western and Pacific academic research and is guided by principles of collaboration, dual excellence, inclusiveness, voice, resonance, ownership, affirmation and reciprocity. All of these have particular significance to the cultural communities involved in the research and also provide guidelines for the dissemination of results and generate subsequent phases of questioning. The process uses techniques of deep reading (immersion and analysis), deep talking (shared interpretations) and mutual understanding (critique, commentary and query of each others' interpretation and logic) from differing cultural perspectives. It differs from other immersive qualitative processes in the depth, breadth and longevity of its application, horizontally across cultures and vertically within research and cultural hierarchies. Constant checking and rechecking of interpretations with Elders, organisers (project team), team members and cultural communities were required. It was achieved by a team of multilingual researchers working with the author, guided by Elders from each of the nine cultural communities in a formal research collaboration between the Waikato Management School and the Waitakere Pacific Board.

Findings

Results from the community studies indicate that issues of demographic and cultural change are important contextual elements of ethnic-specific diasporan social worlds, along with embeddedness of diasporan entrepreneurs, future rather than immediate earnings and the primacy of informal ceremonial, exchange and non-cash economies. The ethnic-specific community discussions identified and challenged four underpinning dimensions of efficacy (enablers and inhibitors) that hold for nascent Pacific entrepreneurs considering entry into a market economy. These were 'Connectedness' (inside, inside/outside or outside cultural communities), 'Obligations' (required for family, church/community, to business), 'Identity' (whether self-perceived as Island-Pacific, NZ-Pacific, non-Pacific) and 'Enterprise Intent' (cultural production activities were not for market, business-business, business, global commerce). Together these form a new paradigm for diasporan cultural enterprise which challenges the assumptions of the initial model and illustrated that while ethnic-specific Pacific world views are very different to non-Pacific, that hybrid solutions are being found to bridge the respective 'enterprise cultures'.

The thesis that societal marginality can be a positive position from which to develop tourism enterprise and cultural product is not supported by this research. Each community can be located in a different position on the model in terms of capacity and confidence. Some judged that their cultural and exchange activities and cultural preservation were more important than external interactions with non-Pacific and non-ethnic markets and so did not wish to engage in tourism enterprise.

Contributions to knowledge

This research contributes to new knowledge in the field of tourism and hospitality as well as cultural studies in several ways. It offers insights into some of the conditions which discourage entry into the formal tourism industry, introducing the notion of diasporan ‘cultural economies’ (state, ceremonial, informal and formal). These economies are made up of informal social, exchange and monetary systems which redistribute wealth and people, affect employment, and define marketplace characteristics.

The research introduces five new theorisations. Firstly, a model of interactions between host and visitor derived from literature based in tenets of Otherness and *habitus*. Secondly, cultural tourism products are mapped onto that framework to highlight issues of industry management. Thirdly, and perhaps most importantly the research produces an *emic* theorisation of the enablers and inhibitors of community entrepreneurship embedded within the cultural communities, each of which is ethnic specific and self-referently maintained. Fourth, the analysis constructs a cultural community-defined business paradigm to guide and monitor nascent cultural entrepreneurial decisions in tourism. Fifth, it theorises a model of the nature of interactions (encounters and transactions) at the cultural interface between potential hosts and possible consumers, formulated from an *emic* perspective. This model illustrates that world view, cultural embeddedness and Otherness are crucial influencers of nascent entrepreneurship. Further, it proposes a pluralistic immersive methodology which can be used in other cultural studies as well as tourism and hospitality management. Unusually, the research agenda was community-lead, rather than by the researcher and developed a methodology to elicit alternate Voice and mutual understanding. Thus this thesis proffers the view that rich understandings can occur if researchers engage closely with cultural communities. Part of the originality of this thesis lies in the ability of the author to generate ideas from the research cooperative which she guided, and to synthesise its collaborative approach.

To conclude, this research has looked behind engagement in the formal tourism industry to choices that some nascent diasporan Pacific entrepreneurs make **not** to take part in tourism or cultural enterprise. It reveals that the assumption that tourism is transferable to a new homeland is flawed, in part because of embedded factors that both enable and inhibit participation in the market economy, but also because of demographic and other factors. For instance, the social worlds created by global migration and tourism, encounters and transactions in public spheres, collisions of formal and informal economies, the need to develop social and other forms of capital, as well as issues of marginalisation and minority status. Thus there is a link between tourism, community development and migration which is crucial to the development of sustainable tourism and its use for the elimination of poverty.

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This research was a collaboration that may not end for many years because of the relationships built along the way. At the outset, I thank Reverend Faitala for guidance throughout this work and for the Opening Prayer which blesses it.

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Many thanks go to the Waitakere communities of Kiribati, Samoa, Tokelau, Tonga and Tuvalu who welcomed us into homes, entrusted us with knowledge, consented to its incorporation in this work, reviewed the accuracy of our interpretations and provided unique introductions to community views.

I especially thank the members of the WPB/WMS Research Collaboration whose wisdom and insights guided the research through many shoals of conflicting stakeholder interests and changing community dynamics.

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Glossary

Glossary of Pacific terms			
Term	Definition	Island	Reference
<i>'ava</i>	A shrub drink made from the pepper roots of the plant <i>Piper Methysticum</i>	Samoa	(Samoan Community, 2006)
<i>'ofa</i>	Love and generosity	Tonga	(Evans, 2000)
<i>aiga</i>	Nuclear and extended family	Samoa	(Tafaogalupe, 2000)
<i>aloha</i>	Warmth, welcome or love	Hawaii	(Morris & Schindehutte, 2005)
<i>anga fakatonga</i>	Tongan culture	Tonga	(Prescott, 2007)
<i>aroa</i>	Welcome	Cook Islands Maori	(Wichman-T'ou, 2005)
<i>atei</i>	A state of knowing	Solomon Islands	(Hviding, 2003)
<i>avosoa</i>	Hearing about something	Solomon Islands	(Hviding, 2003)
<i>ba</i>	Mother of pearl	Tokelau	(Tokelauan Community, 2006)
<i>copra</i>	Dried coconut kernels from which oil is made	Solomon Islands	(Shorter Oxford Dictionary, 2002)
<i>etak</i>	Segment of a non-instrument navigated voyage	Caroline Islands	(Lewis, 1972)
<i>fa'afaletui</i>	The gathering of the wise	Samoa	(Fairbairn Dunlop, 2006)
<i>fa'asamoa</i>	Embodiment of the Samoan culture in principles, values and beliefs that influence and control behaviour	Samoa	(Tafaogalupe, 2000)
<i>fa'e tangata</i>	Uncle	Tonga	(Tongan Community, 2006)
<i>fai fatongia</i>	Fulfilling one's responsibilities	Tonga	(Prescott, 2007)
<i>faka'apa'apa</i>	Respect	Tonga	(Evans, 2000)
<i>fakafetai</i>	Thankyou	Tuvalu	(Tuvaluan Community, 2006)
<i>fakatokelau</i>	Tokelauan culture , principles, values, beliefs	Tokelau	(Tokelauan Community, 2006)
<i>falafala</i>	Custom	Kwara'ae	Gegeo & Gegeo (2001)
<i>falalili'i</i>	Mats	Samoa	(Samoan Community, 2006)
<i>fale</i>	House	Samoa	(Tafaogalupe, 2000)
<i>fetokoni'aki</i>	Mutual assistance	Tonga	(Evans, 2000)
<i>fetokoni'aki</i>	Sharing	Tonga	(Prescott, 2007)
<i>fono</i>	Meeting or village council	Samoa	(Tafaogalupe, 2000)
<i>fonua</i>	Land	Tonga	(Prescott, 2007)
<i>Gagana Tokelau</i>	Tokelauan language	Tokelau	(Human Rights Commission of New Zealand, 2008)
<i>haka</i>	To dance with hands	Tonga	(Tongan Community, 2006)
<i>hapai</i>	Uplift	NZ Maori	(Robinson & Williams, 2001)
<i>harakeke</i>	Flax (Phormuim tenax)	Maori	(Tongan Community, 2006)
<i>hohoko</i>	Ties to a specific island	Tonga	(Kaili, 2005)
<i>hou'eiki</i>	Nobles	Tonga	(Tongan Community, 2006)
<i>iwi</i>	Tribal	NZ Maori	(Robinson & Williams, 2001)
<i>kakala</i>	Garland	Tonga	(Helu-Thaman, 1993)

Glossary of Pacific terms			
Term	Definition	Island	Reference
<i>kasoa</i>	Necklace for chief	Tuvalu	(Tuvaluan Community, 2006)
<i>kastom</i>	Ideologies, activities to empower indigenous traditions and practices	Solomon Islands	(Akin, 2004)
<i>katoanga</i>	Festival	Tonga	(Tongan Community, 2006)
<i>kihi</i>	Niuean food	Niue	(Pan-Pacific entrepreneurs, 2005)
<i>koha</i>	Donation	NZ Maori	(Robinson & Williams, 2001)
<i>koloa</i>	Soft textiles	Tonga	(Tongan Community, 2006)
<i>kupesesi</i>	Style and design of a <i>tapa</i>	Tonga	(Tongan Community, 2006)
<i>kupuna</i>	Ancestors	Hawaii	(Kahakalau et al., 2002).
<i>lafo</i>	Donation	Samoa	(Tafaogalupe, 2000)
<i>lakalaka</i>	Slow dance	Tonga	(Tongan Community, 2006)
<i>lali</i>	Hollow log drum pounded with wooden mallets	Fiji	(Nand, 2005)
<i>malo aupito</i>	Respectfully thankyou	Tonga	(Tongan Community, 2006)
<i>malu</i>	Women's tattoos	Samoa	(Samoan Community, 2006)
<i>mamala</i>	Plant for medicine	Samoa	(Samoan Community, 2006)
<i>mana</i>	Power, authority, social standing	Cook Islands Maori	(Berno, 1999)
<i>manaaki</i>	Nurturing	NZ Maori	(Robinson & Williams, 2001)
<i>maneaba</i>	Hall	Kiribati	(Kiribati Community, 2006)
<i>marae</i>	Courtyard, public forum. Open area in front of the meeting house where formal welcomes to visitors takes place and issues are debated	NZ Maori	www.maoridictionary.co.nz
<i>maro</i>	Mother of pearl belt	Tokelau	(Tokelauan Community, 2006)
<i>matai</i>	Chief – refers to chiefly title status of a Samoan	Samoa	(Tafaogalupe, 2000)
<i>ma'ulu'ulu,</i>	Tongan dance	Tonga	(Tongan Community, 2006)
<i>mauri</i>	Life force	Hawaii	(Kahakalau et al., 2002).
<i>mealofa</i>	Gift	Samoa	(Samoan Community, 2006)
<i>meke</i>	Dance using narratives based on oral traditions	Fiji	(Nand, 2005).
<i>mendhi</i>	Painted dye made from powdered leaves of the purple loosestrife family	India	(Shorter Oxford Dictionary, 2002)
<i>na`auao</i>	Daylight mind, science, feeling, and wisdom	Hawaii	(Kahakalau et al., 2002).
<i>Ngai Tahu</i>	Tribal group of much of the South Island of New Zealand	NZ Maori	www.maoridictionary.co.nz
<i>Ngaiterangi Iwi</i>	Bay of Plenty tribe	NZ Maori	www.maoridictionary.co.nz
<i>ngatu</i>	Tapa cloth	Tonga	(Tongan Community, 2006)
<i>norua</i>	Be convinced of efficacy	Solomon Islands	(Hviding, 2003)
<i>omia</i>	Seeing for oneself	Solomon Islands	(Hviding, 2003)
<i>pa-kasoa</i>	Mother of pearl necklace	Tuvalu	(Tuvaluan Community, 2006)
<i>pakeha</i>	Non-Maori	Maori	www.maoridictionary.co.nz
<i>palangi</i>	Caucasian	Samoa	(Samoan Community, 2006)
<i>palei</i>	Crown for chief made of shells	Tuvalu	(Tuvaluan Community, 2006)
<i>Pilipino</i>	Person from the Philippines	Tokelau	(Tokelauan Community, 2006)
<i>pono</i>	Truth	NZ Maori	(Robinson & Williams, 2001)
<i>pulasami</i>	Samoa food	Samoa	(Pan-Pacific entrepreneurs, 2005)

Glossary of Pacific terms			
<i>pule</i>	Style and design of a mat	Tonga	(Tongan Community, 2006)
<i>pule tasi</i>	Traditional Samoan dress	Samoa	(Selave, 2005)
<i>puli</i>	Costume for dancing (many colours)	Tuvalu	(Tuvaluan Community, 2006)
<i>rebbilib</i>	Conceptual map of spatial relationships between islands, waves, winds and guiding stars represented by joined sticks and shells	Marshall Islands	(Ascher, 1995)
<i>sapelu</i>	Knives	Samoa	(Samoan Community, 2006)
<i>siapo</i>	Tapa cloth	Samoa	(Samoan Community, 2006)
<i>ta</i>	Time	Tonga	(Mahina, 2004a)
<i>taaniko</i>	Border for cloaks, etc. made by finger weaving	NZ Maori	www.maoridictionary.co.nz
<i>tabua</i>	Whaletooth	Tuvalu	(Tuvaluan Community, 2006)
<i>tabua</i>	Sacred drum	Fiji	(Nand, 2005).
<i>Tainui</i>	Central North Island tribe	NZ Maori	www.maoridictionary.co.nz
<i>takai</i>	Waist belt (white)	Tuvalu	(Tuvaluan Community, 2006)
<i>talanoa</i>	Discussion	Tonga	Vaiioleti, 2003
<i>tanoa</i>	Kava bowl	Samoa	(Samoan Community, 2006)
<i>tapa</i>	Cloth made from beaten paper mulberry	Samoa, Tonga	(Tongan Community, 2006)
<i>tapa-launima</i>	Very long tapa	Tonga	(Tongan Community, 2006)
<i>taro</i>	Starchy tuberous plant used for food	Tuvalu	(Shorter Oxford Dictionary, 2002)
<i>tatau</i>	Tattoos	Samoa	(Samoan Community, 2006)
<i>tauhi</i>	To take care of	Tonga	(Kaili, 2005)
<i>tauhivä</i>	Caring for socio-spatial relations	Tonga	(Kaili, 2005)
<i>tau'olunga</i>	Tongan dance	Tonga	(Tongan Community, 2006)
<i>taupou</i>	Daughter of the highest chief	Samoa	(Samoan Community, 2006)
<i>tautoko</i>	Support	NZ Maori	(Robinson & Williams, 2001)
<i>te vaevae</i>	Appliquéd cloth	Cook Island Maori	(Wichman-T'ou, 2005)
<i>Te Vaka</i>	Contemporary music band	Tokelau	(Tokelauan Community, 2006)
<i>teke</i>	Shaped wood used for climbing coconut trees	Tuvalu	(Tuvaluan Community, 2006)
<i>tetei</i>	Personal state of being wise	Solomon Islands	(Hviding, 2003)
<i>teu le va</i>	To tidy up the space between	Samoa	('Aana, 2007).
<i>tika</i>	Integrity	NZ Maori	(Robinson & Williams, 2001)
<i>toluma</i>	Coconut box	Tokelau	(Tokelauan Community, 2006)
<i>tufuga</i>	Tattooist	Samoa	(Samoan Community, 2006)
<i>ukeleles</i>	Stringed musical instrument	Cook Islands	(Wichman-T'ou, 2005)
<i>va</i>	Relational space between people or things	Tonga	(Kaili, 2005)
<i>va tutuana</i>	Imbue with truth	Solomon Islands	(Hviding, 2003)
<i>vaka moana</i>	Ocean-going canoes	Hawaii	(Howe, 2006)
<i>vakiviti</i>	The Fijian Way	Fiji	Huffer & Qalo, 2004
<i>whakapono</i>	Trust	NZ Maori	(Robinson & Williams, 2001)
<i>whanau</i>	Family	NZ Maori	(Robinson & Williams, 2001)

Chapter 1

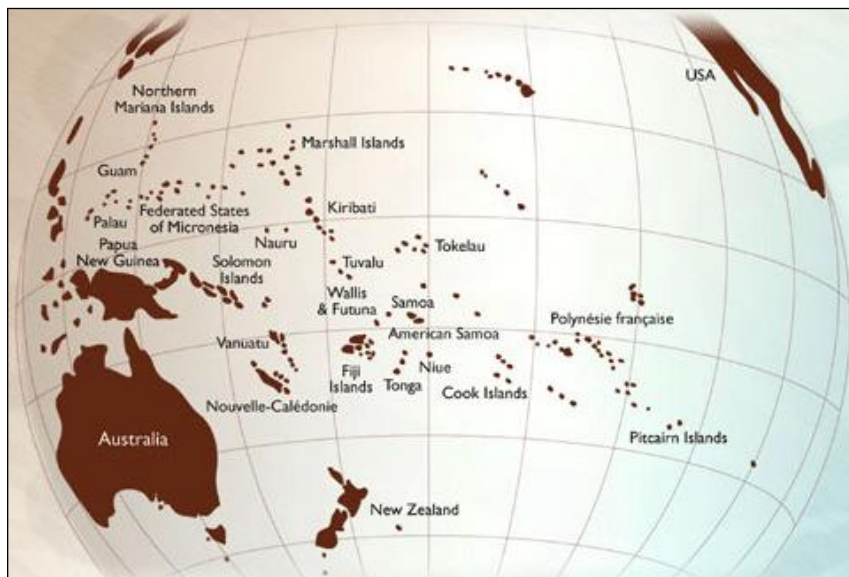
A Voyage Between World Views

*Ko e pisinisi mo e kalatua
He takanga ka kuo fesitu 'a
Itiolosia 'ena ia e taautaha
Kae teoli e 'o e lukufua
Toki vete, e he ta mo e va.*

Business and culture
They co-exist yet oppose
One, the ideology of individualism
The other, a theory of collectivism
Resolved only by time and space.
(Mahina, 2004b cited by; Prescott, 2007)

Few researchers look behind the formal tourism industry or the economic and social lens of capitalism to examine the parameters and assumptions made about tourism that affect the capability and capacity of communities to engage in the industry. This thesis navigates between cultural worlds and takes the reader, as it did the research collaborators, on a journey into other world views. In so doing, it reveals the dynamics and tensions of research undertaken in cultural milieu at the interface of community leverage of embedded resources as well as cultural identity located in diasporan social worlds and tourism entrepreneurship founded in a market economy culture. It is a paradox that those things which define a culture are explicated and shown most clearly to each other when juxtaposed with cultures that are not their own (Said, 1975). Hence, this research explores cultural knowledge, world views, tourism/ business transactions and cultural product that are unfamiliar, but from a familiar starting point, namely the western research *épistème*.

Figure 1-1 Map of Oceania¹



¹ I give full permission for the reproduction of maps from “New Zealand in Pasifika and Pasifika in New Zealand” by Gibson, J., & Nero, K. (2008). Wellington: Institute of Policy Studies, School of Government, Victoria University of Wellington, (published on-line) in the PhD thesis of Dr Jenny Cave.

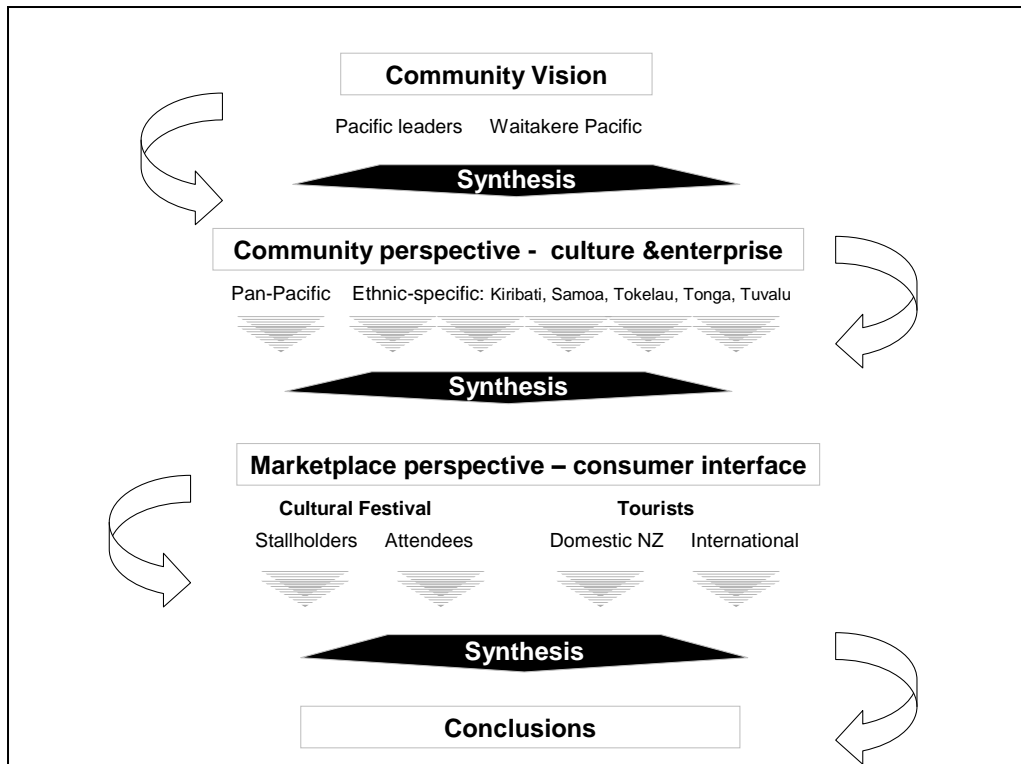
This thesis considers the ‘pre-tourism’ stage of the community development cycle. Not from the lens of community ‘development’ which imposes an external post-colonial framework, but from an internal (non-western) perspective of prospective tourism hosts, nascent entrepreneurs considering whether ‘business’ is a culturally, socially and economically viable means by which to earn income.

A collaborative research approach was used to explore the issues surrounding the culture/business interface with diasporan people from nine Pacific Island nations resident in Waitakere City, West Auckland, New Zealand. Namely, Cook Island Maori, Fiji, Kiribati, Niue, Samoa, Tahiti, Tokelau, Tonga and Tuvalu. Figure 1-1 maps the oceanic regions from whence these peoples continue to move, over many generations (see also Chapter 3).

The research voyage begins with the aspirations of trans-local Pacific leaders and their dream of mainstream equality. Perhaps, they believe, to be achieved by tourism product based upon Pacific cultural knowledge and resources, since tourism is a mainstay of their homeland economies. The research collaboration between the author, the Waitakere Pacific Board (WPB) and the cultural communities was established from the conceptualisation and feasibility study of a highly interactive theme park, tourist attraction and incubator for nascent entrepreneurs. This relationship was initially straightforward but became more complex as the focus and drivers of research shifted, influenced by the changing issues, politics and research agenda of the communities.

A common course of research is that it is linear. However this thesis is framed iteratively as participant collaborative action research and so consists of a synthesis of syntheses. The syntheses sequentially reflect upon and generate new directions, gradually and iteratively shaping the research outcomes. The research context also presented a dual challenge, of collaborative planning and management (between the Waitakere Pacific Board and Waikato Management School) as well as collecting data and conducting analysis across multiple Pacific cultures. Neither a purely western or purely Pacific ontology (commonly ethnic-specific) could adequately address the *épistèmes* encountered. Thus a ‘Mutuality Research’ approach grounded in both Western and Pacific theory was innovated. Its principles and protocols were utilised throughout the research to gather and reflect integratively upon the research design, questions, and results from several cultural perspectives. The process was guided and monitored by cultural elders participating in the Research Collaboration and by the author, a western academic researcher. Such a collective approach is unusual in a doctoral context which valorises individual effort and has been largely ignored by researchers. Academic research is often centrist and supports mono-cultural analysis whether inside a culture or from outside.

Figure 1-2 Mutuality Research - A Synthesis of Syntheses



The research framework, study clusters and process are outlined in Figure 1-2 but the mechanics, ethics and limitations for the research are described in Chapter 4.

Overall, the research design is multifaceted. It is multi-ethnic (nine ethnicities), multi-vocal (Pacific and non-Pacific residents of the Auckland region, domestic and international tourists) and multi-sited (several locale), multi-levelled (societal-integrative and individual) and longitudinal. These studies lead to conclusions about the inhibitors, enablers, tensions and internal dynamics of Pacific social worlds vis-à-vis enterprise and preservation of cultures as well as the nature and feasibility of entrepreneurship.

The major focus of the research is an internal (*emic*) view of the assumptions and perceptions of the putative enterprise interface of several Pacific ethnicities with the marketplace. The term 'Marketplace' is used broadly to encompass transactions within and between Pacific ethnicities, the interface with mainstream markets as well as national and global arenas. This was investigated internally by discussions with Pacific leaders, Pacific communities across Waitakere, with ethnic-specific entrepreneurs and affirmed by their elders and wider communities. The internal view is balanced by examination of the interface supply of product by Pacific entrepreneurs and demand from consumers of cultural product (including New Zealand-born and Island-born Pacific) by domestic and international tourists to New Zealand.

At the outset, the actual techniques to be used were deliberately unspecific so that the collaborative research could evolve freely ‘between world views’. This imprecision was progressively rendered more accurate by external ‘signs’ from literature and theory. Eventually a Mutuality Research approach emerged which, as well as a data collection tool, was intended as a mechanism to crosscheck the accuracy of the direction undertaken, the reliability of the methods and the validity of data, and thirdly to provide an internal challenge to the results themselves. In a sense then, the research ‘canoe’, its ‘crew’ and ‘sailing course’ were designed as ‘works in progress’, but not in an ad hoc manner because of constant triangulation and challenge of progress via its multiple syntheses.

Epistemologically, the research sits between the social worlds of Pacific diasporan communities, their organising interfaces and western mainstream society. Methodologically then the research has a ‘between worlds’ ontology. The Mutuality Research approach, developed by the author with input from the cultural team (explained in Chapter 4), is used as an organising framework and also to address specific issues which became conceptual triggers and catalysts for later studies, such as when the cultural festival results were used to initiate conversations in the community fora.

The research actors - author, research collaborators, the cultural team and the cultural communities - triangulated their current positions (both as researchers and community) against the past (cultural origins), the present (research context) yet anticipated future outcomes (aspirations for tourism enterprise transactions), innately oriented to various world views. This aligns with contemporary views of traditional non-instrument navigation which emerged as a metaphor for the research and community journeys.

Non-instrument navigation is analogous to this research because it explores the ‘unknowns’ of cultural understanding and new territory via a ‘between worlds’ ontology of the known/not known. It integrates new knowledge with that already known, to formulate new perspectives, meaning and learnings. Further, the research voyage parallels the dynamic journeying of contemporary diasporan Pacific communities from (and returning to) Island homelands, who, having made new homes in a new land, look towards tourism enterprise as one way to provide for the future of their families (in New Zealand and elsewhere), but wonder how to begin to explore an ‘enterprise development’ journey.

A metaphor is a concept within which there are many variations. The metaphor of voyaging does not presage a pan-Pacific ‘whole Pacific’ reading of the text instead of an ethnic-specific one. To do so would negate the strongly nationalistic cultural differentiations expressed by each ethnicity. This is a tension for all research

analysis, which at heart requires reductionism. The metaphor speaks to and situates each ethnic-specific perspective in the larger cosmos of Pacific beliefs. It was chosen because it invokes deep history, spiritualism and symbolic migrations over thousands of years, as well as to the relatedness but not unity, of Pacific peoples. The voyaging tradition transcends all Pacific nationalities, regardless of ancestry yet is capable of ethnic plurality because of its inherent meaning and nuance. Each Pacific nation undertakes voyages to a greater or lesser extent and for many reasons. Each one has slightly different experience depending upon many factors such as the size and demographic nature of the cultural cohort, the receptiveness of new hosts, etc. and homeland socio-political conditions, although common themes emerge. Yet diasporan indigeneity or distinctiveness remains a feature, depending upon the nature of the spheres of influence.

Identity and authentic cultural development are enhanced and facilitated by metaphor. Metaphor is a powerful medium by which to establish context in terms of dialogues with selves, other cultures and ancestors for the living cultures of the Pacific (Efi, 2003). There are challenges for non-Pacific to understand Pacific metaphors, and Bourdieu reminds us that reading is not a neutral act. It is interpreted within a cultural field that can predispose a particular interpretation, influenced by the *habitus* of the reader and other texts. Awareness of those conditions is perhaps the only chance of escaping these effects (Bourdieu & Chartier, 1993). Additionally, the Mutuality Research Approach used in this research attempts to develop and mitigate the effects of potential (mis)understandings or (mis)readings that might produce confusion between world views.

A navigational metaphor

In general terms, Pacific peoples see an ocean differently than do Western eyes. Oceans are full of islands, not sparsely populated empty expanses (Hau'ofa, 1997). Journeys across the 'sea of islands' are and have been made easily and frequently by Pacific peoples over several thousand years. Pacific peoples locate themselves in the world by looking to the surrounding ocean, its underworld and the heavens above (Kabutaulaka, 1993). They use both external and innate knowledge to orient themselves, regardless of where they are located around the globe in a modern diaspora, expanding spatially, culturally and emotionally but remaining oriented towards each homeland island. Identity is neither time bound nor traced historically (as done by Westerners) so that contemporary Pacific peoples walk 'backward into the future' (Mahina, 1993) carrying the ancestral Pacific homeland and culture, the immigrant context of today and hopes for the future at all times with them. A seamless sense of identity is created, irrevocably tied to place of origin.

This clear and unambiguous sense of one's place at all times in relation to place of origin while moving fluidly around the globe is achieved by a schema of

triangulation, called ‘moving islands’ in which the canoe (or Pacific person) is envisaged as stationary and the Islands, stars, clouds sun and water appear to ‘move behind’ you somewhat like travelling in a train (Gladwin, 1970). The location of the homeland island is known at all times, innately and externally marked by a constellation of stars, supernatural and physical signs in the ocean (Diaz & Kauanui, 2001).

An *etak* concept is employed in the Caroline Islands (including Palau and Yap) of Micronesia to create a three-dimensional method of way-finding, involving both direction and time and therefore movement (Lewis, 1972). In this process, directional data from stars is combined with the mental concept of islands ‘moving’ from beneath one star position to the next. Wind, sun, and stars are also used as directional indicators, but the stars located low in the sky (either risen or just about to set) called horizon or guiding stars are the most accurate (Lewis, 1972). Each island has its own unique zenith star, known as ‘the star on top’ that locates the position of a canoe on a journey and is a beacon to steer towards on the homeward turn.

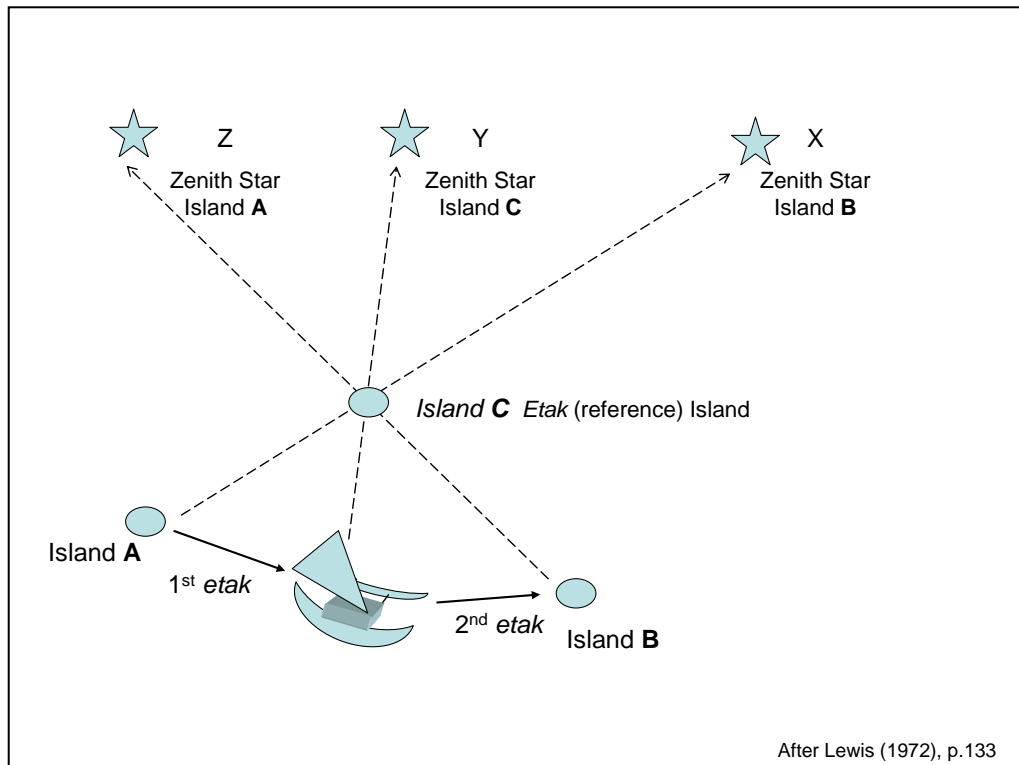
The *etak* concept divides up a voyage into stages or segments by the star bearings of a reference or *etak* island. The navigator’s position is defined in terms of visualising the world around him, including all the known islands and the places of rising and setting of the navigational stars, coupled with judgement about how fast the canoe is travelling and estimates of the number of star points past which the reference island has ‘moved’. The concept works as shown in Figure 1-3 where Island C, the Reference Island lies under its Zenith Star Y:

‘In a voyage from island A to island B, a third island C is chosen as a reference island. Ideally it should be equidistant from the other two and located to one side of the line between them. The navigator knows how the reference island bears from island A (and from island B - in his training he has learned the direction of every known island from every other one). And (in Carolinian terms) he has learned ‘under which star’ the reference island C lies when visualised from A’.

(Lewis, 1972, p.134)

In practice, voyages are rarely only of two stages and there are exceptions. An *etak* or segment can vary from one voyage to the next and from one part to another of the same passage. The first and last *etak* (segments) are called the ‘*etak of sighting*’ and the ‘*etak of birds*’ (Gladwin 1970) and are measured differently. When blown off course the navigator assumes that the canoe remains at the same position as prior to the event and then revises the course according to new star sightings. Further, when tacking against a prevailing head or cross-wind the navigator recovers his course by sailing further to windward than originally planned. Thus, innate and external information in relation to one’s positionality is the basis for traditional non-instrument navigation.

Figure 1-3 A Short Voyage of Two *etak* from Island A to Island B



The navigator's position relative to his destination is defined in terms of visualising the world around him. As inclusive of:

‘All the islands he knows and the places of rising and setting of the navigational stars as well indicators of progress such as ocean swells, wind direction, signs of land (birds, vegetation, choppy waves, clouds piled up, the loom of an island reflecting sands and shallow lagoons) and currents, coupled with his judgement about how fast the canoe is travelling and estimates of the number of star points past which the reference island has ‘moved’ and the deviations that might have blown him off course’

(Lewis, 1972).

The concept of non-instrument navigation on *vaka moana* (ocean-going canoes) brings a reminder of ancient knowledge to the primarily Polynesian Pacific communities in Waitakere that resonates with efforts to revive the now absent ancestral Pacific voyaging knowledge in the Polynesian Islands (Sir Tom Davis, 1999). The Micronesian ‘*rebbilib*’ (conceptual map of spatial relationships between islands, wave patterns, winds and guiding stars represented by joined sticks, shells and rope) was chosen in 2001 as the underpinning metaphor for the original concept for the Pacific Business and Cultural Centre (PBCC) or ‘Pacific Paradise’ because it transcended national and ethnic-specific differences in design, values, product, patterns, etc.

In terms of making a non-instrument navigated journey, a navigator does not try to sail to one location, but rather sails towards a screen, or cluster of islands, within which the destination is to be found. The wayfinding techniques of non-instrument navigation are imprecise but rendered more accurate by establishing a baseline for progress to compensate for prevailing winds and currents as well as by external information. External data derives from the stars (plus the sun and moon), seamarks (wave patterns, swells, bubbles passing under the canoe) and signs of land (debris, birds, cloud patterns, the 'loom' of an island's beaches and lagoon reflected in clouds above).

In contrast to the specificity of contemporary nautical methods the course planned and sailed by the non-instrument navigator is not direct because of numerous factors that can blow a canoe off course. The actual sailing course is usually set to the windward (west or east) side of an island cluster so that a navigator sets a course which compensates for seasonal sailing conditions. Each segment of the voyage is identified as being qualitatively different on the basis of the set of sailing conditions that are expected. The navigator turns from the windward course when he believes that external signs - signs of land and sea marks - indicate that the destination is directly abreast of the canoe. Once the 'screen' of islands has been reached, the navigator steers toward a specific island identified by its zenith star or landmarks such as a line of trees or a mountain, and prepares to make landfall (Polynesian Voyaging Society, 2004).

Efforts are being made to reinvigorate the faltering use of non-instrument navigation in the islands of Micronesia and Melanesia (Howe, 2006). In the last twenty years Polynesian non-instrument navigation has been revived, documented and (re)created by drawing upon expertise from ancestral, historical as well as modern sources. This has been achieved by master navigators from the Caroline Islands in Micronesia (where non-instrument navigation has not died out) and indigenous Polynesian sailors working together to construct methods that combine both traditional and contemporary techniques, accomplishing a new iteration which reassembles ancestral knowledge, recreates the principles and learns the skills anew (Finney, 2003). The updated procedures are more easily understood by today's youth and take fewer years to learn. The contemporary version triangulates the navigator's position relative to his destination using modern equipment and methods plus ancient techniques. For example, the navigator dynamically checks and re-checks the position and progress of the canoe against external markers (stars, position of the sun and moon, seamarks, signs of lands, speed of the boat measured by the passage of bubbles beneath the canoe). He refers also to mapped (and innately known) island positions using traditional and contemporary star charts and modern navigational aids such as global positioning systems, all of which are verified against a modern instrument-determined reference line (Thompson, 2008).

Figure 1-4 A Research Voyage of 4 *etak* from Vision to the Destination

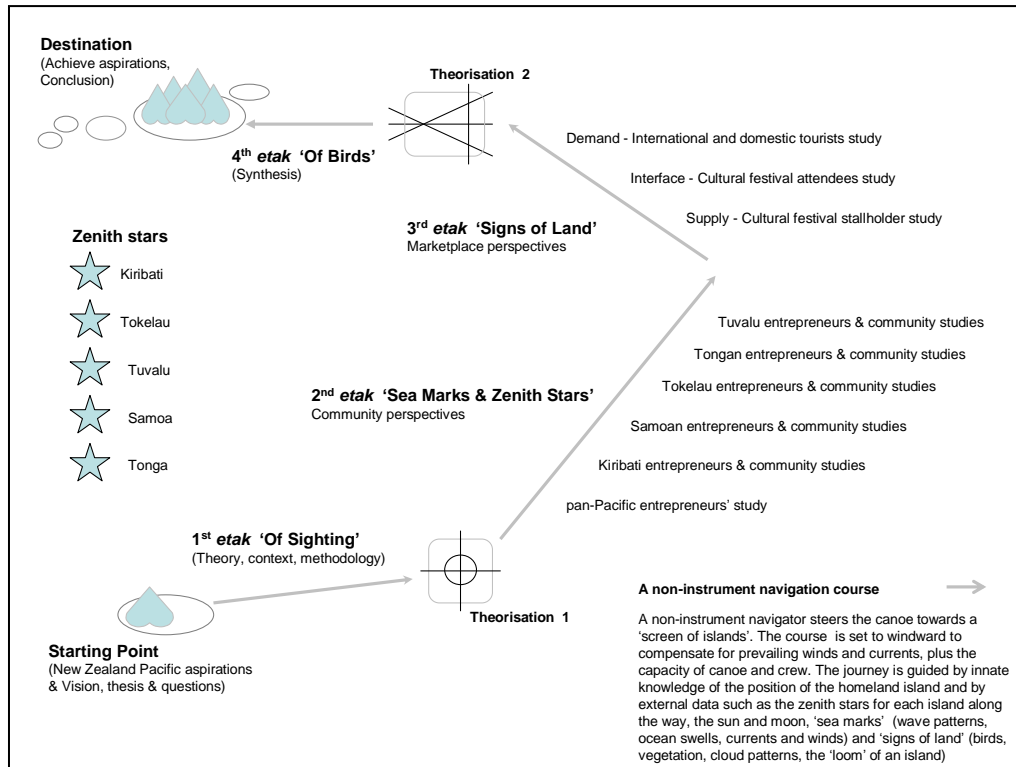


Diagram inspired by (Lewis, 1972; Low, 2007; Sir Tom Davis, 1999)

This research was also a journey in several respects. It was conducted over several years, responding to community/academic agendas and developed a methodology suited to new conditions and cross-cultural collaboration. Further, it exposed participants to new views of each other (the WPB, constituent communities, people in business, nascent entrepreneurs, and community). It cathartically facilitated open discussion about the frustrations (joys) and dilemmas of aspiring entrepreneurs in the context of cultural embeddedness. Additionally, the participatory action process took free-wheeling forays into the unknown, although grounded in both cultural and academic frameworks.

Figure 1-4 is suggested as a way to describe the research process in accordance with the non-instrument navigation metaphor. In this figure, the destination 'screen of islands' could be thought of as a cluster of potential tourism enterprises which Pacific communities might achieve in the future, aided by this research endeavour. The position of homeland islands is known innately by each cultural community and thus is different for each one, in reality producing several journeys.

The 'sailing course' for this research voyage commences at the Vision articulated by Pacific Leaders and the central thesis that emerged from it. The actual course of the research voyage is imprecise and set to the 'windward' side of the destination

because of its exploratory nature and potential to be ‘blown off course’ by strong winds and currents (politics, power dynamics and lack of resources). The voyage is envisaged as a series of research segments (four *etak*) groupings of studies, each of which is qualitatively different from each other (as in Figure 1-4).

Dissertation structure

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the research.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 are sections of the first segment of the research voyage, the 1st *etak* of Sighting) which is comparable to the preparatory phase of a journey. This segment allows the research navigators to verify the features of a ‘destination’, anticipate the issues that might be encountered as ‘sailing conditions’ and to ‘prepare’ for the journey by assembling a ‘crew’ of requisite skill and the seaworthy ‘canoes’ of appropriate design.

Chapter 2, THEMES AND THEORY (1st section of the 1st *etak*), assembles ‘knowledge’ with which to guide and accomplish the research journey from literature. This synthesises prior research into thematic areas to set the scene for the research such as social worlds, diasporan and tourist encounters and cultural community initiatives in tourism, and to identify issues to be addressed by the research. It also presents underpinning theory for those issues (otherness, enterprise/capital, interactions) and conceptualises the first model of the influence of world views on enterprise in a cultural community perspective (Figure 2-4, Model 1 – Interactions in cultural tourism).

Chapter 3, CONTEXT AND COMMUNITY (2nd section of the 1st *etak*), looks more specifically at current literature to identify the issues for the Pacific diaspora in New Zealand and the dynamics that sit behind Pacific entrepreneurship. A section of this chapter, ‘*Assembling the canoes*,’ identifies the ‘canoes’ of the larger groups who reside in New Zealand. The *vaka moana* (ocean-going canoe) is a metaphor for the cultural, physical (material world, land) and spiritual (above and below) worlds which encapsulate Pacific peoples on their journeys through life and the world. It traces ancestral voyaging and lineage, landing places in a new land and homeland departures. In the thesis, this section identifies the points of departure and nature of arrival of the several canoes of Pacific peoples now living in New Zealand. It also identifies diasporan spheres of influence (without extending however to Australia, North American, Europe or Asia). The ‘*Framing the Destination*’ section identifies the ‘screen of islands’ towards which the navigator of each Pacific *vaka moana* will steer, representing the aspirations of Waitakere’s Pacific communities. The section, ‘*Assembling the Crew*’ introduces the research participants (the ‘crew’ and their

affiliations) whose interests are pan-Pacific and ethnic-specific Pacific, the nature of the research collaboration and the respective roles of participating researchers. Introduces the research collaboration partner, Waitakere Pacific Board (WPB) and Pacific members of the research team from Waikato Management School (WMS). Most importantly it discusses the vision of the PBCC and the anticipated Destination. Thus, it sets the scene for the actual journey.

Chapter 4, EPISTEME AND EVIDENCE (3rd section of the 1st *etak*) completes the first research segment and is linked to Chapters 2 and 3. A section called '*Sensemaking*' discusses wider epistemological issues in order to situate and explain the research paradigm and the Mutuality Research approach (grounded in both Pacific and western theory) that was an outgrowth of this work. It also reviews role of research as both physical and behavioural artefact resulting from the agendas and capacities of the participants and the evidentiary framework of the analysis.

The '*Preparations for the Journey*' section outlines methodologies employed. It specifically deals with the iterative nature of the research and how the author responded to first the WPB research agenda and then the concerns of the ethnic communities. This allows the structure of analysis and thus later modelling to emerge iteratively from the data, as grounded theory. It is framed by the initial model (Model 1) and provides the base for research chronology table (Table 1-1). This chapter then outlines the principles for way finding (non-instrument navigation), the triangulation techniques used by the researchers on their voyage to monitor speed and progress, to establish position and to validate that they are sailing in the right direction.

Chapters 5 and 6 present the results of the research. Chapter 5 outlines the 'sailing conditions' or realities of diasporan life, social cohesion and homeland linkages encountered by several Pacific communities in Waitakere. Chapter 6 estimates the reality of how close the canoes are to the desired marketplace destination.

Chapter 5 is titled COMMUNITY PERSPECTIVES '2nd *etak*, *Of Seemarks and Zenith Stars*'. So called, to acknowledge the concept of the 'sea of islands' which is central to Pacific identity and which reflects the culture-specific nature of each community and the specific set of drivers and circumstances of each diasporan voyage. The chapter reveals an *emic* perspective on the experiences and capacities (enablers and inhibitors) of Pacific entrepreneurs from five ethnicities, resident in Waitakere City (Auckland, New Zealand) as they interface with internal, internal/external and external marketplaces. It assesses the internal capacity of the canoe as well as their attitudes and assumptions about external sailing conditions. The accuracy of the direction of travel 'towards enterprise' is verified by figurative 'bearings' taken on innately located zenith stars for each of the Island nations by the

five community affirmation studies which accompany each ethnic-specific entrepreneurial discussion. The ‘zenith stars’ for the five Pacific nations who engaged deeply in this research are arranged vertically on the left of the diagram in terms of the distance to be travelled from New Zealand, but on the right, they are arranged in alphabetical order.

Chapter 6, MARKETPLACE PERSPECTIVES continues to elucidate ‘sailing conditions’ by illustrating external marketplace realities. It estimates the position of the New Zealand-Pacific ‘canoe’, first in terms of supply perspectives (cultural festival stallholders) and second, the motivations for interaction and purchase at the interface of Pacific and non-Pacific (cultural festival attendees). Thirdly it provides an *etic* assessment of Pacific cultural product from international and domestic tourists’ perspectives. It is named ‘3rd *etak* - *Signs of Land*’ because it grounds Pacific aspirations (Vision articulated in Chapter 3) and the internal issues surrounding confidence and capacity of nascent entrepreneurs (Community, Chapter 5) in the external realities of actual supply and demand in the diasporan context. In non-instrument navigation, external signs of land are types of birds, the time and direction of their flight, vegetation in the water, cloud patterns that gather around an island and the ‘loom’ of an island produced by lagoon and beach reflections in the sky).

When all studies have been completed, the research canoe might be considered ‘abreast’ of the enterprise ‘screen of islands’ and if the signs of land, seamarks and guiding stars are aligned, the Navigator will turn towards it and perhaps make landfall. At this point the Navigator (researcher) synthesises the results from both sets of perspectives using the Mutuality Research approach to crosscheck interpretations, and turns from the windward course (the ‘4th *etak Of Birds*’) toward the Destination (the conclusion).

Chapter 7 is the final synthesis that pulls together all the threads that have been recorded. It assesses the veracity of the central thesis based on information revealed by each cluster of studies (aspirations, consumer and community) and radically re-aligns the first model to construct a non-western theorisation of the issues which inhibit and enable encounter between cultures and consumer at the enterprise interfaces (Figure 7-2, Model 2 - Pacific Cultural Enterprise). It also challenges the thesis ‘that Pacific communities in Waitakere are ready to earn income from cultural enterprise (tourism)’ and indicates that perhaps some are not quite as prepared as others, for a host of reasons.

Thesis

The central thesis for this dissertation is articulated from parameters central to the research collaboration agenda. It is written from the point of view of the cultural agent and is the starting point for the research voyage. The researcher responded to rather than led the agenda throughout the research, but was a key figure in its translation for both academic and practical purposes. A chronology of the research is supplied in Table 1-1. The central thesis is:

‘That societal marginality can be a positive position from which to develop tourism enterprise and cultural product’

This idea reflects the aspirations of the research’s collaborative partner, the Waitakere Pacific Board (WPB) which advocates for and undertakes projects to move towards economic, social and cultural equality with the mainstream western population, on behalf of nine diasporan Pacific communities. It tacitly assumes that the nine ‘Pacific’ communities share common views and values and are all at a similar stage of integration or hegemony and that the WPB speaks on behalf of those ethnic communities. Further that Pacific communities are in fact marginalised, as well as that all of the Pacific ethnic communities wish to and are capable of, initiating commercial enterprise and tourism product. Also, there is an expectation that non-Pacific peoples consume products and services based upon Pacific cultural knowledge and resources. But most importantly, that tourism is assumed to be as viable in a diasporan New Zealand non-indigenous context as it is in the Islands today.

The core question is underpinned by three others:

1. What are the diasporan Pacific community’s aspirations for tourism and cultural enterprise to support tourism?
2. What factors enable or inhibit interaction at the interface between diasporan Pacific communities and tourism product/cultural enterprise?
3. What happens at the interface between diasporan communities and consumers?

The research question was restated more simply for use in the community research phase to acknowledge the ancestral derivation and identity of each culture and to place diasporan dynamics into the contemporary mainstream western economic frame, as:

‘Can Pacific communities in Waitakere preserve culture and earn a living from cultural resources in a mainstream NZ economy?’

The evidentiary structure of the thesis appears in Chapter 4 as Table 4-1. This shows how the questions, theory, evidence sought and the studies undertaken relate to each other.

Table 1-1 Research Chronology and Theoretical Underpinnings

<p>THESIS ‘That societal marginality can be a positive position from which to develop tourism enterprise and cultural product’</p>	Phases	Questions	Theory	Studies	
	<p>1st etak ‘Of Sighting’ (Theory, context, method)</p>	<p>Q1. What are the diasporan Pacific community aspirations for tourism and cultural enterprise?</p>	<p>Otherness Habitus</p>	<p>ASPIRATIONS</p>	<p>Pacific Leaders (2001) *</p> <p>Waitakere Pacific residents (2001) *</p>
	<p>2nd etak ‘Seamarks & Zenith Stars’ (Community perspective)</p>	<p>Q 2. What factors enable or inhibit interaction at the interface between diasporan Pacific communities and tourism product/cultural enterprise?</p>	<p>Otherness Habitus Capital Enterprise Autopoesis</p>	<p>ENTREPRENEURS & CULTURAL COMMUNITIES</p>	<p>Kiribati (2005/06) Samoa (2005/06) Tokelau (2005/06) Tonga (2005/06) Tuvalu (2005/06) Pan-Pacific (2005)</p>
	<p>3rd etak ‘Signs of land’ (Marketplace perspective)</p>	<p>Q3. What happens at the interface between diasporan communities and consumers?</p>	<p>Otherness Hybridity Demand theory</p>	<p>SUPPLY INTERFACE DEMAND</p>	<p>Festival stallholders (2005) Festival attendees (2005) Domestic & international tourists (2005) Auckland residents (2001) ** Ethnic-specific Pacific (2003) **</p>
	<p>4th etak ‘Of Birds’ (Synthesis)</p>				

* Summaries only in this dissertation

** Omitted from this dissertation

Neither the questions nor the research framework were researcher-lead, although they were framed by the researcher in conversation with the WPB and WMS team to answer both the requirements of an academic context and the participating communities. They were however tested in numerous community settings and with subject experts before use in the field. The analytic framework, protocols, nature of the data and manner of presentation of community findings were negotiated by mutual respect, but punctuated by misunderstandings, clarifications and beginnings-again. The protocols included primacy of voice, excellence in cultural and academic knowledge and reciprocity between the collaborators (and within the researcher team) but punctuated by misunderstandings, clarification and agreement. A 'between worlds' protocol, the Mutuality Research approach described in Chapter 4, was developed by the author, aided by the cultural team to illuminate the space(s) of interaction and understanding between not two, but ten cultural world views.

The questioning also proceeded iteratively. Each phase fed forward into the next, actively generating the next set of questions. The author was the driving partner in terms of the overall research framework - creating, framing, leading the work from behind rather than in front - documenting commenting and interpreting its outcomes. But throughout the work and especially in the community studies, data collection and the resultant texts were interpreted by each research team member for their own communities and this acknowledged bibliographically. These texts are treated as data to be analysed along with other materials, offering interpretations along the way (See Chapters 6, 7), as well as a synthesis and a new model in Chapter 8. Thus the research journey itself echoes the third space interactions modelled in Chapter 2 by exploring new ground from the respective cultural grounds, creating meaning and then re-analysing the respective phenomena, equipped with fresh insights.

The research voyage began and continued as collaboration over 6 years from 2001 to 2007. Eventually, the collaboration completed thirteen studies, all of which were undertaken in response to the agendas of Waitakere Pacific Board (WPB) and its constituent ethnic communities, but lead and designed collaboratively by the author and WPB. However, only five of the studies are reported here because of the somewhat contrary reporting requirements of action research located within and reporting to local communities and academic research. There is an inbuilt tension for the use of participant action research in an academic setting, as it is for research situated in epistemologies that synthesise lived experience from *épistèmes* that are non-western or alternate.

Each of the Pacific cultural communities wished their voice to be heard accurately on their own terms. This was achieved in the terms of the evidence used in the body of this text and in the concepts articulated, reinforced by the appendices for each ethnicity.

Separate action research-style reports were written for each Pacific community about the intent and scope of the research, the specific findings for that group, its implications and the actions they had specified. These were formally presented to each of the Ethnic Community Representatives.

To privilege Pacific Voice and to give primacy to the community position, the market studies conducted prior to 2004 were not included. However the Waitakere Pacific Leaders qualitative study (2001) and Waitakere Local Pacific qualitative study (2001) are summarised in Chapter 3. The mixed method regional study of Auckland Residents (2001) and the Ethnic-specific Residents mixed method study (2003) are referred to briefly in Chapter 6 and available as Working Papers (Cave, 2009a, 2009c, 2009d, 2009e, 2009f).

The navigation metaphor is a way to communicate to both audiences since it positions the research data and analysis in the Pacific world view, while graphically providing the academic reader with insights upon which the ethnography communicated in the thesis is positioned (J. Macbeth, personal communication, May, 2009).

Terminology

Tourism products and services are encounters with difference. 'Ethnicity' is defined as a perceived cultural difference between the tourist and the host (Graburn, 1984). Ethnicity is produced by group-level interactions and ethnic forms evolve as a result of changing structural relations between groups and rhetorical explanations and accounts of inter-group similarities and differences (MacCannell, 1984). However the notion of ethnicity to some extent purges cultural difference. Social practices are re-shaped in the notion of ethnicity around a racial identity (giving rise to) a hierarchy that sub-categorises while devaluing groups of people that are designated as 'racial Others, ethnics, and outsiders' (Bartolome & Macedo, 1997b). Gray (2001) in a recent demographic review of the definition and measurement of ethnicity from the perspective of Pacific peoples in New Zealand additionally supports this contention:

'Ethnicity is a measure of cultural affiliation, as opposed to race, ancestry, nationality or citizenship. Thus, ethnicity is self-perceived and people can affiliate with more than one ethnic group'

(Gray, 2001 p. 1)

While the author is not comfortable using the notion of ethnicity because of its implied colonialism, it was nonetheless a term used by the Pacific cultural communities with whom she interacted during this research and so remains in the text.

An ethnic group is defined as:

‘A collectivity within a larger society having real or putative (supposed) common ancestry, memories of a shared or historical past and a cultural focus on one or more symbolic elements defined as the epitome of their peoplehood...a necessary accompaniment is some consciousness of kind among members of the group’

(Schermerhorn, 1970: 12))

The term ‘tourism’ is used widely in the dissertation. Its use is intended to encompass the breadth and depth of the formal tourism industry as well as informal ‘touristic’ activities which in an economic sense could be called ‘value-added’ or indirectly economic activities. On the formal tourism (industry) side, this then includes: access (transportation, travel, intermediaries and infrastructure), activities (events, meetings, incentives, conferences and exhibitions, shopping), amenities (transit stations, airports, toilets, information centres and the Internet), accommodation, and attractions. And on the informal ‘touristic’ side it includes creation and supply of cultural product such as songs, performance, arts and craft by volunteer, school, micro-enterprise and church agencies, etc. that are made freely available or at minimal charge to ethnicities beyond cultural communities, for many reasons, including education, politics and advocacy. Other examples might be invitations extended to private homes (but not ‘home stay’ or Maori ‘*marae* stay’ businesses) or to ceremonies or festivals, weddings. Inclusion in rituals such as hand-painted *mendhi* (henna) for a wedding guest and attendance at sacred sites which would under normal circumstances be closed to people not from that culture or family. This means however that these fortunate people become tacitly and temporarily part of the social world of another.

‘Collaboration’ is taken to mean cooperation, agreement, commitment of resources and collegial action at a structural and organisational level, between stakeholders, whereas ‘interaction’ refers to the nature, context and circumstances of contact between ‘host’ and ‘visitor’.

‘Cultural enterprise’ in this context means the creation or development of cultural products or services for the purpose of making transactions (gifts, exchange, ceremonial or cash) regardless of whether undertaken in the formal, informal or cultural economies.

The next chapter introduces theory and principles that underpin the research voyage.

Chapter 2

Themes and Theory

(1st section, 1st etak of Sighting)

Introduction

This chapter reflects upon the conceptual base of the research and its theoretical context. It assembles knowledge from academic sources about the phenomena associated with cultural interactions and community enterprise development in cultural tourism that will identify navigational principles for the research voyage.

Themes

Several themes situate this research into the dynamics of nascent entrepreneurship on the part of diasporan Pacific peoples resident in New Zealand. These themes include social worlds created by global migration and tourism, encounters and transactions in public spheres such as tourism, collisions of mainstream versus informal economies, developmental solutions to marginalisation and minority status of cultural communities, the parameters of ethnic enterprise solutions and the importance of cultural values to ethnic enterprise.

Social worlds

Conceptually, human interactions, tourism being no exception, are effected within networks of social proximity. This idea pervades the research relationship described in this dissertation (see Chapter 3) as well as notions of connectedness between tourism markets and potential entrepreneurs in the Pacific communities.

Unruh (1980) proposes that the notion of social worlds has currency in terms of globalisation, tourism and migrant communities. A social world is inclusive of and delineated by interaction and communication, and not defined by space, territory, formal organisation, or membership. For example: professional or occupational contact networks, research colleges, activity systems and sub-cultures (e.g. gangs and tourism cohorts such as backpackers). Social worlds can exist as local, regional, dispersed and world systems, characterised by an organisation (products, activities, experiences, lifestyles and technologies that bring its participants together) but often without a powerful central authority structure. Thus they have the capacity to redefine, spontaneously negotiate, and splinter the original focus. However, social worlds also have centrality, organising around a communicating and demographic centre which coordinates activities, production, and interrelationships with dispersed nodes, the boundaries for which are set by the limits of effective communication. A geographic centre may or may not be centrally located and is a territory rather than a specific locale, including meeting places, convention sites, street corners, dance halls,

and taverns amongst others. Unruh (1980) also suggests that sub-worlds or social circles also exist which embody the same processes, characteristics and structures of larger social worlds but which are continually in flux. Social worlds as a whole then are networks characterised by dispersal, nodal points and gaps clustered around a central locale. The depth and extent of interaction with the social world and its importance to an individual affects the nature of his/her cultural embeddedness within it. The centralised and yet dispersed nature of this concept, as well as the possibility of multiple sub-groupings coincides with the organisational model of the Waitakere Pacific Board and the notion of *fale*, a gathering place of spirituality, learning and sociability, central to Pacific nations across Polynesian Oceania.

According to Unruh, individuals can be engaged in social worlds partially, in several at one time, or not at all depending upon social proximity and role as strangers, tourists, regulars and insiders (Unruh, 1980). 'Strangers' are involved superficially but provide points of reference and comparison with members of a social world. Strangers may provide clues to the importance of certain intersections between social worlds. Urban dwellers take on the role of stranger when they avoid certain parts of a large city in their everyday lives, yet when they visit previously unexplored parts of their world, take on the characteristics and attitudes of tourists (Strauss, 1961). As 'Tourists' people are involved in social worlds out of curiosity and do not have long-standing commitment to or ongoing involvement with them, although they take part in them insofar as they are entertaining or profitable (MacCannell, 1973). 'Regulars' are habitual participants who are integrated into the ongoing everyday activities of social worlds, whereas 'Insiders' are their life-blood. Insiders create and sustain its activities on behalf of other participants and are the ones who construct, control, regulate or expand a social world, having the most to gain or lose when a social world succeeds or fails. They recruit new participants and have an intimate knowledge of social world activities (Unruh, 1980). This last concept correlates with the organisational framework of the Pacific community boards in Auckland at the ethnic-specific level and the Waitakere Pacific Board as an organising interface with mainstream, via a local government mandate and with an extended, cross-boundary and global world view.

However, distancing and Otherness occurs at the borders of notional, if not physical or mandated borders of social worlds. Said (1978) notes that time and place specificity underpin the ways in which people create imaginative, epistemological and spatial landscapes concerning their own identity and that of people who live beyond the margins of one's known world. Appadurai suggests that the global economy has played a part in the creation of social worlds by developing a sphere of exchange, wider circulatory systems and networks of financial and cultural economies. Spheres of exchange are complex dynamics in which objects, ideas, ideologies, technologies and images 'flow' in a single economy of circulation

(Appadurai, 1990, 1996) formed around spheres or '*ecumenes*' of interaction (Kroeber, 1945) or network of networks (Hannerz, 1992). This system of systems is however not without limitations, selectivities and exclusions, creating borderless yet bounded spheres of interaction that evolve via migration, nationalism, colonialism and post-colonialism, media, diaspora and market dynamics. An example being the diasporan 'spheres of influence' comprising movements, exchanges and familial links between the islands of the Oceanic Pacific (Gibson & Nero, 2007) that endure today in trans-national as well as trans-local forms. These exchange dynamics produce questions that require reassessment of current images and theory about social stability, the nature and permeability of boundaries, natural divisions between ethnic groups and the nature of community (Appadurai, 2001).

The concept of social worlds is important to this research since it suggests the possibility that potential encounters within tourism product may be influenced by the perceptions of people as hosts and visitors engaged in the moment of experience, but also affected by the dynamic of borderless diasporan flows of people and ideas – wherein the heritage and place of origin sit within the attitudes of the host, affecting decisions, perceptions and action. All have implications for social coherence, cultural hegemony and identity, as well as for the communication of world views within communities - for second-generation ethnicities with homeland-born elders, recent migrants and on return to ancestral homeland communities, as much as for trans-national and trans-local linkages.

The question of how to maintain social order and cultural coherence in lived communities in the face of complex and uneven cross-border flows is the seminal question to be addressed by the social sciences in the 21st Century (Appadurai, 2001). This question is especially important for the role of diasporan migratory patterns in the shifts of global economies, allegiances and stabilities and for tourism as a global industry. For example, interactions within the social networks of prospective immigrants in the Israeli diaspora create social and fiscal resources that are transferable and provide information, communication, and durable sets of mutually reinforcing obligations, mostly within family and friendship networks (Oigenblick & Kirschenbaum, 2002), but also within networks of experts such as scientists, professions and trades (Darr & Rothschild, 2004). The networks allow immigrants to manage the risk involved in the decision to move and to gain access to capital markets to finance consumer purchases, houses, land and business establishment, a significant factor for international labor migration (Bonacich, 1973; Massey & K, 1997). Entry into ethnic enclaves, especially when geographically concentrated close to relatives and friends, increases the benefits of social capital for family members in that community (Oigenblick & Kirschenbaum, 2002). Development of majority-minority but also minority-minority spatial separations of communities or neighbourhoods are explained by preferences observable at trans-local and

international levels, permitting one to live alongside other of the same ethnicity, engaging similar social distance dynamics and economic circumstances (Clark, 2008).

These questions and their associated dynamics have implications for tourism in terms of the flows of commodities and persons (legal and illicit), new regimes of financial circulation and cyber-commerce, the evolution of new forms of diasporic identification, mobility and tradition building. They also have implications for the multicultural nature of the workforce in the industry itself (Wijesinghe & Lewis, 2005) producing issues of labour mobility within the industry (Vaugeois & R, 2007). New forms of tourism also result, an example being the appropriation and 'repatriation' of a cultural Caribbean holiday 'Emancipation Day' by the Ghanaian government as a tourist holiday to attract expatriates from the Caribbean diaspora. Local, national, and global agendas have emerged around the event that depoliticise its meaning as social capital (Hasty, 2002). New definitions and common meaning can arise as social worlds and *épistèmes* coalesce, conform and collide, redolent with paradox and contractions. But is this the case for Pacific peoples, resident in a new homeland, in some cases for more than 100 years?

The social fabric of people's surroundings alters the ways in which they see the world. New forms of lived experience are encountered, cultural dimension of objects and technologies are produced by the translation, (re)localisation, language and semiotic mediation that occurs as people and technologies permeate the globe. But there is nonetheless a fear that the forces of commodification conveyed by globalisation will produce increasing levels of cultural homogenisation and social standardisation in media icons, social styles, and consumption values. And these, may in turn erase cultural differences both within and across societies (Rowan, 1999; Ryan, 1995).

Tourism products are also extensions of the commodification of modern social life under capitalism which involves commodity production and exchange, the mass manipulation of commodity signs, standardisation of products, tastes and experience (Watson & Kopachevsky, 1994). Both authenticity and commodification are thought to be *etic* (externalised) views of cultural communities (Coles et al., 1988), outsiders looking in. Moreover, there is evidence that in the public sphere, societies appropriate technologies, download media idiosyncratically and that local entrepreneurs and customers subvert standardisation to produce differentiation (Appadurai, 2001). An example is that of the subversion of brand uniformity in the cultural setting of East Asia for the global chain of McDonald's restaurants. Inherent capitalistic sensitivity to local markets meant that planners were drawn into the local mosaic of social patterns and cultural orientations, involving age, leisure, work, and freedom. Inevitably, different desires and practices emerged in each setting,

producing unintended styles and contexts for consumption, sociality and public interaction, each of which was culturally distinct, but not in any predictable way (Watson, 1997).

Increasingly we see global commodities locally interpreted by producers as well as consumers and cultural differentiation tending to outpace homogenisation (Appadurai, 2001) through renewed emphasis on ethnicity. This global-local nexus is one way to understand the forces of change (Teo, 2002) or present opportunities, but is also a place at which pressure can be exerted on assertion of the rights of indigenous communities (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2004). An example of deliberately enacted identity formation around material objects of touristic exchange can be seen in the activities of entrepreneurs both in and surrounding the Dali community. Tibetan street vendors create culturally consumable 'authentic' product for visitors such as marble goods for domestic Chinese and Hill Tribe art and crafts for predominantly international tourists (Doorne et al., 2003). These are also examples of locally developed small and medium enterprises (SMEs) and entrepreneurship. Such efforts in creating intentional difference between cultures and thus Otherness are to some extent based on generating renewed ethnicity as a response to cultural homogenisation (Ezarik, 2003).

Associated with this are assertions of intellectual and cultural property ownership in cultural tourism products, by both indigenous and ethnic communities. These initiatives strengthen the cultural gaze, attitudes, perception and behaviour from both sides, creating a mutual gaze which is not always benign (Maoz, 2006). Moreover, where tourism is adopted by cultural minorities and communities in less developed countries, issues of power and culture are enacted (Di Castri, 2004; Franklin & Crang, 2001) at the interface of development and conduct of tourism. Thus the nuancing of competing voices and clear differentiations of meaning are important in understanding the dynamics of tourism development (Olsen, 2002).

It is critical that local communities should possess a high degree of control and command a large proportion of the benefits of tourism (Scheyvens, 1999). As an example, research into a community-based ecotourism camp at Tumani Tenda in the Gambia (Jones, 2005) revealed a paradox. While high levels of social cohesion, cooperation and coordination were instrumental to the processes of an endogenously developed initiative, there were signs that gains in social capital (changes in position in the vertical and horizontal networks within a community) embedded within its cultural and political context, may eventually erode the gains in indigenous social capital and environmental improvements. For example, there are implications in the redistribution of power dynamics over the long and short term. Long term effects are that elders pass power onto family members who may not have the same vision of collective action and community solidarity as those who established the project, and

erosion of trust may occur in a country not immune from corruption. More immediately, a lack of accountability mechanisms means that the business managers are challenged for insufficient transparency in decisions and actions. Over time, traditional vertical hierarchies have emerged as the controllers of power and have eroded a perception of horizontal social equality. External relationships with developmental agencies tend to be short-term and targeted to specific material needs. Whilst these have the capacity to develop social capital, they do not provide bridging funds to connect communities to local governments and other groups with resources. Also, lack of transparency has meant that one agency has discontinued its funding. This reinforces the need to develop synergistic views of transactions between social networks and the state (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000).

Despite the studies noted above, only a small number of tourism researchers write from an *emic*, internal perspective (Berno, 1999; Cole, 2003, 2005; Jones, 2005). This is one area in which this dissertation makes an original contribution from the point of view of Pacific communities, since it examines whether or not it is possible for Pacific communities to retain cultural distinctiveness and values of a non-market economy and at the same time adopt enterprises which are capable of withstanding the exigencies of market forces.

Encounters of world view

Contrasting *épistèmes* or world views are brought into contact when people move or travel through migration or tourism. The dynamics of these interactions have been called dual processes - defining 'Difference' which may present an 'Othered' mirror of known society and also '*curiositas*', which urges the traveller to self-confidently explore the limits between that which is known or familiar to us and to engage willingly with the Unknown, seeking out challenges that call into question accepted world views (Sobecki, 2002).

During encounters in tourism the 'Gaze' of one upon the Other presupposes a deterministic fit between Self and Society (Urry, 2002). But MacCannell suggests that in every gaze (on a subject) conscious or not, there is a complementary unseen, alternate, perhaps dark side, something missing rather than observed (MacCannell, 2001). In many cases, third world cultural tourism mirrors western fantasies, reflecting back in performance what the tourist desires. Mirrored perceptions appear in analyses of host experiences (King et al., 1993; Liu et al., 1987) and those of visitors (Ryan & Pike, 2003; Weiermair, 2000; Xie & Wall, 2002). Augmented reality changes the dynamic around authenticity and issues of front and back stages (J. Macbeth, personal communication, May, 2009). Yet, Bruner (1991) notes that tourist interactions can have profound effects for the native Self, but the tourist Self is rarely changed by the experience. The concept of mutual gaze between tourists and local residents is thus important. The 'local' gaze is made up of stereotypes about the

tourists which the hosts reflect to the visitor. The 'returned' tourist gaze influences the actions of the other and visa-versa (Maoz, 2006). Further, Craik (1997), says that encounters comprise the features of 'touristic culture', possessing norms, meanings and behaviours understood by its participants, depending on a variety of social discourses and practices as well as on setting (Rojek, 1997). Together, these construct the phenomena of tourism as an agent of seeing, of being, of experience, of cultural invention and an agent of knowing (Jamal & Hollinshead, 2001).

For the most part, formal tourism industry interactions take place in public places, notwithstanding the degrees of informality that surround long-term education home-stay and the backpacker workforce, volunteer tourism and the networks of workers on organic farms, youth camps and faith networks. Public places, or public spheres, are conceived of as concrete, practical communicative spaces in which complex interactions occur, aligned to shifting political, social, cultural and individual contexts and roles (Habermas, 1996).

In public spheres, encounters of epistemology or inherited agreement realities occur, brought by individuals from different cultures. Differing *épistèmes* or world views interact when people travel, dually defining 'difference' on the basis of 'other than me' and 'sameness' the same as me, but producing new views within the encounter as well as when one reflects upon it afterwards. These become the basis of heuristic yet practical encounters and produce new ways of interrogating, creating within this process, a dynamic of understanding. The dynamic becomes epistemological in focus as the individuals generate and transmit meaning about observed, emotional and tacit knowledge(s), shaping the way the respective worlds are viewed (Habermas, 1996).

During interaction there is almost always a momentary cross-ethnic linking or relationship between peoples who have different socio-biological backgrounds, albeit fleeting and superficially based (MacCannell, 1984). The lived experience of such interaction is actually a triad of: a) spatial practice, defined by policies, activities, rules and physical structures, b) representational space, the place(s) in which lives are lived and c) representations of space which are imaginatively conceived (Lefebvre, 1991). These are somewhat akin to Said's concept of imaginative geographies (Said, 1978), the conceptual boundaries of spheres of exchange (Appadurai, 1996) and Unruh's social worlds (1980).

The picture is perhaps more clear when communities and cultures are isolated and very different from each other, but is less clear within cross-boundary social worlds or where the ubiquitousness of tourism product blurs sharp distinctions. An assumption made by Pacific immigrant participants in this research is that community-initiated cultural tourism, successful as an enterprise strategy in

homeland nations (where tourism is central to GDP), should transfer readily to a market economy model as a contributor to improved social and economic well-being. But is this the case?

Concentrations of migrant populations have tended to create centres of social and economic space 'ethnoburbs', 'ethno precincts' and 'silo-ed' labour markets, creating ethnic precincts of retail, social activity and residence and resultant contexts. As well as physical spaces of bicultural versus multicultural that push the boundaries of tolerance in terms of host society understandings, as well as reactive gate keeping attitudes and practices and politicised responses (Spoonley, 2007).

Similarly in tourism, the settings in which encounters between hosts and guests take place affect the processes, the nature of their construction and possibilities for interaction which occur within them. For instance, the architectural arrangements of 'front of house' and 'back of house' spaces in theatres and tourism attractions (Goffman, 1959; MacCannell, 1973) create social space but also differential access that correlate with desires for authentic experience. 'Virtual' hyperspaces create beliefs through mystification. Differential zones of access allow progress through public/open to private/closed places of intimacy and social solidarity, producing a trajectory that follows entry from the front region (perceived as not authentic enough), to front regions decorated as back regions, to simulated back regions, then open to outsider back regions, as well as occasionally open back regions to the private back region (perceived as the most authentic) (MacCannell, 1973). Many contemporary interactive museums carry the experience of heritage life so far as to be able to 'taste the porridge' under controlled conditions but do not penetrate as far as Mead suggests that an ethnographer might, say to integrate with a foreign culture by participation in hallucinogenic rituals (Mead, 1955) or to sleep on the ground exposed to the elements and biting mosquitoes. Visitor-host cross-linking interactions can be characterised on temporal, spatial, communication, cultural and empathic grounds such as length of stay, intensity of the relationship and local guest-host traditions. Spatially, interaction depends upon whether physical and social spaces remain open or are closed to external visitors by the hosts, and the extent of which crowd control measures are put in place by the hosts to facilitate or limit access in open spaces.

In the diasporan as well as tourism contexts, factors that affect interactions also include language used (on the part of either visitor or host), whether written translations are provided and if bilingualism is promulgated. There is some evidence to suggest that bilinguals tend to share bicultural values with Others more than unilingual hosts and that bilingual culture brokers are particularly important in enhancing or hindering cultural understanding (Evans, 1976). On cultural grounds, the success and extent of interactions depend upon shared values, positive or negative

attitudes toward each other and prior experience of each others' culture. Empathy, the ability to project into the role and experiences of another person and self-efficacy, either as a stranger in foreign environments or to be able to interact with strangers on one's home ground, facilitates deeper cultural immersion. For example, an ability to 'look local' (Muzaini, 2006) has been identified as a means to creative empathy. But such interactions must also be seen in the wider context of globalisation, since as participants in the formal tourism industry are not exempt from the influences of mass media and so do not reflect 'pure' Other (Allon, 2004).

Regrettably, access to the benefits of commerce or to grants of aid can engender differences within communities in terms of income, control of property and the distribution of benefits that may result as well as socialisation within the communities (Fitzgerald, 1998a; Fitzgerald, 1998b; Helu-Thaman, 2002). Further, not all community members at a tourism destination participate equally. Some may participate directly, interacting with tourists on a regular basis as guides, performers and artisans whereas others may work behind the scenes serving as support staff or as wholesalers of food and supplies.

Local hosts will also differ in terms of how much time and energy they invest in tourism. Some will work as fulltime wage labourers, whereas others will contract their labour occasionally or earn cash only through the sale of goods (Stronza, 2001). Also, the character of decision-making within traditional structures and process are very different from those that characterise an entrepreneurial mind since they are allied to traditional structures and networks of power and authority (Allon, 2004; Ryan, 2002a). Issues of leadership and challenges to traditional hierarchies can result as commercial interests are implemented. The people who become influencers within the community can be defiant of hierarchy and unequal power distances and social instabilities can result (Boissevain, 1977; Sheehan, 2002; Thistlewait & Davis, 1996). Thus community motives and goals can be both complementary and conflicting (Boniface, 1998; Cave et al., 2007; Jacobs & Gale, 1994; Jansen-Verbeke, 1998).

However the alternate is also true. For example the notion of tourism fits with the cultural practice and values of the Manggarai in Indonesia where tourists are considered equivalent to special guests or spirits and thus performances outside ritual contexts (and exchange of money) accord with local custom (Erb, 2000).

The Pacific Island diaspora in New Zealand is no less complex, since it is situated within the context of multi-local, multi-social and pluri-local networks created by post-migratory mobility (Hall & Duval, 2004). The expanding global economy has had a liberating effect on trans-national mobility for Pacific peoples (Hau'ofa, 2000). Nonetheless, Oceanic peoples generally retain cultural identities and world views

which emphasize place and the land as well as networks of exchange and/or reciprocal relationships (Helu-Thaman, 1995) wherever they are located. The links to lands of origin are deeply felt and expressed in physical, cultural and spiritual terms (Prescott, 2007).

Thus contexts of simultaneous social relationships with their post-migration home and external homelands and the trans-national spheres of influence are essential to understanding the dynamics of identity and tourism as well as for this research. They also exert influence on the aspirations and assumptions made by the Pacific communities engaged in the research.

Diasporan transactions

An issue of particular importance to diasporan groups is that they do not have the same access to land or to indigenous rights as First Peoples. As a consequence they may have to operate more in mainstream modes than do these populations and become socialised in both the minority and mainstream contexts, operating sometimes in one and sometimes in the other (Helu-Thaman, 1993a). Sheehan (2002) says that Pacific Island business initiatives in particular, reveal a sense of optimism regarding the speed, flexibility and opportunity for achievement of community, social and entrepreneurial goals when compared to others such as North American First Peoples.

In terms of Pacific peoples in New Zealand, both homeland and migrant Pacific Island populations have and continue to experience change from the traditional non-monetised economies of the islands to the commercially driven economy of western society. Generally speaking, in New Zealand, the younger outwardly looking generations originating from the Pacific have high expectations of being able to keep pace with the rest of New Zealand and are less sympathetic to traditional values and institutions, at times conflicting with their community leadership (Fitzgerald, 1998b).

The informal tourism economy of the Pacific is characterised by small-scale businesses, many of whom are family owned. Small businesses use labour intensive technology, are generally excluded from formal credit facilities, operate outside a regulatory regime and are highly dependent on informal social networks within minority communities. Workers are paid comparatively low wages, have little formal education, and experience high insecurity of employment (Van Diermen, 1997). In Australia for example, indigenous community businesses operate concurrently in the dominant, more prosperous European system as well as the poorer indigenous economy. Similar situations exist in the United States, Canada (Ellanna et al., 1988; Graetz & McAllister, 1994) and parts of the Pacific.

Minority entrepreneurs can function efficiently in the formal economy by overcoming interruptions in production, variances in quality, slow throughput and leakages in materials via assistance from their social networks if they have status in those communities. External parameters such as limited occupational choice, the threat of expulsion and enforceable cooperation with fellow minority entrepreneurs, build networks of trust within social networks. These then provide access to scarce information, risk-spreading arrangements, favourable terms of credit and a larger pool of individuals to whom managerial responsibility can be delegated (Kilby, 1983).

Social networks enable communities to voluntarily provide mutual support and social services, as seen in rural communities (Kearns & Joseph, 1997). People in communities are connected into social networks through their family, working, and social relationships. While the introduction of information technologies may have also made networking easier in isolated communities (McQuaid et al., 2004), communities are also connected through common tasks, tools and instruments, and ways of doing things (Latour, 1987). However, economic development can affect social networks through changes in employment and working hours, which have implications for family relationships and social interactions as does the design and form of public space in the community. These affect social networks through the ability of people to spend time together, appreciate their environment and work together to protect it (Statistics New Zealand, 2002a). Communities are most under threat from pressures upon their social identity, landscape character and economic interdependence. Communities respond to these pressures by utilising natural capital, integrating new industries, strengthening social networks (Blackett et al., 2006; Parminter, 2002) and by forming coalitions, cliques and factions (Boissevain, 1977).

Most studies on small business see social networks as central to understanding of their function. Such networks are social capital, essential not only for successful business dealings and enhancement of prestige, but also as insurance against an uncertain future (Rutten, 1997). This is especially true in informal economies and communities marginalised by distance, technology and transport from potential markets. For example, Rutten (1997) notes that the economic transactions of Pacific Island small entrepreneurs are also social transactions in the sense that they are usually embedded in social relations and not just determined by impersonal market forces. In fact, Pacific entrepreneurs are not driven solely by profit motives. Their actions are also determined by goals such as the desire for prestige, church donations, and constraints such as social obligations towards kin (Ingram, 1990). Entrepreneurs socialise in their neighbourhoods and have a voice in local politics and social figurations emerge that have similarities in lifestyle (Gorter, 1997; Upadhyia & Rutten, 1997). These serve to position small ethnic enterprises within the context of

structural power relations (Bianchi, 2003; Schuurman, 2003). Yet community entrepreneurs may feel a sense of ideological distancing, goal disparity, having to make compromises between business and community goals and so the need arises to construct 'authentic experiences' as reactive, hegemonous strategies (Allon, 2004).

Dicken (1992) suggests that successful participation in the global economic system is created and sustained through a highly localised process and that economic structures, values, cultures, institutions and histories contribute profoundly to that success. These produce specific articulations of local social conditions but with wider coordinates of capitalist development in general (Scott, 1988). Consequently many authors now argue that the working environment for many indigenously owned enterprises requires management styles that are adapted to the character and dynamics of local indigenous culture (Anderson, 2002; Corbridge, 1989; Dicken, 1992; Ingram, 1990; Ray, 1999), or *habitus*.

Enabling capacity and confidence

Efforts to make tourism a more sustainable option for cultural communities and marginalised regions have focused increasingly on a community development approach, but an analysis of the differences between traditional community economic development and community tourism development clearly shows that tourism continues to be driven by levels of government rather than community interests (Joppe, 1996). Nonetheless localised, community control over tourism may be exerted (Ezarik, 2003) because of concerns with cultural identity, historical memory and collective belonging (Doorne et al., 2003).

Many indigenous and ethnic communities assert their ownership of intellectual and cultural property ownership through cultural tourism product. Endorsement of community-based initiatives via tourism enterprise are a means of community development that: a) permits local control, b) retains the economic benefits derived from out-of-region tourist spending within the local community, and c) as a means of encouraging vibrancy within local culture (Murphy, 1985). Such initiatives are consistent with concepts of societal based tourism because they permit developments that allow lower income groups to benefit from tourism (Ryan, 2002a), are a source of foreign exchange, can enhance the self-image of communities and create a strong sense of community pride among residents (McKercher, 2001).

Community initiatives are said to occur when groups and individuals identify needs and issues at the 'grass roots' level, take responsibility for them and then are supported and encouraged by local government to resolve the issue (Witten-Hannah, 1999). Thyne, Lawson and Todd (2006) are able to demonstrate that residents (hosts) are less accepting or tolerant of tourists who exhibit more physical or cultural differences to themselves. In many cases, ethnic peoples see interactions with

western hegemony as intellectual confrontations of ideas, strategies and ways of engaging with the world (Wassmann, 1998). Thus, from the hosts' perspective, established cultural attitudes and norms about 'Self' and 'Identity' influence the types of cultural activity that they are willing to share with 'Others' from cultures outside their community. Agreements then might be reached within a community about those things which can be shared with visitors and those that cannot, and which portions of the lived experience of community might be open, presented in a virtual way and which might be closed. Is it possible too, that similar restrictions are placed upon 'Othered-selves' from within an ethnic community?

Tourism can influence cultural change in communities, creating, altering and differentiate separate authenticities. Commodified performance or production of customs, rituals and arts for tourism consumption (Picard, 1996) can change not only the meaning of cultural products, but also the human relations between the producer and the purchaser, the history of these relations, and their ethnic identities (Hiwasaki, 2000). Several authors have shown that locals initially receive tourists as guests, but a different type of hospitality develops as reciprocity turns into remuneration (Berno, 1999; Cohen, 1982; Heuman, 2005; Zarkia, 1996). This issue has been explored in depth by Berno (1999) in the Cook Islands. In that context, the service values that tourist visitors assumed would follow remuneration were generally not understood by the host communities, even on the two most populous and western- culture exposed islands. The cultural value of *aroa* (welcome) with its attendant long-term reciprocities outweighed the other. It would be interesting to test the strength of correlation between these factors in other contexts.

Payment also has the effect of changing who takes part in tourism. In one example a Basque ritual, when advertised nationally, proved so popular that it could not accommodate all viewers. The organisers decided to charge for the performance in order to control and limit entry. This had the effect of alienating the locals for whom the ritual had significance, eroding its meaning and significance and creating a performed version of the original (Greenwood, 1972).

Yet the expression and preservation of culture within local communities can be stimulated by tourism to perpetuate a social boundary that might otherwise have disappeared because of acculturation, for instance where ethnic Cajuns join outsiders to celebrate their ethnicity (Esman, 1984). Racial heritage can be used to frame redevelopment and construct notions of racial authenticity (Boyd, 2002). Moreover, revivals of cultural practice can be a means of collective mobilisation (Nagel, 1994), a political resource to manipulate and achieve resources, education and control (Cole, 2007) as well as make claims against both the state and other racial or ethnic groups (Abadi Nagy & Elzbieta, 2003; Mercer, 1994; Ryan, 2002a).

Tourism can also act to revitalise culture (Greenwood, 1982) as in the plethora of Fijian cultural festivals in the 1950s and 1960s, initially constructed as tourist attractions to lure tourists to Fiji but became so successful that they are now part of national culture and identity (Bossen, 2000). Another example is the Carnival in Trinidad which plays a role in the formation of a coherent cultural identity. In this instance, cultural heritage is preserved by diasporan participation, positioning touristic product as an expressive form of cultural identity that transcends ethnic, class or gender divisions. But questions arise about its true spirit and political utility for sectors of the cultural community who seek to control the formation of heritage and culture, and the role of the local government who support it financially (Scher, 2002).

Cultural attractions, apart from satisfying tourists' desires, also serve broader community needs of increasing awareness, understanding and appreciation of cultural identities (McKercher, 2001). There is a positive correlation between developments of facilities targeted at tourists, but also available for local residents, and a positive attitude to tourism amongst locals (Boyd, 2002; McKercher, 2001). Localised cultural enactments are often used to develop positive senses of identity and to change host community perceptions (Cave, 2001). Further, positive interpersonal relations are more likely to develop where social exchange occurs between host and guest. For example Cohen (1989) notes a progression from (invited) visitor to (paying) tourist back to (paying) visitor where working tourists engage in small-scale projects established with local consultation and participation, reversing the process of tourism impacts.

Yet despite the belief at grass-roots community level that cultural tourism can result in socio-economic gains, in many cases researchers have found low visitor interest in this engagement (McIntosh, 2004; McKercher & Du Cros, 2002; Ryan & Huyton, 2000, 2002). Collectively, these researchers indicate that people with a strong, purposeful interest in culture represent about only 3-7% of the total numbers who actually visit sites of cultural interest. The remaining visitors are motivated by a range of desires that include accompanying others who expressed an interest, somewhere to take children, part of an arranged itinerary or an active interest but located in a context wider than simply cultural.

In many cases, commercial business, especially those smaller in size (the majority of tourism businesses) cannot afford to spend resources on community consultations, extended developmental processes and bilingual (or multilingual) services and signage. Largely because of this, a trend has emerged for third sector organisations to develop as partnerships with government and business (Gurian, 2002) and for preparation of governmental policies to aid (or hinder) tourism development in particular regions (Ryan, 2002a).

Further, where tourism is embraced at a regional level as an agent of socio-economic change, planning relationships between governmental (policy) structures, local organisations and personalities typically produce dynamic change and tensions which perpetually evolve in a given geographic location. Additionally, the three or four-year horizons for governmental planning and decision cycles create short-term views and little certainty of continuance. This can produce heterogeneity and unevenness in the processes of interconnections and interactions, reflecting power relationships that are sustained by specific patterns of resource distribution and competition within which values, meanings, authority, and control mechanisms (Bramwell & Meyer, 2007).

Tensions can also occur if the goals sought by governments are at odds with local community concerns (Overton, 1997). For instance, Cole (2007) notes a distinction between the villagers' interpretation of tourism in a case study in Indonesia, compared to that of government and tourists. For the villagers, tourism brought a sense of pride, self-consciousness and identity but was also a political resource to manipulate as a tool for empowerment. Whereas, tourists viewed ticketing or souvenirs as 'spoiling' the culture and the local government enacted legislation to protect traditional material culture in order to attract tourists, for example preventing the installation of windows or electric lights.

Nonetheless, government investment and partnering with communities is essential for the production of sustainable tourism and the interdependent development of social, political and cultural capital and innovation (Macbeth et al., 2004). Ryan (2002a) reinforces the need for a hegemonic approach to culture on the part of marginalised communities to ensure sustainable economic environments. He suggests that tourism in community contexts perhaps should not be left to the free movement of market forces because where public good issues are at stake, such as ecological preservation, cultural heritage and community development to increase human educational equity, governments (local or central) should be involved.

Community-initiated planning for tourism is evident in the literature but has been mainly studied in indigenous contexts. Approaches for such planning include the 'ladder of citizen participation', power re-distributions, partnerships, collaboration processes and the creation of many kinds of 'capital' that underpin the notion of exchange, transaction and interaction from a western point of view (Okazaki, 2008).

Multi-lateral partnerships founded on social capital have been proposed as a way to overcome the issue of inclusiveness for cultural and community perspectives. These are attempts to share management responsibility between the managers of tourism attractions (natural and cultural), government agencies, tourism entrepreneurs and community groups. Issues that arise however within these contexts are power

sharing, dispute resolution processes, leadership, governmental agency support and willingness to adapt to changing circumstances. All of which should be seen in the context of webs of relationships (Jones, 2005; Macbeth et al., 2004), as well as corporate (Persson, 2008), community and government shared responsibility (Macbeth et al., 2004). Further, where artistic product and policy outcome principles interface, ambiguity and mutual (mis)understandings often result (Dowling, 2008). However, empowerment, citizenship and resistance to paternalism can result from non-hierarchical community development processes, ideally leading to new forms of governance (Bolton et al., 2008).

Alternatively, Flora (1998) suggests that agency is shaped or nudged in certain directions by embeddedness in existing networks of social relations and commonly held beliefs. Thus trust, collective effort, horizontal relationships, diversity and inclusion are key principles, behaviours and analytical structures. This approach notes that horizontal linkages among diverse groups may be internally homogeneous but may also be unequal in terms of vertical relationship structures, evidenced by equality/inequality, inclusion/exclusion and agency/structure.

Sustained, long term community participation mechanisms in the tourism planning process are essential for sustainable tourism. Examples have been identified in indigenous eco-tourism projects in Indonesia (Okazaki, 2008) and Gambia (Jones, 2005). Further, involvement of local communities in tiger pilgrimage management, ecological rehabilitation and visitor experience has led to grassroots improvements in the livelihoods of indigenous families in Kerala (Bhardwaj et al., 2006).

Community capacity for tourism development should be seen as more indicative of a capacity for development in general and linked to development knowledge generation and management of that knowledge in local communities. Community developmental projects should look at tourism as only one possible option amongst many. The decision to develop tourism should be a considered, explicit choice and not made until the community capacity to undertake and advance tourism demonstrates a good understanding and awareness of tourism's impacts, processes, implications (positive, negative and neutral) and base infrastructure requirements (Moscardo, 2008).

Yet on the whole, culturally based tourism and eco-tourism ventures hold potential for sustainable tourism development because of their links to cultural and environmental preservation. Some of the barriers to effective community engagement with tourism can be located in the functioning of levels of advocacy and community governance. The paradox of marginalisation can also be a barrier. In County Galway, Ireland, the growth of entrepreneurship and innovation has been slow due to a long history of socio-economic disadvantage (Bhradaigh, 2008) despite

its seemingly advantageous conditions of place and cultural identity that produce high levels of cultural capital (Irish language) and strong cultural cohesion. Another view is that perhaps the analytical tools used were not framed to encompass both western and non-western *habitus* and thus bridge *épistèmes* - this theme will be expanded in Chapter 4.

Entrepreneurs and culture

It has been argued that enterprise and entrepreneurship are universal constructs, applicable to any person, organisation (private or public, large or small), or nation (Morris, 1998). Entrepreneurship is a process that involves recognition of opportunities in the needs and wants of people and the conversion of such opportunities into viable ventures. The process is equally relevant to all businesses and to the non-profit and government sectors (Drucker, 1985).

In terms of formal Western enterprise, an entrepreneur is someone who specialises in taking responsibility for and making judgemental decisions that affect the location, form and use of goods, resources, or institutions (Hebert & Link, 2004). Schaper and Volery (2004) identify two types of entrepreneur. These are opportunity entrepreneurs, who start and grow a business to take advantage of a unique market opportunity and necessity entrepreneurs, who initiate and develop a business because it is the best option available to them. The latter does not launch a business venture to pursue a unique opportunity but because they have no other way of making a living.

Some cultures are believed to value entrepreneurship more than others, such as Chinese, Berbers, Jews, Greeks, Lebanese, Persians, and Americans (Dana, 1996, 1999; Shapero, 1984). Yet entrepreneurial activity is found in all societies, under any political or economic system, and within every social/cultural/religious context. Cultural values may influence entrepreneurial activities. For example, values of bravery, wisdom, or respect for earth shared by Native Americans might appear in career choices and in entrepreneurial approaches to opportunity identification or network building. For an Indigenous Australian, the value of community sharing of assets, could constrain the growth of a venture (Morris & Schindehutte, 2005a). However, Dana (1996) working in a sub-arctic community of Native Americans in Canada, suggests that entrepreneurship is more a function of cultural perceptions of opportunity rather than a function of opportunity itself.

According to Hofstede, individualism is more valued in the West, and collectivism valued more in Eastern cultures (Hofstede, 1980, 1984a, 1984b, 1984c, 2003). However, Morris & Schindehutte (2005a) contend that the values researched by Hofstede (2003) are not present in a number of cultures and ethnic communities.

People in individualistic cultures tend to give priority to personal goals, let personal attributes guide behaviour. They feel personally responsible for their successes and failures, and experience some separation and distance from their in-groups. Values associated with individualism are competition, enjoyment, pleasure, an exciting and varied life, self-reliance, social recognition, freedom, equality, imagination, and broad-mindedness (Triandis et al., 1988; Brislin, 1993).

In contrast, people in collectivistic cultures can rely on the assistance of others within the network of social relations (Brislin, 1993). Values associated with collectivism are cooperation, equality, honesty, self-sacrifice, politeness, cleanliness, and family security (Triandis et al., 1988). Collectivists tend to give priority to the goals of collectives, share both successes and failures with others, rely on roles and norms to guide behaviour, and feel obligated to maintain close connections with members of their in-groups. The personal goals of individuals in a collectivist culture are often subsumed under those set by a valued groups such as one's extended family, organisation or religion (Brislin, 1993). Many cultures have enterprise systems predicated on values that may be less consistent with entrepreneurial activity, especially where this activity implies risk, innovation, growth and the reinvestment of profit (Morris & Schindehutte, 2005a).

Ethnic, indigenous and migrant enterprise has received research attention around the world in recent years, particularly with regard to ethnic enclaves. Much of that research has had to do with the extent to which ethnic communities differ from and adopt western values such as individualism, competitiveness, material gain and strong work ethic (Hebert and Link, 1998; Cauthorn, 1989; Schumpeter, 1950).

Cross-national comparisons from the Global Entrepreneurship Monitor (GEM) show that the average opportunity entrepreneurship rate was 5.5% and the necessity average 1.7%, across 37 countries. Around the Pacific Rim, four countries rank highly for opportunity entrepreneurs. These were Thailand, India, New Zealand and the United States of America. Developing countries generally have a higher prevalence of necessity entrepreneurs (Reynolds et al., 2001). It may be then, that because of their developmental and economically marginalised status, the Pacific Island nations of Oceania have a high proportion of necessity entrepreneurs compared to opportunity entrepreneurs. Both Asians and Pacific Islanders possess cultural qualities that emphasise collective identities and communalism, holism, and fatalism (Morris & Schindehutte, 2005a).

Further, the State commonly plays a prominent role in the development of enterprise amongst Pacific Rim countries. This, plus the presence of migrant ethnic Chinese and Indian entrepreneurs are features that distinguish Pacific Rim countries from their European and American counterparts (Dana, 1999).

It seems then, from this section, that there may be a specific set of entrepreneurial infrastructure, that range across enterprises with social goals (embedded in cultural values) to those that are purely commercial in terms of their values, but which use cultural values to create competitive difference and distinctiveness in the marketplace. Is this the case?

Values of ethnic entrepreneurs

Values are beliefs that relate to desirable end states or behaviours that transcend specific situations and by which behaviour and events are selected, evaluated and ordered in relative importance (Schwartz & Bilsky, 1990). Cultural values are part of what comprises *habitus*, our finely tuned understanding of how to behave appropriately within all of the fields that make up the culture of our society.

In terms of the forces and factors which influence the retention or loss of cultural values within the conduct of enterprise and tourism ventures in the Pacific, values are in large part kept intact by pressure from the group or community. For example, indigenous New Zealand Maori values are derived from Polynesian ancestry. In this case, community values/norms come from traditional/fundamental values that are rooted in the *whanau* (family) and include *whakapono* (trust), *tika* (integrity), *pono* (truth), *manaaki* (nurturing), *tautoko* (support) and *hapai* (uplift). Others are 'Place' which identifies who you are, how you relate to others and where you belong and 'Informal association' which creates connectedness. For Maori, networks are 'holistic' in nature so that relationships are of primary importance and functional activity is secondary. So that *whanua*, *iwi* (tribal) and community networks take priority over functional contracts in the business realm (Robinson & Williams, 2001).

Similar sets of shared values within enterprises established by cultural communities in order to benefit Pacific communities are noted by Hailey (1987) and Tanoi (1993). The Mucunabitu Iron Works Cooperative Society, established by the Mucunabitu family integrates the Fijian concept of the 'good life' with modern management practices to create a 'global *épistème*'. This is an example of 'dual excellence' in cultural and global values. The company has chosen values which allow it to function upon global business principles as well as local cultural practice, indicating that Fijian values are not antithetical to development (Huffer & Qalo, 2004; Qalo, 1997). The concept of *vakiviti* (the Fijian Way) contains genuine concern for one another, caring and expressing concern for the well-being of others, placing others ahead of oneself, supporting or looking up to them, as well as honouring, respecting, and upholding someone (Huffer & Qalo, 2004). Another example of an indigenous Pacific development philosophy is the TuVanuatu Kominiti which has developed its own bank (dealing in pigs, kava, shell money or currency) and an educational Institute (teaching self-reliance, animal husbandry, crop growing, fish, build houses, etc). The bank issues small loans to start up businesses and pay school fees, etc.

(Huffer & Qalo, 2004). Its intent is to strengthen the community at all levels by giving people a sense of purpose based on values they understand and respect.

Principles that organise the reciprocal exchanges of gifts at all levels of Tongan society are said to be: *'ofa* (love and generosity), *faka'apa'apa* (respect), and *fetokoni'aki* (mutual assistance). All kin and kin-like relationships are expressed in some combination of these principles. Further, potential social relationships are actualised and maintained by mutual exchange and some degree of reciprocity is expected in all relationships (Evans, 2000). In the trans-national context it includes also the cultural value of *tauhivä*, that is, caring for socio-spatial relations (Kaili, 2005). Further, the Samoan expression *teu le va* means to cherish, nurse, and care for the *va*, the relationship ('Anae, 2007).

Exposure to western education and values has influenced choices of clothing, housing and food but the traditional system of language, extended family (*aiga*), elected chiefs (*matai*) and communal land tenure system (Freeman, 1964) endure to a large extent in American Samoa and is reflected in attitudes towards tourism. A village for example is paid for performance not the individuals. Land can be leased by an incumbent *matai* to foreign interests but it cannot be owned. Coastline is actually public land and villages control access to the beaches. Community obligations such as village or church projects take precedence over paid employment. Thus tourism, if developed in Samoa, should be small-scale, locally managed and use local products. It should be supported by infrastructure e.g. rest rooms and be cognisant that the attractions of interest to tourists are located in residents' backyards and so should not be intrusive (Choy, 1984).

It can happen that in a cultural enterprise setting, if a value associated with economic innovation or individual success is not consistent with the conventional culture, then an entrepreneur can be frowned upon or even hated by others of the group (Lipset, 2000). The incompatibility of cultural values and touristic/commercial values have been emphasised (Allon, 2004; Wherry, 2006) and noted in a discussion of the importance of the values of *mana* (power, authority, social standing) and *aroa* in the social hierarchy and in perceptions, expectations and responses to tourists by hosts in Cook Island society (Berno, 1999). Power relationships in tourism are constantly changing and works in many directions and at many levels, occurring as micro-interactions between players in the tourism system (locals, tourists and brokers). Tourists wield relatively little power in terms of the success or failure of sustainable (appropriate) tourism, rather, it lies in the hands of brokers and locals (Cheong & Miller, 2000).

In the United States, minority group entrepreneurs were found to have received a smaller share of government contracts than their non-minority counterparts. They

earned less from their businesses than expected given their qualification levels, and were less likely to obtain bank credit (Young, 2002). A popular way to reduce the dependency of low income people on government welfare is the use of peer group oriented micro-enterprise loan funds similar to the Grameen Bank. The peer group model is based on four central principles: mutual support, eventual financial independence, personal growth and responsibility (more middle class) and skill growth (Taub, 1998).

Other issues for minority entrepreneurs are barriers to e-commerce, including start-up costs, security, and skilled personnel to maintain a website. Commonly, minority entrepreneurs need business information and assistance that encompasses accounting, legal, business planning, start-up information and guidance in ongoing operations (Young, 2002). Research with Black American business owners in the USA showed that the majority of business failures were amongst young, untrained people who lacked maturity, motivation, and persistence and had rushed to start their own businesses. Seventy five percent of these had received no business training, and 33% had not completed high school. Yet the same study said 100% of all blacks who had family and personal role models in business circles were successful (Singer & Nosiri, 1988), showing the importance of mentoring.

In the formal tourism industry context, indigenous community enterprises are known to succeed in environments where the indigenous culture is the mainstream environment. Customers of these ventures accept the logic of commodification of inhabitant cultures in traditional environs. But does this hold when the context of culture is shifted to a minority position, far from diasporan homelands?

In the Pacific, research into the attitudes of indigenous and non-indigenous entrepreneurs to success in business found an above average education level and that good management, access to finance and level of financial investment, personal qualities and traits, and satisfactory government support were important (Yusuf, 1995). Ray (1999) cautions that traditional values and customs continue to exert considerable influence and power in shaping social, government and administrative structures in the Pacific context, so that imposition of a single governance model is inappropriate. Values and customs should be given due consideration in reform measures to ensure that they are acceptable to the community and are practical. Many policy initiatives and programmes have failed to achieve the desired objectives of lifting the performance of Pacific Island economies or improving government functioning because essential features of these societies were not factored into new policies and programmes.

A review of best practice in the Pacific was undertaken by the PBCC Project Team, including this author, in 2001. The team visited seven indigenous culture facilities in

the South Pacific (Arrow International, 2002). They concluded that best practice characteristics for indigenous cultural tourism entrepreneurship were: explicit statements of traditional and commercial values, expectations of community as well as individual outcomes and sharing of cultural expertise in the public domain alongside preservation. The need for community control was also important as was the desire to retain authority within the community and encouragement of contemporary adaptations. The study noted that factors for a tourism attraction to succeed included: goodwill, determination and careful planning, assured financing and capitalisation, innovative and high quality design as well as a high profile location. Commitment and belief of the entrepreneurs in the venture, and willingness to become a mass tourism product were also identified. Those venture that were viable tools for community wealth-creation were heavily capitalized and able to balance the dual goals of community longevity against commercial success.

Generally speaking however, tourism is not a concept that has positive impacts or is well understood in Polynesian societies because of its focus on individual entrepreneurship and wealth accumulation, which are contrary to the traditional collectively oriented, sharing ethic of Pacific Island societies (Berno, 1999; Rajotte & Crocombe, 1980).

The key concepts that emerge from a review of the tourism literature are that humans create social worlds and make meaning within them. Social worlds are no longer bounded by geography, nationality or culture but cross boundaries to create diaspora, complexity and marginalisation. Also, interactions in and between social worlds are time, space, culture and place-specific as well as virtual and capitalism, consumption and cultural identities are not always compatible. Further, where visitor/host interactions take place – dependant upon duration – definition occurs on both sides, but is eventually constituted as re-definition, based on reflection and stimulated by external events or change from social to commercial operands.

At the nexus of formal tourism product and visitor/host interactions cultural perception, enterprise goals, heterogeneity and *autopoiesis*, expressed as self-referent marginality, are implied as theoretical underpinnings.

The effects of tourist visits on the visited community are greatest when the host communities are small, unsophisticated and isolated and least when the affluence gap is narrower and the host community is technologically advanced (Pearce, 1982). The picture is clear when communities and cultures are isolated and very different for each other, but as noted earlier in the chapter globalisation, mass media, cross-boundary social worlds and the ubiquitousness of tourism increasingly are creating conditions of marginalisation rather than isolation and under such conditions sharp distinctions can no longer be drawn nor can the effects of respective cultures be

easily identified. It is this murky, complex, multidimensional context in which this dissertation attempts to unravel. This dissertation also asks whether the known experiences and research findings of the formal tourism industry are translatable to informal versions of tourism, or to formal product developed in the context of informally constituted social worlds? Further, what are the challenges and opportunities that arise when that cultural setting is not one of homeland ethnicity? These questions are central to the thesis that societal marginality can be a positive position from which to develop and manage community-initiated tourism enterprise and product.

The next section discusses the theory behind the themes identified of social worlds, encounters, community initiated tourism and ethnic enterprise but also the importance of cultural values, power and tensions engendered at the interface of mainstream with informal economies. Or perhaps we are really talking of the interface of western with non-western *épistèmes* or world views?

Theory

Theoretical concepts which relate to and integrate these themes are Marginality (underpinned by the concept of *autopoiesis*), Otherness theory (*utopia, heterotopia, dystopia*), Enterprise theory (the concepts of *habitus* and forms of capital), and Interaction (concept of hybridity). These will be examined in turn and then integrated into a model of encounters and transactions between potential communities and visitors.

Methodologically speaking there are inherent dangers in characterising cultural behaviour on binary dimensions used as shorthand reference points or categories. While these begin to describe a range of circumstances, many examples can be found which do not fit those reference points exactly (Bird et al., 1999) and tends to cleave theoretical perspectives into two distinct and incommensurable parts (Bramwell & Meyer, 2007). Similarly, such categories might be considered over-generalisations and constructs of European meta-narrative, creating implicit hierarchies wherein one term is artificially privileged over the other since typically, the terms used to define conceptual dimensions are chosen for semantic opposition. Further, opposites automatically exclude nuance and difference or at best produce weak generalisation.

Derrida however offers an alternative to the traditional oppositional 'either/or' binary by suggesting that perpetual duality exists within the opposition (Derrida, 1981). Each needs the other and so there is not division but a pivot point around which meaning turns. One term needs the other to form a whole, like ying and yang and therefore carries the sense of negation within both (Cooper, 1989). Bramwell and Meyer (2007) comment that an holistic, relational approach is preferable which 're-

imagines' the complex whole of a social system and its system of relations, examining them and their inherent oppositions or contradictions.

Marginality

In a cultural sense, marginality can occur through experiencing life at the fringes of mainstream society, whether indigenous, migrant or a sub-culture of mainstream society. Communities and groups such as these can lack access to basic services and suffer impediments or disadvantage in many forms (Helu-Thaman, 2002). Marginalised groups rarely have the capacity to mobilise policy, scientific, technological and social or market networks or access the mainstream knowledge system, yet their own knowledge systems are exploited for others' benefit. Capacity gaps mean exclusion from the knowledge economy and from technology, technological innovations and social democracy (MacLeod et al., 1997).

Indigenous cultures for example, have experienced cultural dilution, reduction in population through disease, violence and intermarriage, as well as homogenisation and relegation to marginalised positions in the modern world. This has occurred because of forces such as the spread of the languages and cultures of Europe (especially English), technology (especially mass media), the values of individualism, self-gratification and consumerism and the ascendancy of the market model over other politico-economic models (Helu-Thaman, 2002). Further, even in remote locations such as Alor, a small mountainous island in Indonesia, where tourism is barely incipient, the nascent processes of ideas and fantasies about tourism can colour local politics, flavour discussions of identity and channel local actions (Adams, 2004).

Peoples who are already marginalised in an indigenous environment often seek economic prosperity and to gain advantage by migration to another nation. Yet the experience in the new environment can be to find themselves further marginalised, depending upon homeland education levels, knowledge of the new country's language and unfamiliarity with the western market economy, i.e. cultural distance. This can slow integration, inhibit employment at desirable levels and lead to dependency on state aid and despondency, dissatisfaction and anti-social behaviours and formation of social world cultures such as ethnic gangs.

In many cases marginalised communities are self-defined. De Beauvoir (1963/1968) suggests that intentional communities simultaneously marginalise and strengthen themselves through their symbiotic relationship to the mainstream, silences and other human dynamics such as violence 'since it is only in violence that the oppressed can obtain their human status'. Academic literature supports the position that alternative ways of knowing are seen in the ordering and meaning of 'group life' (Lichterman, 1998). Examples of religious *épistèmes* in terms of intentional communities of faith

are multitudinous – Amish, Buddhist, Hare Krishna, Jonestown Guyana, Waco and many more such as communes or religious communities. These are often defined by the attitudes and perceptions of mainstream populations, by lack of access to society's benefits, by simply choosing to live in isolated areas for lifestyle reasons, be marginalised by politics, religion or lifestyle choice or by positive strategies to strengthen ethnic hegemony. They do however often share *utopian* ideals and coalesce around charismatic individuals and self-assured 'special' characteristics. Otherness and attributes of difference are often associated with marginalised communities - primitive, exotic, post-colonial societies that are distant somehow from mainstream western thought and have been influenced by the development of relations between colonizer and colonized (Lester, 1998).

Some have been characterised as 'identity movements' because they affirm difference along identity lines in terms of sexuality, gender, race or ethnicity. They include activist settings and self-defined community groups who utilise and share 'practices' (Bourdieu, 1977, 1990a), engage in 'civic practices' (Eliasoph, 1996) and share 'cultures of commitment' (Lichterman, 1998) or perspectives that serve to maintain cohesion and distinctiveness from the mainstream, as well as become divisors between them. For example, while the contemporary women's movement is identifiable in terms of 'difference' from mainstream, nonetheless, liberal, socialist, and radical feminist agendas create divisions within it (Ferree & Hess, 2000; Freeman, 1964). In this setting, Wuthnow and Witten (1988) emphasise the existence of 'implicit culture', or implicit meanings that its members tend to take for granted since their focus is upon explicit ideologies, identities and rituals performed 'against' a loosely defined mainstream as 'Other'. Nonetheless, implicit meanings both enable and constrain what can be done together, or even imagine doing together (Hart, 1996). These implicit meanings might correspond to the 'dilemmas' identified in Chapter 5, but may also resonate with the idea of 'complicit cultures' seen at the Pasifika Festival (Chapter 6) where festival attendees believed that 'authenticity' is attached to all of the tangible and intangible experiences by virtue of their presence at the event.

However, the 'excluded middle', the 'liminal sub-altern figures who slip between two dominant antithetical categories' as described by Hegel, cited in Young (2001) also should not be forgotten while we talk of communities at the margins. Nor, should the agency of the tourism industry that celebrates and encourages marginality be forgotten, since tourism is the business of otherness par excellence (Hollinshead, 1998).

Physical marginalisation of communities can result from distances between centres, natural landscape isolation or catastrophic events (Parminter & Perkins, 1996). Ecological marginalisation occurs as eco-systems are transformed from a self-

sustaining natural resource base to unproductive damaged environments as by-products of industrial or agricultural processes (Kousis, 1998). In rural areas economic marginalisation results from changing global demands for natural resources, out-migration from rural to urban areas, as well as political and technological change.

Marginalisation is applied to many groups at the edges of mainstream society such as artists, children, gays and feminists (Hetherington, 1993, 1996a; Hetherington, 1998; Kelly, 1999; Little, 1999; Lupton, 1998; Lynn, 1995; Pels, 2002; Rodrigues, 1997; Sachs, 2003; Schaker-Mill, 2000) as well as to indigenous people, ethnic migrants, religious affiliates, and many others.

Remedies to marginalisation can take the form of participative 'third sector' interventions by not-for-profit organisations, public sector policy and social programmes or perhaps community enterprise, or even knowledge-based innovation parks supported by universities (MacLeod et al., 1997).

This dissertation explores the lived experience of a particular community marginalised by the forces described above, whose characteristics and circumstances will be described in the next section. In common with many indigenous and other marginalised communities around the world, this community aspires to achieve economic sustainability via tourism enterprise based upon access to and control of cultural knowledge and resources. The research is allied to issues of wealth creation and adds to the work of Ryan, Pike and others on cultural tourism in aboriginal and Maori contexts (Pike, 2002; Ryan & Huyton, 2002).

Yet marginality as a positive force may contain inherent contradictions and paradox. The aspiration to establish competitive position based on control of cultural resource within mainstream western culture requires the adoption of complicit sub-cultures that commodify, appropriate and alter the nature of cultural identity and can further isolate those communities by reference to a communicable difference that generates economic and social value in the interaction between host and migrant communities.

Otherness, *habitus* and *autopoiesis* are theoretical tenets in marginality. *Autopoiesis* is a process, a self-generating referent system of thought, allied to *habitus* but a constantly evolving and non-static economic system defined not solely by the community but constructed about the Others in that system (Arvidsson, 1997) and yet relying on a bounded subject to self-define. Thus, transactions are both open to others in the external environment and closed, dependent upon the nature of the internal environments' relationships.

Autopoiesis is:

‘Specific, yet restricted sense of a subject’s continual process of self-making in relation to, exchange with and immersion in an environment that is only perceived on the basis of the subject’s own internal organisation. The appeal of such a systemic perspective consists in its emphasis on the flexible, constantly changing and highly permeable boundaries between subject and environment. As the subject remakes itself, it also remakes the environment and both systems are fundamentally open to each other’

(Schwab, 2001, p. 163)

Autopoiesis is allied to Otherness in terms of self-making identity strategies that require separation from Others (mainstream majority perhaps) to retain integrity, and *habitus* refers to dynamically created values and structures common to marginalised Selves or Us. A duality is implied in the concept of marginality, of parallel strategies for cultural identity and hegemony that take place alongside articulation and development of models for community entrepreneurship, as well as nurtured grass-roots cooperative enterprise practices.

Otherness

In tourism, artefacts, meanings and relationships are situated or positioned in terms of sometimes oppositional worlds. Actions and speech transform the world not by processing, making, producing and constructing it, but by breaking through its neutrality and indifference. We affirm and introduce difference by our response to Others (Masschelein, 2001) but always in tacit, if not explicit, relation to our Selves.

Tourism is a strategy for framing and interpreting cultural difference, the driving ideology behind which is a form of *extopy* (Bakhtin, 1981) or appropriation of Otherness (Harkin, 1995). Conflicting *épistèmes* are in operation, one of difference, as well as an *épistème* of *curiositas* (Sobecki, 2002). But O’Farrell suggests that if the ‘thought of the limit’ (Foucault, 1973) which separates the Same from the Other could be analysed and described, perhaps it might provide an insight into the reality or truth of the Same and the Other (O’Farrell, 1989). Thus instead of focusing on descriptions of cultures, we might attempt to search out the limits/boundaries, borders of difference. And therefore, what it is that defines them.

Humans create world(s) by their perceptions and networks (Nancy, 1996). We do not live in a void, but inside a set of relations (social worlds) that delineate sites which are irreducible to one another and not super-imposable. Some, are temporary (beaches, cinemas, cafes), closed or semi-closed, or sites of rest (house, bedroom), yet there are some which link to all the others such as *heterotopias* (Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986). Thus interactions or relational events between humans both preserve and describe the world of action/reaction, perceptions of Self/Other and are inescapable. Kelly describes active processes of distancing though objectification,

and the simultaneous process of involvement in chosen activities as an essential element of defining the Other and Self. This process is critical to group-defined linkages such as in tourism and to separating and rejecting those which do not fit (Kelly, 1999), i.e. Other, exotic, different. Research also indicates that Self is allied to identity and is also place, landscape, culture and personally centred (Gu & Ryan, 2007).

In tourism, our understanding of Other or rather, the mutual construction of identity and creation of the conceptual Other, has been influenced by the development of relations between colonizer and colonized as the naked exercise of material power (Lester, 1998). Thus discourses on cultural difference are linked to questions of power and political categories, existing in relation to each Other, mediated by asymmetrical power relationships. But it is more important to understand the antagonism and tensions engendered by cultural differences that coexist asymmetrically. For example the creation of Otherness not only fosters more ignorance on the part of those in power, but also fails to provide the dominant group with the necessary tools to empathise with the Other (Bartolome & Macedo, 1997a). Power relationships create and reinforce cultural constructions of marginalisation and are forces that continue to influence, inhibit or prevent change.

Many translated and authorised versions of written texts hide assumptions upon which the subjects are Othered by over-generalisations and Western meta-narrative (Ahmed, 2002). For example, metropolitan narratives of European travellers and geographers reflect humanitarianism. In contrast narratives of former slaves and indigenes imperial experience in the colonial peripheries (such as New Zealand Maori, African, Indonesian, South Asian and Australasian) are dominated by themes of resistance to colonial authority but temporal and spatial dimensions are often neglected (Lester, 1998).

In urban contexts, language-based racism licenses institutional discrimination and can thus be seen as an example of ‘the hegemony of symbolic violence’ (Bourdieu & Wacqant, 1999).

Heterotopia

Encounters during touristic experiences outside one’s social norms have been argued as *heterotopic* occurring in located ‘places of Otherness’ to which people travel and wherein new ways of seeing or experimenting are experienced (St. John, 2001). The complex juxtapositions of Otherness and Self encountered in heterogeneous spaces indicate simultaneity of difference (Soja, 1995). *Heterotopias* are counter-sites in which all the real sites found within a culture are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted, existing outside and between all places (Harvey, 2000).

Extreme examples are prisons, brothels and colonies, but there are many others with relevance to tourism such as cinemas, beaches, hotels, theme parks, etc.

Foucault defines *heterotopia* by principles that exist in all cultures (although some are sacred, privileged or forbidden). First, societies alter the function but not the purpose of *heterotopias* over time because of their centrality to social relations. Second, all cultures juxtapose and superimpose foreign spaces (such as in successive use of a theatre stage). Third, *heterotopias* are linked to slices in time, being quasi-eternal (such as a museum or library) or transitory (such as a festival), or capable of suspending time (such as a resort holiday). Next, they presuppose a system of opening that both isolates and gives access. Lastly they are also spaces that function in relation to all other spaces – some more real than reality and others virtual (Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986). Thus one could envisage for tourism a continuum of *heterotopic* experiences that parallel spaces and tourism products designed by hosts to be open (to Others) at one end, progressing towards closed at the opposite end but where access is privileged rather than banned. *Heterotopias* are mediated, required because they imply an acceptance of difference, hence the potential for compromise.

Utopia

Conceptually distinct from *heterotopias* are *utopias*, presenting society either in its perfected form or else turned upside down (Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986). *Utopias* are sites or events with no real spatial locale (St. John, 2001) but nonetheless represent ideas about society (Hetherington, 1996b). By its very nature, *utopia* is without conflict — a state of stasis, harmony, and balance (Klaic, 1991). *Utopia* displaces reality into an idealised outside the actual boundaries of geographic space and historical time (de Bruyn, 2003). The Pacific Islands have been sources of *utopian* imagination and images since first European contact (Hviding & Bayliss-Smith, 2000).

In contrast to *heterotopias*, *utopic* experiences are characterised as places of togetherness, idealised private spaces, in which groups of associates, family, friends and ‘not strangers’ are in state of ‘being alone together’. They are places in which norms are confirmed, reinforced, common language developed and significant meanings constructed. They may correspond with the host’s private space (Adams, 1997a, 1997b), the private ‘back region’ (MacCannell, 1973; Goffman (1961), or ‘insiders’ (Unruh, 1980). But nonetheless these are places where interactions can occur between visitor and host. *Utopic* attitudes can be seen in people who seek to transform the world as it is, but holding the future-oriented ethic of ‘not yet’, since the interactions which lead to change are ongoing and to some extent unresolved. Such interactions also carry traces of the past since the ‘face’ presented to the Other by the Self is affected by broader social processes and other times, rather than simply the present (Ahmed, 2002). Macbeth (2000) describes cruise tourism as a *utopian*

community or alterative lifestyle that is both a critique of existing society and a scripted ideal. Perhaps not an intentional *utopian* community in the sense that communes develop as a colony to set an example to wider society, but similar in the sense that counter-definitions of reality (and behaviour) are articulated as escape. A colony of migrant hippies living on Ibiza, caravanning and allotment holdings were noted as carrying rural and natural embodiments of *utopia* (Crouch, 1999; Rozenberg, 1995). *Utopia* is simultaneously an acceptance of difference articulated in the values of that community, as much as it is an affirmation of Sameness, recognisable and reinforced (or imposed) by structural relationships such as hierarchies, exchange mechanisms and sacredness.

Dystopia

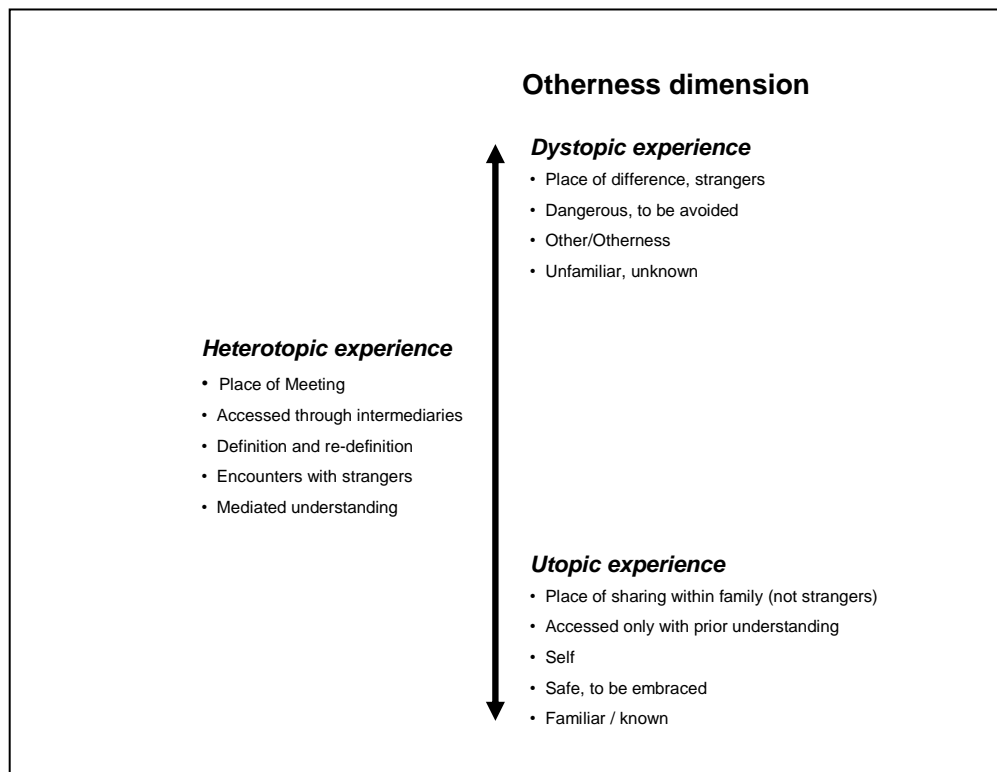
Dystopia is the true opposite of *utopia*. Sheridan (1999) says that *utopia/dystopia* parallels Self/Other. *Dystopia* can be the opposite of order, an urban doom where society and organisation descends into a hell-like state of anarchy and chaos (Baeten, 2001). *Dystopias* are negative *utopias*, images of a future so imperfect that, given a chance, people would prefer to flee than face it. They represent total breakdown of values, identity and social cohesion or spirituality or an ‘Otherness’ of culture, place and environment so terrible as to not bear any resemblance to Self, Same or the values that one lives by. *Dystopias* can be conservative, representing a decline in values or loss of identity which could perhaps be retrievable under optimal circumstances. They can also be radical, alien, unnatural, catastrophic and irredeemable (Williams, 1988) and hence might carry the full force of Otherness. *Dystopias* are unfamiliar territory where people are strangers and have different values that are alien (to Self).

The author of this dissertation proposes that Otherness theory is a way to frame the influence of world view, cultural perception and preconceptions that hosts construct about visitors and that these influence the kinds of interactions that occur, the ways in which encounters are managed and to some extent, their outcomes.

Framing ‘Otherness’

Figure 2-1 describes the characteristics and implied differences in category along an Otherness continuum as one dimension in a model for the management of cultural product in tourism. At one end of the dimension a place of Sameness of culture and privacy is envisaged. Though not open to all, it is *utopic* in attitude, but some aspects of which are not real, although they may become so. *Utopic* experiences potentially could be experienced as intimate moments within a culture shared with family, friends and perhaps an invited guest, but such occasions are likely to be privileged and occur rarely.

Figure 2-1 Framing Otherness



From the hosts' perspective, there may be elements of cultural tradition/identity which can be made public and others which must be retained as private (to individuals or communities) for spiritual and ritual reasons (Adams, 1997a).

Located in the middle range of the Otherness dimension, one might encounter *heterotopic* experiences. These are real spaces, interfaces with many other spaces and link to several aspects of society. Others are encountered here, some of whom may be familiar (not strangers but friends and family) and yet others who might be strangers (unfamiliar and unknown). Additionally, somewhere in the middle of the range are mirrored experiences where Self (either host or guest) encounters Other and sees the Other that is his/her Self reflected, enabling one to look back at oneself, encountered by another culture. Hence definition becomes re-definition.

From a visitors' perspective, similar dynamics may be at play in the *heterotopic* arena that are in large part dependent upon self-efficacy in unfamiliar environments (Bird et al., 1999). Willingness to participate freely in a new experience may also be influencers, as may be the degree of a person's prior experience or attitudes to intercultural experiences and the influence of their social group.

However, at the other end of that dimension might be located *dystopic*, unfamiliar cultures. Peoples whose ways of living are incomprehensible, people who are not only strangers but strange, who have different values to one's own, with which

experiences rarely occur. They are perhaps to be avoided or whose characteristics one can use pejoratively (stereotypically but possibly inaccurately) to describe anti-social behaviours amongst one's own people.

These might be viewed from both the hosts' and the visitors' perspectives as an oppositional duality, reversed depending on one's position. Thus, a visitor might feel Sameness, as they interact with other visitors or accompanying family members of the same culture, but Otherness in terms of interactions with hosts – assuming another culture - and exclusion from the private places that are sacred. Similarly, hosts might experience Sameness amongst their family or community culture and Otherness when viewing from a distance cultures (visitors) from outside the home region or home culture. Such perceptual differences were described by Williams (1988) as cultural dissimilarity and cultural similarity.

Encounters along this continuum are mediated at the level of the individual (sociality) and by one's own identity (Ahmed, 2002). The host is required continually to play the role of cultural interpreter and to analyse consciously that which is unconscious and taken for granted or is otherwise not seen by an uninitiated observer. Thus at one level the encounter becomes artificiality and at another level a sense of heightened awareness of who one is, and why one is different.

Enterprise

This dissertation is allied to issues of wealth creation for diasporan communities. It has the potential to make a contribution to social policy, regional economic development strategies, community development, arts and cultural tourism strategies, and the development of sustainable cultural enterprise.

In the literature above, community responses to tourism suggest that the goals (and effects) for cultural tourism, and thus enterprise to deliver tourism product in the industry are diverse and somewhat oppositional. Some of the goals of tourism enterprise in the cultural sphere are to preserve culture and traditions, others are to contribute to economic development and social equity with or without governmental assistance, yet others are to be fully commercial – managed either by community members or external intermediaries. Thus a range of enterprise options is seen to operate in the formal industry but with tensions across them to do with dilemmas of authenticity versus commodification, community control versus appropriation, self-managed versus managed by cultural Others, privacy versus access to culture, community values versus commercial, and other dualities. The range of cultural tourism product is diverse, ranging in size and scope from small-scale micro-enterprise to purpose-built tourism attractions and commercial SMEs.

We know too that hosts participate and benefit differentially according to asymmetrical power dynamics between Othered Selves and Same (hosts). These power dynamics sit within the context of social worlds, network of networks which exert a great deal of force on the direction and nature of these. Further, the nature of relationship between host and visitor changes with remuneration. Service expectation replaces reciprocity as a hospitality principle and distancing between visitor and host cultures result. Expectation of quality (and value for money) is increased with price, potentially because commercial transactions and consumerism overlay and take precedence in the visitors' mind over ethnic cultural practices and values. Whereas it may be true that the reverse occurs for the ethnic community, so that income is an added benefit but does not take precedence over cultural imperatives. Nonetheless, the relationship and the dynamics change over time.

Thus, the second element of the framework for interactions in cultural tourism is Enterprise. This is envisaged as spanning social (community) entrepreneurial values at one end, through a mix of goal/value complexities to commercially oriented goals at another. The enterprise dimension is of importance to hosts in terms of their intent for enterprise outcomes and to visitors in term of their expectations of authenticity or commodification within the experience.

The question of whether cultural goals and their underpinning values affect the successful creation and growth of entrepreneurial ventures is central to this dissertation. But this research takes an alternative approach by not using an external yardstick but determines the measures from an internal standpoint. In this dissertation, enterprise goals and values (for cultural tourism product and community) are first articulated within culture(s), then contrasted with goals and values that can be characterised by that culture(s) as 'not-of-us', and next processed with reference to how those goals/values arose and their effects. Thus the determination of values sets and related phenomena is not externally imposed.

Habitus

Habitus is our finely tuned understanding of how to behave appropriately within the fields we inhabit, 'a sort of ontological complicity, a subconscious and pre-reflexive fit' (Bourdieu, 1990a: p. 108). People usually try to and behave within what is expected of them as 'regulated disposition to generate regulated and regular behaviour outside any reference rules' (Bourdieu, 1990a: p. 65). *Habitus* is defined as 'a system of lasting and transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks' (Bourdieu, 1977: p. 214). Although intended to function on the practical level as categories of perception and assessment or classificatory principles, they are also the organising

principles of action (Bourdieu, 1990a). Bourdieu assumes that achievement of goals follows an imprecise, at times seemingly illogical and fuzzy path.

Habitus is generated during early socialising influences and takes place below the level of consciousness ‘as the sedimentation of the particular socio-historical forces which affect it’ (Bourdieu, 1980 : p. 73-4). The body is capable of being structured, but the structures that are incorporated may differ from culture to culture (Clarke, 2000). These structures are constantly being updated since it is ‘an open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that either reinforces or modifies the structures’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1999: p 133). It is structured as an individually operationalised set of understandings derived from encounters with a social environment, an internalised meaning of symbolic orders found in everyday life: ‘...this ‘creative’, active, inventive capacity is not that of a transcendental subject in the idealist tradition, but that of an active agent...practical reason has primacy’ (Bourdieu, 1990a).

However, an individual may not be aware of these features:

‘Anyone who is equipped with the appropriate *habitus*... is adjusted in advance to the structural necessity of the field and ready to accept the presumptions objectively implied by the fundamental rules of the field, often without being aware of them’

(Bourdieu, 1991: p. 37).

Habitus might not be evident to someone who is not from that culture, yet understood by those who are part of that system. Hence, seemingly illogical actions may in fact be part of the ‘invisible’ system. For example, a player manoeuvres on the field according to preconceptions and a general feel for the game rather than prescriptive, conscious, rational decision-making processes (Raedeke et al., 2003).

Fields are external to *habitus*. A field ‘is a network, or a configuration of objective relations between positions’ (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992: p. 97) that consists of social relations rather than individuals or social structures. The social relations that make up the field are competitive because people within it vie for position by means of the accumulation (or loss) of resources, or capital of various kinds (economic, social, cultural) that are essential to the holding and wielding of power within each field. Specific forms of capital, social, economic and cultural, are created via the processes of conflict and determine people’s positions within a field and are thus determinants of social class. This notion assumes three things. Namely, that differences in capital endowment are meaningfully related to the social topography, that there is close correspondence between social topography and mental maps of cultural fields such as the link between social position, organisational and cultural fields, and that social topography extends to similarities in interests, cognitions, behaviours and *habitus* (Anheier et al., 1995). Struggles within a field over position

impacts both its structure and corresponding *habitus*, thus conserving or transforming the field into something new. An example of a field is artistic taste, or an education system, or in the case of this dissertation, commercial or community enterprise. Fields are not completely autonomous, thus the position of an individual in one field can affect their position in another (Raedeke et al., 2003).

‘Practices’ embody the dialectical relationship between field and *habitus*, and it is through practices that one can understand them. The interaction of field with *habitus* generates specific attitudes, feeling and dispositions. Similarly, social structures are created, maintained and transformed through the social relations made possible through shared *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1980).

The notion of *habitus* has been applied in analyses of enterprise, business and management by many. For example by Corsun (2001) to management and business, power and White maleness, by Gorton (2000) regarding variations in small business performance, by Aldridge (1996) in the field of personal finance and in Schmidt’s (1997) analysis of organisations. Raedeck et. al. (2003) applies the notion of *habitus* to the field of farming, identifying that three fields were actually in operation - economic relations, family relations and rental relations (landlord-tenant). They also noted relationships between the fields of farming and forestry, and identified a distinctive *habitus* for each. Further they made recommendations about how the respective *habitus* of each industry could transform the other to develop a new field, ‘agro-forestry’.

Capital

Many kinds of ‘capital’ underpin the notion of exchange, transaction and interactions from a western point of view (Okazaki, 2008). They are used to describe assets that can be invested to generate income and generally include financial, physical and environmental, as well as human, cultural and social. Others relevant to this research are political and entrepreneurial capital.

All of these produce both individual and collective returns but, while stocks of financial, physical and environmental capital are depleted when used, human, social and cultural capital are increased through use creating more resource for future investment (Spellerberg, 2001). Decreases can also occur in social capital when levels of formal and informal sociability and active participation in society are affected, perhaps through technological change (Putnam, 1995) but also by antagonistic relationships and intolerance or cultural change effected by migration or exposure to tourism (whether gradual or catastrophic).

Levelling effects can also occur in circumstances of high social capital (such as a multilingual cultural community who have strong social cohesions and

intergenerational transmission of cultural knowledge) because the presence of high levels of social capital also generates social controls such as bounded solidarity and trust. In this case, market exchange motivations become less important (Dika & Singh, 2002). An example being inner city gangs which show high levels of social capital because their embedded social networks give gang members access to restricted resources and offer psychological reinforcement to their behaviour. Further, the same social ties that give access to some can also bar the presence of others and work, as in the case of gangs, against the greater societal good (Portes & Landolt, 1996).

Financial capital refers to funds that can be invested in productive goods (Spellerberg, 2001), sourced from fund-raising activities, philanthropy, angel investment, bank loans, remittances, government grants or spending, or earned income (whether by legitimate or other means). These types of capital are linked in the diasporan context. For instance both immigrant Chinese to San Francisco, (Carroll & Stanfield, 2003) and former Soviet Union Jewish migrants to Israel (Oigenblick & Kirschenbaum, 2002) are able to source start-up financial capital from within familial and cultural networks. Pacific peoples and other migrant workers elsewhere in the world are known to send remittances to homeland nations (Levitt, 1998; Vete, 1995).

Physical capital means the stock of real goods, land-tools, machines, and other equipment capable of production such as plant, machines, buildings, etc which contribute to the production of further goods for the purposes of sales and consumer transactions (Hicks, 1974).

Environmental capital means natural resources that can best be used as raw materials in a productive process (Spellerberg, 2001) and are the stock of renewable and non-renewable resources provided by nature, including the ecological processes governing their existence and use (Jansson, 1996).

Cultural capital is in essence the set of values, history, knowledge, traditions and behaviours which link a specific group of people together (Spellerberg, 2001). Cultural capital be embodied (dispositions of mind and body), objectified (cultural goods), and institutionalized (educational qualifications), some of which are valued more than others according to *habitus* (Bourdieu, 1994/1998). Cultural capital is produced by influencers of cultural taste, choice and consumption such as marketers, designers and fashion houses (Giddens, 2006). Throsby (1999) says that cultural capital is the value embodied in an asset which may in turn give rise to a flow of goods and services over time that could have both cultural and economic value. Tangible cultural capital assets are buildings, structures, sites, locations endowed with cultural significance – cultural heritage. Intangible assets are ideas, practices,

beliefs, traditions and values which serve to identify and bind together a given group of people (Throsby, 1999). These cultural assets may be consumed as private or public goods, or contribute to the production of new cultural capital. This notion has relevance to this research since the cultural knowledge and resources that underpin the creation of cultural enterprise are productions of cultural capital.

Human capital encompasses an individual's fund of knowledge and skills obtained through education, training, and on-the-job experience which produces output in the economy (Becker, 1994). For Coleman (1988; Coleman, 1990), social capital is considered crucial for the development of human capital. Social capital is developed through social interaction. Social ties provide people with new learning opportunities which, in turn, can improve a person's human capital. The enhanced human capital can grant say, an engineer immigrant access to more privileged networks than veteran professional counterparts (Darr & Rothschild, 2004).

Social capital refers to trust-building through social interaction (Sørensen & Torfing, 2003). It is an aggregate of actual or potential resources, linked to durable networks of institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition, thus position and power is related to the breadth and cohesiveness of network. Social capital is important in communities because it reduces transaction costs in economic development and change (Carroll & Stanfield, 2003). For example, while the close-knit community of Chinese in San Francisco protects immigrants from outside discrimination, yet it extracts high levels of intra-community requirements such as loyalty and funds. Those who are able to exploit social capital assets in the initial start-up phase of enterprise development and then expand into a wider business community enjoy a greater degree of economic success (Carroll & Stanfield, 2003). Other work confirms that people who are very poor and have a relatively small number of social loyalties are deeply embedded in socio-economic circumstances and locked into poverty. But those in equal poverty but who have a larger number of ties outside their initial community, and are thus less embedded, often fare better (Szreter, 2000).

Symbolic capital has also been identified as a form of power, perceived as a legitimate demand for recognition, deference and the services of others (Swartrz, 1997). This form of capital also relates to political capital, not just for the individual but also in terms of empowered and perhaps politicised, communities.

Political capital refers to the power of individuals and groups to act politically via participation in interactive political processes that link civil society to the political system (Sørensen & Torfing, 2003). At a societal level it consists of civic norms, attitudes and behaviours of group activism that support democratic governance (such as attitudes that support democratic liberties) and conventional political participation

(Booth & Richard, 2001). In order to have political significance, associational activism must foster attitudes and channel orderly behaviors that actually influence regimes in some way. For instance, democratic attitudes limit or motivate regime actions whereas citizen participation conveys interests, preferences and demands to the regime (Booth & Richard, 1997). The ability of local actors to take part in the generation of political capital is linked to political experience and competence. It is affected by actual participation in decision-making processes (endowment) as well as capability to make a difference to such processes (empowerment) (Sørensen & Torfing, 2003) and their perceptions of themselves as political actors (political identity) (March & Olsen, 1989). Thus political capital is a stock of attitudinal resources made up of trust in government, political efficacy and interest in politics that facilitates political action and is reinforced by it (Harwood & Lay, 2001).

For tourism however, political capital is situated in the extra dimension of economics (Macbeth et al., 2004). In this capacity it is linked to formal and informal political structures that affect the control of local resources and thus the control of financial, physical, environmental, cultural human and social capitals. These influence tourism planning and development decisions. Readiness for tourism is dependant upon how much political capital a community already has and its ability to leverage development initiatives to preserve or increase that level of control. But it is also affected by several other factors. Enabling mechanisms include differential access within communities (in the form of education, finance, network positions, location and support services), the nature of participation of power brokers and their engagement in formal political structures such as voting, government committees and mutual rather than asymmetrical partnerships with different levels of government (Macbeth et al., 2004). A community with very low political capital is unlikely to have the will to make a significant input into the decision, let alone to the design of a new tourism development strategy or infrastructure (Macbeth et al., 2004).

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977/1990) and Portes (1998) identify the concept of convertibility as important for the transference of capital from one form into another. For instance, the benefits of social and cultural capital together may be converted into money, or financial capital. But financial capital alone cannot be immediately converted into social and cultural capital, since these take a long time to develop and are influenced by many other factors. Firkin (2001a) suggests that the concept has particular application for entrepreneurial capital.

Entrepreneurial capital has been defined as a multiplicative function of entrepreneurial competence and entrepreneurial commitment (Erikson, 2003). However, 'entrepreneurial traits' such as the desire to be self-employed or entrepreneurial qualifications are not necessarily entrepreneurial in and of themselves but can be converted to entrepreneurial use (Firkin, 2001b). Depending on the nature

of the business, the people involved, and the contextual circumstances, components of a person's total capital (economic, human, social and cultural) have worth in relation to the entrepreneurial process and enterprise. Taken together, these components form a person's entrepreneurial capital that can be employed in the creation, development and maintenance of that enterprise. These are spread across three domains – the economic, social and personal (Firkin, 2001b, 2003) and so an entrepreneur and their capacity to be entrepreneurial is situated in the wider context of power and societal position. It is possible too for a community or cooperative to be entrepreneurial and to innovate (Macbeth et al., 2004), so that these concepts are applicable to both conditions. These concepts are important for this research since they situate the dynamics of interaction within and between Pacific communities in a wider sociological literature, which may or may not have validity for the *emic* point of view, but more importantly also because they frame the context of transaction in the western market economy of New Zealand in which this research is situated.

Framing 'Enterprise'

In the informal context, economic transactions are also social transactions, thus the nature of informal social and cultural context of networks is a critical question in the viability of cultural enterprise. *Habitus* is proposed as a way to frame the internal values, structures and goals for enterprise by ethnic entrepreneurs within the context of social relations and a field of endeavour. Cultural and social capitals are also important to understanding the structure and mechanisms of embedded networks.

Three types of enterprise, defined by their unique and separate *habitus*, influenced by the cultural fields in which they are located (Pacific, Anglo-European, Asian, etc) are suggested for the enterprise dimension. They are first, commercial (individual or company) where the product or content is not necessarily cultural, and second state-assisted enterprise partnerships (local, regional or central government partnerships with private entrepreneurs or with communities) which may be culturally based, and can have primarily economic, environmental or technological drivers yet tend to be cognisant in their intent if not reality of cultural concerns. Third, at the other end of the dimension social or community enterprise is located, where the central goal is the wellbeing of the overall community. Each of these has differing *habitus*, goals, ownership and governance profiles and motivation as well as longevity horizons. Also, the emphasis on cultural capital is perhaps stronger in the social *habitus* type for enterprise, whereas financial capital might be more important in the commercial *habitus* enterprise. It follows then that a social-commercial style of business might demonstrate both cultural and financial capital.

The values which underpin them would also differ. For example: commercial ventures may have a shorter lifespan in which they intend to return profits to shareholders and exit the business by sale or closedown. State-assisted public/community partnerships have much longer-term goals, possibly with a mix of

revenue from private sources as well as social goals (public funds allocated to achieve cultural, social, economic or environmental improvement). In contrast community enterprise is intended to have an extended existence, but their survival may be more volatile. MacLeod (1997), notes that the motivation for community enterprise is community improvement so that profit is a means and not an end in itself. It also depends on a high degree of volunteer involvement. Worker ownership may be involved but majority local ownership and control is intended. Social or community enterprise operates as a trust in the interests of the local community, is localised, builds on the local community, is normally not moveable and not subject to sale.

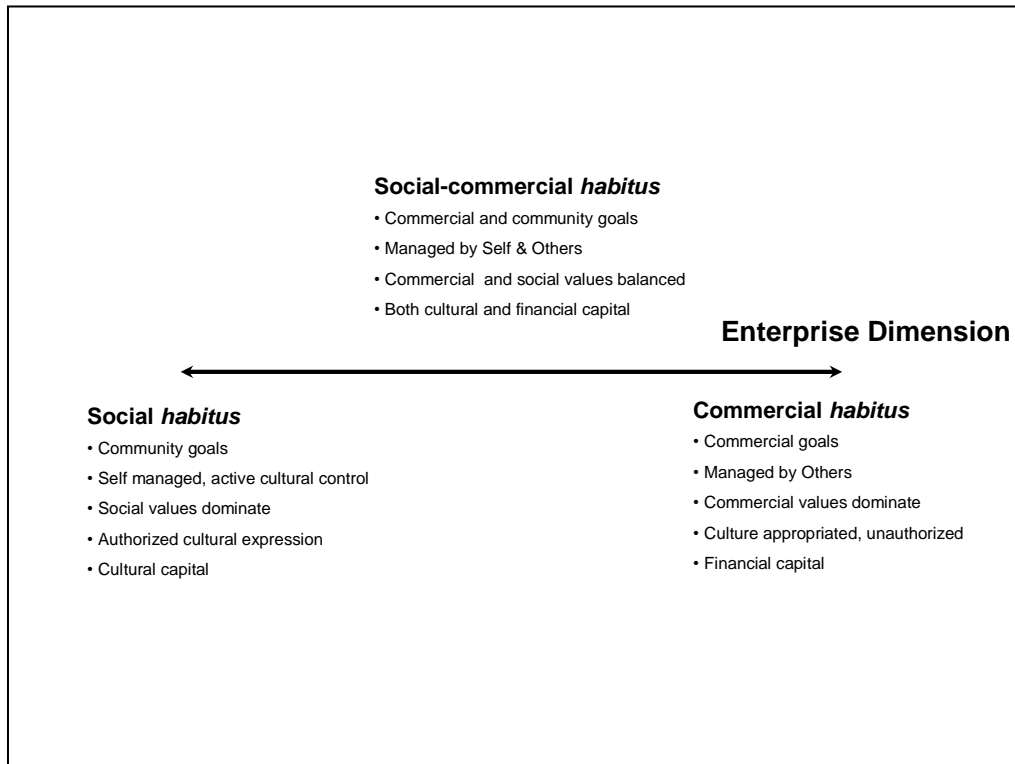
However, these are not exclusive categories. Commercial ventures may have social responsibilities and be assisted by state programmes, or policy-driven socio-economic programmes. Public/community partnerships can have purely commercial activities that cross-subsidise socio-cultural cost centres, as well as seek funds from third-sector trusts and philanthropists. Social enterprise can establish revenue streams, but are rarely profitable. Moreover, that is not their intent.

Thus the Enterprise Dimension of the framework (Figure 2-3) is conceived of as spanning social goals/values *habitus* at one end, through a mix of goal/value complexities at a central point in the matrix, to commercially oriented goals/values *habitus* at the other. These are situated within the financial, physical and environmental as well as human, cultural and social capital of Pacific peoples in New Zealand, which be addressed in Chapter 3. The diagram implies that cultural capital and financial capital are mutually exclusive, but this is not intended. Their opposition is merely to indicate a degree of emphasis associated with different drivers and motivations for enterprise.

The enterprise dimension is of importance to potential hosts in terms of their intent for enterprise outcomes, and to visitors in term of their expectations of authenticity or commodification within the experience. It is tempting to imply, given the research context of ethnic migrant communities that these equate with non-western and western goals and values. However, many examples could be found in western cultures of enterprises with similar ranges of goals and values thus such a conclusion will be left to research to provide.

Habitus-specific management is emerging in tourism, in the same sense as there is a Japanese, an American, a Spanish, an aboriginal approach, and so on (Anderson, 2002). If this is the case, then distinctive styles of business should be identifiable for ethnic community groups in which cultural values and traditions remain strong. An

Figure 2-2 Framing Enterprise



example of the influence of ethnic values and goals on approaches to business is sourced from research conducted amongst native Hawaiian and first generation migrant entrepreneurs in Hawaii (Japanese, Filipino, Korean, Chinese, and Vietnamese). This established that all entrepreneurs shared core business principles, experienced similar changes in priorities and values as the business was established, and identified similar characteristics of good and bad business practise, regardless of cultural origin. Yet, there was clear evidence for business practice and values traceable to an entrepreneur’s native culture. Each group identified distinctive ways in which culture and cultural values influenced daily life and the manner of doing business (Morris & Schindehutte, 2005a), adding uniqueness and competitive edge to their place in the market. Since entrepreneurs are the owners of basic symbolic systems of classification of their society, their social system allows appropriate action in that environment, and the criteria for success are proofed by others and the concepts inherent in *habitus* can be applied to business agents (Schillo et al., 2002).

Interaction

The third element of the proposed framework is formed at the nexus of cultural perception and enterprise intent. This is the locus at which interactions take place and most frequently where ‘experienced moments’ of individual and collective social engagements with the content of culture, respectively communicated and interpreted may succeed or fail (Friedman, 2006). For this author, the term ‘Interactions’

encompasses both ‘encounters’ between culturally distinct groups, and ‘transactions’ which are fiscal or economic in nature.

The poles of the cultural dimension, *utopia* and *dystopia* are imagined in some sense, since they are idealised negative images of each other, but in the middle range are *heterotopias* which Foucault describes as ‘real spaces’. These are ‘counter-sites’ in which all the real sites found within a culture are simultaneously represented, contested and inverted, existing outside and between all places (Foucault & Miskowiec, 1986). Thus, they are places of simultaneous experience. Further, *heterotopic* spaces are thought to be: ubiquitous to cultures, their functions alter over time yet the intent of the spaces remains, can juxtapose and superimpose foreign and yet meaningful activities, time-bound yet can achieve quasi-eternity, permit entry but under restrictions, and are constructed as more real than the real. While this analogy has not been investigated in depth the characteristics seem to span a range of tourism product (both formal and informal) envisaged by the author. Paradoxically those things which define a culture are explicated and shown internally to each other most clearly when juxtaposed with cultures that are not their own (Said, 1975). Such interactions are underpinned by assumptions about ones’ own culture, which are shared and reinforced within the cultural and community setting, albeit varied by setting, sub-culture and self-efficacy in unfamiliar environments (Ahmed, 2002).

The enterprise dimension in the model is envisaged as a continuum possessing at either ‘end’, ‘purely commercial’ or ‘purely social’ character. Organisations, following the same logic as for the cultural dimension, might be mirror-opposites in both intent and *habitus*. It follows then that mid-position, ‘public/community’ organisations would possess dual goals and be empowered to interact simultaneously in both social and commercial spheres. However, since commercial and social are presented as axial opposites, the dual delivery of opposing philosophies may create chaos, fusion or new forms of enterprise, since evidence suggests that the exchange of money for ‘welcome’ irrevocably alters the nature of relationships that occur.

Thus the middle range of both axes is a contested zone, imbued with tension as well as possibility because of the simultaneous juxtaposition of both axial positions. The tensions create dynamism and interaction as transactions take place between cultures, compounded by dualities of intent. The realities of social capital vertically and horizontally structured are important considerations here. These will be explored in Chapter 5.

Hybridity

It may be that interactions between cultures evolve into hybridized ‘third space’ environments (Hollinshead, 1998; Mead et al., 1938) and are communal realms of possibility (Turner, 1982). The formal tourism industry brings cultures together.

This can create understanding but research shows that previous ideas and stereotypes can act as blinkers that prevent learning, reinforce stereotypes about primitivism and confirm prior attitudes (Costa & Ferrone, 1998; Krippendorf, 1997; Laxson, 1991; Smith & Krannich, 2000; Smith & Brent, 2001; Thyne et al., 2006).

Evidence of third space interactions might be when cultural communities create a distinct environment for host/visitor consumption, becoming a liminal sub-cultural space for the duration of an event. Called reactive identities, complicit appropriation, or the construction of transcendental values (Wherry, 2006), they are intentional communities for whom cultural proximity generates a social world of interaction. Social exchange theory explores the results of interactions between residents and tourists in close and extended proximity, which are ultimately expressed in terms of power (Ap, 1992). The degree of proximity to tourism activities on a daily basis appears to affect the degree of negative perception of the impacts of tourism, in those places where tourism is an integral part of everyday life (Perdue, et al., 1992).

Allied to power relationships are notions of role. Role theory also informs this framework in terms of perceptions of culture and the choice of roles available to the tourist (Schwaller, 1992), the importance of role scripts, expectations, role taking and congruence or conflicts of role (inter and intra-personal) (Solomon et al., 1985) as well as the role of the intermediary (as guide, travel agent, impresario) (Arnould & Price, 1993; Quinn, 2001). Adler (1989) refers to travel as a performed art, but yet it is a serious form of play (Turner, 1982). Several authors have noted that tourism and travel to places that are not part of the everyday societal norms can engender actions and playful activities in which people would not normally engage (Ryan, 2002b). Yet even within the role of audience, power relationships are enacted. Audiences are not wholly passive, they interpret through filters of referent sets, and actors need audiences to be purposeful as actors. So it is a mutual, symbiotic relationship where each empowers the other.

Setting also exerts influence in terms of control, authority, authenticity, conservation, commodification, identity, attitudinal change, self-awareness and foreknowledge of audience, as well as role of hosts and visitor, in relation to each other. For example, the processes and dynamics of festival event settings, in terms of symbolism, local practices, reproduce cultural meanings and sustain local myths (Quinn, 2001). Abercrombie and Longhurst (1998) have developed an idea of 'audience' for the formal tourism setting which offers pre-modern 'simple' audience - associated with high levels of ceremony and strong awareness of locale. 'Mass' audiences, characterised by reduced attention, decline in ceremony and split between global reach and reception locale and 'diffused' audiences, are besieged by global communication so that individuals play out shifting roles, endlessly performing and mirroring wider worlds.

Autopoiesis is allied to Otherness in terms of Self-making identity strategies that require separation from Others as well as to *habitus* in terms of dynamically created values and structures that might arise during interactions. Thus new views of culture, Self, Other are able to be formed although framed by prior values, but can be retreated from after the encounter because of the self-regulating *autopoietic* power of norms, social structures (vertical and horizontal, cognitive, behavioural and structural) and *habitus*. *Autopoiesis* is also allied to the horizontal and vertical networks of a community that form its interactive interface or social capital.

Framing 'Interaction'

Elsewhere, the author has suggested that potential encounters within tourism product may be influenced by the perceptions of people as hosts and visitors engaged in the moment, but also affected by the dynamic of borderless diasporan flows of people and ideas (Cave et al., 2007).

Conscious, active development of an imagined past that also contains features of contemporary 'edu-tainment' is often used in tourism to increase its appeal but 'freezes' aspects of the culture in that time zone (MacCannell, 1984). Culture reflects the world view of the producer, relative to objectification of the tourist, but existential authenticity may reflect a genuine cross-cultural encounter in tourism since it is personally experienced, for example, by participation in a dance performance. Constructive authenticity is based upon a world view of the tourist in the encounter, where it is the intent of the producer that newly made reproductions are sold as if 'old' to tourists. However objective authenticity emphasises the integrity of materials and the world view within which an object is made (Macleod, 2006).

Heterogeneous interactions between visitor and host can be seen in three broad categories: a) the role of host in home-based cultural communities, b) the role of visitor as an outsider or audience, and c) the role of mediator, a 'go-between' and translator. These categories can be further refined into interactions between Self and Others. Roles can overlap at different times, for example a host could also be mediator. These could be further refined into roles which describe interactions between Self, Others, Othered Others and Othered Selves, and imply a progression from lower to higher degrees of interaction.

The dimensions for the proposed framework for cultural tourism enterprise comprise, first (but without an implied hierarchy), an 'Otherness' or cultural experience dimension and second, an 'Enterprise' or entrepreneurial dimension. The framework describes a dynamics of interaction in cultural tourism settings which has implications for both sets of people who participate, i.e. visitor and host.

Figure 2-3 Framing Interaction – Model 1

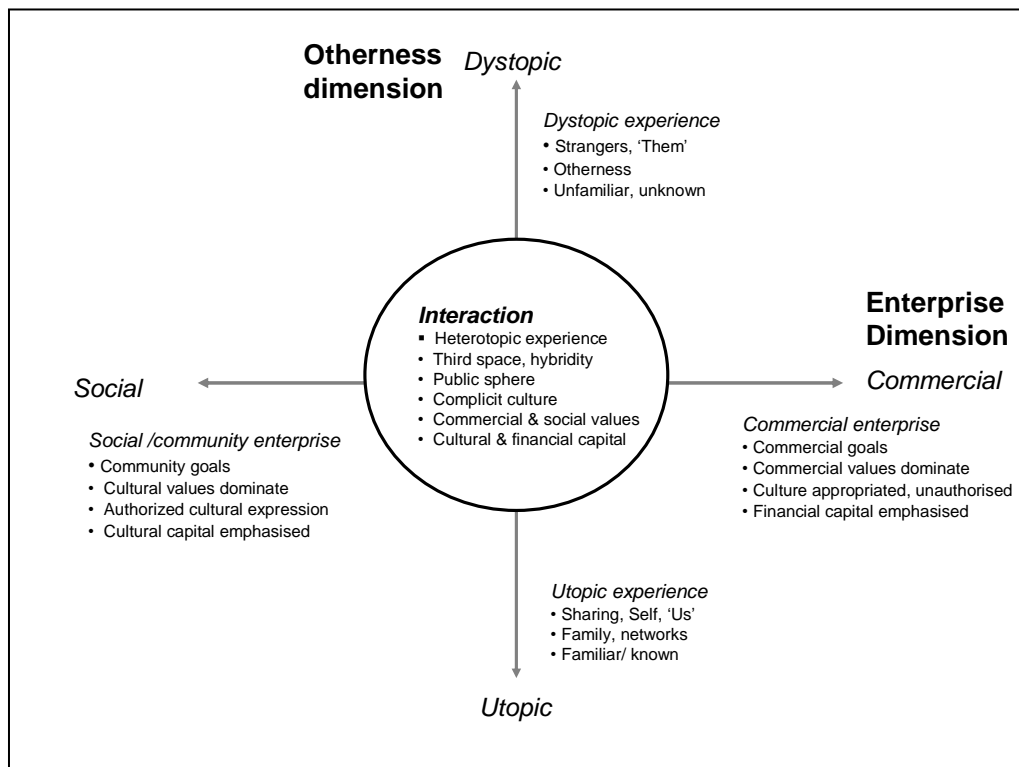


Figure 2-3 summarises postulated zones of experience that could be created at the nexus of cultural perception and enterprise goals/values. Visitors might experience a host culture under heterotopic conditions where decisions are made to ‘share’ cultural experiences with Other, but nonetheless exclude that person from access to the private domain.

This is where a ‘third space’ or public sphere is theorised. Here, complicit ‘hybrid’ cultures are formed intentionally by the host as a way to manage exclusion from the private familial culture space and to prevent its appropriation and loss and/or unintentionally as each culture attempts to communicate and understand the content of the other, although miscommunication, misunderstanding and confirmation of negative stereotypes can occur. Thus it too is a contested space, fraught with potential dangers and opportunities. A transaction zone however can be envisaged to the right of this where the contested space is contested by ‘suppliers’ of the formal tourism industry and represents the space they feel they can tolerate as ‘open’ to ‘consumers’ of difference.

a) Role of Host

As Steward or ‘Guardian’, the host protects and preserves spiritual values, cultural knowledge and treasures, as well as oral and perhaps written material evidence of traditions that are central to the ethnic community. These are passed on to members of the ethnic community within traditional hierarchical structures and are rarely if

ever, brought into the realm of the Other. Reflections on the past and future, cultural unity, preservation, transmission of knowledge from elder to younger generations are imperatives within this notion of stewardship (Cave, 2001).

When the host acts as 'Guardian', the visitor is regarded as an uninitiated person who has no access to cultural knowledge and is deliberately constrained by the host from interaction with particular members of the host community (Ryan, 2002a). They are also restricted from participation in cultural activities and access to certain portions of the physical site.

As 'Teacher', the host understands that that the visitor needs some degree of interpretation of the cultural expressions in which they are engaged, to understand protocols, language, or the significance of the proceedings (Balme, 1998).

The host acts as 'Manager', when money is charged for access to objects or sites of cultural expression and an expectation exists of an exchange (whether of knowledge, of entertainment, of goods or services).

b) Role of Visitor

The cultural tourist 'Visitor' is an involved acquirer, actively seeking cultural immersion experiences (Smiles, 2002), authenticity (McIntosh & Prentice, 1999; Xie & Wall, 2002) and customised excursions into other cultures. They also search out ways and places at which they can learn in an informed way about people, lifestyle, heritage and arts that genuinely represents those cultures and their historical contexts (Craik, 2001; McKercher & Chow, 2001). Such travellers 'collect' experiences, unconsciously formalising or 'curating' their experiences by acquisition of representative symbolic material – photographs, t-shirts, iconic souvenirs, art, and ephemera – that record, preserve, understand and disseminate their experiences during and after travel. Souvenirs are surrounded by text and context in terms of authentication, display, sale, and the ideology of the selling agent as authentic reminders of a particular place. They are powerful signifiers of ideological meaning (Shenev-Keller, 1993).

Visitor-Others are also 'edutainees', interacting somewhat passively with objectified community cultural expressions, deliberately commodified for consumption by the host. Over time, the range of edutainment experiences available has progressed from observational didactic experiences to highly interactive hands-on participation in events. Disney experiences and theme parks have played strong roles in innovating and demonstrating the success of these techniques (Wasko & Meehan, 2001). They have been adopted in Maori (Tahanna & Opperman, 1998) and Australian Aboriginal tourism performances (Zeppel, 1998; Zeppel, 2001). Edutainee visitors participate in spectacle, which associates strongly with 'narcissistic' attitudes to Self.

The role of 'Casual Observer' might be adopted by tourists who are unwilling to become closely involved with the cultural context, content to watch, listen and be part of the social group that they accompany. Being a member of an audience for some may become a 'mundane event' if there is no boundary between the Self and the world of people and things, so that what stands out is merely a reflection, as in a mirror, of the Self (Abercrombie & Longhurst, 1998). However one might argue that to be a member of the passive audience retains a 'Self' in a familiar role. Further, that if a visitor 'observes' rather than 'participates' then a choice is made by that person to evaluate the event in itself - thus seeming passivity is an active choice (C. Ryan, personal communication, 2008).

c) Role of Mediator

'Mediators' are seen within the local community – representing Same or Self, and at time Others from cultural communities (that may not be of the same ethnicity) act to bridge misunderstandings, facilitate positive outcomes and problem resolution between the community and visitors, serving to facilitate cross-cultural communications (Brown, 1992). External Others can also perform the role of an 'Actor' mediator between cultures by taking part in the normal day-to day-life of a community, as well as deliberately participating in the acquisition of cultural knowledge through mastery of indigenous or ethnic arts, language or perhaps religion. Their motivation in such participation is to develop new forms of cultural expression, or to seek inspiration or enlightenment from immersion in unfamiliar cultural environments. The effect of such interaction can lead to modelling or adoption of elements of the other culture whilst in the cultural community, and can endure for a long time after the experience has taken place.

The role of 'Designer' can be played by ethnic community members, by Other, or in bicultural partnerships to conceive, design, construct and programme cultural experiences of differing levels of authenticity or commodification. Dances and rituals are perhaps shortened or embellished, and folk customs or arts altered, faked, and invented (Graburn, 1976). However, new art styles can however be stimulated or the survival of otherwise moribund folk art may occur (Cohen, 1983). Such encounters with the traditional performance of cultural Others are usually brief, essentially transitory, non-repetitive and asymmetrical (Cohen, 1984). There is some evidence that such brevity can reinforce ethnocentrism and convince tourists of the correctness of their own world views (Laxson, 1991) rather than promote cultural understanding.

The 'Facilitator' role can be sourced from the host community or from outside. For example: the culture broker interprets, translates and makes accessible those things that are unfamiliar, exotic, strange and unusual in another culture. The culture broker acts as the mediator between hosts and guests, with responsibility for ethnic imaging

and cultural trait selection (Calmels, 1996; Smith, 2001). Further examples are 'wild guides' in the context of funerary rites in Sulawesi (Adams, 1997a), tour guides, or beach boys (Calmels, 1996).

It should be noted too that researchers are mediators and filters, in their research design, selection of sample, collection of information, interpretation and dissemination roles. However, the dissemination methods of academics can be particularly at odds with indigenous means and expectations of the communication of findings, that is a print, and academic style of reporting far beyond the intended circulation of information does not mesh well with oral traditions and can be seen as an abuse of the trust and basis of relationship established between researcher and participants (Tuhiwai Smith, 1999).

As noted earlier, initially, tourists are considered as guests within the traditional host-guest relationship, or perhaps adopted as 'family' or 'friend' (Adams, 1997a) so that they can participate in community ritual (made honorary, temporarily identified as the 'Same'). However, as numbers of tourists increase, the nature of welcome can change (Doxey, 1976) and the relationship transforms from one based on customary (but not precise nor obligatory) hospitality into a commercial one based on remuneration. Eventually professionalism arises to preserve culture and to enhance the area's reputation as well as ensure long-term flow of visitors (Cohen, 1984). But this is not wholly neutral. Locals 'play the native' and 'professionals' act to personalize the experience for Visitors (Cohen, 1984; MacCannell, 1976).

Asymmetries in these relationships occur: where the host has an advantage of knowledge over the visitors, accounting for 'gullibility' of tourists; tourism means work for the locals, leisure for the tourists and creates misunderstandings and conflicts of interest (Cohen, 1984). It may be that the extent, variety and degree of change from normal life that tourists seek or are capable of seeking in their contacts with host communities are dependant upon the degree of 'familiarity' or 'strangeness' that each person is able to engage in unfamiliar environments (Cohen, 1979).

However, some authors suggest that perhaps there is no such thing as Otherness since there are no examples of people who are Other because of the ever-changing nature of Self, overlaps in presentation and re-presentation in mobile circumstances (Cloe & Little, 1997). Otherness also relates to embodied, sensory and affective encounters with Place. Boundaries transmitted through travel writings can both differentiate and connect the Self in relation to other worlds (Fullagar, 2001). Intimacy theory explicates the otherness of lovers and family members and implies that in this form, a unity that is independent of time and place (Trauer & Ryan, 2005).

Figure 2-4 expands the central region of the theorisation model in Figure 2-3. This mid-region region is envisaged as *heterotopic* on the Otherness Dimension and made up of public/community enterprise partnerships on the Enterprise Dimension. These axes create four quadrants and describe sets of values regarding Otherness which imply goals/value distinctions for Enterprise. Thus the upper left hand quadrant represents High Otherness (*heterotopic* attitudes on the part of both host and guests willingness to engage with each other), but Low Enterprise (social not commercial goals) and so on.

These are:

Self-Managed Zone	High Otherness/Low Commerce
Commercial Zone	High Otherness/High Commerce
Zone of Commercial Potential	Low Otherness/High Commerce
Zone of Privacy	Low Otherness/Low Commerce

A contested, transactional, *heterotopic* zone is suggested as located at the centre of the framework. This is called a Zone of Contention because it is potentially where disagreements or goals disparity can arise, or value conflicts might be most apparent. Issues that may arise in this area might be, for example, control, governance and revenue retention as well as who manages and authorizes action. Other questions might be: how much knowledge should be made accessible to visitors? What should be charged for or not? Where should fee levels be set? How authentic should cultural product be? How much should be interpreted? What should be commodified?

The Self-managed Zone is envisaged as a locale in which entrepreneurial values are wholly aligned with cultural community traditions, structures and principles of control and management. Tensions may arise here if communities wish to encounter the Other under an informal, self-managed regime, yet wish to charge a fee for the immersive experience. Payment changes the nature of the encounter into expectations of service in the Zone of Contention since community/commercial goals are present.

Where, however, the enterprise ethic is tolerant of business and relates more too conventional capitalistic notions, then the tourism product increasingly shares the qualities of commodification, as shown in the Commercial Zone, the top right hand cell of Figure 2-5. This cell might also be divided in order to reflect differing emphases on authentic or commodified product, but in practice this area is likely to represent a tolerated mix of commodified ‘authenticity’.

The bottom left hand cell represents a Zone of Privacy that might be intruded upon by the tourist either accidentally or through close family relationship, consistent with

Figure 2-4 A Management Framework for Cultural Tourism

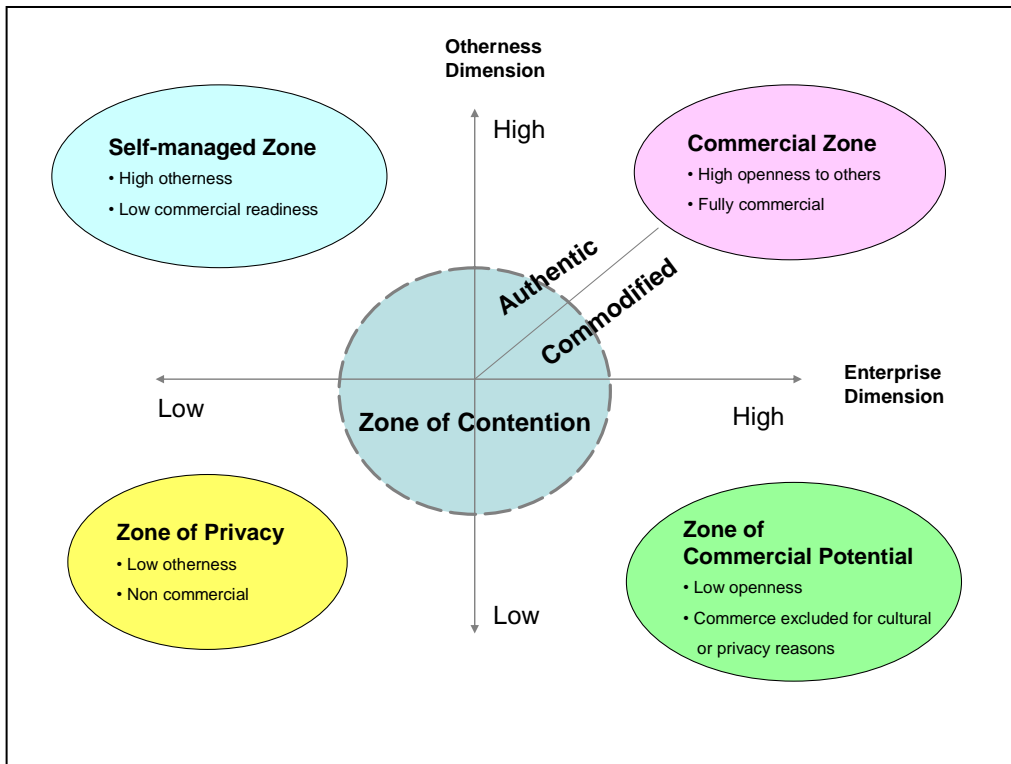
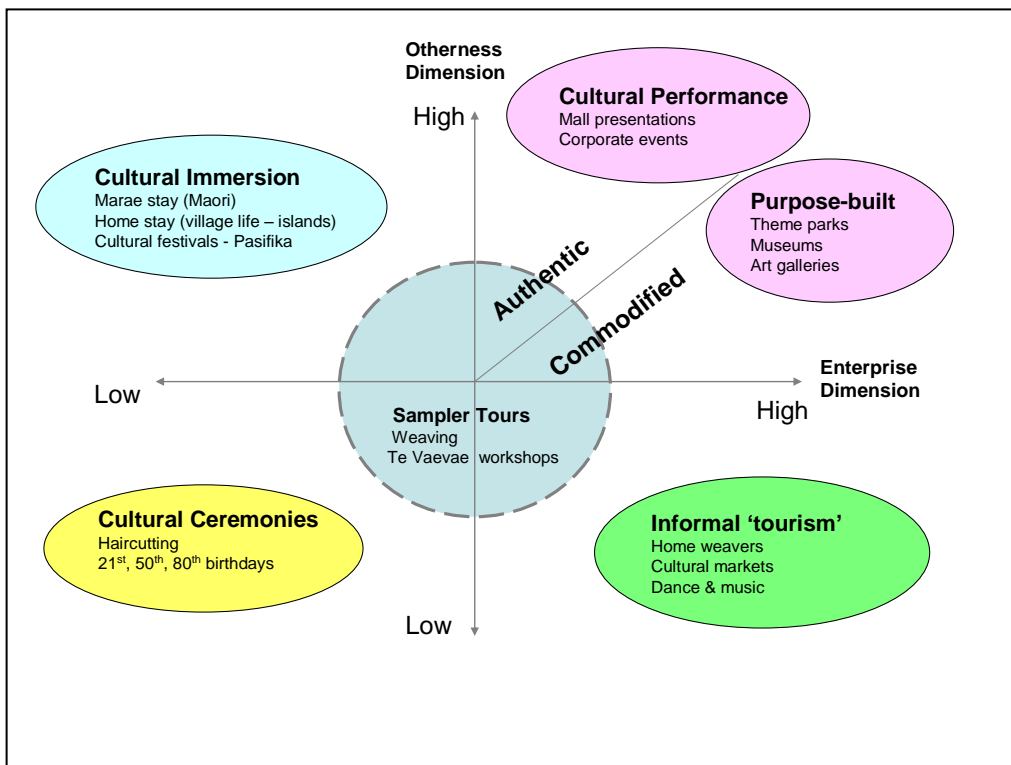


Figure 2-5 Mapping Cultural Tourism Product



Foucault's 'privileged' *heterotopia* mentioned in the Otherness discussion above.

The final cell, the Zone of Commercial Potential represents low levels of community engagement with the commercial sector, perhaps on a periodic basis during specific festivals, but which could be developed into commercial ventures if circumstances were to change.

Figure 2-5 takes this framework one step further by indicating different types of tourism product that could emanate from decisions, based on host's values or attitudes toward Otherness and enterprise. In this diagram cultural immersion products would take place in the Self-managed Zone. Cultural performance would occur in the authentic portion and purpose built attractions locate in the commodified portion of the Commercial Zone. Informal tourism product would occur in the Zone of Commercial Potential and cultural ceremonies in the Zone of Privacy.

The analysis so far has taken place primarily from an academic point of view. The next section starts to situate the research voyage and the Pacific communities in cultural and socio-economic contexts. Perhaps the research will show that nascent diasporan Pacific entrepreneurship is a *heterotopic* hybrid that adopts western values and integrates with Pacific *habitus*. Or, perhaps that Pacific enterprises operate outside the western frame altogether and look only to internal cultural forces for direction. Alternatively, Pacific entrepreneurs may reject cultural influences as too difficult to adhere to in the dominant mainstream marketplace. These issues will be explored in Chapters 3 and 5.

Concluding summary

This chapter has assembled knowledge about the navigational principles (theory) which will guide the voyage from this point forward, commencing from a western *épistème*. It has identified trends in contemporary migration and tourism and resultant diasporan social worlds and local responses in terms of tourism. Further, it considers how the inevitable encounters with difference as cultures move (migrants, tourists and travellers) around the globe are experienced and perhaps are managed or evolve into third space innovation. Links are drawn to issues of world view and the potential for fourth world or 'between worlds' ontologies.

Underpinning principles are Otherness, Enterprise and Interaction. Otherness is conceived in terms of epistemic perceptions and interaction with difference, setting the scene for *heterotopic* encounters via enterprise, perhaps as tourism. Cultural enterprise is theorised as being underpinned by culture-specific *habitus* and social capital, some (or all) of which may be set aside or renewed during encounters depending upon the goals for enterprise. And, interactions are based upon notions of

hybridity and *autopoiesis* as a structural, organising interface, the strength of which may position entrepreneurs within, between or outside the cultural milieu.

‘Tourism is a cultural practice. It follows then that tourism might be perceived differently by different cultures and may be allied to the notion of culture-specific tourism gaze, as well as to dragging and indexing our tourism experiences to create a discourse, shaped inevitably by our backgrounds, knowledge, ideas and dreams’.

(Rojek, 1997)

The next chapter looks at the research context of diasporan Pacific peoples and identifies the ‘sailing conditions’ and destination, as well as the canoes and the crew – aspirations, assumptions, issues and anticipated dynamics – for the research proper. It is thus the second section of the 1st *etak of sighting*.

Chapter 3

Context and Community

(2nd section, 1st etak of Sighting)

Introduction

This chapter introduces the case study context of diasporan Pacific Island migrants and their aspirations for cultural product, ownership and tourism - in one corner of the Oceania. It answers the first question, what are the diasporan Pacific community's aspirations for tourism and cultural enterprise to support tourism?

It also notes the foundations of the collaborative action relationship between the cultural community and the researcher, introducing the research collaboration partner, WPB and Pacific members of the research team from WMS.

Assembling the canoes

The case example for this research is the aspirations for community initiated tourism and cultural enterprises amongst nascent entrepreneurs and not-for-profit organisations of Pacific peoples in New Zealand. Thus it adds to the work in the Pacific on cultural tourism in the Oceanic region of the Pacific (Berno, 1999, 2003; Berno & Douglas, 1998; Clifford, 2001; Cohen, 1982; Nero, 2000) and in Australian and New Zealand cultural tourism contexts (Pike, 2002; Ryan, 1997, 1999; Ryan & Huyton, 2002; Zeppel, 1998) and others.

Oceania is composed, geographically speaking, of three sub-regions of the Pacific Ocean. Melanesia, roughly corresponds with the south and west, Micronesia in the central and northern region and Polynesia locates in the central, east and north east of the Pacific. Historically, it has been peopled by sea-going voyagers, Austronesians, who moved west to east (against the trade winds) from island to island around 3,500 to 4,000 years ago reaching the western fringe to Papua New Guinea and the Marianas.

Their descendants, the Polynesians, occupied the Fiji/Tonga/Samoa region and some islands north and west of it around 2,500 to 3,000 years ago. Two thousand years ago these peoples moved further west to east to the Marquesas and other islands of eastern Polynesia such as Hawaii, but with 'blown-back' settlements into Micronesia and Melanesia. New Zealand was occupied by Polynesians now known as Maori, approximately 800 years ago (Crocombe, 2001).

Movements, exchanges and familial links between the 'sea of islands' continue to be enduring spheres of influence. For example local and regional commodity and wealth exchange systems have a long ancestry in the Papua, Vitiaz Straits, Massim, New Britain, Caroline Islands, and Samoa/Tonga/Fiji areas (Gibson & Nero, 2007).

Europeans seeking alternate trade routes to the Orient to replace the land-based Silk Roads (and later evangelism, trade and colonial lands) began to move in the opposite direction with the trade winds (east to west) from the 1500s, beginning with Magellan. Spain was the main agent of contact for 200 years until the 1700s when Dutch, English, French and Russians brought benefits and destructive forces such as Christianity, literacy, metal technologies, trade, money economy and disease to the Pacific. These fundamentally altered the societies with whom they lived and traded.

During the 1880's, annexation of the Pacific occurred, lead by Britain, France, USA and Germany (Crocombe, 2001). New Zealand's direct involvement with islands in the Pacific began in 1901 when Britain permitted annexation of Niue and the Cook Islands by New Zealand, who also assumed administrative responsibility for Western Samoa in 1920 and the Tokelau Islands in 1925 (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 1999b). But from the 1960s until the 1990s, several independent Pacific national governments were formed across the Pacific. These began with Western Samoa in 1962, then the Cook Islands in 1965), followed by Niue in 1974 (Crocombe, 2001), although Tokelau is still administratively linked today to New Zealand. Support from partner nations such as New Zealand, and Australia, the USA and more recently Taiwan in the form of direct aid and programmes have been influential in poverty alleviation, the creation of seed banks, urban agriculture, transportation, development and education. Such assistance is vital to the Pacific nations and to the security and well being of its larger neighbours (Gibson & Nero, 2007).

The economies of the Pacific states have grown more slowly than countries in any other region of the world despite the high per capita inflows of external finance as overseas aid and remittances. Such poor performance has been attributed to poorly governed institutions, high levels of aid inflow and bad policy environments. In reality these economies have never recovered from the imbalances created during the colonial and post-colonial eras when labourers, minerals (i.e. phosphate) and agricultural products (i.e. sugar, coconuts) were systematically removed from the region. These actions resulted in fundamental social and cultural changes to lifestyle, a lack of capacity for self-reliance and degradation of natural environments. All of which have entrenched population outflows and over-population in some cases, poverty and imbalances of education, wealth and resources that remain unaddressed (Gibson & Nero, 2007).

A sea of islands

‘Families not governments hold the Pacific together’

(Gibson & Nero, 2007)

Pacific peoples do not think of each island as isolated from each other but rather as fluid spheres of influence linked by patterns of economic flow (goods, services and money), movements of people for long periods and short stays (education or work) and exchanges of knowledge and culture. Or, as put by Hau’ofa (1993) Westerners conceive of the Pacific as islands in a vast sea, but Pacific Islanders conceive of the same world as ‘a sea of islands’. Diaz and Kauanui (2001) suggest that Pacific peoples are continually and unconsciously employing a schema of triangulation, oriented to homeland islands, in order to have a clear sense of one’s place at all times while they move fluidly around the globe.

Oceanic peoples have always been on the move, embodying a dialectical tension between movement and settlement (Jolly, 2007). They have traced complex routes of migration and circulation between island homelands and metropolitan centres of the Pacific Rim, North America and Europe producing marked social, cultural, and economic differences in the region. For instance, Melanesia, (southwest Pacific Ocean), home to three quarters of the Oceanic population, has political structures that are independent indigenous states made up of mostly rural communities living on ancestral lands (White & Tengan, 2001).

The popular tourism image of the region is of ‘Polynesian atolls, beaches and coconut trees’, a description that is accurate for only 4% of the populated area. Papua and New Guinea hosts the largest population base who cultivates mainly temperate crops, far from any beach (Gibson & Nero, 2007). Micronesia and Polynesia (north and east Pacific Ocean) are colonial and quasi-autonomous states. Their indigenous peoples are now minorities in their own lands and experience high rates of emigration to emergent urban communities in cities along the Pacific Rim, such as Auckland, Honolulu, Los Angeles, and Sydney (White & Tengan, 2001).

Diasporan mobility is engendered or discouraged by barriers for out-migration as well as inward. Vanuatu, the Solomon Islands and Papua and New Guinea are very restricted by border controls. They experience minimal emigration and low education levels since 35% of the adult population has never been to school (Gibson & Nero, 2007). However, in these islands, rapid population growth and inter-communal tension, compounded by lack of employment for youth has resulted in several coups and state failures (Ware, 2005). It is noteworthy that current New Zealand immigration policy looks to these islands as a future labour pool.

Micronesians, except for Kiribati and Nauru, have assured migrant access to the United States so that population pressures and communal tensions are relieved by continuous emigration as well as inflows of remittances (Ware, 2005).

There differences too between the Polynesian island nations. As New Zealand citizens, Cook Islanders and Tokelauans are globally mobile, whereas Tongans, Tuvaluans, Samoans and Fijians have some limits placed on their external movements. There are also differences in their educational base. Most Tongan adult migrants come to New Zealand after up to 10 years of schooling, but Tuvaluan and Samoan adults often arrive as unskilled and labourers (Gibson & Nero, 2007). This has particular importance for this thesis in terms of calls from the communities for future capacity building and potential to undertake enterprises in a mainstream context where English literacy and numeric skills are essential.

Several geo-political, social and geographic features of Oceania interact in complex ways to create spheres of influence in this 'Sea of Islands'. These are manifested in ongoing links to colonizing powers and wealth potentials related to the size and type of island. For instance, the rich soils of so called 'high islands' are suited to agriculture, are well vegetated and have high levels of bird life as well as concentrations of volcanic minerals, high rainfall areas and pelagic resources. Atolls however have minimal vegetation and fauna but poor soils, are rich in pelagic resources and are very susceptible to rising sea levels and climate change. Other issues are remoteness from or proximity to the larger high islands and the land and sea resources of stronger economies.

The concept of 'remoteness' as applied to either type of island is actually more a factor of economic growth than size or actual distance. Remoteness is influenced by transport links, potential market access, proximity (or distance) from rich countries and the cost of airfares (regardless of tourist hubs, producing a substantial cost disadvantage to movement of labour, and export of services and product). It is very expensive to move around the Pacific because of high costs, strong competition for tourism and trade dollars and heavy government tariffs. The Cook Islands are actually the most physically remote of all the Oceanic Islands, but benefit from trade relationships with New Zealand and close familial networks and movements between the two countries.

Pacific Island countries also have small land mass, limited domestic markets, high language diversity, are not very open to international trade (due to protectionism) and many maintain links with the past colonial powers. Yet, migration patterns do not follow the former colonizer. The majority of Kiribati emigrate to America, whereas Samoans, Tongans, Fijians move to Asia, New Zealand and Australia (Gibson &

Nero, 2007). All of these factors impact on their capacity for actual economic growth and wealth accumulation.

Wealth in the Pacific signifies power and strength and testifies to the achievement of individuals. It is also attributed to the clan and tribe through the individual as part of collective effort, and is generated for the common not individual good (Saffu, 2003). Pacific peoples generate wealth in ancestral interchanges between food production, labour, and soft (textile) and hard (stone and bead) currencies, but are linked today to introduced monetary systems. Remittances are one of the most important ways in which Pacific peoples transfer wealth. These serve as short-term 'insurance or safety nets' within and across nation-states, and long-term investments in social and financial capital (Gibson & Nero, 2007). A large part of the population still lives in a non-monetised subsistence economy (Fisk, 1995), highly dependent upon monies remitted home from emigrant communities such as those in Auckland. For example Tonga obtains \$120 million in remittances per annum (Gregory, 2004) which represents a potential loss of capital for business and enterprise in New Zealand. Remittances in Tonga from outside the Islands are almost 40% of GDP, in Kiribati they are 12%, the Cook islands less than 4%, in Samoa 15%, and in Tuvalu over 35% (Gibson & Nero, 2007).

But there is also a significant impact received from the highly productive Household Sector of the global economy, now recognised by the OECD, which include the subsistence and remittances of the informal economy, embedded in diasporas across the region. While there are of course culture-specific differences, in general terms, food production is the foundation of Pacific wealth. This contrasts with European standards where wealth, as money (gold or cash) is separated from the commodities that generate it. Family food production (taro, breadfruit, fish) is still the primary source of support and wealth for many Pacific peoples. Excess production can be transformed into 'Pacific wealth items' and cash through market sales. Pacific wealth items are soft textiles such as fine mats, tapa, fine banana fibre weavings and bundles, and fibre clothing, associated with and made by women (Horan, 2002) and hard wealth - adze blades, bead money, associated with men. Generally women grow root crops and men tree crops.

Past practices have been modified to fit current needs. Production is still organised by brother-sister cross-sibling relationships which transfer through their spouses and family members, today including class- and work-mates in the transactions. For example, in a market economy, in a family supported by tourism and wood carving, the sister's husband expends cash to support his wife's collection of banana fibre bundles (relative to the number of yams his brother-in-law provided). Pacific Islanders use shellfish for subsistence ('daily costs'), lagoon fish are sold to meet routine requirements ('current account funds') but *copra* and pelagic fish are sold for

seasonal or major costs such as school fees, medical costs, house, boat or vehicles ('capital accounts'). These informal transfers are important because they level inequalities in living standards, act as a safety net in times of duress but also have a negative side in that self-sustaining agriculture fishing may be reduced in proportion to the amount of remittances, therefore increasing reliance on a potentially unsustainable source, and increase the trend to urbanisation (Gibson & Nero, 2007).

Pacific families use regional waged seasonal labour opportunities and market sales to transfer indigenous valuables, money and foods among islands and overseas, replicating longstanding local and regional commodity and wealth exchange systems. Today, those patterns remain. Pacific Islanders draw upon and adapt their food production and existing wealth systems to provide support for the education of their children, access medical services at home and overseas, provide large amounts of capital to fund housing, clinics and transportation as well as to fund local development projects and to make contributions to the churches and church leaders (Gibson and Nero, 2007).

However a diaspora is not a group of self-interested individuals who happen to originate from one place. A diaspora is a network in which knowledge and resources circulate through people, at nodes such as people, houses, community centres, and churches. This happens in multiple directions, trans-locally and trans-nationally, associated with families in the homeland. Integration into a new set of cultural patterns in the new home becomes a choice into which one can potentially enter, but which can (but not always) carry with it the consequence of being 'cut' out of the old networks (Gershon, 2007). However with migration, new social worlds are formed, influenced by the colonisation and post-colonial processes. Domestically, intermarriage between ethnic groups and between ethnic and non-ethnic people increases over time. Increasingly, numbers of children are born and raised away from their traditional homelands. Further, in the new lands, both children and adults have access to different educational and employment opportunities than they would at home and thus are exposed to different value systems (Gray, 2001). The flow of ideas accompanies the movement of people and capital (Spoonley et al., 2003). Thus new technology and virtual forms of community appear in the Islands and the idea of cultural tourism transfers to New Zealand because it is successful as an enterprise strategy in homeland nations where tourism is central to GDP.

When we consider the position of Pacific peoples in Waitakere vis-à-vis their interest in and capacity to develop cultural enterprise and tourism, we must also think of them as communities connected locally with other family and cultural community members across Auckland and New Zealand. They are connected trans-nationally to the island homelands and to family elsewhere around the globe, such as in the United States, Australia, Europe, Asia, etc. Gershon (2007) suggests that other questions

then arise. Do the exchange systems alter with distance and what are the layers of commitment that people have, and others perceive them to have, in these networks?

This wider context is important to this research because the island nation economies, subsistence and informal economies, 'Pacific wealth' and family structures as vehicles for wealth redistribution are fundamental to understanding the dynamics of enterprise capacity and aspirations for community-initiated tourism by Pacific peoples now resident in New Zealand. Awareness of the diasporan mobility and connective structures also have relevance to understanding some of the values, dilemmas and tensions, social networks, enablers and hindrances revealed by both the marketplace and community. As well, the importance ascribed to 'treasures' (Pacific wealth), the nature of 'enterprise', identity, connectedness and obligation that are seen later in Chapter 5 (community studies) are noted, and in Chapter 6 (marketplace studies) where ethnic values-sets and connected communities.

The history of migration and development of the Pacific diaspora in New Zealand is also relevant. In fact, research in 2003 identified a distinctive Pacific peoples' economy and society nested within the broader New Zealand and global economies, based upon cultural as well as economic and social interactions (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003). The concept identified generic organising principles such as agents (individuals, households and firms), resources (labour, capital and raw materials), goods and services (produced and distributed) and institutions (legal and regulatory).

Pacific entrepreneurs

From the perspective of Hofstede's (1980) dimensions of culture, defined in a western research paradigm, tested in many cultures but 'refined' to include conceptualisations from other cultures (Hofstede, 2003), Pacific societies might be stereotypically perceived as traditional, communal societies where the interest of the individual is secondary to the common interest of social group. However, such a Eurocentric conceptualisation poses problems. From the perspective of European definitions of 'entrepreneurship' in the specific field of business enterprise, accrual of benefits to the extended family and community, 'sharing' conflicts with an entrepreneur's success. Perhaps in these circumstances an individual must be prepared to risk social ostracism and alienation for 'breaking' with tradition as well as taking financial risks. But is this the case?

Regional differences between Melanesian and Polynesian areas of the Pacific in terms of geography and culture are reinforced in the roles that tourism plays in the economies of the respective areas, participation of residents in the tourism industry and the ease of access to education due to close ties with 'parent' nations such as

New Zealand has with the Cook Islands (Berno & Douglas, 1998). Issues such as mobility, familial wealth distribution mechanisms, geopolitical and geographic factors were identified earlier in this chapter.

In Melanesian society (i.e. Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Vanuatu, Fiji) entrepreneurship is widespread, since traditional access to power is based on individual motivation, and the ability to amass resources and assume leadership roles (Fairbain, 1988; Finney, 1971, 1987; Ingram, 1990). In Melanesia, the *habitus* of entrepreneurship is located in a different social disposition of 'big men' who acquire leadership through acts of patronage to win influence.

Melanesia has a varied economic base, with extensive mineral deposits in addition to subsistence and cash crop agriculture. However, tourism continues to play a major role in the economies of Melanesia. Tourist numbers are higher for Melanesia than Polynesia, although Fiji is included in these figures and thus may be overstated. Melanesians participate as both artisans and at performed attractions (Berno & Douglas, 1998). The success of tourism is variable however, as demonstrated in the Solomon Islands. The Anuha Island Resort case was considered a failure because of disempowerment by government (Sofield, 2003). The Vanuatu Pentecost 'land divers' tourism product is successful because cultural tourism development was controlled by an empowered community. This occurred too in the Fijian Mana Island Resort example where a successful partnership was constructed between a foreign investor and the local land-owning communities, resulting in sustainable resort development through empowerment (Sofield, 2003).

In contrast, in other parts of Polynesia (i.e. Cook Islands, Samoa, parts of Fiji, Niue, Tokelau, Tonga) the retention of traditional values has acted as a constraint on entrepreneurial development because of a different *habitus* of enactments within social position. There is a need to comply with a social tradition based upon acting in accordance with allotted roles determined by customary right. The chiefly hierarchy is maintained through descent and historically the chiefs headed business developments rather than commoners. However some individuals have used entrepreneurial activity as a means of gaining power outside the traditional authority regime (Ingram, 1990). Tourism can be one of these means by which *mana* is increased and traditional hierarchies altered (Berno, 1999).

In the Pacific, entrepreneurship can thrive within a framework of existing social relations and cultural mores (Hailey, 1987; Tanoi, 1993). For example in Hawaii, a study of the way that culture influences business showed that culture significantly influences the values of some native Hawaiian entrepreneurs. The Hawaiian values that affect their daily entrepreneurial lives were, in order of priority, family, business and hard work, religion, health, money, success and recognition, freedom and

independence, honesty, and friendships and relationships. Cultural values that they believed provide distinctive operational practices within their businesses and a point of difference from business competitors were 'graciousness' (meaning, extending warmth toward customers), 'aloha' (hospitable welcome or love), 'honesty' (with employees, informing customers of alternative products if unable to meet their needs), 'responsibility to group' (admitting an error to others within and outside the business), 'reciprocity' (meaning providing quality in return for the sale) and 'equality' (treating customers and employees fairly and respectfully). In contrast to other studies, this group did not believe that either cultural networks or patronage form within the networks were essential to the success of their business (Morris & Schindehutte, 2005b). Thus motives of these indigenous island entrepreneurs are based in values, or *habitus*, embedded within local community and culture.

In other research, economic security and profit may be motives, but they are not necessarily paramount and indeed were often secondary to personal or social obligations (Saffu, 2003) to the point that failure to respect social and cultural network commitments can jeopardise profitability and long term survival (Hailey, 1987). Many studies emphasise that traditional obligations and maintenance of communal ties are crucial to individual entrepreneurial success since business can be considered an extension of collectivism or clan affairs (Yusuf, 1995). Research from secondary sources on entrepreneurship in Western Samoa (Croulet & Sio, 1986), Fiji (Hailey, 1988), PNG (Finney, 1987), Cook Islands and Tonga (Fairbain, 1988) indicates that in these island settings, financial resources are pooled, labour supplied and markets for the goods/services created within the clan itself. Further, that a motive for business start-up may be the need to help the clan or the extended family (Saffu, 2003). Age is also an advantage to an entrepreneur, since maturity is usually associated with extensive family and social commitments and control over obligations (Hailey, 1987), as well as the respect and status associated with age (Croulet & Sio, 1986). Should local, culture-specific *habitus* be encouraged and what contribution does tourism make to the Pacific region?

The influence of globalisation is pervasive and has been surveyed in the Pacific context by Hall (1997) and Crocombe (2001) at supra national, regional, national (state) and local community levels. For instance, tourism development, creation of jobs and governmental investment in infrastructure in French Polynesia has been closely tied to attempts to encourage return migration to the outer islands such as Bora Bora and the Marquesas Islands, but has been largely unsuccessful to date (d'Hautesserre, 2003). State intervention can also be seen in the development (or inhibition) of tourism in French Polynesia reaches of the Pacific, tied to colonialism and militarism (Ra'i-Atea Pambrun, 1998).

Tourism development can be a major contributor to and manifestation of cultural invasion as well as a local development tool. For example, in the Rennell Islands, a joint venture between locals and the Solomon Islands and New Zealand governments is managing to conserve a valuable ecosystem, but at the cost of fundamental social and cultural change to the sustainable livelihoods of the Rennell Islanders. This is due to wide gap between environmental objectives of the donor organisations and the primarily economic development goals of the locals. Another example is the Lovoni village in Fiji, a wholly locally run business where income is retained by the village, yet the money is spent on western consumer goods (education, transport, electrification). Eco-tourism businesses and attempts to build a French-owned hotel on traditional Tahitian chieftaincies land have been shown to affect local cultural dynamics (Ra'i-Atea Pambrun, 1998). D'Hauteserre (2004) argues that in the French Territories of the Pacific, Island customary land ownership practices need not be obstacles to tourism development if they can be leveraged to encourage indigenisation of local entrepreneurial ventures.

Some communities believe that they have the means and the ability to control tourism development. One example from the Cook Islands shows that, because of historical ties between New Zealand and the Cook Islands, there is a close fit between the type of tourism product and the types of tourist who visit (primarily from New Zealand) and prior acculturation in the culture of the tourist (Berno, 2003). Interestingly, when some Pacific Islanders travel as tourists to western countries and return home, their reaction is to actively oppose tourism development because the experience, rather than demonstrating the benefits and potential of tourism, is actually a disincentive. Many seem more patriotic and concerned about identity and self preservation of homeland culture after they have travelled overseas (Moni, 1980).

The undifferentiated nature of the South Pacific Islands marketed to potential visitors is a major obstacle to the progress of tourism in the area. Presentation of the wealth of variations in physical features and its human qualities for each island and culture would improve the experiences of both hosts and guests (Berno & Douglas, 1998). This issue appears later in this thesis in the Pasifika Festival suppliers study.

In New Zealand, tourism differentiation on the international stage since the late 19th century has been achieved primarily by portrayal and appropriation of indigenous Maori culture and cultural product, delivered by both Maori and European entrepreneurs, supported by central government initiatives (Ryan, 1997). Persistence of this image however ignores the growing ethnic pluralism of New Zealand and other modern societies, reflected in the increasing proportions of migrant Pacific Island, central and south Asian and middle eastern peoples (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). The diasporan connections over many generations that result are important to the retention of Pacific cultural continuity (Fitzgerald, 1998b) as sources of social

order, cultural coherence and identity, and have the effect of creating an ‘offshore’ version of a homeland social world that crosses local, national and international borders. However a ‘pan-ethnicity model’ (trans-local, common interest groups that cut across ethnic-specific interests are being forged between immigrants from the wider region who would not normally associate with each other) is also seen in New Zealand.

Spickard (2002) says that continuing national or diasporic continuing links with one’s people at home or elsewhere abroad are also relevant to Pacific Islanders living today in the United States. Especially for those who migrated during a period of rising incomes and improving Internet communications.

Similar patterns are seen in Brisbane, Australia, where cultural identities based on national origins and ethnic descent are being redefined and re-fashioned alongside an emerging ‘pan-Pacific’ identity by younger second-generation Australian-born Fijians. Inter-generational differences are also in evidence, older and first-generation Fijians, most born or raised in Fiji, continue to speak Fijian as their first language, maintain the ‘Fijian way of life’ by cooking Fijian dishes, congregating at Fijian churches, organising bible study groups and community activities, etc. (Patrick et al., 2005). Many of these activities serve to create an idyllic island identity, encouraged by European myths, histories and contemporary narratives, transposed into the images of islanders themselves, in their own representations of island spaces (Gibson & Connell, 2003). Tahiti has been similarly represented as *utopian* ‘paradise’ by its residents and diaspora because of its remoteness and relatively low visitorship, despite being a long-haul stop within the Pacific (d’Hauteserre, 2005). It is a place that embodies sensuality and desire, seen through lenses of art, photography and journalism (Pritchard & Morgan, 2007). The thatched huts of Tahiti’s resorts epitomise a constructed sense of place that also resonates with authentic truth (Davis, 2007).

According to Va’ai (2005) there are multiple, contradictory tensions in the contemporary Pacific, originating from post-colonial dreams of Pacific *utopias*, Oceanic identities, the constants of ideal beauty and the treasures of culture and tradition. These are symbolised by coconuts, the Ocean and drumbeats but are stretched to breaking point by modernity and development (Va’ai, 2005).

To summarise, Pacific identities, economic and social realities are dual, contemporary and mobile. Diaz and Kauanui (2001) suggest that Pacific peoples are continually and unconsciously employing such a schema of triangulation comparable to the Carolinian seafarer’s conception of *etak* or moving islands in order to have a clear and unambiguous sense of one’s place at all times while they move fluidly around the globe. The islands then might move, behind or alongside, since the canoe

(person) is envisaged as stationary, but one must know the location of the island at all times, taking bearings from the canoe to a known constellation of stars, as well as to physical signs in the ocean air land and sky and the supernatural. Oceanic peoples have always been on the move, migrating and settling, island to island. Thus the world is constantly being enlarged and an ever widening surface of land (the globe) becomes 'home' to Pacific peoples (Kabutaulaka, 1993). Pacific peoples are not lost migrant souls but people who are very much at home in New Zealand since it too is part of the 'sea of islands' (McCaffery & McCaffery, 2008).

Pacific peoples in New Zealand

From 1000AD until 200 years ago, the population and cultural heritage of New Zealand was wholly Polynesian (Maori) but today is dominated by European cultural traditions, mainly from the British Isles and only one-fifth of New Zealand's population remains as indigenous Maori. At the time of the 2006 census the Pacific peoples' resident in New Zealand numbered 265,974. This is projected to increase markedly in both number and proportion by the year 2051, due to a declining European population and increasing numbers of Maori, migrant Asians, and peoples of Pacific Island birth (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Such trends enhance trans-nationalism in the everyday practices of communities and provoke challenges of mobile social capital (people, capital and ideas) engendering divided loyalties as well as new forms of capitalist production and consumption and embedded impoverishment (Spoonley et al., 2003). Nonetheless, wherever Pacific people live in New Zealand, they maintain reciprocal economic links with kin in the homeland islands and keep in close contact by telephone and visits. Some choose to return to their home island after settling abroad. Others move back and forth between their two homes (Gray, 2001).

Migration to New Zealand of peoples who identify with the South Pacific Islands because of their ancestry or heritage has been aided over the last 100 years by proactive immigration policies (Samoa, Tonga, Fiji) and constitutional ties (Cook Islands, Niue and Tokelau). Maori, have been treaty partners with the New Zealand Crown since 1840 and formally recognised as indigenous to the country in the 1980s. Thus they have significant citizenship and human rights. In contrast, the rights of Pacific migrants have progressed slowly over the last 100 years, from exclusionary to today's developmental and aid policies (with the exception of New Zealand's protectorates) (Human Rights Commission of New Zealand, 2008). However recent governmental policies recognise *Vagahua Niuean*, *Gagana Tokelau*, and Cook Island Maori as indigenous languages of the realm (Human Rights Commission of New Zealand, 2008). The New Zealand government is now also attempting to redress societal and impoverishment issues. Nonetheless there is a growing imbalance

between New Zealand-born Pacific and island communities which will continue into the future (Bedford, 1997).

Contemporary movements to New Zealand from islands in the Pacific began slowly in 1925 and the numbers of Pacific migrants remained small until after World War II. At that time a second wave of Pacific peoples migrated to New Zealand, aided by the relaxation of borders to attract semi and unskilled workers because of labour shortages in New Zealand's economy and government education scholarships. Samoans, Tongans and Fijians had easy access to New Zealand but Cook Islanders, Tokelauans and Niueans (legally New Zealand citizens) could enter the country freely. Cook Islanders and Fijians were recruited in the early 1950s to work in rural areas. By the late-1950s, Pacific peoples from other nations (either recruited directly by employers or following family already resident in New Zealand) came to work in the manufacturing industries of Wellington, Auckland and Tokoroa. In the 1960s over 300 Tokelauans were forced to leave three atolls because of a severe hurricane.

By the time of the 1966 census 26,271 Pacific peoples had resettled to New Zealand. Distant from the homeland cultures and families for support, communities centred on Pacific churches as the primary support structure for spiritual, social, welfare and economic support. Churches provided close supportive networks and became a pivotal place at which language, customs, and culture were kept alive, maintained and passed on to the next generation (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 1999a). As noted elsewhere, new Pacific migrants are assisted in their resettlement by earlier arrivals and family members already resident. In the 1980s and 1990s economic and social reforms lead to widespread unemployment from which many are still recovering (Bisley, 2007).

New Zealand's Pacific residents derive from mainly Polynesian nations: 43% are Samoan, 20% are Cook Island Maori, 15% are Tongan, 8% are Niuean, 3% are Fijian, 2% are Tokelauan, 1% is Tuvaluan, plus small numbers of other Pacific groups. The majority of whom live in the Auckland conurbation (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). And, while migration remains strong, births to Pacific parents resident in New Zealand have increased by up to 70%, creating a youthful, multilingual population.

Awareness of the existence of 'Pacific Island community' is to a large extent promulgated by official statistics such as the New Zealand census (Bedford & Didham, 2001; Gray, 2001). The term is an institutional response from local and central governments, promulgated by mainstream societal inability to recognise distinct national identities (Macpherson, 1996). The daily reality is that Oceanic people link to family, village and nation and not to the Pacific region, so that the existence of any person who would call themselves a 'Pacific Islander' is called into

question. Even resettled communities work hard to construct and maintain a distinct ethnic identity (Tuimaleali'ifano, 1990), despite the fact that they might be able to articulate common elements of a 'Pacific Way' of life. The key components of a 'Pacific Way' are social structures, including the family, church, clubs and groups, strategies to ensure survival, ceremony and rituals, protocols and values and spirituality (Mulitalo-Lauta, 2001). In the 1960s and 1970s many Pacific migrants discouraged the routine use of Pacific languages in the family home, with the result that many New Zealand-born Pacific children grew up knowing little or nothing of their language. However many have regained this ability as adults as a means of asserting identity (Hunkin-Tuiletufuga, 2001).

The identities of diasporan (or trans-national linkages) Pacific peoples are fluid. Hall and Duval have shown how post-migration travel patterns of Pacific Islanders relate to wider issues within the post-migration movement between diaspora and the external homeland to create multiple identities and social contexts within New Zealand (Hall & Duval, 2004). For instance, first generation Tongan communities actively pursue local and trans-national networks of interaction mediated by 'cultural brokers'. But, successive generations of 'Pacific Islander' children born in New Zealand and resident in that country, have very different sorts of links with their 'Islandness' than their parents. Changing values and identity are experienced between the generations, alongside differential access to formal education, increasingly culturally diverse social networks and levels of intermarriage, increased language loss, higher levels of social mobility and wider geographical dispersal (Bedford & Didham, 2001).

There is some evidence that Pacific people choose one identity in a given situation and another one elsewhere. For example, in New Zealand Samoans identify with people from their villages and families with whom they shared common experiences, rather than as generic 'Samoans' (Macpherson, 1999). However, Cook Island peoples may identify as generic 'Cook Islanders' in New Zealand, crossing the traditional village, district or island networks in the Cook Islands in order to promote community identity in local communities (Loomis, 1990). Those born and raised in New Zealand sometimes refer to themselves by new terms such as 'PIs' or 'Polys' or 'New Zealand-borns' (Gray, 2001). Further, new variants of Samoan culture '*fa'a Samoa*' are emerging in the New Zealand context (Macpherson, 1997).

In New Zealand, several societal categories can be identified which have implications for the identity of Pacific peoples. These include: those who were, a) born and raised in island nations and who immigrated to New Zealand in their adult years, b) born in island nations but raised from childhood in New Zealand, and c) born and raised in New Zealand (Mulitalo-Lauta, 2001). The consequences of these identity types, for Samoan families at least, leads to three coexistent types of family environment.

These are: a) strongly traditional, producing young people whose primary orientation is to Samoan values and institutions, b) Samoan culture existing alongside a non-Samoan culture where children move between the two but share a common belief that they are in some way Samoan and that this is a valued identity, and c) family life which is oriented to and dominated by non-Samoan language, values, activities and people. Each of these is reflected in their identities and actions (Macpherson, 1994).

The picture is made more complex by the growing proportion of Pacific peoples with multiple ethnicities and the development of 'ethnoburbs', concentrations of social and economic activity, identified by Spoonley (2007). In 1996, six out of ten Fijians and four out of ten Cook Islands people had affiliations with other ethnicities, while almost one in three Samoans was married to a non-Samoan. In those families with a non-Pacific parent, both the Pacific parent and their part-Pacific children were intimately exposed to new cultures and world view (Gray, 2001). Identity confusion follows the loss of language. Altered personal social networks occur, resulting in a locally constructed self-identity which persisted despite ethnic intermarriage, upward mobility and geographic dispersal ('Aanae, 2002). Such dynamics persist through the generations as they, in turn, have their own children (Fleras & Spoonley, 1999). Pacific family and household structures are more likely to be extended families than other ethnicities resident in New Zealand. Child and elder-care thus become important activities with implications for females' participation in the work force and state welfare needs (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003).

Pacific peoples have been described as socio-economically disadvantaged compared to the rest of New Zealand's populations. For example, Pacific peoples born overseas have fewer of the qualifications and skills sought in the job market compared to other ethnicities. Recent migrants are more likely to withdraw from the labour market if unsuccessful than to actively seek work (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003). Further, the economic restructuring and job losses of the 1980s and 1990s had a more profound effect on Pacific peoples than upon others in the country because of linguistic, educational and skills barriers. Gains in unemployment have however been made since then, reducing to 8.2% in 2003, alongside increased labour market participation rates.

The majority of employed Pacific peoples work in the less skilled manual jobs such as plant and machine operators for males and clerical, sales or service roles for females. However, New Zealand-born Pacific peoples are engaged in the workforce at higher levels than those born overseas. Overall, Pacific labour market participation rates remain lower than the national average, 59.7% compared to the national average of 68.2% (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2005a; Statistics New Zealand, 2006).

Pacific incomes are also below the national average. Sixty one percent of Pacific peoples earn less than \$20,000 per annum (national average is 53%) and only 7% earn over \$40,000 (national average 18%). Less income is likely to be earned by Pacific earners from investment or rent, but more income is likely to derive from government benefits than the national average (Ongley & Blick, 2002).

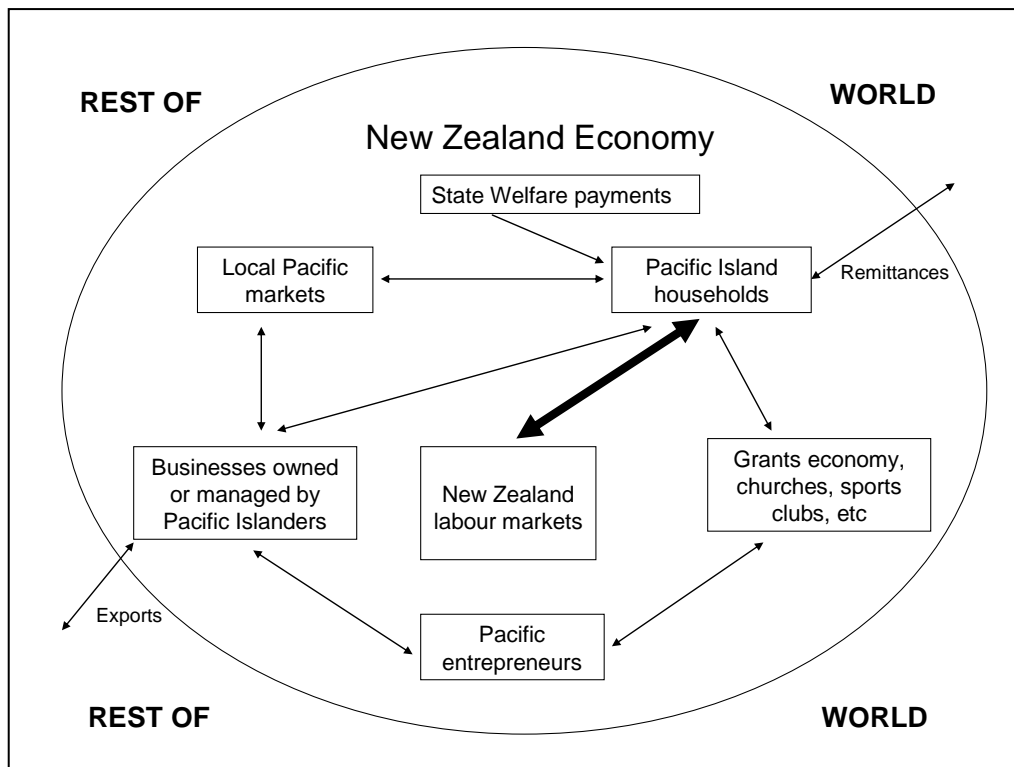
Pacific participation in tertiary education is growing and many young Pacific are aiming for 'white collar' careers (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003). This trend translates into increasing rates and levels of educational qualification and more uptakes of white-collar jobs, managerial roles and business start-ups. Nonetheless the communities largely remain marginalised in terms of the many socio-cultural and economic indicators noted above although the contribution to New Zealand's identity and service economy, the arts, music, fashion, and sporting arenas is increasingly recognised (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 1999a). These achievements are noted in this research by the Pacific communities (see Chapter 5) and by non-Pacific and Pacific consumers (see Chapter 6).

A distinctive 'Pacific economy' and society can be identified within the broader economy of New Zealand (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003). NZEIR research suggests that the major source of income for Pacific households comes from service to the labour market (thickest arrow in Figure 3-1). Income is also derived from (and flows to) trans-local Pacific markets, especially in the Auckland area as well as in the upper North Island.

The flow of capital is accompanied by circulation of donated, bartered and cash-exchanged goods to fulfil new and unmet demands in New Zealand for goods, only available in the Islands such as *taro*, coconut milk, foods and music, clothing and for soft textiles central to ceremonial exchange. In large part, open air markets (de Bruin & Dupuis, 2000) provide for these needs, as do the small amounts of goods carried by individuals and large quantities of goods carried by containers which regularly circulate between Apia, Auckland Sydney and Nukualofa. Each of these contributes to large amounts of undeclared income from trade. Local Pacific market transactions are most likely to be ethnic-specific. Income is also sourced from the State (New Zealand government) as health, disability, unemployment and other beneficiary payments - added to Figure 3-1 by this author.

Pacific households place more importance on the support of in-community fundraising initiatives to construct communal assets (churches, schools and sports clubs) than on accumulation of personal wealth (Figure 3-1, the 'grants economy'). The church plays a prominent role in the 'Pacific economy' of New Zealand. Religious affiliations are aligned with the social and cultural ties of the respective ethnic migrant groups. Pacific churches are key places within which to maintain and

Figure 3-1 A 'Pacific economy' flowchart



After (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003)

retain cultural languages, beliefs and practices. They also provide information and services (New Zealand Institute of Economic Research, 2003). However, the degree of subvention to each church, and thus the need for family contribution, differs between denominations. For example in the Presbyterian Church of Aotearoa New Zealand, a new church cannot be founded unless there are sufficient funds to sustain a ministry even if there are sufficient congregational numbers. In contrast, a Samoan

Congregational Church can be founded at any time as long as there is a community need, and thus funding is an afterthought which grows and continues regardless of their community's capacity to meet monetary obligations (Taule'ale'ausumai, 2001).

A trend towards self-employment as owners and managers of businesses is represented in Figure 3-1 by remittances and exports, businesses owned by Pacific and the Pacific entrepreneur categories. The idea of a 'Pacific' economy may however be flawed since in the main, allegiances appear to be constructed at ethnic-specific and homeland levels or non-Pacific rather than pan-Pacific.

Many governmental, NGO and community organisations have provided leadership and initiated programmes to address these issues and to continue to improve the position of Pacific peoples in New Zealand society (Auckland City Council, 1999; Competitive Auckland, 2001; Manukau City Council, 2000; Ministry of Pacific

Island Affairs, 2005a, 2005b; Waitakere City Council, 2000). One of these was initiated by the Pacific Island Advisory Board (now known as the Waitakere Pacific Board [WPB]), a not-for-profit community organisation that operates on behalf of its constituent Pacific Island residents in partnership with the local authority, Waitakere City Council (WCC).

The Waitakere Pacific Board, Inc. (WPB), in common with many indigenous and other marginalised communities around the world, aspires to lead its people to achieve economic sustainability via tourism and community enterprise. WPB was the first Pacific organisation in New Zealand to establish a community partnership with the local government, Waitakere City Council (WCC), which for its part, has increasingly committed resources, buildings, land and expertise to the support of this relationship (Waitakere City Council, 2006). In 2001 this partnership produced an ambitious tourism attraction concept, the Pacific Business and Cultural Centre (PBCC) based on the access to cultural knowledge and resource, intended to be located in the western Waitakere region of Auckland (see Figure 3-2).

Waitakere City is one of its fastest growing cities, projected to double in size in the next 10 years. The city replicates the national proportions of European, Maori, Asian and Pacific peoples but with a stronger presence of Tokelauan migrants than in other locations. In all, nine Pacific nations make up 15% of Waitakere's population - Cook Island Maori, Fiji, Kiribati, Niue, Samoa, Tahiti, Tokelau, Tonga and Tuvalu. However, while well served by roads, scenic forests, coastline and light industry, the city lacks rail networks, rapid transit from the central hub and is distant from major tourism flows and airports.

Auckland is the most northern and largest of New Zealand's cities and is home to 1.3 million people. In the past, Auckland has expressed a desire to be seen as the First City of the Pacific (Auckland City Council, 1999). This, coupled with growing capacity in the Pacific communities and public, academic and governmental interest in Pacific culture and design, creates a climate of optimism and new investment in Pacific peoples in a context of localised economic development strategies.

New Zealand's Pacific entrepreneurs

Pacific people in New Zealand work primarily as employees in the service industries or operate micro-enterprises as entrepreneurs. Examples of micro-enterprises are furniture and shoe-makers, people who sew clothes, cook and bake, repair bicycles, wash cars, shine shoes and sell specialty items, souvenirs, arts and craft and food (Ingram, 1990). As entrepreneurs, Pacific businesses (employers and self-employed) tend to be established in secondary and service rather than primary industries (Statistics New Zealand, 2002b).

A rise in the uptake of self-employment from 1986 to 1996 noted elsewhere might be attributable to: increasing numbers of people graduating from tertiary institutions and entering professions such as law, accountancy and medicine, as well as trades people entering specialist businesses, real estate and finance agencies specialising in services for the Pacific community, use of redundancy payments to enter business franchises and increased numbers of professional sportspeople and musicians (Macpherson, 2001). Yet only 2% of Pacific peoples are employers and 4% are self employed and the 6% figure is substantially below the national average of 15% self-employed (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2005a).

These positive gains lead to increases in financial, human and social capital and encouragement of others to aspire to white collar jobs. But there are also negative effects to such shifts in social mobility and increases in social capital. Some successful Pacific professionals feel that these changes can cause conflict and weakening of cultural identity. For example Samoan professionals feel 'invisible' to the mainstream as well as not being considered 'true' Samoans ('Anae, 2001).

Anecdotally, business development agencies in the Auckland area have observed that in recent years few Pacific businesses have been initiated, businesses have very high failure rates, have limited access to bank finance or angel funding, are not encouraged to enhance their capability through education and experience poor mainstream attitudes, but that culturally-managed business would work well (Arrow International, 2002b). Further, business advisors from the Pacific Business Trust suggest that the exit (both voluntary and involuntary) rate for small Pacific Island businesses is higher than that for all enterprises in New Zealand.

It may be that barriers to participation in business may be attributed to other factors. Such as perceptions of Pacific parents that professional roles are more important to their children's future than business skills. It may be that Pacific peoples have less interest in material wealth and human capital than social and cultural capital (Ryan, 2005). Confidence, Pacific entrepreneurial skills and mindset are highlighted as critical issues (Manukau Institute of Technology, 2004).

Entrepreneurship research in New Zealand supports these views. For instance, Pacific business are not formed primarily to meet western market demands but more significantly, provide for gift exchange as a significant part of commercial activity (Cowley et al., 2004). Exposure to a business environment as children also has a significant influence on the success of Pacific entrepreneurs (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2005). Perhaps too, the extended family culture of 'working as a team' may encourage working in groups and discourage individualism (Ryan, 2005).

Cultural embeddedness is a key factor in business viability for migrants in New Zealand (Prescott, 2004) and the wider South Pacific (Saffu, 2003). For instance, Tongan migrants operating business in western countries bring traditional Tongan culture (*anga fakatonga*) and western market philosophies together but resist letting go their own culture in favour of that of the host country. The way they operate their businesses is strongly influenced by the culture of the entrepreneur. This has implications for the sustainability of Pacific business in New Zealand but can add a unique value proposition. Research into such issues must take account of social embeddedness (including the institutional, structural, cognitive, cultural and political) as well as the manner in which the research is undertaken (Prescott, 2007).

Specific elements which provide a strong foundation for embedded in Tongan entrepreneurial success are collectivism, land, sharing and fulfilling responsibilities. For example, the concept of land (*fonua*) is a source of identity, a sense of belonging and social status as well as the source of food and shelter. Land then should not be sold. Businesses are seen similarly in Tonga, thus, once established they are unlikely to be sold but will be passed through the family line, unless bankrupted. The mentality of sharing (*fetokoni'aki*) and fulfilling one's responsibilities (*fai fatongia*) preserves social harmony, identity and culture at each level of Tonga's hierarchical societal structure (Prescott, 2007) also translate into business principles. As do the importance of social relationships and familial obligation, which means that denial of trust and bad dealings are rare amongst Tonga business persons.

A *fono* (gathering) of students studying business held in Manukau in 2004 identified that in pan-Pacific terms, the things which help them to achieve a business degree are: a sense of community, willingness to work hard to succeed, motivation to serve family and community, humility to learn from others, biculturalism and enterprise attitudes (Manukau Institute of Technology, 2004). Specific Pacific values that aid entrepreneurship are generosity of spirit, family pride and commitment and Christian morals (obedience, honesty and modesty). But the study also noted that the students lacked knowledge of how to enact business transactions and could not appreciate the realities of being in business. They were also naive regarding how to go about basic business processes (cash-flow, book keeping, tax, etc.). Also a subsistence mentality prevailed amongst the group which assumes that no cost attaches to land, resources or to labour. This view was coupled attitudinally with food abundance and no real need to plan for the future. Another issue raised was the 'Island Way' of handling money, in which large amounts of money are spent on 'giving' - to the church, as well as for family celebrations and trips to the islands for others. Such attitudes create immediate short-term needs for cash that are frequently filled by loans from private finance companies at high interest rates, producing high levels of personal debt (Manukau Institute of Technology, 2004).

Interviews conducted with a small sample of entrepreneurs at the same time as the student *fono* indicated that Pacific entrepreneurs believed that hands-on learning and experience were crucial to business operation. They also said that entrepreneurs must retain the values of caring and that God is an ever-present partner in day-to-day livelihoods. Although Pacific community needs were noted as a motivating factor for going into business, the entrepreneurs thought it essential not to restrict business ideas to only Pacific markets, to ensure business longevity. Other operational issues described were the challenges of coping with family and cultural expectations of gifts and money in times of family need, the use of their family network as a source of gifts of time and willing hands to support and develop the business in the initial stages, as well as in times of trouble. They also thought that a good grounding in business basics was crucial to ongoing viability. Further that entrepreneurs need to continue to be mentored throughout their business lifetime, guided by experienced people in Pacific and non-Pacific business networks (Manukau Institute of Technology, 2004).

The research conducted for this thesis does not look at the dynamics of business survival or business operation but goes behind the entrepreneurial desire to go into business, tourism or otherwise. It looks at the internal community and cultural dynamics and tensions that enable or inhibit the process of embarking on business. Thus it investigates the 'between space' identified by Mahina (2004b) since in the Pacific context of New Zealand and elsewhere in the Pacific, business and culture co-exist yet oppose because business is an ideology and culture is a theory of collectivism (2004b).

Chapter 5 deepens our understanding of the capacity and readiness of Pacific communities resident in Waitakere, to embrace and enact business based in cultural knowledge and resources. Whereas Chapter 6 explores the supply, interface and demand perspectives of potential markets for nascent cultural tourism and enterprise. Conclusions are posed in Chapter 7.

In summary, cultural embeddedness, mobility and diasporan spheres of influence create kind of diasporan indigeneity where attachment to place, genealogical linkages people and transactions in the marketplace transcend contemporary locality. Aspects of these ideas are discussed by Gegeo (2001) for Malaita in the Solomon Islands and Smith (2006) for Australian Aboriginals. Following this thought, the attitudes and behaviour of Pacific peoples in New Zealand may be more indigenous than mainstream in character. Further, patterns of migration to New Zealand mean that several Pacific nations are settled in the Waitakere area. Thus the *vaka moana* (ocean going canoes) to be assembled for the research voyage undertaken in this thesis consist of separate and distinct canoes from various villages and small islands, from the Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Niue, Samoa, Tahiti, Tokelau, Tonga and Tuvalu and

possibly Tahiti, Hawaii and the Solomons. Noting, that that in many cases, New Zealand-born Pacific peoples are known to exhibit attitudes and behaviours that differ from their parent and grandparents.

Framing the destination

This section identifies the ‘screen of islands’ towards which the navigator of each Pacific *vaka moana* will steer and within which the final destination is located. In developmental terms, there are likely to be many destinations, since there are many Pacific ethnicities in New Zealand who are widely dispersed and thus many journeys. However, the research collaboration described here is an outgrowth of a consultancy relationship established in 2001 between the author and WPB which articulated and tested the feasibility of a single destination - a tourist attraction and business incubator supplied by the several Pacific communities (Arrow International, 2001). Thus began the journey.

The scope and breadth of the target ‘screen of islands’ was first identified in discussions with Business, Pacific Church and Community Leaders in 2001 (Cave, 2009g) and in multilingual qualitative interviews with Pacific residents of the Waitakere community (Cave, 2009f). They revealed common ‘Pacific’ as well as very strong ethnic-specific values (*habitus*), assumptions about the primacy of internal ethnic relationships above inter-ethnic and somewhat distant experience of non-Pacific interactions except in places of work (*Otherness*). The studies also commented on aspirations for cultural enterprise (interactions) and the kinds of issues that ethnic communities face, although separately. They articulated a wide range of kinds of product and service enterprises that might be based in cultural knowledge and resources, some of which were touristic and other suited to tourism, the risks associated with them and possible success factors. These insights ultimately became focused in a tourism venture that would appeal to trans-local Pacific communities and attract visitors from the Auckland conurbation as well as is a draw card to the western part of the region for domestic and international tourists. The studies are briefly summarized below.

Pacific leaders

Thirty nine people attended two Pacific Leaders meetings which were initiated to canvas opinions about the aspirations of influencers in Auckland’s Pacific communities for tourism enterprises based in cultural resources. Twenty of the meeting participants came from churches and community boards, and 19 were successful business people. There was some divergence between business and church/community perspectives but there were many points of concurrence (Cave, 2009g).

Divergences had to do with the emphases that church and community leaders placed on the values of cultural integrity and traditional strength compared to profitability, which was stressed by the Business Leaders. However, both groups agreed, that from their experience of tourism in the Islands, that an entertainment focus would most likely ensure long-term viability of cultural enterprise. Yet a common focal facility was needed, that all ethnicities could utilise. They were clear too about an assumption that tourism should form an essential ingredient of the mix of activities and markets.

Business leaders said that the identifiable points of difference for each of the Pacific ethnicities should not be merged into a single pan-Pacific brand, and that this pluralism would most likely differentiate Waitakere's vision for the PBCC from other Pacific community initiatives in Auckland. They acknowledged too that affordability might be a major inhibitor to participation in business venture and consumption of cultural enterprise products by Pacific peoples. The leaders however emphasised that commercial principles must apply for viability and that 'family rates, pay you later' attitudes should not occur. Further, that business continuance for Pacific peoples relies upon ongoing support from their networks in the form of mentoring, business and family partnerships, educational scholarships and management training because of cultural embeddedness. They said that these factors were perhaps more important than start-up capital and investment.

Both groups agreed that governmental representatives of the communities, such WPB, should play a pivotal role in underwriting and facilitating trade ventures, providing access to funds and scholarships and offering leadership and vision for their communities. But that it was important not to forget that ethnic-specific Community Boards also have leadership roles, serving the collective interest of their respective groups.

They also emphasised that all Pacific communities are unique amongst New Zealand's populations by virtue of 'being Pacific' and living the 'Pacific Way'. Yet, that these sit alongside ethnic-specific differences. Some of the values articulated as common to the Pacific Way were that relationships within communities and networks form along family lines and traditional cultural hierarchies. Also, visitors are always offered hospitality and treated as guests by the host. Businesses operate and undertake transactions within the Pacific diaspora, extended networks (supporting an entrepreneur), as well as outside the respective Pacific communities.

A '*fale*' (central gathering place) at which cultural activities take place and social services are located was thought to be critical to living the Pacific Way in all its forms, and maintaining their values. These comments indicate the presence of both pan-Pacific and ethnic specific *habitus*. Here they were applied to notions of

enterprise, but may apply equally well to the cultural dimension where ‘Otherness’ is a mirror image that counter poses alternative forms of *habitus*, not just an absence of ‘Sameness’.

The Leaders’ study also revealed the need for ethnic-specific activities and networks of church, community and that both business and government need to ensure cohesiveness of the respective communities and the nature of enterprise. Church and community leaders and quasi-governmental organisations which interface between government and community such as WPB were assumed to have pivotal roles in their extended communities as facilitators of cultural sustainability, enhancing the confidence in cultural knowledge of their peoples alongside strength in enterprise practice. In short, they are expected to be leaders and visionaries.

These comments, in terms of the theoretical framework of Chapter 2, indicated elements of *poesis* (creative and organising interfaces) and perhaps *autopoiesis* (self-defining, self-organising, self-referent systems), evidenced by shared understanding of the ‘Pacific Way’ (oppositional to ‘non-Pacific’) and ethnic-specific difference(s). Similarly, the decision-making, ownership, control and management by Pacific as well as mention of elders and youth, governments and church, funders and volunteers indicate that some *autopoietic* structural dimensions are taking place in the Pacific ‘field’, with its multiple sub-fields.

Pacific communities in Waitakere

The study of Waitakere Pacific residents (Cave, 2009f) provided information about community support and the nature of their aspirations for Pacific enterprise development. Interest was focussed on investment in purpose-built infrastructure, probably funded by local government, but visualised as a physical destination that would become the iconic gathering place for local Waitakere Pacific peoples – the *fale*.

Ideally, respondents said, the *fale* would be located on water but accessed easily by excellent transport routes (preferably low-cost buses). It would be developed, operated and peopled by Pacific people for the educational, social, cultural and economic benefit of those several communities. Thus, it would redress issues of social marginality and establish a connected community. The *fale* would gather all the respective Pacific communities beneath one roof, initially for each group to work separately, establishing community cohesiveness, yet the sheer critical mass of effort, physical presence and highly active programmes of events, performance and community creativity it was thought, would attract resources and amass sufficient collective voice to enable marginality to be redressed. Eventually, respondents thought that that the *fale* would become outward-looking, beyond ethnic-specific networks, first looking to other Pacific and then becoming the focal point for

transactions with non-Pacific external consumers (the Other). Calls were made in the study for business excellence to be the foundation of a cultural centre should it exist, and that it should be supported by enterprise training, business mentors and dual excellence (business operations and cultural knowledge). Island homeland experiences were invoked to show that Pacific peoples are already experienced in business, achieving high quality cultural tourism experiences for travellers and providing value-added 'sun, surf and sand' products to the tourism industry in the Islands. Also, because tourism ventures operate more or less successfully in the Islands, that they expected tourism product developed alongside similar lines, to work equally well in the New Zealand context. But the issue remains, would such cultural enterprises be as viable tourism products if undertaken out of context of the Islands?

A wider study of Auckland residents' perceptions reported in Cave et al. (2003) noted ambivalence on the part of non-Pacific consumers for Pacific cultural products and unequivocal support for the same from Pacific respondents. Maori and Asian were slightly interested. But in tourism, high quality and imaginative product can create demand so that opportunities remain. This study, plus four others (Pacific leaders, Waitakere residents noted above, a South Pacific cultural centre best practice study and an Auckland governmental and tourism stakeholders study (Arrow International, 2002a) informed what became the Vision of the Waitakere Pacific Board and an icon for Pacific aspirations in Waitakere.

The Pacific Business and Cultural Centre (PBCC) concept – a highly interactive and imaginative tourism attraction and business incubator – is described in the next section.

Tourism as vision

An assumption made by the planners of the PBCC was that community-initiated cultural tourism, successful as an enterprise strategy in homeland nations (where tourism is central to GDP), should transfer readily to the market economy of New Zealand as a contributor to improved social and economic well-being. Further that domestic and international tourism audiences and participation from regional residents' would be achievable. As well, that tourism models from the island homelands of successful tourism industries were both transferable and viable in the mainstream New Zealand context. Thus, tourism products and services clustered around and within a purpose-built tourism attraction and business incubator, were envisaged as 'destination' solutions to socio-economic marginality for diasporan Pacific communities in New Zealand that would be suited to mainstream New Zealand markets. Also, it was hoped that this attraction (Figure 3-2) might form the cultural backbone of tourism in the Waitakere region which currently boasts

viticulture, ecotourism and natural attractions such as the Waitakere Ranges, extensive forests, canyons and remote, wild surf and black sand beaches.

The vision for the PBCC (Figure 3-2) was for an experiential, immersive environment, evocative of the tropical Pacific. Here, communally operated ‘Living Villages’, one for each of Pacific Island ethnicities resident in Waitakere, would preserve and transmit their language, culture and heritage. New enterprise ideas could be tested out, supported by a common core of services (marketing, accounting, legal advisors, retail) and infrastructure such as display, retail, food court, workshops, etc. The nine living villages were to be set in tropical landscapes, surrounded by water and intended to immerse visitors in an authentic, evocative experience of life in the Pacific Islands. Products envisaged were multimedia theatres, interactive exhibitions, master-craft workshops, cultural festivals, open air concerts, themed restaurants, food courts, and shopping concourses for fresh foods, arts retail and a resource library (Arrow International, 2002). It was intended to appeal to local Auckland, international visitors and domestic NZ tourists and day-trippers from outside the Auckland region. Pacific Island communities were envisaged as owners, managers, staff, visitors and users of the complex.

Figure 3-2 Vision – Pacific Tourism Attraction and Business Incubator



(Arrow International, 2002 – J.Cave - Arrow Consulting)²

² This is an official confirmation, permission and authorisation from the Waitakere Pacific Board Inc that Jenny Cave has full rights and privileges to use, reproduce, present, represent

The research effort that underpinned the concept development revealed ambivalence for this Vision amongst mainstream consumers for the project (Cave et al., 2003). Consequently a staged approach was recommended for development, starting with a capital investment of \$4.0 million dollars to create an attraction of sufficient imaginative design and quality to give sustainable return (assuming on-going but low level of public funds). Further, it was considered necessary to raise a positive profile of the Pacific Island people in Waitakere and to create market interest in Pacific cultural product via an 'expanded Pasifika' festival and craft demonstrations before construction was embarked upon. Site location and proximity to water were thought to be critical success factors for the project (Arrow International, 2002). The Vision was forecast to cost between \$ 4-9 million but conceived as operating on a commercial basis.

While funding for the large project was not forthcoming, phased development of a smaller concept has since taken place, but within a wider community arts precinct development. These initiatives were supported by the Waitakere City Council (WCC) and by extensive volunteer contributions by Pacific communities to ensure the presence of each within the plans. WCC further assisted by building a small *fale*, designating two large, metal Nissan sheds and establishing a WCC Arts Coordinator position. The smaller concept includes an annual Waitakere Pasifika Arts Festival, 'The Mamas' group of expert weaver demonstrators, school visits to the site to learn cultural arts and a monthly cultural market (agreed in 2002). In 2005 a new governance structure was set up to guide the construction of a version of the Waitakere Pacific Arts Centre, focussed on arts and culture rather than enterprise. At present, development and operation of the PBCC are resourced by WCC in the form of a part-time staff person and a small amount of operating funds (July 2009). Nonetheless the PBCC (Vision) still remains in WCC long-term planning documents, although its realisation may take a very different form in the future.

Returning to the non-instrument navigation metaphor and the 'sailing course' specified in Figure 1-4 (Chapter 1), the PBCC could be thought of as the Waitakere Pacific community enterprise journey's 'Destination' in nascent form, comprising not one, but several Pacific cultural enterprises of different size, scale and intent. One enterprise could be thought of as the tourism attraction and business incubator, encompassing each of the Pacific ethnic communities under one 'roof', made up of many enterprises, some of which might be tourism or hospitality products and services but others might be touristic (supporting or adding value to tourism). Other enterprises at the 'Destination' may have no direct link to tourism but are dedicated

and such like the images in her possession and contained in any other mediums available to her and in her possession, on the 'Pacific business and cultural centre' concept/plan. Taha Fasi, Chairperson, Waitakere Pacific Board Inc.

to preserving Pacific cultural values, knowledge and resources. Still other enterprises might be social services aimed at building and retaining language and social cohesion but nonetheless integrated into the holistic, collaborative collectivism of Pacific life. The WPB was also cognisant of the need to establish a wider context of established and durable support of individual and collective initiatives and projects which would complement, surround and feed into the PBCC. Thus, following the non-instrument navigation analogy, the 'destination' for Waitakere's Pacific diaspora is not one but several enterprises, some of which might be tourism – a 'screen of islands'. Similarly, the research effort which formed an integral part of the conception of the PBCC and forms the base for this dissertation may be a means to support endeavours to reach the 'screen'.

To this point in the research journey, the canoes have been assembled, one for each island nation in Waitakere. This then provides the practical context for this research, sketching out the scope of the research and points to some of the issues or sailing conditions for the voyage. These are: the presence of several distinct ethnicities, questioning whether tourism can be a viable means of economic redress in a new homeland context and proportionately small numbers of Pacific entrepreneurs and therefore limited enterprise capacity in the communities. Other issues are low levels of education, participation in the service and manufacturing work force, yet the number of tertiary-educated youth is increasing, especially amongst New Zealand-born Pacific. Additionally the Pacific population is geographically dispersed but highly mobile, and the church, indigeneity and motility within diasporan circuits of goods, people and ideas are centrally important.

This section complements Chapter 2, the theoretical context (navigational principles). We should now look at the composition of the crew.

Assembling the crew

The crew for the wider research journey was made up of people from the *vaka moana* in Waitakere at three levels, the wider community, WPB ethnic representatives as part of the research team and the Research Collaboration Group.

In terms of the wider community, the research included each of the Pacific communities, who attended several ethnic-specific and pan-Pacific meetings. This was achieved because the ethnic representatives of the WPB canvassed Pacific groups resident in the Waitakere region.

The initial research and design development team (for work in 2001) consisted of Pacific and European design, project management and cultural professionals, including the author. Ethnicities within that group were Niuean, Cook Island,

Samoan and Fijian. This team initiated and lead multilingual consultations across each cultural group for the concept definition and feasibility study for the PBCC. The author had responsibility for concept development, writing and analysis as well as for research conducted during this phase.

Five studies were done at that time as action research to support the development of the PBCC concept. Two were market based, examining aspirations for the range of services and outcomes that a cultural attraction and business incubator might provide. One was community based, exploring the expectations of business, church and community board leaders. A fourth study visited eight best-practice cultural centres around the Pacific. The fifth study conducted a series of stakeholder interviews with city councils, enterprise and tourism agencies in Auckland. However it was beyond the resource capacity at the time to look at specific ethnic communities, international and domestic tourist markets or purchases made at the annual Pasifika Festival. These came later in Phases 2 and 3.

The academic work commenced in 2003 as a continuation of the first research (Phase 2), also as collaboration between the author and WPB. It identified potential cultural tourism and enterprise ideas for the PBCC from the perspective of ethnic communities, highlighting contrasts between ethnic-specific and pan-Pacific values. Data collection and analysis here was driven by the ethnic representatives who sought ethnic-specific respondents in ways appropriate to their communities. The developmental work for the tourism attraction had intended to be the focus for this PhD but for various political reasons internal to WCC who had developed their own research capability, that work was halted, requiring a change in PhD topic.

The community enterprise phase was an explicit cultural partnership and collaboration with the WPB. The research agenda was defined and agreed by the WPB Board and communities. However, the processes and players involved in this phase meant that the author's role changed to one of social advocate, speaking on behalf of ethnic communities to the pan-Pacific WPB. Research methods were developed from within the collaboration, linking sequentially and in some cases longitudinally (such as the Auckland regional residents and Pacific ethnic-specific *habitus* analyses, the Pasifika Attendee and the International/Domestic tourist studies). Each stage of analysis informed the next so that issues that arose from each set of studies were picked up and investigated in the studies that followed. The research progressed within loose conceptual parameters drawn from management, community development and cultural theory, and undertaken as *emic* collaboration from within Pacific migrant society. The first series of studies painted a picture of perceptual limiters and prior knowledge as key drivers for market participation. The second series examined the assumptions, inhibitors and enablers of enterprise development within each community.

The research team developed a collaborative leadership style shared between the WPB research convener (Samoa) and the author. Reverend Ministers and Elders guided both teams. Resource provision was shared between WPB and Waikato Management School (WMS) and within the WMS research team. The research team was made up of WMS staff (Solomon Island and NZ European), and nine WMS and Faculty of Arts and Sciences post-graduate and undergraduate students (Cook Island Maori, Fiji, Samoa and Tonga).

The researchers adopted an interpretivist approach grounded in collaborative principles for the Pacific community side of the research, as well as more positivist approaches to achieve statistically valid for the market surveys. These methods were used to produce artefacts of the process such as records of meetings, verbal presentations, visual summaries and reports. It was hoped that the iterative process as well as the verbal and visual research outputs would empower Pacific peoples to manage, use and undertake research.

The research reports produced were also intended to be of sufficient quality to provide data for policy formulation, community action and to argue for resources from potential funders, local government, central government and sponsors. This has in fact happened, since the research conclusions were included in WPC and WCC public consultation documents for community strategic planning in 2009.

From the outset, the Research Collaboration anticipated and privileged multiple cultural voices – the nine Pacific cultural communities who reside in Waitakere. The research team encompassed six ethnicities, both in the WMS team of young Pacific researchers and the WPB Research Collaboration Group, named and acknowledged in the frontispiece of this dissertation.

A Mutuality Research approach was developed within the collaborative team to develop understandings relevant to each of the respective cultural contexts, articulated by community voice, recorded, and interpreted by multilingual researchers matched within their communities, from which common pan-Pacific themes might emerge.

However, this did not assume any inherent ‘Pacifness’ of method nor adoption of the many Pacific research methodologies that are currently emerging out of renewed Pacific-for-Pacific research hegemony. This research was initiated by a non-Pacific person and included several Pacific ethnicities in its scope. The team recognized that the approach would need to hear clearly the multiple Pacific voices and to interpret the multiple lenses at play, as well as the European lens of the principal researcher and the academic lens of a PhD. A pan-Pacific approach was not feasible, nor was a western academic frame. The principle of collaboration ignited the research.

Therefore, the Mutuality Research approach to data collection became an important means of ensuring that respective cultural voices were heard. This encompassed process, interactions, relationships and roles, minimised cultural filtering and ensured that accurate cultural perspectives were maintained, albeit at a practical level affected by the multilingual abilities and cultural competencies of the focus group facilitators, notetakers and data synthesisers.

All of the *vaka moana* (ocean going canoes) of each island nation in Waitakere were included, if not on the analytical team, but in the scope of research at all phases. The triangulation of personnel, the Mutuality method and ethnic representatives leading the sampling, ensured inclusiveness.

Locating the researcher

In terms of research orientation, the author's training was in anthropology, with an initial preference for positivistic archaeology, geography and ethno-botany, for an honours degree at Otago University, New Zealand. In the mid-1970s this shifted to interpretive immersion in the weaving, language, performance traditions of emergent Maoritanga when she rejected academia and the cultural traditions of a white, middle class in favour of sitting at the feet of elders (Aunt Magda Walscott, Mrs Emily Schuster) learning to weave *muka* cloaks and *taaniko*, peeling potatoes, engaging with the elders of *Ngai Tahu* about their aspirations for cultural preservation and living in an urban marae. She worked as archaeologist/anthropologist in two New Zealand museums until moving to Canada to undertake a Masters of Museum Studies at the University of Toronto, in Toronto, Ontario.

In Toronto she studied anthropology, material science and museology and shifted her methodological focus to education, design and naturalistic evaluation whilst working at the Royal Ontario Museum, trained by Dr. M. Alt (British Museum of Natural History, London, England) and Dr. R. Wolfe (University of Indiana) at the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. In the 1980s, her work was influenced by Campbell and Stanley's post-positivist critical realism approach to quasi-experimentation in social settings. Equipped then with both quantitative and qualitative skills, the author thenceforth used an action research approach for cultural sector governmental policy analysis, audience evaluations (28), programme evaluation and comprehensive audit studies (23) and trained over 200 cultural industry personnel in audience evaluation in Canada and New Zealand. She continues to use this approach.

Throughout her career she has worked at senior management levels, developing and/or managing tourism attractions (art galleries, science centres, and museums) such as the Children's Museum (Canadian Museum of Civilisation) in Canada, Capital Discovery Place - Te aho A Maui, a bicultural science centre in Wellington,

New Zealand. She worked closely with *Tainui Iwi* (Maori tribe) at the Waikato Museum of Art and History, Hamilton and with *Ngaiterangi Iwi* preparing concept plans for exhibitions and a cultural centre/museum in Tauranga, Western Bay of Plenty, as well as others. It was from this background that engagement with the Waitakere Pacific Board took place, almost at the same time as entering the academic world at the University of Waikato, Hamilton.

Concluding summary

This chapter has looked back to the past and the marginalisation of Pacific diasporan peoples in New Zealand, looked forward to the future to a vision of a new set of enterprise destinations via tourism, specifically in Waitakere - but at all times has been cognisant of the reference islands of the Pacific homelands.

This concludes the second part of the 1st *etak*, the *etak of sighting*. The chapter has outlined the parameters of the research journey, its navigational methods, the composition and design of the ‘canoes’ and their capacity for speed along the journey. It has also noted some of the constraints and enablers such as the challenges of sourcing and increasing the research capacities and numbers of skilled people in the crew. It has also identified the research and the community ‘crew’ members, noting the importance of leadership and social cohesion. The next chapter situates the methodologies within a ‘between worlds’ epistemology and describes the specifics of research methods. It will be the last section of the 1st *etak of sighting*, before launching into the journey proper.

Chapter 4

Épistème and Evidence

(3rd section, 1st etak of Sighting)

‘Put together, the work of ... Pacific scholars represents an important building block for the elaboration of a body of Pacific thought, which, like an open *fale*, should not shut out the world but invite it in on its own terms. In turn, this body of Pacific thought should contribute to the affirmation of a Pacific philosophy and ethic: a body of applicable concepts and values to guide interaction within the region and beyond’

(Huffer & Qalo, 2004: 87)

Introduction

This chapter introduces the ‘between worlds’ epistemology within which the research was undertaken. It also describes the specifics of research methods. It is the 3rd section of the 1st *etak of Sighting*, all of which prepare the way for the journey to be undertaken. The intent of the chapter is to assess which research approach is an appropriate fit for this thesis, articulated in Chapter 1, ‘that societal marginality can be a positive position from which to develop tourism enterprise and cultural product’. The thesis is underpinned by three questions: What are diasporan Pacific community aspirations for tourism (Vision)? What happens at the interface between community and tourism enterprise? And, what happens at the consumer interface?

The challenge in identifying a single methodology, paradigm (collection of assumptions about epistemology and ontology), and thus *épistème* (world view) within which to locate this thesis is that the research was poly-dimensional and sought to empower community agents to become proactive users.

The research context was simultaneously:

- **multi-ethnic**, inclusive of all Pacific communities (and agents) resident in Waitakere City,
- **multi-vocal**, including multilingual and multi-sectoral perspectives, nine Pacific cultures and European languages, social world and sectoral voices such as pan-Pacific advocacy groups, community leaders, churches, business people, architectural project managers, academics and government officials. These gave rise to ethnic-specific, pan-Pacific and sectoral voices,
- **multi-sited**, reflecting the aspirations of nine Pacific Island communities, who live in different parts of Waitakere City,
- **multi-levelled**, producing a framework for integrating group-societal and individual level analyses to inform entrepreneur-specific action, ethnic community projects, Pacific advocacy strategies, local government planning, and central government policy, and,

- **longitudinal yet flexible**, accommodating inevitable pauses in continuity over 5 years of largely unfunded research and changes in community research agenda and priorities.

Which approach should this dissertation utilise in such a context? One that fits within western social science or a non-western research paradigm, variants, combinations of each, or something new? This question had not been resolved at commencement of the research.

A Mutuality Research approach was developed within this thesis. This contributes a new methodology to research knowledge, as acknowledged by the Research College of the Building Research Capability in Social Sciences organisation. The author was invited to speak about the methodology and thesis concepts in November 2007 at a national meeting attended by 80 of New Zealand's social scientists. Some of the country's pre-eminent researchers (Professor Nero and Dr Gegeo, University of Canterbury, Professor Finau, Massey University, and Associate Professor Park, Auckland) commented on the approach as an innovative, appropriate and culturally safe way to undertake research across cultures.

On reflection, the Mutuality Research approach was used intuitively from the outset of this thesis, even in the Preparatory Phase since it is at heart, a synthesis of syntheses (see Chapter 1). The process of observing, interrogating and reflecting was used within the first (consultancy), second (academic) and last collaborative phase. It also spans four levels of research structure and deliverable: a) use by the advocacy organisation (WPB), b) the research team (academic), c) the entrepreneurial segment of the ethnic communities (nascent entrepreneurs), and, d) the ethnic communities (community planning). Each level is involved in the conduct of Mutuality Research approach to a greater and lesser extent. The interplay of these levels creates a structurally coupled framework of continual and progressive communication and re-communication via self-referent but iterative processes. It is similar to the *autopoietic* systems described in Chapter 2.

This chapter is a post-hoc reflection on the world view within which the research was situated and the paradigm(s) within which to frame the research epistemology, ontology and methods to create that knowledge. It has two sections. The first, 'Sense making', outlines the framework for the research, the rationale for the paradigm(s) used and the shifts which occurred, noting fit with the criteria mentioned above. The second, 'Methodology' outlines the evidentiary framework with which to make sense of the social worlds encountered in this research.

Sense making

Humans employ many ways with which to make sense of the world around them: supernatural, natural, social systems and structural. The state of 'knowing', as a relationship between the knower and the known is addressed in three ways in an academic context. These are ontological - asking what is the nature of the knowable? What is the nature of reality? Epistemological - what is the relationship between the knower (the inquirer) and the known (or knowable)? And, methodological - how should the inquirer go about finding out? (Guba, 1990).

Yet, much of what we seem to know (and we think of as our 'reality') is actually a matter of agreement and belief shared within social worlds (Babbie, 2004). Agreement realities are heavily influenced by tradition, inherited bodies of knowledge and understanding. In western contexts, knowledge and tradition are culturally and historically situated (Lopez & Potter, 2001) and thus knowledge changes over time and experiential reality accumulates either intuitively or systematically, through personal experience and inquiry (Babbie, 2004). However as social worlds are increasingly globalised, trans-nationally constituted and trans-locally enacted, glocal hybridity is also identified (Danova, 2005), especially in tourism because of repeated encounters with difference as cultures interact with each other and (mis)communicate their content and meaning.

Cultural perspective is of pivotal concern to the context, intent, outcomes, and theorisation of this research. Relationships between the knower and the known, and thus the nature of knowing are both fundamental and critical. This research resulted in a fusion of western and Pacific world views - a methodology to create agreement realities via mutual understanding that bridges, but does not obscure, cultural difference, and uncovers the hidden meanings that are understood by members of one culture but not evident to another. The context was cultural collaboration and the method was designed to fit this new diasporan social world. It should be noted too that researchers are mediators and filters in the conduct of research design, selection of sample and collection of information, interpretation and dissemination roles. Note, that the dissemination methods of academics can be particularly at odds with indigenous means and expectations of the communication of findings. That is, oral traditions do not mesh well with a print and academic style of reporting which penetrates far beyond the intended circulation of information. This can be seen as an abuse of the trust and basis of relationship established between researcher and participants on the part of informants (Tuhivai Smith, 1999).

Western academic epistemologies have been challenged by indigenous researchers as inadequate to understanding and representing indigenous perspectives. In western terms, epistemology is the branch of western philosophy that deals with the nature, origin and scope of human knowledge. Within this view of epistemology, certain

types of statement have epistemological status – that of not needing to be justified.-conceived of as being non-personal (structures and systems) and personal (beliefs about reality as expressed by individuals) (Bauer et al., 2004). Foucault (1973) calls non-personal types of epistemological structures *épistèmes* (ideologies, world views), or structures that affect what is regarded as valid knowledge and that provide a framework in which knowledge can be gained. Personal epistemological beliefs are constituted as a way of thinking in the process of personal subjectivisation. In a tourism context, knowledge of the *épistème* or world view of the visitor (or guest) and the host (intentionally or unintentionally acting in that role) is of relevance to the outcomes of intended, actual and unintended interactions, and so is of interest to this thesis. Further, if *épistème* is foundational to knowledge construction then, assuming culture is defined by world view and given this research spans many cultures and many voices, several *épistèmes* may be identifiable across its scope, thereby creating a challenge for the epistemological framework and processes of this research.

Pacific scholars consider western paradigms as framed and emerging from the past, developed by tradition and authority. The direct experiences of Pacific researchers have shown these to be inadequate frameworks within which to create knowledge (do research). Pacific ways of knowing refer to the continuance of cultural practice, which in a Pacific context is past, present, and future oriented, walking forward into the past and backward into the future (Mahina, 2004a). The creation of knowledge in a Pacific context is additive rather than changing (Gegeo & Gegeo, 2001). Collective and individual positionality of people in relation to the social, physical and supernatural signs of cultural ‘homelands’ are critical to world view (Diaz & Kauanui, 2001). More than that, Pacific knowledge and ways of knowing are imbued with an holistic awareness of ‘world enlargement’ that look to not just ‘homeland’ but also to the surrounds (ocean, underworlds and the heavens) (Kabutaulaka, 1993). Further, each ‘island’ is not bounded by its physical edges but is linked to all other islands (some stronger than others) by fluid spheres of influence maintained through a complex web of familial commitments and economic flows (western goods, Pacific wealth, services and money from remittances and seasonal labour, and local sales) (Gibson & Nero, 2007).

In practical terms, Pacific ‘knowing’ employs a version of the Carolinian seafarer’s concept of *etak* (‘moving islands’) conception of positionality, that is, an implicit schema of triangulation of one’s place in the world. The location of one’s own island (identity, status, community) is always ‘known’, relationally to a reference island (an *etak* island), slightly ahead of one’s current position (conceived of as a stationary canoe) and in relation to a third element on the horizon or moving overhead (a known star or cloud pattern) (Diaz & Kauanui, 2001). This metaphor and frame is used to structure the research methodology, as well as the dissertation.

Chapter 4 sets the scene for the actual research by tracing the cultural grounding of the methodology in both western (since that is both the *épistème* of this author and its academic context) and Pacific terms, informed by the research collaboration's cultural experts and discussions with Pacific academic colleagues. This next section looks at western *épistèmes*, in mainstream and marginalised settings and then examines ways that indigenous researchers have approached the issue, and lastly suggests the possibility of a 'between culture' or 'between world view' *épistème*.

The author of this thesis hoped to find a research paradigm that expressed common values and co-produced knowledge within the context of diasporan Pacific cultural ethnicities and western research *habitus*, that resonated within *épistème*, and capable of being undertaken in partnership with scholars willing, as I am, to step outside conventional paradigms. Thus I acknowledge my own position as anthropologically trained in terms of my own *épistème*, influenced by the lens of tourism and management theory and practice but nonetheless sensitised by many years of inter-cultural praxis towards immersion in the world view of others.

Western épistèmes

The *épistème* should be considered as the subject rather than the object of science (Irigary, 1991), that is, as systems of possible discourse. *Épistème* includes broad conceptions of the ordering of, and connections between 'things', an epistemological field or space of knowledge, within which competing theories or concepts exist and are evaluated - and without which they could not be (Foucault, 1973). An *épistème* is broader than a paradigm and correlates with the world view of a culture, or even an epoch (Potts, 1999)

If Foucault (1973) is right and *épistème* changes over time, then our view of what constitutes experiential reality, in tourism as well as other fields, will alter in response to the increasing complexity and change amongst our social and geo-political systems. Thus western thought has evolved in the last several centuries from the pre-modern epoch, the modern and the post-modern. Similarly, if Harkin (1995) is right, then the notion of *épistème* may provide an overarching way to address the cultural multiplicities contained in this thesis, and while we may see differing *épistèmes* for different cultures, it logically follows that there may also be a way to reconcile several cultures within a new version. Yet the problem is how to produce knowledge that epistemologically meets multi-cultural *épistèmes*? Is it co-produced or separately developed and compared? This issue will be explored more deeply, later in this chapter. Epistemologically, the production of knowledge is also a process of social construction (Lopez & Potter, 2001). Pesqueux (1999) offers a view of how to ameliorate subjectivity and discuss an object, such as a business, without adopting an a priori epistemological position. At the first level of representation, content is imparted to a concept (model) that designates an object. At

this point a model is understood as a reduction and simplification of reality. However, at the next level, content is seen to be influenced by first, images of the object as a mediating force, (that is, interpretation via data to challenge the model) and then influenced by metaphor as a creative element of discourse, induced by an image. The process creates an inter-relationship between model, image and metaphor that resonates within the context of ideology (*épistème*) that constructed them. This concept is central to this research.

In tourism contexts, Harkin (1995) supports the appropriateness and utility of *épistème*, given that tourism is one of the several modes of discourse on culture, especially the 'exotic', and that the notion of *épistème* meets the need for a meta-term that can span cross-cultural contexts. Other tourism scholars in postmodernism and cultural studies have employed this concept. For example, as aspects of embodiment (Veijola & Jokinen, 1994, 1998) and of gaze (Hollinshead, 1991; Rojek, 1997; Urry, 2002).

The *épistème* of the researcher is as important to research as that of those of the people who take part in or are researched. Personal beliefs are important to social research, since it is often only through the eyes, behaviours, and discourse of individuals that researchers can accumulate data. The tourist is a voyeur whose presence is a catalyst for action in both meta- and specific narratives, an interpreter of experience within personal constructs (Ryan, 2000). Moreover, we impute that groups of individuals in the wider population will behave in similar ways. But it is possible to be both uniquely individual and socio-ecologically embedded (Bowers & Flinders, 1990). The notion of embeddedness is important for this PhD since the embeddings of each researcher in their own culture brought multiple perspectives to the table and standpoints from which to challenge each other within the research team. Yet in the process, mutual understandings were created, the advantages of which will be seen later in Chapter 5. However, it is important to note that the tendency in research to privilege the group rather than the individual respondent can mystify potential variation among individual group members. Thus the relationship of the individual to culture can be obscured and questions of creativity, agency and penetrations can be sidelined (Bessett & Gualtieri, 2002). Implicit meanings of group bonds are an important source of tension within contemporary western organisations, if constituted for social ends. Such tensions produce 'personalised', 'local communitarian' or 'community of interest' bonds. Each type enables and constrains group members in different ways (Lichterman, 1998).

This leads to an important question - if *épistème* is foundational to knowledge in the western world, is knowledge and knowledge creation seen differently through an alternate or a non-western lens of specific cultural knowledge? This question carries within it a debate about Pacific Voice, filtered by Pacific experts and un-interpreted

by the non-Pacific author, as valid synthesis of cultural knowledge. Are these 'data' to be synthesised for academic purposes by a non-Pacific researcher, or alternate narratives, already filtered by the cultural team Pacific researchers and Community members who shared their expertise and so should remain intact without further interpretation? The author believes that they are the latter but acquiesces to the view that an academic context should prevail.

Alternate or 'sub-alternate' ways of knowing (meta-narratives or *épistèmes*) and epistemologies, alternative to those of the western mainstream are said to include racial and ethnic realities, feminist, female experiences of the world and constructions of the poor and homeless (Maxwell & Lincoln, 1990). Groups intentionally locate at the edges of mainstream society (Chapter 2) or are located by agency such as tourism and socio-economic forces. This is a dilemma faced by the Pacific communities who collaborated in this research - should they reposition the current marginality with attendant lack of access, and remain at the margins in order to preserve culture and create a 'competitive' market position based on expert and deep cultural knowledge (cultural capital), or develop political and human capital to access fiscal resources on their own terms? As a consequence the question of lens and epistemology is both a central issue and methodological challenge for this dissertation, dealing as it does with the aspirations of Pacific Island cultural groups which both 'Self-define' and are 'Othered' by the mainstream. But are the western, alternate and Pacific cultural *épistèmes* different? Or merely presumed to be so?

Non-western épistèmes

In terms of academic literature, alternative ways of knowing have been addressed in increasing depth and scope by the current discourse that surrounds cultural and heritage traditions of non-western indigenous nations and communities.

Indigenous *épistèmes* imply rejection of the classical Eurocentric models based in 'universality' which according to some scholars are not able to accept culturally-specific concepts of knowledge such as collective need, consultation and accountability frameworks inherent in indigenous theory (Jahnke & Taiapa, 1999). For example *Kaupapa Maori* is derived from different epistemological and metaphysical foundations and it is those that give *Kaupapa Maori* its distinctiveness from Western philosophies (Smith, 1999). Most academic literature written about the indigenous Pacific has been written by foreigners who do not understand the world view of the cultures with whom they interact (Huffer & Qalo, 2004), many of whom have contributed to the male and elitist perspectives of academic views of the region and its peoples (Keesing, 1989). However, in the last few decades, an increase in the number of indigenous researchers working in home societies has precipitated a reassessment of the value of fieldwork and research strategies (White & Tengan, 2001) in terms of the imagined pre-colonial, contemporary cultures and diasporan

épistèmes. As well, there has been an increase in the number of western researchers working as partners in a culturally-appropriate way, for example partners in a *Kaupapa Maori* approach (McIntosh et al., 2004).

It might be argued that an alternate (to western) pre-colonial states of knowing cannot ever be recreated, except in those now rare circumstances where geographic isolation and lack of political will has inhibited deliberate colonisation of a region, or where ancestral ways of life are still being lived as in the highlands of Papua and New Guinea. But another view is that Pacific peoples, now as minorities in their homelands, are creating and invoking idealised pre-colonial pasts as political symbols of cultural identity (Keesing, 1989). Polynesia has a long tradition of a process by which ascendant chiefly factions produce and impose versions of the past that legitimate their ascendancy in cosmic and genealogical terms.

Ancestral pasts are invoked as a pastoral *utopia* characterised by community unity, mystic wisdom and respect for nature (sanitised by the omission of warfare, cannibalism and violence), encouraged by post-colonial institutions as methods of structural control. Examples can be found in Fiji, Hawaii, New Zealand, Australia, New Caledonia (Keesing, 1989).

The underpinning cultural *épistèmes* that influence the characteristics of tourism products are crucial to research done in cultural contexts. For instance, manifestations of derived laws in daily life drawn from spiritual heritage can be seen for the Mi'kmaq in New Brunswick, Canada (Choudhury, 1997). If tourism product were to be developed in the Mi'kmaq context and researchers were not cognisant of such mores, the research might reach incorrect conclusions based on premises derived from alternative world views. Another example from Vanuatu suggests that world view is critical to answering an observed touristic phenomena. There, tourism activities and revenue enhance group identity and power. This is coherent with Melanesian traditional ways of 'doing business', but over time, tends to privilege participation by one group over another, with the consequence that local group participation was hard to maintain (Deburlo, 1984).

World view about an imagined past can be a highly effective tool to argue for empowerment (or disempowerment) within and between dominant and marginalised cultures, depending upon who wields that power. For example, in Melanesia, a rhetorical 'Melanesian Way' has been identified (Keesing, 1989), but it is identified as a behavioural artefact, constructed by post-colonial governments in order to control and impose order and to favour cooperation. Thus a researcher might study ritualised celebrations of cultural arts (music and dance) and touristic cultural product/festivals as if they were accurate presentations of ancient traditions, without realising that these were performed to validate government 'official' status.

Indigenous examples can be found where *kastom* (custom) of a particular region is invoked to compete for government resources, and to argue for separation or secession (also called ‘unity’). In another instance, the Tanna Island community has invoked the past to reconcile contradictions between ancestral ways and modernity (Keesing, 1989).

Invocation of the imagined pre-colonial and accompanying decolonised research methods has been accelerated by the global push for indigenous self-determination and renewed emphases on the rights of first peoples, assertion of indigenous-specific approaches to cultural production, producing alternative models of cultural knowledge and its management. These have raised issues of what constitutes indigenous knowledge, intellectual property, ownership and control? These issues were given strength by the United Nations Draft declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (United Nations, 1994), and encouraged by a well-educated post-colonial indigenous middle class, and observed in Canada, North America, South Africa and New Zealand.

The identity perspectives of minority people have implications for this research in terms of the creation of knowledge as well as its interpretation and the ways that questions are written, the assertion of ownership of the process, the product and the intellectual property contained in the data, and thus the research findings. For example Gegeo and Gegeo (2001), Helu-Thaman (1995) amongst others. Jahnke and Taiapa (1999) argue that knowledge that makes sense in one particular cultural context cannot always be understood through the tools which govern the understanding of other belief systems and world views. Ways to counter these issues are being found. For example, a Canadian First Peoples educator partnered as ‘culture broker’ with a non-Indigenous co-editor in a research volume that was explicitly written to share the voice of indigenous peoples with wider audiences (Hill & Stairs, 2002). Another is a process-oriented knowledge-centred model for design education that interconnects science and society between Eurocentric and Afrocentric knowledge-bases (Cliff & Woodward, 2004). Again, in the Pacific, indigenous scholars have pointed out that indigenous epistemologies are implicitly undercut by the ways that western academics research and circulate knowledge, particularly in ethnography and anthropology (Diaz & Kauanui, 2001; Teaiwa, 2005; Tuhiwai Smith, 1999; White & Tengan, 2001).

Gegeo and Watson-Gegeo (2001) suggest that four *épistèmes* underpin research methods in the Pacific Islands of Oceania. First, ethnographies by Anglo-European scholars who re-theorise accounts of indigenous people’s from an external point of view, drawing on indigenous cultural knowledge but nonetheless conceptualising and conducting the research within Anglo-European theoretical and methodological frameworks. Second, some unconventional work is being done by Anglo-European

scholars who transcend the paradigms of mainstream scholarship to construct epistemologies on the periphery. Third, analyses done by native or indigenous Pacific Island scholars themselves and fourth, rural villagers with little or no schooling or awareness of scholarship are exploring how they can construct knowledge on their own terms. Villagers are undertaking reflexive analysis, recording and writing their own cultures based on indigenous epistemologies and world view instead of being the subject of research by outsiders, which can be seen as exploitation.

Most contemporary indigenous Pacific research was initially done by Pacific theologians and educators but these have been joined more recently by indigenous anthropologists and sociologists. Oceanic-grounded epistemologies and indigenous knowledge systems are the product of an interconnected spiritual and metaphysical link between land, ancestors, kin and personal identity (Beckett, 1988; Close, 2002; Manuel & Posluns, 1974). Wood (2003) identifies several common features of indigenous Pacific epistemologies. In such context, valid knowledge consists of culturally prescribed dialogues with Others, association with bodily sensations, utterance in prescribed forms in specific places, is not dependant on being valid in communities beyond the specific place of its making, and some participants in these dialogues may be spirits or otherwise not physically present.

Oceanic Pacific paradigms have been articulated in many parts of the Pacific, for instance in Hawaii, the Solomon Islands, Tonga and Samoa. According to Meyer (2005), in the Hawaiian indigenous context, sense making is the triangulation of multiple meanings that extends beyond fundamental empiricism. Examples can be found in every ancient system of the Hawaiian world and encompass three elements, language, culture and spiritual belief which parallel fact, logic and metaphor and exemplify the outside world of data, the inside world of thought and the trans-spatial world of being (Meyer, 2005). Sense making is embodied in the *mauri* (life force) of the Hawaiian word *na`auao* (daylight mind - also the word for science, feeling, and wisdom). The Kanu o ka 'Aina Charter School (Native Hawaiian language and culture immersion program) articulates an indigenous Hawaiian paradigm which nurtures cosmologies and epistemologies, creates competencies for indigenous people to walk in at least, two worlds and enables control of power relationships. Learning in such contexts is based upon bartering and reciprocal exchange, shared accountability, teaching and learning roles, and demonstration of knowledges and skills, and above all embedded in Native Hawaiian family, community relationships, philosophy, traditions and values, guided by *kupuna* (elders) (Kahakalau et al., 2002).

Gegeo and Gegeo (2001) talk of the Kwara'ae (Solomon Islands) standpoint on indigenous knowledge as being part of the *kula* (point, part, place) mosaic of cultural knowledge that includes the whole person, family, kin group, and society and

inextricable from *falafala* (custom) which means culture, tradition, norms and modes of behaviour, ways of thinking, doing, and creating. Research methods then are actually discussions, rooted in Kwara'ae tradition. Tongan research concepts also reflect indigenous epistemologies. Kaili (2005) discusses trans-nationalism and conceptualisation of space, cultural interconnectedness and mobility in terms of multiple nation-hood for people who in the contemporary world must live simultaneously within two or more nation-states. The mechanisms for socio-spatial connectedness are inherent to the Tongan world view. These are continuance and nurturing of socio-spatial ties (*tauhi* - to take care of, *va* (relational space between people or things) which occur through reciprocity, tracing genealogical centrality of *hohoko* (ties) to a specific Island, as well as sharing of food and information (Kaili, 2005).

Gegeo and Gegeo-Watson (2001) also identify a 'fourth world' view on indigenous epistemology. Cultures of the fourth world are 'peoples without countries, usually in the minority and without the power to direct the course of their collective lives' (Beckett, 1988). Today, these would include Canadian Inuit, New Guinean Highlanders, Benin Africans and Japanese Ainu, Maori of Aotearoa New Zealand, Kanaka Maoli (Native Hawaiians), and the Aboriginal peoples of Australia. They are 'peoples who have become minority populations still colonized in their own lands' (Graburn, 1976: p1.) 'Fourth world' theory arose as an intellectual discipline from indigenous knowledge systems as a platform from which to assert politics of difference and their fundamental claims to self-determination and social and ecological justice (Manuel & Posluns, 1974).

But indigenous researchers look towards de-hegemonisation as the next stage in decolonisation. De-hegemonisation means legitimatisation of the cultural authority of the dominant group and authority. This plays a significant role in social reproduction (Gramsci, 1978). Cultural communities seek validation and credibility of their distinctiveness in (re)created traditions and in de-hegemonous contexts in which ethnic and indigenous ownership and aspirations for empowerment are asserted. For some, these are contingent upon a rejection of western values, but for others, transcendence of difference and creation of common discourse are more important. Under these new conditions indigenous and non-indigenous researchers are collaborating to create new research practices, unlike any previously seen (Rao, 1995). The characteristics and success of which depend upon the quality and scope of reciprocity between researchers and cultural communities to ensure that gifts of knowledge, synthesis and gifts are acknowledged, validated and returned, and derived from Oceanic-grounded epistemologies (Wood, 2003). Such research genres should be transformed, multiplied, trans-mixed and founded in orality and theory. For instance, Wood (2003) recommends a de-emphasis of writing in favour of oral and visual means such as poetry or documentary film or combining analysis,

autobiography and poetry. These principles were used in this thesis (see the next section).

What then are the *épistèmes* of migrant communities? Are they fourth world, indigenous, imagined, transcendent or dehegemonic? Subramani (2001) says that for a Pacific diaspora the key elements of definition are expatriation, collective memory, dreams of ancestral home, visions of return, and self-definition in terms of a lost home that challenge an enclosed notion of culture because rootedness and indigeneity are no longer stressed (Subramani, 2001). Indigenous histories, roots and routes, are explored and remade in the context of post- and neo-colonial interdependence (Clifford, 2001) but may be dependent upon the rate and degree of adaptation into the new homeland culture. In the Pacific Island diasporan context, family linkages override national and ethnic community boundaries so that the world view of Pacific diasporan communities actually behave more like indigenous communities because of the diasporan activities and links to island nations that remain in place (Gershon, 2007), a kind of diasporan indigeneity.

Within New Zealand, many researchers are now working within and between diasporan and indigenous perspectives, encouraged by health, education, employment and social policy research in these sectors. Exemplars being Tagaloa Peggy Fairbairn Dunlop who expounds *fa'afaletui* (the gathering of the wise) examining the basis of Samoan knowledge and Tamasese et. al.'s (1997) Samoan articulation of the contributions that the person at the top of the mountain, the top of the tree and the person in the canoe make to research in terms of their respective experiences of reality and perspective. Many calls have been made for Samoan researchers to be proactive, remove European ethnocentrism, write from a *fa'a Samoa* perspective (Tupuola, 2004; Tupuola, 1996) and to document epistemologies (Fairbairn-Dunlop & Makisi, 2003; Fairbairn Dunlop, 2006). Tongan researchers in New Zealand use the *Kakala* (garland) method (Helu-Thaman, 1993b; Koloto, 2000) as well as a Tongan social-spatial conception of distance and connections between people that are *ta* (time) and *va* (space) dependant (Mahina, 2004a). The *talanoa* (discussion) method is also used to reach understanding via enhanced relationships and a climate of openness, underlying trust and cultural connectedness (Vaioloti, 2006), as is the linkages between lifecycle events and trans-local ties (Vasta, 2004).

'Between world views'

At present, several issues confound the clarity of research into Pacific issues, not just in New Zealand but also throughout the Pacific diaspora. In New Zealand, these include tangled inter- and intra-ethnic spaces and positioning between 'New Zealand-Pacific indigenous' and 'Pacific diaspora' (Island-born and New Zealand-born) researchers (and within Pacific communities) and fractured spaces between researcher and participant(s). Each of which should be nurtured in terms of

methodology and methods. Some Pacific researchers have taken note of the proliferation and fragmentation of approaches and are concerned that these fragment Pacific cultural values. An holistic approach is recommended to building relationships to revitalise and rebuild capacities from the inside-out (Maui Taufe'ulungaki, 2007). The numerous research approaches, each from a slightly different *épistémic* voice, have been called 'clutter' (Efi, 2004) and proliferation ('Anae, 2007). Hence there is a need for best practice reference points for and between funders of research, the research team, researchers, study participants and Pacific communities as well as clarity of research processes and quality, leading to policy.

To resolve these issues and to reduce the proliferation of approaches that have arisen in recent years in studies of Pacific peoples, within and across Pacific cultures and in research collaborations between western and non-western researchers, 'Anae recommends consideration of three approaches that deal with plurality and mutual understanding ('Anae, 2007). The first is an ethnic interface model developed by Samu (1998), a framework for unravelling the complexities of world view that multiple ethnicities within a research population as well as cross-border social worlds carry with them into say, learning environments. The second is a cube model from Sasao and Sue (1993) which identifies 'cultural anchoring' phenomena that define communities at three levels of complexity ('a-cultural', 'ethno-cultural' and 'sub-cultural') and serves also as a way to identify limitations within the research as well as limits to its generalisability. The third, with most importance to this thesis, is a Samoan epistemological methodology '*teu le va*' (meaning to tidy up the space between). '*Teu le va*' configures interactions, removes the clamour of multiple voices, allows for expression of discord, creates space between differing points of view, manages the potential for talking at cross-purposes yet maintains the centrality of reciprocal 'relationships' and requires that mutual understandings between people should be reached ('Anae, 2007).

Hvding (2003) provides an example a 'between knowledges' epistemology from Marovo Lagoon, Solomon Islands. Vide:

'A processual, hypothesizing epistemology prevails in Marovo on a foundation of successive states of acquisition and validation of knowledge (*inatei*). From initially hearing about (*avosoa*) something, one enters a state of knowing (*atei*). Accumulated knowing and further transmission of knowledge in social situations determine whether or not the higher level of believing (*va tutuana*, lit., imbue with truth) is reached. Through repeated verifying instances of seeing for oneself (*omia*), believing is transformed into the level of trusting (*norua*, lit., be convinced of efficacy) and into the personal state of being wise (*tetei*)'

(Hvding, 2003)

All of these examples could be said to invoke a 'between cultures or transcendent' *épistème* since this is a meta-term that can span cross-cultural contexts (Harkin,

1995), reflect agreement realities (Lopez & Potter, 2001) important to western perspectives, additive (Gegeo & Gegeo, 2001), and reflect the holistic awareness of surroundings and homeland reference points noted earlier by Wood (2003) and Subranami (2003). If we assume that *épistèmes* and thus epistemologies, paradigms and ontologies are culturally defined, given the cultural pluralities of this research, then its *épistème* should perhaps respond concurrently to the cultural pluralities, or create meaning ‘between’ cultures, or perhaps transcend the Anglo- European model (Gegeo & Gegeo, 2001).

The ‘between worlds’ methodology fits with the navigational metaphor used for this research because it permits space for the world views of each Pacific ethnicity and the world views of western ‘business’ culture and academic *épistème* to stand alongside each other. It also models exploration and acquisition of new knowledge, whilst at the same time ensuring that reference points and cultural groundings are not silenced.

The methodology is enacted in several ways. As governance agent, the Waitakere Pacific Board functions both philosophically and functionally as a ‘between worlds’ organisation since it includes and must be the advocacy voice for nine Pacific nations, yet is mandated and maintained by western mainstream governments. The research ‘canoe’ is made up of nine canoes (ten, if one includes Anglo-European), each of which has their own ways of triangulating position in the world. As such they exemplify ancient knowledge systems of the Pacific diaspora, framed using language, culture and spiritual beliefs of each Pacific culture (Meyer, 2005) and as well as academic reference points. The means of moving forward, progressing along the way, is collectively and iteratively synthesised by looking back from whence we came, referring to the innately known values and epistemic reference ‘stars’ for each ‘island’ and planning the next, future move, based on information received from external sources (the research findings).

Each *etak* of the research journey has its own character and integrity but each contributes to the holistic perspective, since the ‘destination’ of tourism enterprise cannot be defined without the ‘starting point’. Moreover, the ethnic entrepreneurs’ views are challenged by the countervailing cultural elders in their communities and comments about internal dynamics and views of enterprise. What’s more, ethnic perspectives are counterbalanced with the realities of encounters between community and consumer.

The theorisations too are based upon hybrid, reconfigured or new concepts. Model One is grounded in the western *épistème*, Model Two in Oceanic epistemologies. Thus the ‘between worlds’ approach allows the team to continue to navigate along a course, which may of course change depending on the sailing conditions and

unexpected events. The navigational metaphor also fits with what Mahina (2004c) calls the Moanan dynamism of time and space which are constantly negotiated through social processes, oriented outward, moving away from the individuated self towards and inclusive of others.

A difficulty is whether it is desirable to seek a pan-Pacific *etic*, across all of the Pacific cultures in this research, or an *emic* view, specific to each ethnicity and valid within it. The Mutuality Research approach attempts to resolve this by testing and retesting concepts and findings within and between ethnic groups - demonstrating ethnic-specific difference within these concepts.

Preparations for the journey - Methodology

The conceptual bases of this dissertation were drawn from cultural theory, specifically 'Otherness' theory, perceptions of self and others, and '*habitus*', shared and internalised meaning of symbolic orders found in everyday life, as well as '*autopoiesis*'. These concepts were brought into the milieu of management theory concerning role, power relationships and consumer behaviour, for marginalised communities. But what might constitute evidence for such concepts at the nexus of cultural and management theory, applied to the case of migrant community aspirations? While the studies overlap in content and thrust, the conceptual themes addressed in each one, focus perception on reflection. The investigations describe actual and potential transactions between the social milieu of the cultural entrepreneur and the consumer. They focus on the actions that might occur and the factors that influence engagement at the nexus of cultural perception and enterprise values.

An assumption of many indigenous Pacific researchers is that western and Pacific cultures derive from oppositional epistemologies that are not understood by the Other. This issue is addressed by the WPB research collaborative group and WMS Pacific cultural team by the proposition that such polarities of world view and values might be conceptualised as distant (but not end-) points on a linear continuum expressed as excellence in 'cultural knowledge' at one 'end' and excellence in 'business practice' at the other. And, while acknowledging that anachronistic polarities may exist in the context of cultural tourism/enterprise, these are more likely, as noted in Chapter 2 [after Derrida (2005); Bramwell and Meyer (1981)] that there is in fact no sense of division between them since meaning turns within a holistic system of relations, rather than polarities. Thus the respective sets of values, knowledge and practice may be bridged. If societal marginality can be a positive force for the development of community-initiated tourism product, then dual competence in (or dual excellence) in both western business and Pacific cultural

worlds as articulated by Hirini and Maxwell-Crawford (2007) may make that connection.

This proposition implies a post-modern capacity to walk simultaneously in both domains, perhaps with a constructionist emphasis on one or the other at the fore, dependant on context and achieved by individuals from or trained in both worlds, or by teams composed of complementary expertise. This reinforces the point made in Chapter 2 regarding degrees of Self/Sameness and Other/Otherness around which consensus can be reached by two or more cultures and the principles of Mutuality Research.

Three intersects of theory: cultural theory (community aspirations), management theory with reference to supply and estimates of potential demand (enterprise niche), the cultural enterprise context (values, *autopoiesis*, *habitus* and Otherness) positions, the research and hypothesise the practice [per Bourdieu (2002)] of cultural economies forming a conceptual nexus for the thesis, its questions and evidentiary structure. Thus the thesis 'that societal marginality can be a positive from which to develop and manage community-initiated tourism product' separates into three foci, community aspirations (vision), community (nascent entrepreneurs) and marketplace (actual encounters) and gives rise to a series of questions.

The first area of questioning addressed the issue of what are Pacific community aspirations for tourism (vision)? The second area of questioning addressed the issue of assumptions, social worlds and diaspora by asking what happens at the interface of diasporan community and tourism enterprise. Lastly, questions are asked about occurrences at the consumer interface. But what framework is appropriate for such research? Western, Pacific or 'between world' views?

Jamal and Hollinshead (2001) recommend that tourism academics use frameworks based on social constructionism and hermeneutics since these enable linkages between micro-level (individual experience) and macro-level (group-societal level influences). Additionally, these permit the use of multiple theories to inform conflicting narratives of place, space and participants in tourism destinations (Jamal, 1997). Social constructionist methodologies such as Collaborative Action Research (Oja & Smulyan, 1989) where learning is an outcome of the process for all participants, are suited to the collaborative and collectivist style of this research and process relationships and social interaction have been placed to the fore (Neuman, 1997). Further, action research is framed against *habitus* (Walsh, 1974), within which power dynamics and social structures are implicit (Bourdieu, 1990b). These can include quantitative methods but are primarily qualitative in nature. It also seeks empathetic understanding (Blumer, 1962; Roth & Wittich, 1978), agreement realities and meaning produced by social interactions (Appadurai, 1988; Foucault &

Miskowiec, 1986; Lopez & Potter, 2001). But this thesis research is consciously grounded in both western and Oceanic values and *épistèmes*. This, plus its complexities (multi-cultural, multi-site and longitudinal), scale, scope and emphasis on grassroots empowerment, authority, return of data to the respondents for sign-off and responsiveness to the community agenda sets this work apart from others in the field. The approach taken was made possible by the multi-level agreement, participation and advice of the Elders from Pacific communities in Waitakere, the Waitakere Pacific Board and the research team's cultural experts.

In terms of western ontologies, the research was undertaken ethnographically, in three phases. The first, interpretive phase, sought the vision of the Pacific leaders and residents based upon multilingual interviews, interpreted by the interviewers and the author. The second phase used participant observation by the author at the heart of a series of discussions across several ethnicities, facilitated multilingually by Pacific researchers. Ontologically these two phases combined both Pacific and western ways of making sense of the world. The third phase also drew upon Pacific/western ontologies for supplier surveys but at its core was neo-positivistic since it combined both interpretive analysis as well as a positivistic large sample research approach. Together however, the third series of studies creates a hermeneutic-like circle of knowledge.

In terms of Pacific cultural practice, methodologies for each phase were established first and foremost within cultural protocols agreed with Pacific elders, as well as western and Pacific scholars, within a spirit of cooperation and understanding ('Aanae, 2007). As a Pacific theorisation, the research parallels the '*Extended Kakala*' methodology which weaves together the multiple strands of the garland, preparing in advance of the data and after analysis, sharing and disseminating widely (A. Koloto, personal communication, November 2007). It also has commonalities with the process of '*Teu le va*' mutual understanding ('Aanae, 2007), a Samoan epistemology which implies a tidying up of the space between. *Teu le va*' configures interactions, removes the clamour of multiple voices, allows for expression of discord, creates space between differing points of view, manages the potential for talking at cross-purposes yet it maintains the centrality of reciprocal 'relationships' and requires that mutual understandings between people should be reached argued as important in cross-cultural settings by Sasao and Sue (1993).

Neither a solely western nor a Pacific approach was suitable for this research project which spans both *épistèmes* and so, the Mutuality Research approach was developed. Processes such as the Mutuality approach, the Samoan 'between world' approach and collaborative action research produce an animate agency, or a cultural *poesis*, which is inherent in the 'creativity or generativity of things cultural'. Together they have a catalytic effect, producing a jump or surge of affect in its audience as described by

Stewart (Friedman, 2006). Kemmis and McTaggart (2005) speak of the role of outside researchers as amateurs for community development in some parts of the world, as heroes of social transformation against repressive social and economic conditions. Our cultural team worked from within the Pacific community and did not see ourselves as social heroes but did hope to be able to carry forward the learning gained into the creation of real, practical tourism and enterprise outputs.

Mutuality research approach

Mutuality Research is a process developed within this research that seeks to establish understanding in cultural contexts through continual interactions between members of the research team and the communities of interest from of different cultural backgrounds. It is, at heart an iterative synthesis of syntheses that is both process and outcome. It contains in-built challenges such as the techniques of Deep Reading (immersion and analysis), Deep Talking (shared interpretations) and Mutual Understanding (critique, commentary and query of each others' interpretation and logic) from differing cultural perspectives. It differs from other immersive qualitative processes in the depth, breadth and longevity of its application across cultures and constantly checking, rechecking interpretations with Elders, organisers (project team), team members and cultural communities. The approach emphasises difference and provides for both *emic* (within specific cultures) and conceptual syntheses but does not seek *etic* perspectives (a system that includes all meaningful ideas across all the worlds' cultures).

The author's syntheses and concepts are starting points from within which a cultural group (or individual) could start to consider their position. The concepts are not 'truths' but rather, insights. Further, the principles of Mutuality Research, articulated in Table 4-1 provide guidelines that should be adhered to during dissemination of results and into the next phase of questioning. The process was developed by the author aided by the cultural team.

Researchers, the communities and project team members ask each other, 'Can you see what I see?' within their own language and cultural frame. Each one comments on the meanings that the other(s) ascribes to the context, means of observation, process protocols and analyses from their respective cultural points of view. The method retains the integrity of each point of view within the analysis (disagreements, unresolved issues and agreements) and yet constructs meaning between the research participants via establishment of common understandings, across (compare and contrast), between, and within research stakeholders. The new meanings then flow forward into the re-analysis of the original data (no matter how it was gathered) and into the questions of the subsequent phases.

Table 4-1 Principles – Mutuality Research Approach

Principles	
Collaboration	Means...collaboration between participating cultural organisations and researchers occurs within project structure and between cultures of the research collaboration team, as well as at governance and management levels of the collaborator organisations.
Dual Excellence	Means...dual excellence and expertise in both ethnic-specific and cultural research protocols. Applying expertise to statements of issues, research design, and questions, the conduct of the research and its analysis. Preparation and interpretation of the results, feedback and follow up, translation of results, and translation of results into action.
Inclusiveness	Means ...each ethnicity invited to take part in research at all stages of the research. From the grassroots upwards, across communities, Community Boards, churches, governance and advocacy groups.
Voice	Means...the voice of each ethnicity recorded as verbatim multilingual transcripts (data), interpreted ethnic-specifically. Visual and written summaries of transcripts. Culture-specific images, sound and video in preference to text in presentation materials. Words of respondents not the researcher, minimal use of text. Communicate multilingually. Cultural representatives summarise the data, write interpretations and analysis from their perspectives. Ideally, bilingual outputs.
Resonance	Means.... to frame, interpret, recognise and affirm (as ‘true’ in cultural contexts) throughout the process. And at all organisational levels. Researchers engage in reflexive discussion, Deep Reading, Deep Talking, Mutual Understanding to look beneath the surface view. To uncover Inhibitors, Enablers, Dilemmas, and Stepping Stones.
Ownership	Means... ownership of cultural knowledge rests with the individual and the community. Permission sought within cultural hierarchies to protect the Elders.
Affirmation	Means... affirmation of views, themes and analyses weighed and verified (or not) by cultural communities. Contrary opinions retained but texts altered to correct errors of fact or omission. This may mean agreeing to disagree, agreeing to hybridity, re-assessing views in the light of new information (noted).
Reciprocity	Means...reciprocal exchanges of knowledge, expertise and outcomes. Continuous communication of progress, outputs and cooperative planning of new work with communities if desired. Provide for <i>mealofa</i> , hospitality and gift exchange. Communicate verbally and visually but leave printed materials behind. Respond willingly to requests for more information, explanation. Produce copies of the reports and make visits to each community.

The process was initiated in the original planning phases of the research where the researcher (author) asked Pacific Leaders about the PBCC Vision (see Chapter 3) verified and redefined by Pacific residents (also in Chapter 3), then drafted into visuals and documents that were taken out to Pacific communities for commentary and widely endorsed by them. In 2004, the currency of the issues was validated by meeting each of the original members of the PBCC project development team. The issues were synthesised and brought to the WPB table for discussion by all of the ethnicities by the author and a Cook Island researcher also from the WMS. Research Collaboration between WPB and WMS was an outgrowth of this discussion, with volunteers from five ethnicities of the Board.

Mutuality Research seeks to look beneath the surface to understand cultural context of observations and interpretations, identifying hidden dangers or unknowns via the signposts of familiar landmarks, contrasting the familiar with the unfamiliar and identifying forces that have created change or trends, positive, negative or neutral, expected or unexpected or missing, but observable in the conduct of the work. At each stage of research, the process is the same. A first, 'view at the surface' is established by each researcher. Researchers come together to share their 'readings', compare and contrast, agree and disagree (or note as unresolved) thus undertaking 'deep talking' in order to reach a mutual view of themes and meanings. Equipped then with new 'eyes' the researchers re-read the materials to take a 'deep reading' view 'beneath the surface', returning after this to share their insights and thoughts and corroborate their findings with each other and to agree a 'mutual view' enriched by the process.

Another example was the analysis of the community data. The process followed was to first develop an 'outsider-insider' view of the data, undertaken by the author whose lens is cultural tourism and management, then re-analysed from an insider-outsider point of view. First, an initial extended immersive reading and analysis was done by the author as a Pacific-informed researcher (culturally speaking) from an *emic* standpoint. Then a second deeper view was developed with insights from a research-informed Pacific expert reading to highlight cultural nuances and commonalities across them.

A researcher of the WMS cultural team, who was an integral part of the community phases and attended all of the Pacific Entrepreneur and most of the Ethnic Community Affirmation discussions, read each transcript looking for cultural nuancing (sub-texts) that are understood and obvious to members of a Pacific culture but perhaps not to someone, who is not. The comments on the first sample were brought to a discussion with the author who had re-read the same texts with the 'outsider-insider eyes' that she had developed over the course of the research projects and the team debriefs. The comments and meanings were brought together and the

initial notes were discussed by both the author and the Pacific reader. This deep reading and deep talking helped the dissertation author to understand cultural nuances in the responses which then formed the framework for a mutual view of the texts. Fortunately, five years of thinking about Pacific issues meant the author was able to see the underlying issues and move towards mutual understanding quite quickly. Armed with this knowledge, the author re-read the material at a deeper level, herself identifying underlying questions (dilemmas), stepping stones (actions), enablers and inhibitors (cultural parameters, people or organisations). This third deep reading was reviewed again by the Pacific researcher and we talked further about whether the reading was accurate. These comments were then modified or affirmed.

In terms of the navigational metaphor, the focal group (the research team protagonists) or research 'canoe' was envisaged as stationary, since without a defined set of agreed parameters and continuance of personnel and 'place' over time, liminal *communitas* cannot develop and a *habitus* of shared values cannot be created. The features of the issue investigated (social, physical, technological, environmental, and political), surround and move fluidly past that stationary point as the protagonists shift their view successively onto different questions that evolve iteratively, from the initial question and from successive research.

The 'Starting Point' for the research was the agreement reached between the protagonists about the vision for the research, its scope and focus. The 'Destination' consisted of putative outcomes born of the intent of the protagonists, but emerged and changed over the course of the research.

The most important element of the research 'canoe' was its guiding star, or the reference point, the *épistème* that is articulated in the research 'principles' (Table 4-1). These are foundational to its integrity and should be kept in 'view' as agreed immutable 'givens' that remained in place throughout the process, although each protagonist brings their respective *épistèmes* to the table. While it might be conceivable that these principles might change depending on cultural context, they are Oceanic (or perhaps pan-Pacific) in the sense that each of the Pacific researchers, entrepreneurs and community members who took part in the research effort could recognise the protocols common to Pacific cultures within them. Yet each researcher could however position themselves relative to the way that their own culture might translate these into their own island language, culture and spiritual beliefs (Meyer, 2005).

Lastly, while the journey is guided by known features, there are unexpected forces that can influence its path, supplied by external signs and the realities of undertaking work that might not proceed as expected. Thus some flexibility is required. It is important to document the occurrence of unexpected events as well as their

consequences and effects. Nonetheless the overall direction and intent was kept in mind, so that the research recommenced after an unexpected event from the base of known features, making corrections to the 'Sailing Course' until the destination is reached.

The Mutuality Research approach was implemented during the establishment of the WPB and WMS collaboration and subsequent reviews and comment on each research output. The process was outlined in Figure 1-1 and Table 4-2.

Mutuality also took place as an in-team process within the WMS team of researchers after every data collection episode of the in-community research ('debriefs' after every focus group). Each researcher wrote an analysis of each study that was then discussed together - sharing insights and views. These were treated as data and synthesised by the author alongside the other information. The transcripts and initial interpretations of the enterprise sector and ethnic-specific group discussions were treated similarly. Each verbatim transcript was written up by the respective cultural experts, who also provided a synthesis. These were discussed within the team (Deep Talking) for illumination of the dilemmas (interpretation of culture-specific underlying issues which could not be understood if one was not from that culture) for that group (Deep Reading). The team discussions were then summarised by the author who subsequently reanalysed the ethnic-specific community or entrepreneurs' discussions, armed with deeper insight than before. The outcomes of which were reviewed with the cultural team to ensure that the interpretation was correct (Mutual Understanding).

In all cases, community meeting formats followed cultural protocols, opening with a prayer. Next the researchers gave a short visual presentation introducing the research (Appendix 6) and of the most recent marketplace study results, from the perspective of a Pacific researcher and also the author. This was followed by lively debate on the focus questions, lead by the cultural experts which lasted for 2 to 3 hours. Towards the end of the evening, in the convention of the Pacific, various types of *mealofa* (gifts/cash donations) were given to the discussion groups, who decided amongst themselves to whom the *lofa* should go, usually to the elders present. Consent forms were circulated at the end of the discussion, prior to the Closing Prayer (Appendix 7). These were signed by all participants except for one group who felt that to do so might compromise the elders.

Methodologically speaking, the use of common questions and information techniques assists, but does not ensure internal reliability of information in qualitative research. For this reason, questions were prepared to be asked in all of the community enterprise focus discussions, and then were repeated in the affirmation meetings to

Table 4-2 Process – Mutuality Research Approach

Mutuality Research Process		
Phases	Process	Participants
1 Focus	Identify issues & protocols	WPB & WMS Collaboration
2 Conceive	Conceptual framework & questions Recruit team, develop & trial methods Agree priorities & roles	WPB & WMS Collaboration WMS lead researchers WPB & WMS team
3 Engage	Invited into communities Undertake research Constant debrief within team Debrief cycle (communities, WPB & WMS collaboration) Provide results (bilingual translations, highlight implications & usefulness) Affirm accuracy & ownership (facilitated debrief)	Communities WMS team & communities
4 Understand	Interpret (debrief - deep read, deep talk, mutual understanding) Write up & disseminate	WMS team WPB /WMS lead researchers WMS lead researchers WPB & WMS Collaboration
5 Re-focus	Identify new issues & new directions (debrief)	WPB & WMS Collaboration

validate the cultural accuracy of the information collected and mitigate any bias that might be come from meeting facilitation.

The interpretative community summaries were animated by culture-specific images so that they were primarily visual (see Appendix 6 for the community introduction and Appendices 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5 for the visual summaries for each community). The author was careful to project the ‘voice’ of each culture by ensuring that the words and vernacular language format used by the respondents were the only ones that appeared in the summaries.

The summaries were brought by the author and a multilingual cultural community expert to each community (groups comprising elders, youth and non-entrepreneurs) for verification of the cultural accuracy of each transcript and to identify omissions. But most importantly, the researcher asked for permission to include the data for each community in the thesis and to analyse it alongside others. However, the verbatim transcripts were not to be communicated to other ethnic groups without their consent or given directly to WPB, although summaries of the results could be communicated

more widely. The second, community affirmation step also allowed each ethnic group to ask questions of the researchers, such as, why had the interpretation been stated this way? What did the market research results mean for them as Pacific and wanting to start businesses? And what did the various technical management terms mean?

If permission was not given by the group to include the research data, then the responsibilities of the researchers were to ensure that it was omitted from the analysis, although the information might stay in the original data set. The researcher also had to respect the limitations on communication of the original transcripts to other ethnicities, although consent was given for edited summaries (visual and written) to appear in the dissertation (Appendices 1 to 5) and for aggregate information to be communicated outside the ethnic communities, say to WPB, WCC or academic settings.

A Pacific researcher always took the lead in these discussions so as to not interrupt or constrain the transmission of cultural knowledge by imposing a western face. Summaries were revised to correct errors of fact, omission and terminology. The findings of the most recent market analyses were contributed to each of the community discussions, thus deepening the discussion content, prompting questions, and to some extent, influencing the outcome. Nonetheless, practical considerations prevailed throughout the research programme. Time and resources limited implementation of each phase. The Mutuality Research process was followed but not 'named' until the end of the community analysis although the team discussed possible terminology throughout the process. Common understandings were reached between the researchers about the significance of the content of the texts yet the perspectives of each researcher were noted as well, one a western researcher sensitised to Pacific - the others Pacific cultural experts, trained in western research and management.

To summarise, the Mutuality Research approach was enacted throughout all phases of the research. This included the collection of data and its affirmation and query by the entrepreneurs and their respective cultural communities. Also in the review of transcripts and agreement with each community about the format in which their data would appear in the thesis. Each cultural community wrote an introduction to their community's information. Individual reports were written by the author for each community that included their transcripts and the summaries, and brought to a WPB meeting for formal presentation to each ethnic representative.

Limitations to the method

The methodology that emerged was an inter-cultural approach involving commentary from the Pacific researchers, plus discussions of the cultural nuancing behind the

information to inform the analysis with the Elders of each cultural community and an ethnic representative. Each of the five cultural communities wanted the opportunity to proudly introduce themselves and ‘their information’ in the thesis, which they had considered carefully, corrected errors of fact, omissions and spelling on three separate occasions. They were adamant that each must stand alone, uninterpreted by non-Pacific or other Pacific and that while I, as a researcher could make commentary or develop an interpretive synthesis, on no account could their Voice be subsumed within other cultural groups. A generic report could however be written for the WPB to sustain and develop policy at some stage in the future. A visual and verbal report was made in 2008 to the WPB on the issues that emerged. The author edited the narratives to ensure flow, to remove repetition and to add short statements introducing each issue. These appear in Appendices 1 to 5.

Resource limitations have been a major stumbling block in the conduct of the work, as has been the part-time focus of the author on these projects, meaning that studies have been done as and where funds for *mealofa*, travel, payments to cultural experts were available, so that numerous gaps have occurred over time. The lack of continuity of resources has arguably compromised the quality of data and interpretation. For instance, the in-community phases took 18 months to complete because of the multi-sited nature of the data collection and the timetabling of 2 hour discussions with volunteer communities within busy Community Board schedules. Although 6 Pacific researchers were supported by funding contributed by WPB and WMS, this was not sufficient to keep the research team together for long.

Timeliness too was an issue. Pacific ethnic communities expected that the research would be able to influence advocacy organisations by direct communication of community concerns and extend beyond the degree to assisting enterprise development. Also, WPB expected to feed the marketplace and community findings into economic development policy, strategic planning, and to leverage local government funding, so that there was urgency for the results to be available. A doctoral scholarship was received (from BRCSS) by the author which hastened completion of the process plus made some provision for *mealofa* to cultural community members (Chapter 5).

As a participatory action research project, the dissertation research programme could be critiqued as having only gone part of the way since it opened a set of dialogues that did not continue in the way hoped by the author at the outset - illuminating understanding of the political, social dynamics involved in creating enterprise from cultural resources and encouraging community-defined solutions as pathways to action. Ideally this would have continued into preparing bilingual versions for each ethnicity, deepening the discussions into practical ways to use the research outputs, and to mentoring community cooperatives, families or individuals into change-

creating action. However, WPB and WCC have used the research conclusions in recent community consultation documents (2009). Presentations of the findings and their implications are continuing with Pacific advocacy groups, government agencies and in academic settings. Other Pacific communities in Waitakere have requested presentations of the findings. Thus the participatory action research approach continues to have an impact.

Future research with these and other communities should continue this approach to look at the uptake of research undertaken by this project. This could, occur at several levels, such as its uptake over time by individuals, family cooperatives, entrepreneurs, Ethnic community Boards, Churches, advocacy groups such as WPB, local governments and central government agencies, or by Pacific researchers. But it also could look at the forms and styles of research appropriate for use at different levels, asking for instance, what are the types of information needed for decision making, monitoring and innovation by ethnic community boards, churches and families? The Mutuality Approach should be tested with other cultural communities, locally and internationally.

Response-bias may exist in Pacific communities that are heavily surveyed and studied. Figures are not available for this but the people to whom we spoke were reluctant to participate in 'yet another' survey. This did affect the response rates and the length of time it took to achieve the discussion groups. Occasionally a smaller group such as Kiribati or Tokelau sent two or three people to 'see' what was happening in the focus groups but then requested a follow-up meeting which more people attended. The more numerous Pacific groups (Tonga and Samoa) attended in larger numbers, perhaps more people on whom to draw? Silences however were observed in the responses from these Pacific communities – from youth and other social worlds within ethnic groups such as gangs as per 'Anae (2007). Those who did attend the sessions revealed a strong work ethic, most appeared to be in paid employment unless elders and were personally articulate. It seemed to the author and research team that many of the attendees held positions of authority or influence in their communities, or if younger, were being groomed for greater responsibility, but these comments are unsubstantiated. The age profile at the Pacific Entrepreneur and also Ethnic Community meetings matched quite closely that seen in the Ethnic-specific *habitus* study for participants sourced within the networks of WPB's ethnic representatives. Perhaps some were involved in both studies.

Effort had been made during the research to ensure the accuracy of the information collected by the research teams, from the cultural perspective of each community. First, to have bilingual researchers on the team from each cultural group where possible, to take notes and the meetings were facilitated by the ethnic representatives. Second, commentary and analysis by the cultural team of the Entrepreneurs meetings

was done. Third, community affirmation of the Pacific Entrepreneur discussions at which changes were made (the final signed-off visual summaries and edited text versions are in Appendices 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5). Fourth, the views of ethnic representatives' were requested on the cultural and linguistic accuracy of the summaries. However, while this perhaps assisted in recording the views accurately, the methodology adopted for this research also needs to assure that the interpretation of the information is reliable, and to test that the conceptualisations made by the author from a tourism management lens are consistent with a Pacific lens. This is the subject of the next section. Arguably further nuances would be noted by someone from each specific ethnic culture (Kiribati, Tuvalu, Tokelau, etc.) to have full understanding, but that was not possible to achieve at the time of analysis. However, review of their own community's information by the five ethnic representatives counteracted this issue to some extent.

Initially, the community meetings were convened using a European distribution model, sending out the invitations by email to all interested parties. No-one attended the first pan-Pacific mass mail out, but the next series that asked the ethnic representatives to contact their communities directly was much more successful. Those meetings that were well attended and most fruitful were those where the ethnic representative called together his/her family and community networks, producing a type of snowball sampling.

The standpoint of the researchers has to be noted because of concern that the researcher might have influenced the ethnic-specific outcomes. However this was not found to be the case. The first phase of research was undertaken pan-Pacifically, so produced pan-Pacific results, with ethnicity as the key variant. The second set of studies was ethnic-specific in intent and produced variants based on longevity of relationships with and in the New Zealand context. The third set began as pan-Pacific in scope but quickly revealed ethnic-specific reluctance to engage in that manner. The weight of evidence supported the desire for ethnic separateness and the sampling was not researcher-defined.

A concern in establishing 'meaning' is the issue of equivalences raised by Brislin (1993) for intercultural research. The discussions were interpreted by individuals from each culture, who wrote summaries of the discussions in English as a language common to the research team (Samoan, Tongan, Fijian, Cook Island, New Zealand-European), adding commentary from their points of view. No attempt however was made to achieve 'translation equivalence' since this is an area fraught with misunderstandings and issues about the skill of the translator in both languages, and would be an arduous task across ten cultures. It might be ideal to have every ethnicity present in the team, but this was not a practical reality. The analysis did however seek 'conceptual equivalence' to some extent, not that different concepts

serve the same purpose in different cultures but rather, that similar concepts might be seen in several Pacific cultures, manifested in culture-specific ways. This mutually agreed view provides both an *etic* as well as *emic* perspective [*etic* means concepts and ideas that are common across cultures, whereas *emic* refers to culture-specific concepts found in some societies and not others (Brislin, 1993)].

Concluding summary

Chapter 4 completes the first *etak* of research and is linked to Chapters 2 and 3. The section called '*Sensemaking*' discussed wider epistemological issues in order to situate and explain the research paradigm and the origins of a new methodology, Mutuality Research (grounded in both Pacific and western theory), an outgrowth of this work.

This approach uses techniques of immersion and analysis, shared interpretations and critique, commentary and query of each others' interpretation and logic from differing cultural perspectives. It differs from other immersive qualitative processes in the depth, breadth and longevity of its application across cultures and constantly checking, rechecking interpretations with Elders, organisational hierachy (project team), team members and cultural communities.

The principles of Collaboration, Dual Excellence, Inclusiveness, Voice, Resonance, Ownership, Affirmation and Reciprocity provide guidelines for the planning and conduct of research as well as dissemination of the results and creation of the next phase of questioning. The chapter also reviewed the role of research as both physical and behavioural artefact resulting from the agendas and capacities of the participants and the evidentiary framework of the analysis.

The '*Preparations for the journey*' section outlined the methodologies used. It specifically dealt with the iterative nature of the research and how the author responded to first the WPB research agenda and then the concerns of the ethnic communities, allowing the structure of analysis and thus later modelling to emerge iteratively from the data, as grounded theory but framed by the initial model. This provided the base for research chronology table (Table 1-1) and the evidentiary structure (Table 4-2). This chapter outlined the navigational principles for wayfinding (non-instrument) methods, triangulation of position and techniques used by the researchers on their voyage to monitor speed of progress, establish position and to validate that they are sailing in the right direction.

The two chapters that follow present the research findings, outcomes of the Mutuality Research approach. The first set of results presents analyses of the series of ethnic-specific community discussions are presented in Chapter 5, exploring the factors that

enable or inhibit interaction at the interface between diasporan Pacific communities and tourism product/cultural enterprise, from within five ethnic communities (entrepreneurs and their respective communities). It also presents a model of the dynamics of the diasporan community/enterprise interface, revealing several culturally embedded conceptions of 'enterprise' in the New Zealand-Pacific context. Further, it identifies that diasporan spheres of influence and locally-focused enablers, stepping stones and dilemmas affect the capability and confidence of cultural communities to engage in the business world and tourism industry.

Chapter 6 presents a second suite of findings, balancing that internal view with the results of research into the lived experience of diasporan Pacific stallholders and external consumers in the marketplaces of connected communities and international, domestic tourists and local residents.

Chapter 5

Community perspectives

(2nd *etak* Seamarks and Zenith Stars)

Introduction

Chapters 5 and 6 present the results of the research, and together, outline the ‘sailing conditions’ encountered by several Pacific communities in Waitakere.

Chapter 5 is the 2nd *etak*, ‘Seamarks and Zenith Stars’ of the research voyage towards an enterprise destination. The question addressed in this chapter is what enables or inhibits interactions at the interface of diasporan Pacific communities, tourism and cultural enterprise? This chapter provides evidence to elucidate the themes of social worlds, world view, diasporan transactions, capacity and confidence, enterprise, culture and values. It also informs theory concerning otherness, enterprise and interactions, specifically addressing notions of capital (cultural, social, financial, entrepreneurial and political) and *habitus*. The chapter also provides evidence of hybridity in the form of localised diasporan innovations of culture, social worlds and concepts of ‘business’. It should be noted here that ‘interactions’ encompasses both ‘encounters’ between culturally distinct groups and ‘transactions’ which are fiscal or economic in nature.

A non-instrument navigator breaks the journey into qualitatively different stages. This chapter provides the findings of research about perceptions, experiences and capacities of nascent Pacific entrepreneurs as they consider the dilemmas, internal dynamics and external forces which enable and inhibit transactions with the formal mainstream economy. While each of the nine Pacific communities of Waitakere took part in this part of the research, five ethnicities engaged deeply in the research. These were Kiribati, Samoa, Tokelau, Tonga and Tuvalu. This chapter is titled to acknowledge the concept of the ‘sea of islands’ central to Pacific identity and reflects the culture-specific nature of each diasporan nationality. Thus it acknowledges their voyaging and ancestral heritage as well as the drivers for migration and settlement such as missionary, economic and other colonisations. It provides a synthesis of syntheses of *emic* perspectives on the thesis ‘that societal marginality can be a positive position from which to develop tourism enterprise and cultural product’.

‘Seamarks’ and ‘zenith stars’ are two of the terms used by non-instrument navigators to refer to types of information needed in order to find their way from one place to another. ‘Seamarks’ are features observable on the surface of the ocean. They can appear as ocean swells and currents, the patterns of waves caused by refractions against and around an island, as well as the patterns of wind on the sea’s surface and can indicate the presence of rocks, or reefs, fish (food) and the depth of water

(colour). Seamarks also can indicate a coming storm. Other seamarks of importance are those that estimate speed, such as bubbles passing beneath the canoe and the appearance of the canoe's wake. Thus seamarks could be thought of as indicators of the current 'sailing conditions' of a voyage, or the current day economic and social conditions for nascent entrepreneurs about to begin an enterprise development 'voyage'. The questions asked in these discussions about earnings, the nature of social worlds, and business confidence and capacity assess the conditions within which the diasporan communities are living.

Figure 5-1 reproduces Figure 1-4 from Chapter 1 to position the reader in the research voyage. In this figure, the 'zenith stars' for each homeland island of the five Pacific nations who engaged deeply in this research are arranged vertically on the left of the diagram, in order of distance from New Zealand. 'Zenith stars' could be thought of as metaphors for the embedded cultural knowledge and resources of each island culture, its values (*habitus*), *épistème* (world view), norms and mores and social worlds, all of which guide the capacity and confidence of diasporan peoples across the globe.

Research process

The results of the Pasifika Festival supplier and attendees studies (to be discussed in Chapter 6) were used as catalysts to focus the community discussions. The methodology proceeded according to the seven principles of the Mutuality Research approach - Collaboration, Dual Excellence, Inclusiveness, Ownership, Affirmation, and Reciprocity (Chapter 4).

The questions used for the Pacific community perspective were drafted by the cultural team from guidelines given to us by the research collaboration group. The questions were pre-tested before the wording was finalised, with several Pacific experts in local and central government as well as with academics in Auckland, WPB ethnic representatives, and members of Hamilton's and Auckland's Pacific communities. Figure 5-2 diagrams the relationship between the questions and the management and cultural theories upon which they were based. The relevance of the questions to these cultural communities were endorsed and noted that written in this way the questions were: simple, used language that Pacific peoples would understand, written from the communities' point of view, placed ownership of the answers within each community. They were recognisable as important tacit questions, ones that 'nobody asks, but should'. The questions were also acknowledged as being difficult to answer since they would provoke an emotional response and that care would be needed to safeguard the elders and community members who gave the information, as well as the answers, in terms of dissemination outside the communities and WPB. This then became a key part of the methodology.

Figure 5-1 2nd *etak* 'Seamarks and Zenith stars'

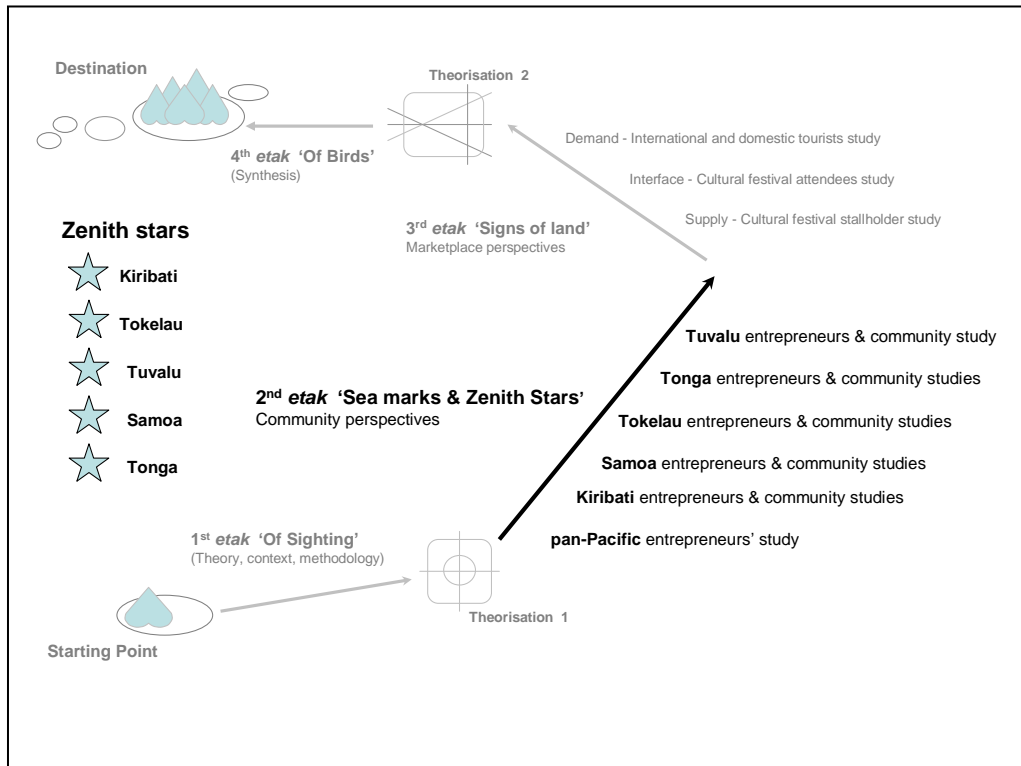


Figure 5-2 Cultural Enterprise -Theory and Questions

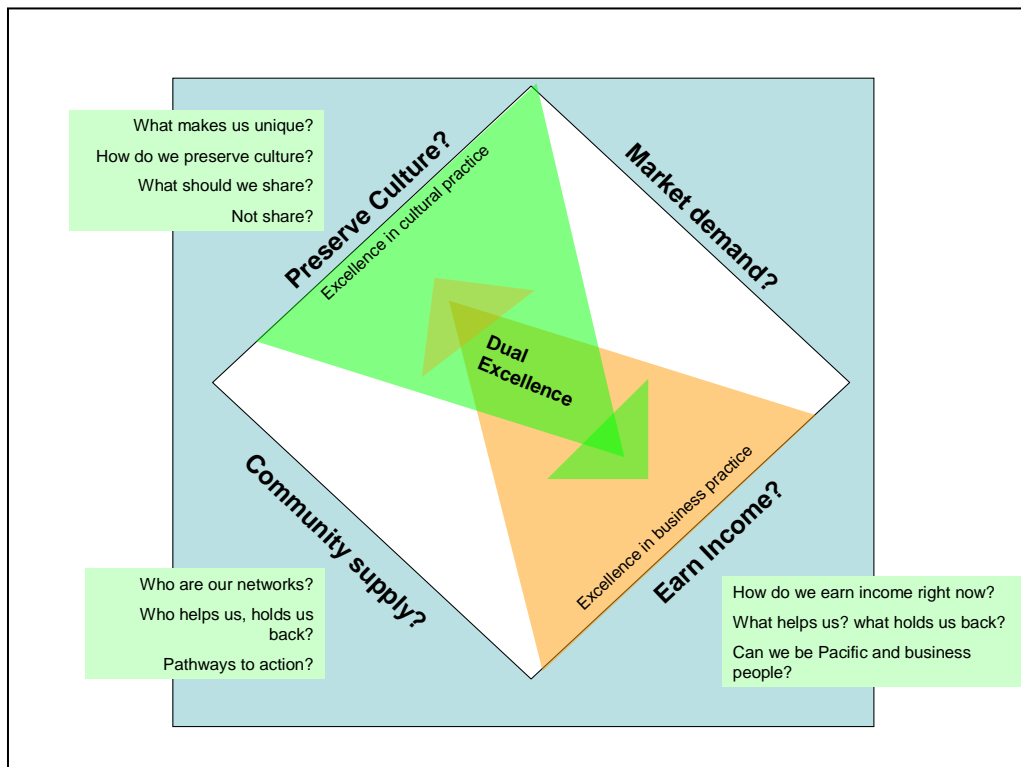


Table 5-1 Discussion Questions Correlated with Types of Capital

In the Community				
Question	Sub-question		Informs	
What factors enable or inhibit interaction at the interface between diasporan Pacific communities and tourism product/ cultural enterprise?	How do we protect what is uniquely ours?	What should we share?	Cultural capital	
		Not share?		
	How do we earn income... right now?	What helps us?	Financial and human capital	
		What holds us back?		
	Which networks support us?	Who/ what helps us?	Social capital	
		Who/ what holds us back?		
	Can we be both.... Pacific and business people?		Entrepreneurial capital	
	The future?	What needs to be done?		Political capital
		What is vision for our community?		
		What can WPB do?		

The rationale for the research was explained at each of the focus group discussions. The questions also useful provide information on the types of capital possessed by Pacific communities. Table 5-1 correlates each question with different forms of capital (outlined in Chapter 2).

Together, the questions and estimate of the kinds of capital, illuminate the position of each community in terms of its enterprise ‘journey’, as well as its capacity and confidence in interactions with mainstream New Zealand society in both fiscal transactions and human encounters. For instance, the question about uniqueness informs about the cultural capital for each community in the form of cultural expertise, values and cultural resources. The question about earnings tells us about the types of financial capital earned and source of economic wellbeing, as well as the human skills and knowledge. Further, the networks question informs about the various forms of social capital and their drivers. Moreover the question about whether it is possible to straddle the world views of business and Pacific cultures illuminates the issues that surround entrepreneurial capital. Lastly, the question regarding the future makes clear that political capital needs to be leveraged at individual, family, community organisation and advocacy organisation levels.

Participation

The voices of each ethnicity (nine) were heard throughout the analysis, but some spoke more clearly than did others due to research relationships, research team membership, the prevalence of larger numbers of one or more ethnicities in the

Pacific population of Waitakere and inherent power dynamics in the extended Pacific communities of Auckland. Voices from the smaller communities in New Zealand such as Tuvalu and Tokelau, Fiji, Kiribati, Solomon Island and Tahiti could have been less vocal given the population and numbers in the area, but Kiribati, Tokelau and Tuvalu engaged deeply in the research programme and so were well heard. The bigger trans-local communities, Samoa, Cook Island Maori, Tonga and Niue expressed ideas throughout the research programme. Cook Island Maori and Niue were absent in the in-depth focus discussion stage except as part of pan-Pacific groupings, although members of the Cook Island community took part in the Pasifika supplier study. The Cook Islands, Fiji, Niue, Tahiti groups were invited to take part in the research on several occasions, but chose not to follow up the first meetings for unspecified reasons. Perhaps because of the lack of relevance of the research topic to their communities, the heavy demands on peoples' time or maybe gaps in community cohesion or leadership. The last phase of the research benefited from commitment by the extended communities of Kiribati, Tuvalu, Tokelau, Tonga and Samoa as well as entrepreneurs from Fiji and Niue.

The WMS research team was composed of Cook Island, Samoa, Solomon Island and Fiji plus New Zealand European ethnicities. The WPB research group was made up of Samoa, Niue and Tonga. The WPB Ethnic representatives who lead community research participation were Kiribati, Samoa, Tonga, Tokelau and Tuvalu. Thus, the integrity of the information was strong and confidently represents the voice of 'Pacific peoples' across and within ethnicities.

To accord with dual excellence and inclusiveness, WPB invited all ethnicities to the 'creating enterprise' discussions where they were supported by WMS Cultural Team with multilingual capable researchers and gender balance to respond to culturally-defined separations. This approach combined the pan-Pacific conventions used by WPB and other Pacific organisations for their community meetings, but located ethnic-specific opportunities within it. The sampling method to determine who would take part in the study was based on the principle of inclusiveness, mediated by the WPB sector or ethnic representatives. This meant requesting participation at the grassroots level from all Pacific ethnicities represented on the WPB in the Waitakere City region - Cook Islands, Fiji, Kiribati, Niue, Samoa, Tahiti, Tokelau, Tonga and Tuvalu.

The sessions took place in two waves. The first, were the 'Pacific Entrepreneurs' meetings, both pan-Pacific and ethnic-specific entrepreneurs. These took place from June to October 2005 and the second wave, 'Ethnic-specific Affirmation' from November 2005 to June 2006. The first Pacific Entrepreneurs' sessions brought together people from the Cook Islands, Fiji, Niue, Tahiti, Tuvalu, Tokelau, Kiribati, Samoa and Tonga (eight of the nine WPB communities) as well as one New Zealand

Maori. The ethnic representatives of the specific communities attended several of the community discussions but were not double counted in the tally. Their attendance was noted as 'researcher'.

In total, 10 discussions were held, involving 63 people on five separate occasions. The profile of participation for these was predominately aged 25 to 65 years, most of whom were in their middle years. Several participants owned and operated SMEs in the retail sector such as food stuffs, importers of cultural product, education or childcare. But many of the participants were 'enterprise ready' or micro-entrepreneurs. Actual enterprise activities were not polled in this research. This was a major oversight, since it would have provided an accurate way of differentiating respondents, but it was not deemed appropriate by the cultural experts on the research team to ask for personal details. Nor did we investigate the profile of enterprise or proportions of types of activity. Nonetheless a market stall income mindset was evident. This could be the focus of a subsequent stage of research. Both men and women were present and all spoke at the sessions. Several people arrived during the meetings and were invited to join the discussion groups. The facilitators ensured that the newcomers also expressed opinions on the issues at hand. Attendance and cultural profiles for the Pacific Entrepreneurs discussions in 2005 are summarised in Table 5-2. These discussions were seen by the Waitakere City Council as a platform to inform the Pacific community of a favourable outcome of decisions affecting that community, an annual grant of \$130,000 for staff and planning for the smaller version of the PBCC Vision.

The second wave of meetings (Table 5-3) focussed on affirmation of the knowledge shared in the first meetings by the communities in which Pacific entrepreneurs are embedded. Five ethnic communities took part in this phase. They were Kiribati, Samoa, Tokelau, Tuvalu and Tonga. They were attended by a much wider range of ages (children to elders) when the meetings were held offsite in family homes, church or a childcare centre. When meetings were held at the WCC rooms, typically older people came, aged 30 to 60 years of age. Six ethnic-specific Community Affirmation meetings were held, one a church meeting, one convened at a child care centre and another in a family home. A total of 121 people were involved, not all of whom spoke in the meetings however, but gave their consent and agreement to their community's material. It should be noted that participant voices were numbered chronologically as they appear in the text to identify people who may have attended more than one meeting (in Appendices 1 to 5). Descriptions of who attended are included at the beginning of each community summary.

Overall, 16 discussion groups were held. The opinions of 184 adults and children were canvassed on the issue of Creating Pacific Enterprise from Cultural Resources

Table 5-2 Attendance and Ethnicity - Pacific Entrepreneur Discussions

Pacific Entrepreneurs				
Group	Attendance & Ethnicity	N	Venue	Date
1	Samoa (4), Niue (1), Fiji (1) [Pan-Pacific (P-P)]	6	WCC Rooms	13/06/05
2	Tonga (Women- 7)	7		
3	Tuvalu (3), Samoa (1), Fiji (1) [P-P]	5		27/06/05
4	Tuvalu (4), Kiribati (1), Niue (2), Samoa (1) [P-P]	8		
5	Tonga (Men- 6)	6		28/06/05
6	Samoa (1), Niue (1) Tuvalu (1) [P-P]	3		
7	Tokelau (3)	3		12/09/05
8, 9	Samoa (23)	23		13/10/05
10	Kiribati (2)	2		
N=10	Sub-total	63		

Table 5-3 Attendance and Ethnicity - Community Affirmation Discussions

Community Affirmation Meetings				
Group	Attendance & Ethnicity	N	Venue	Date
1	Kiribati, adults	15	WCC Rooms	29/11/05
2	Tokelau, adults and children	20	Family home	20/12/05
3	Tonga, adults and children	40	Church	12/03/06
4	Tuvalu, adults	12	WCC Rooms	26/03/06
5	Tonga, adults and children	17	Childcare Centre	25/05/06
6	Samoa, adults	17	WCC Rooms	29/06/06
N=6	Sub-total	121		

DISCUSSIONS - GRAND TOTAL		
Group #s		N
10	Pacific Entrepreneurs	63
6	Community Affirmations	
N=16	Total	184

Introducing the communities

Each community wished to be identified within the body of the dissertation as unique. Each one is thus introduced in the next section, on their own terms, by a proverb, song or prayer that sets each one apart from the others and by extracts from the discussion about those things which they consider precious to their culture, and their views on some things which could become cultural tourism products. Similar issues arose in the pan-Pacific entrepreneurial discussions noted in this chapter. The visual summaries and edited texts from the in-depth cultural community discussions appear in Appendices 1 to 5. The next few pages introduce each cultural community and describe their involvement in the research.

Kiribati

Tina Tataro

*Te Atua ae Tamara ti karabuwako ibulkin am tangira ma am akoi nakoira ngaira ni kabane,
aika ti roko nte bong aei.*

*Ti butiko ba kona buokira n anganira te rabakau ni kateimatoa katein abara ae Kiribati ibukia
ara botanaomata ni kabaneia iaon New Zealand.*

*Ti butiko anne iroun Iesu Kristo ae ara
Uea Amen*

Lord, thank you for your guidance, love and kindness in our time of gathering. We ask that you give us the strength and determination to maintain our cultural identity and hold on to our values throughout our stay in this foreign land. That we may forever maintain peace amongst our people through our uniqueness as one culture. Through Jesus Christ we pray, Amen.

Gifted to introduce Kiribati by Kinaitio Rabangaki
Kiribati Community, Waitakere City, Auckland

The Kiribati community was the first of the groups to request a follow-up affirmation discussion. When asked why the smallest of the Island group was the first to request the follow-up session, the community leader replied ‘because there is so much to learn and understand. We need to take every opportunity available’. Initial discussions with the Kiribati community took place with two members on the 13th of October, 2005. The Community Affirmation discussion occurred a month later at the Waitakere City Council rooms, 15 people in attendance, a total then of 17.

Unique Kiribati – the things that can never be sold are:

‘Special traditional handicrafts. We have heaps. Amongst the most treasured items to be protected are the Kiribati canoe, fishing items, and special mat. They use it for weddings’
(F1, Kiribati) 27/07/05

Kiribati is a small community, new to the New Zealand marketplace and has encountered few restrictions so far on their activities. Visual summaries and edited texts are in Appendix 1.

Te Mauri te Raoi te Tabomoa

Health, Peace and Prosperity

Kiribati

Samoa

We Are Samoa

Composer: Jerome Grey

Our Samoa the greatest place of all.
She is green and blue lushed with beauty and hearts are pure as gold
Someone with tears of joy
Someone with smiles of love
Oh what happy feelings from such happy people.

Chorus:

We are Samoa
People from the Sun
We are Samoa
And our heritage lives on
Teach the World humanity and hospitality
We are Samoa
In God we trust in thee

Samoa e pele oe isi ou fatu
O le a ea se mea e ao ona fai
E tautua ai mo oe
O sasae ma sisifo e tasi
O le viiga lea i le lagi
Aiga ma nu'u taitasi
Tu'u mai lou aao
Ta pepese fa'atasi
Usa Samoa fanau mai le la
Usa Samoa manu manu i le upega
A o'o i nu'u ese e loto alofa
Samoa mo oe
Samoa mo l'Atua

Chorus:

Gifted to introduce Samoa by Faletasi Leaupepe and Cheryl Talamaivao
Samoan Community, Waitakere, Auckland

Three concurrent Samoan Cultural Enterprise discussion groups were held in October 2005 and attended by 23 Samoan community leaders. Multilingual Samoan speakers are available for all sessions so that the discussions were bilingual throughout. Unfortunately, due to the very busy agenda of the Samoan Potopoto and the absence overseas of key personnel the follow-up Community Affirmation meeting did not take place until nine months later. A bilingual team was also available for that visit, consisting of a WMS student, his father (Samoan Church Elder, South Auckland) the WPB/WMS Research Convenor (Samoan) and the author. Seventeen people, both men and women, were present at this session. Participants were aged from mid-30s upward. While the discussion was not lengthy, the Samoan Community Affirmation

did however confirm the Enterprise sessions outcomes. Altogether then, by the end of the project, the team had heard from 40 members of the Samoan community.

Some quotes indicate the uniqueness of Samoan culture in New Zealand:

‘Uniqueness and emphasis on authenticity of products to sell reflects the Status, Reputation, Class, Prestige, Self-worth and Respect of the Person creating the handicraft which reflects back onto the village and community the person is from’ (M5, Samoa) 13/06/05

‘Our own *tufuga* (tattooist) had the tradition of the tattoo. Initially the tattoo is aimed for women. The queen gave the song to the women but they made a mistake in its singing and so the tattoo went to the men (M1, Samoa) 13/10/05

‘Not to be sold are *matai* Titles, Chief Names, Land in the Islands’ (M5, Samoa) 13/06/05

‘Some things in our culture that are being sold that should not be: *Tatau* (tattoos), *falalili’i* (mats), *Saipo* (tapa), ‘*ava* making and drinking. Meaning is important behind tattoos as well. Tattoo is used as an example of exploitation. Very protective of our Samoan culture!!! Some things are that sold but shouldn’t really be sold are tattoos – malu (women’s tattoos)’ (M5, Samoa) 13/06/05

However some cultural products can be used in cultural enterprise and thus tourism:

‘*Falalili’i* (mats) already sold in the markets, all of the items that are mentioned here are already on sale’ (M7, Samoa) 29/06/06

‘Most of the traditional items are never sold. Traditional exchange is used based on principles of reciprocity. You can give away the *falalili’i* and a week later that family will bring in loads of food’ (M2, Samoa) 13/10/05

‘In Samoa anything made to be shared is ok to sell. Fans and baskets too. These are things made to be sold. Things that we sit on or sleep on, we can sell. But fine mats are ceremonial. That is different. Never sell them (pan-Pacific meeting F1, Samoa) 27/07/05

‘We could raise support for alternative treatments like massage, traditional medicines, herbs, foods. That is something we could do. (M2, Samoa) 13/10/05

‘We’ve all heard of the Mamala plant for medicine. We have been using it for ages but now we have a patent for it’ (M2, Samoa) 13/10/05

‘We have fine mats, food is unique, we have talent like dancing, 100% *fa’asamoa*. We will have a special day when we will show all the Samoan foods. Another day it will basically be the treasures of Samoa. Whatever products are uniquely part of the culture. Needs planning to showcase to earn, to attract people to come and pay to see it’ (F5, Samoa) 13/10/05

Yet they also said that commerce should not take place without transmitting knowledge:

‘It is also important that the history and background, the contextual story of the piece or handicraft is also passed on as well as selling the product, the heritage of the piece should be acknowledged in the transaction. This is important to the old people’. (M5, Samoa) 13/06/05

In summary, Samoa is active in the marketplace but there were differences of opinions about what should be made available to others outside the community. Ceremonial exchange was also highlighted. Visual summaries and edited texts are in Appendix 2.

Tokelau

‘We don’t make combs [like Samoa]. We do the coconut shell. Necklaces too, from *ba* (pendant made from mother of pearl, relief design of fish).

We make paddles from pine tree back home (The Men).

We also make walking sticks, carved liked the Maori ones. The walking sticks have designs on it like fish. One is given to David Lange. Only certain people can make them in Tokelau. There are special carvers in Tokelau who are asked to make them, e.g. one is made for Kelly Tarlton’.

(F2,Tokelau) 12/09/05

Two Tokelauan meetings took place. The Cultural Enterprise discussion was quite small (3 people), held at the Waitakere City Council rooms on September 12, 2005. The second occurred 3 months later in a family home on December 20th 2005. In that setting we met upwards of 20 people including young children, teenagers, young adults, adults and elders. Several people came and went during the meeting which was conducted in both Tokelauan and English, with translations in both directions provided by the host, the WPB ethnic representative. Some people listened from the next room and made occasional comment. This meeting confirmed the accuracy of the information from the entrepreneurs, expanded the range of opinion on issues and corrected misunderstandings. All members consented to the addition of their community’s information to a report for WPB and inclusion in this dissertation. The research scope and some findings had been broadcast to a New Zealand-wide Pacific audience on Tokelau radio in an interview by the author on Radio 531 PI in November, so the issues and information had been widely disseminated, although we could not know exactly how many people had heard the live interview. At the end of the evening, the researchers were given finely woven Tokelauan hats. In total, direct discussions took place with 20 members of the Tokelauan community.

The unique point of difference of the Tokelau community was considered to be:

‘*Ba* shouldn’t be sold. Some are white, some brown, and yellow, black. They have different names. The white one is special. It is earned’ (F2,Tokelau) 12/09/05

‘But no-one else shapes it the way that Tokelau does. We have flowers, when made particular shape then you know it is Tokelauan. *Maro* the mother of pearl belt’ ‘The *toluma* (coconut box), that is uniquely Tokelauan’ (older F4, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘Fishing hooks made of *Ba* from a special beach. The main fisherman will have the special lure. A kind of short lure. Usually they’ll hold on to the main catch give it to that person that’s most dear to them, married to them. Our pork, different from other islands and our village is different too’ (Older M1 Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘The ladies, the weavers have their fine mats’ (M5, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘The language, the grannies speak it at home so the preschool ages know it’ (F3, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘We also make little boats (canoes) that are different from others. The elders know who made it and from what village’ (F2,Tokelau) 12/09/05

'Can see the different designs in the canoe. Tokelau has its own design' (M5 Tokelau) 20/12/05

However some cultural products can be sold:

'I think brown one can be sold but not my special white one. (F1,Tokelau) 12/09/05

'I work for the Island market and you display what is unique in your place - Samoan, Fijian, etc. My brother and I we hung ours up the fish hook of the *ba* as well. We went around and we realised that no-one else had what we had' (F2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

'Te Vaka earns money from our culture. But I can't think of anyone else. There are some serving food' (M2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

'I know my mum, she sends stuff to the hotel over there [Tokelau]. But don't think she can do that here' (M5, Tokelau) 20/12/05

'We do the coconut shell, necklaces, paddles - we make it at home and sell it to the people in New Zealand. They make it from home and bring it here. We also make walking sticks, if my husband knew how to make these we would make a lot of money' (F2,Tokelau) 12/09/05

'I know some woman go to the States and sell their stuff. The people out there in Hawaii really go for it' (M2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

But, there is a perceived relationship between authenticity and price:

'Selling the crafts the real material of Tokelau it sells. The New Zealand materials hardly do sell. Higher price for the knowledge and the skill that goes in if made of Island materials. Lower price for things made of New Zealand materials income' (M2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

In summary, Tokelau were active in the Auckland marketplace yet does not wish to share many cultural products outside the community. Visual summaries and edited texts are in Appendix 3.

Tonga

'E 'Otua 'oe 'ofa moe kelesi. Ko koe 'ae fauniteni 'o 'emau mo'ui
'I ho'o maama temau sio ai kiha maama ...'Emeni.

*'God of love and Grace. You are the fountain of our life.
In thy light we will see light..Amen'*

Gifted to introduce Tonga, by Mr. Malakia O'fano'a
Tongan Community, Ranui, Auckland

Representatives of the Waitakere Tongan Community met the research team at two Cultural Enterprise focus groups and two Community Affirmation sessions. The initial sessions, one for the women (June 27, 2005) and a second for the men (June 28, 2005) illustrated to researchers that unique feature of Tonga's society and allowed an insight into those different perspectives. Accordingly, the original summation of the sessions was prepared as separate documents, one for the men, the other the voice of the women.

The Community Affirmation discussions occurred at a pre-school centre but there the community chose to address both commentaries as a single unit rather than separately. That session was preceded by a presentation to the wider community at the Ranui Tongan Church. The WMS Team was able to provide bilingual facilitation, note taking, transcription and reporting for every phase of the Tongan community work.

Summaries of the market studies and Community Enterprise meetings were produced bilingually and addressed in both languages by participants. This allowed for effective communication and understanding of the results by a wide range of community members. Approximately 40 people were present in the Church and more than 17 people attended (children, teenagers, young adults, parents with young babies and elders) at the childcare centre. Fourteen people attended the cultural enterprise sessions. In total, we made contact with at least 70 members of the Tongan community throughout the process.

The uniqueness of Tonga is underpinned by social structure and values, but are specific and separate for men and women. For instance the men said:

'Tongan culture means traditional food, handicrafts, arts, songs and dance and costumes, language. Dress code – implied in occasions, status and significance of participation' (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

'Our *tapa* is nearly as long as the rocky shore, really long' (older M3 Tonga)

'Crafts as specific to women (*tapa*, mats etc) and so as for men (ropes, tie ropes, carving the canoe, designs etc) (M1 Tonga) 28/06/05

'The tattoo, like the patterns on the *tapa* is different. Between Tonga and New Zealand too. It takes half a year's work for twenty women to make the big ones. Done by hand or manual work (older M4 Tonga)

‘Culture means the language first, then arts and craft, then dancing, then our way of life that is Tongan. There are differences that are Tongan that are part of our way of life for example, reciprocity, respect, compassion and relationships. We are not able to display these. These things are unique as they are the underlying purpose of Tongan culture’ (M1 Tonga)

‘Tongan cultural values such as respect, responsibility, reciprocity and compassion. These values and social hierarchies are expressed through stories, dance and song. Tune and haka - tells a story by movements of hands, facial expressions and tone of song. Feelings and emotions are linked to the words of the song. Tongan dances are unique -different types such as *lakalaka*, *ma'ulu'ulu*, *tau'olunga* etc. Performance unique to occasions. Songs and type of dance are also specific to Island and village groups too’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Songs, dance as well, the way dance is composed it’s different for each group. The dance and the actions, the hands and eyes are linked together. The feelings and emotions you have when you dance. The story told is very deep. We are the song. The song is the dancer. Some Palangi learn it but can never know or express that depth’ (M1 Tonga) 28/06/05

The women said:

‘Tongan designs are unique as they tell a story or relay the identity of who you are, your status in the society and where you're from’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

‘*Tapa (ngatu)* is specifically for Tongans -is important because of the value of *tapa* to the Tongan culture - a form of wealth, basis for security especially for occasions such as funerals, marriages, celebrations etc’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

‘Tongan mats are also uniquely Tongans - similar to *tapa* - it's a valuable asset to own as a form of wealth and security too’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

‘Tongan word *pule* is used when referring to the style and design of a mat and the word *kupesi* when referred to style and design of a *tapa*’ (Women, Tonga) 25/05/06

‘Tongan handicrafts - style and design with use of traditional resources and Tongan language written on it’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

However things that could be used in cultural enterprise and thus tourism

‘We can share smaller types of *tapa* and mats -handcrafted for sale to tourist’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

‘We can also share *tapa* made from western materials - not traditional - both amongst the Tongans and Pacific communities and also with those outside’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

‘The *tapa* made from paper in New Zealand is not authentic and therefore women have been using that kind of *tapa* nowadays for sharing’ (Women, Tonga) 25/05/06

‘Most of Tongan culture is in a form of oral tradition - these stories can be preserved and can make instant income from if it can be collated into a book and publish and sale’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Tell it. Put it in books, make an income’ (older M4 Tonga)

‘Dancing costumes can be made and sell’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Smaller size table mats can be made and sell too’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

This Tongan community had thought through many ways to interface with enterprise yet preserve culture. The treasures cannot be sold, but smaller versions or different forms of the treasures could enter the marketplace. Visual summaries and edited texts are in Appendix 4.

Tuvalu

'Tuvalu toku atufenua, e gali koe ite vasa
Tau amio alofa, ko toku fou tiale
Au e se sologa e, ma fano mao mai ia koe
Tuku iei au tia pele, Tuvalu fakavavau'.

'Tuvalu my country, you're exquisite across the ocean
Your caring demeanour, is my *tiale* garland
Oh how homesick I am, when I am far from you
Leave your dearest behind, Tuvalu is forever'

Gifted to introduce Tuvalu, by Mr Elia Tavita
Auckland Tuvaluan Society, Inc. Waitakere, Auckland

The Tuvaluan community sessions were represented by each of the eight islands. The Cultural Enterprise discussion groups took place in June 2005 and the Community Affirmation meeting in March 2006. Three non-Pacific researchers attended the evening, facilitated by the Tuvaluan Ethnic Representative for WPB. The discussion, stimulated by the summary of their earlier enterprise focus meetings was enthusiastic. Corrections to information errors were made and the scope of issues broadened. But unfortunately our lack of knowledge of the community and of Tuvalu prevented identification of representatives specific to each of the Tuvalu Island communities.

In the second session, we met 12 people, men and women, whose ages ranged from early twenties upwards to sixty. Most were bilingual but often a side discussion would take place in Tuvaluan and then translated for the researchers. We obtained consent to disseminate the results. In total, we had heard from 20 members of this community, five of whom had attended both meetings and others are spouses of people who had attended the earlier session. Thus the research was extended further into the Tuvaluan community.

The uniqueness of Tuvalu is expressed in many ways:

'Colour is our tradition. There are like traditional skirts, colours in our skirts too' (F3 older, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'We emphasise our *puli* the costume for dancing. That's what I always hear people say, like that fella there say, oh, colourful, colourful Tuvalu' (M4, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'Tuvaluan necklace, '*kasoa*' must not be sold because it is especially made for the chiefs. Only the chiefs can wear it, and it is not given as a gift either. It is meant for the chiefs only. Together with the necklace, we have the crown as well, the '*palei*' made out of shells and other traditional materials. The designs signify important things.... there is significance to the design. This is also meant for the chiefs. We have some things which are gifted during the weddings (F2 older, Tuvalu)

'Papa, he said what should never be sold is a '*pa-kasoa*' a necklace made of pearl shell. Different islands have '*pa-kasoa*' as a different shell, other islands have this. This one should not be allowed to sell. It is ceremonial like the tambour. All Tuvaluans know that' (M1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

‘*Takai* is worn as a waist thing. The tapa for it is made by beating the plain bark of a tree (M2 older, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

‘It’s woven. Not colourful just a plain white. Woven for heads of families for particular Celebration Days. (F4 older, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

‘A type of wrap-around. The knowledge of how to make it comes from the families themselves. Only elders, women have that knowledge It’s like pandanus. All the men wear these. Top half is a woven mat. Halfway down the strips are hanging down loose. They look almost like the Tongans’ (F6 younger, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

‘A deep unique thing is only given to chiefs. They are never given out here in New Zealand. There also are others that are only worn on special occasions. Never sold. ‘The *‘tabua’* whale tooth should not be sold.’ (M1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

But there are things unique to Tuvalu that can be used in business and therefore in tourism:

‘Hat, sitting mats are made for sale (M6 older, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

‘Model outrigger canoes, bags, baskets, fans’ (F4, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

‘More traditional materials sell. Tourists prefer the fans made with traditional material. Some buy those made with feathers but causes problems for them to take back into their country. Some people make the raffia ones but they don’t sell well. Artificial materials used in the shops do not sell well in the islands. The visitors do not buy’ (F4 younger, Tuvalu)

‘Other things that do sell are fishing equipment, bloke stuff. Anything to do with fishing can sell. On Tuvalu there is a craft shop that is run by the women. You find fishing things there and also some coconut climbing things for climbing up a tree called *teke* A piece of wood, shaped wood, you use it to climb. Brooms. Also the de-husking stick. They sell them here too’ (F4 younger, Tuvalu)

‘Would Coconut syrup sell well? As a health product?’ (M2 older, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

To summarise, this Tuvaluan community had determined a balance between commerce and restrictions about things that cannot come into the ‘business room’. They talked too about gifting and speculated about what might become cultural products in the future. Visual summaries and edited texts are in Appendix 5.

Entrepreneurs - pan-Pacific

This section reports on the results from four 'Creating Pacific Enterprise' discussions with Pacific entrepreneurs. These included several ethnicities and so were called pan-Pacific. These were the Pacific Women's Network (6 women) and three other parallel sessions on July 27th and 28th, 2005 (19 participants in all). They are included here to illustrate the issues that arose across all cultures.

The issues that emerged in response to the question about cultural uniqueness varied across cultural groups and were largely dependant upon the length of time that the groups had been in New Zealand, and the size and cohesiveness of the community base. For example, some second-generation Niuean and Tongan members were less specific about cultural boundaries than were say recent Kiribati migrant arrivals. Samoan communities were strongly aligned to cultural and church hierarchies so expressed confidence in the elders' ability to authorise what could or could not be made available commercially.

Preserving Pacific culture

Clarity is required to guide people concerning the dilemma of what to share or not share:

'There needs to be a healthy boundary maintained between sharing the knowledge and protecting what is uniquely ours' (F1, Fiji) 13/06/05

'The only thing that holds me back is understanding what we are going to sell and what not to sell. When it comes to money there we have trouble. It's easy to know what to give away. But it may be the very thing that people want to buy? What do you do? There is a conflict of interest. What if they offer you \$7000 but you are not allowed to sell it. What do you do?' (F1, Fiji,) 27/07/05

As one of the cultural team observed:

'The selling of treasures becomes an individual decision which is influenced by the circumstances of the person and their family. Yet the idea of selling a treasure based on the decision of an individual and even the immediate family seems somewhat foreign to a Pacific people that are collective and communal in nature' (Cultural Team - Selave, 2005)

One way to protect culture was not to share traditional knowledge outside the family, or not to offer items for sale:

'We hardly show people. We normally keep it a secret. We don't teach other people the way, or art of doing things. We keep the knowledge to ourselves, we share only with our children' (older F, Tuvalu) 27/07/05

'Once I prepared a Niuean dish called *kihi* and I neatly typed the recipe and gave it to the people where I took the Niuean dish. When my son saw that, he told me 'mom you are stupid why you are sharing our family recipe with these people'. At that time I didn't pay much attention to my son but now I think of it, I won't share my recipe with the others' (younger F2, Niue) 27/07/05

'People will copy it as they please. It is very hard to preserve, the only way to preserve it is, by not selling our products' (older F, Tuvalu) 27/07/05

But yet, the process of preparing items for sale can be away of preserving culture:

‘In the Pasifika Festival, people came from the Islands to sell their products. For example the craft group from Fiji. They stayed at the arts centre in Ponsonby for 2 weeks and taught young Fijian women the traditional art forms, weaving etc. Funded by the Arts Council of Fiji. This was part of a tourism promotional activity. This was a learning curve for us, it helps the Fijians in NZ to learn their traditional art forms. The elderly women accompanied this group too, which added more value to what was taught’ (F1, Fiji) 28/07/05

Nonetheless there is a fear of appropriation of knowledge by non-Pacific or other Pacific peoples, if made available by those who do not know the culture that something precious is lost:

‘Yes the Chinese people are already doing it. The Pasifika items are sold in the \$2 stores now. They can figure out the techniques and mass-produce it. How can we preserve it?’ (older F, Tuvalu) 28/07/05

Moreover, new cultural forms are evolving distant from the homelands, but which have their own integrity because they are created by Pacific peoples:

‘A traditional art form like baskets is not frozen in time. Can be made out of modern materials e.g. baskets made out of nylon binding materials. People use what is available at hand to create the traditional forms. Over time this will lead to a new traditional form’ (F2, Niue) 28/07/05

‘Traditional designs can be made with (NZ) flax. But I add my personal touch to traditional designs. The Pacific women need an explosion of creativity. They can do this by bringing their own personality to weaving or whatever they choose to do. For example, use ceramics plus hand painted *tapa* designs and that attract customers’ (F2, Niue) 28/07/05

‘We can use local materials to recreate the traditional designs, which are going to be different and authentic in its own right. But if you wanted to recreate the traditional designs with the traditional materials back from the islands than you can send money to the islands and get the materials’ (F2, Niue) 28/07/05

And, some young Pacific people are not confident about their cultural knowledge:

‘I don’t think we have something special. I came here when I was 14 years old, so if there is anything “Niuean”, I don’t know about it’ (younger F1, Niue) 27/07/05

‘Most of my life has been away from Tuvalu so I don’t know what is special and should not be shared’ (younger F1, Tuvalu) 27/07/05

Earning income from cultural resources

Income is earned at cultural festivals for local families and women in the islands:

‘At the Pasifika [Festival], people can make money. The market comes there to them. This reinforces that people want to buy Pacifica things/items (made) by Pacifica people’ (F1, Fiji) 13/06/05

‘When you go to the Pasifika Festival, you walk around and see what the village is selling. Interesting to see what is sold. We have a woman in the Fijian community who goes every year to Fiji to collect mats to sell at Pasifika...The screen printing on the *tapa* can be brought here (to NZ) and done here. But it is easier to do it over there because the women know (how to do) it so well. It’s all they do all day. And it leaves money in the villages instead of here’ (F1, Fiji) 27/07/05

‘Unfortunately Pasifika is only once a year so we only have one chance to sell our goods’ (F1, Samoa) 27/07/05

Income is also earned from the market stalls, part-time or by micro-entrepreneurs:

‘I have a full time job, and I have a stall in the sideline. The stall at the Pasifika Festival was an example of the side stalls that most PIs have in Auckland. I sew for people, for example, I sell to girls, and I design it with the Pacific design like the *pule-tasi*’ (younger F1, Niue) 27/07/05

My dream is to make my sideline business full time. I’d like to work for others. But there is no funding. Plus we need a place where we can sell our product with reasonable rent’ (younger F1, Niue) 27/07/05

Local government and churches play an essential role in providing sales venues:

‘Pasifika festival is organized by Auckland (City Council) but attended by stallholders from South (Auckland) and Waitakere. Manukau City is facilitating PI arts and stalls. There are smaller Samoan stalls. Sometimes church groups are also used’ (F1, Fiji) 13/06/05

‘People should work from within their own communities. For example, at the Corbans [community centre], the people over there work together by linking through the church. However the danger with that is that there are different denominational churches, and by affiliating to the church group one might cause fractions within the PI groups’ (F2, Niue) 13/06/05.

But several factors inhibit income earning. For example, the concept of selling does not sit comfortably with many Pacific people, and knowledge is lacking about product appeal, niche or knowledge about the market:

‘Handicrafts are probably what we should sell to visitors. But our people don’t understand the selling process. We are not sure who is out there. Who there is or what interests them. And we are not sure how to sell it.’ (F1, Samoa) 27/07/05

‘It is mainly handicrafts that we do. It is not consumer stuff. That holds us back’ (M1, Tuvalu) 27/07/05

‘We need to develop a relationship with PI and non-PI to find the market for our product’ (younger F1, Niue) 27/07/05

How do our networks support us?

The Pacific community can both help and hinder the aspirations of entrepreneurs:

‘Our people, our community, should be helping each other. I need my community to support me, they understand what I do. We see each other at Church - we look for expertise within our community. Need to know people you can tap into. But how do we know that they are there? We need a database of expertise’ (F1, Fiji) 27/07/05

‘The mayor, our own Samoan community, the wider Pacific community are our networks’ (F1, Samoa) 27/07/05

‘We get discouragement and jealousy from our community’ (respondent not identified) 27/07/05

Role of elders and advocacy organisations:

‘Always go to elders for cultural things for sale. We have to know what to do’ (F1, Fiji) 27/07/05

‘WPB should also take an active role in the organisation and facilitation of a PI business approach’ (F1, Fiji) 13/06/05.

Can we be both Pacific and business people?

Authenticity and cultural significance are diluted by mass production, even if products are made by Pacific people:

‘When you are mass-producing something in abundance it loses its authenticity. Mostly if you bring crafts into the mainstream economy, in terms of mass production, it loses its sentimental value and the cultural and traditional essence is also lost’ (F1, Fiji) 13/06/05

‘When other peoples cook the PI dish it is not the same. Asian stores in Avondale and Otara market try to prepare *pulasami* but it’s not the same. It’s not just the food, it is important to see who cooks it. The person who cooks it brings his or her own flavour/culture to the food preparation. The person’s presentation and cultural background makes the food authentic’ (F2, Samoa) 13/06/05

Business values are not always compatible with Pacific cultural values:

‘The important question for PIs to consider is: “why are they selling, what are they selling”? And “why are you creating the designs”? Is the creation of designs and art and craft for the purpose of preservation or exploitation? People should enjoy what they are creating/producing. They should not feel pressured with profit margins’ (F1, Fiji) 13/06/05

‘I do sell at low prices. I want to give away natural Pacific flavour and to give it away. It is my weakness. I need to change into a business mindset. I know I give and say “pay me later” (but they never pay)’ (F3, Niue) 27/07/05

Cultural attitudes affect the profitability of businesses:

‘That it is very hard for Pacific Islanders to be business people. Pacific people are very laid back, I run a Pasifika bilingual school and I find it very difficult to get the parents to pay their school fees. They think just because I am a Pacific Islander, money or the payment of fees is not an issue. I sit them down and talk to them about it but still it does not make a big difference (F1, Fiji) 13/06/05

‘There are family obligations because we are very giving people, in a family we are expected to give what is required.’ (M, Samoa) 27/07/05.

‘The PI culture has a giving nature and as a result we don’t make any money’ (younger F1, Niue) 27/07/05.

‘Yes, of course [can be both Pacific and business people]. But we are too giving. This is a problem when you run a business. You must have a bed, give to the church, give to our family and have enough for your business. But you can’t run a successful business like that’ (F1, Fiji) 27/07/05

‘Culture is barrier (for business) you have to be strong. For me, if I want to be a business person, I will have to be very strong. I can’t be a PI and a business person at the same time. If they ask me for cost, I cannot tell them. It is my problem. I feel sorry for them and I under price it’ (younger F1, Niue) 27/07/05

‘We have all sorts of other commitments like 21st, funerals, church etc for our money and our time’ (Respondent not identified) 27/07/05

However, some entrepreneurs have implemented successful business strategies in a Pacific cultural context. For example: using a non-Pacific person at the service counter, budgeting for *mealofa* (donations), and limiting the amount given on each occasion.

‘We manufacture and sell foods. Our extended family will come, say ‘can you help’. Hard for me to say ‘no’. It is impolite and not the traditional way – so I usually give it to them. But I have to survive as well. There are overheads and staff, a lot of things to pay, so I draw the line. I don’t come in the front when I see the family come in. Only with my

immediate family, my sisters and brothers. For them I come out right away. But the cousins only ring me when they want something. They never ring for other reasons, I always know. My husband is European. He is out there in the front. I send him out because I can't say no' (F1, Samoa) 27/07/05

'We don't know how to say no. I budget for *mealofa*. I put it aside as part of my costs. But there is a conflict between family commitment and cultural commitment. They think you have plenty (because in business). They don't realise that you are struggling. But you can be a good pacific person in business as well' (F1, Samoa) 27/07/05

And lack of enterprise capacity such as start-up finance as well as lack of confidence and community support as well as lack of knowledge about being in business are also inhibitors:

'We need money to start the business' (younger F2, Niue) (older F2, Tuvalu) 27/07/05.

'Confidence is a big issue. We don't have much background history or experience of setting up a business. No support for businesses within our community, we are too complacent. But have big dreams. No support for our dreams' (respondent not identified) 27/07/05

'Lack of knowledge about whether a product is good or not for sale, or can it be produced in a way to make a profit' (respondent not identified) 27/07/05

Importantly, for Pacific there is more than one type of entrepreneurship - distinguished by different motives. This distinction was identified as follows:

"Business-business" is a hobby, you do it at home. Its fun, creative, is what you do to be yourself. But can be a type of entrepreneurship. If enough left over can sell. "Business" is serious, formal, done for profit' (F1, Fiji) 27/07/05

'Pacific aren't so driven by money as others. You make it because you enjoy. Sometimes you undersell and sometimes you under price but it is not in her [Niuean woman's] nature to sell at market rates' (F 2, Samoa) 27/07/05

Assumptions about tourism

The comments from pan-Pacific entrepreneurs and the introductions to each community have hinted that cultural enterprise, ceremonial exchange and gifting and that activities ancillary to tourism (supply of cultural product to attractions) may all be part of modern life in the island homelands. Further, that tourism is an integral part of life in all of the Island nations by both entrepreneurs and communities.

All groups for instance thought that tourism was a logical tool for the development of community earnings and for preservation of culture in the diasporan context and supported the Vision of a PBCC for Waitakere wholeheartedly. They were however puzzled that such a good idea had not gained funding and that tourism concepts which work well in the Islands do not seem appropriate in New Zealand:

'Handicrafts are probably what we should sell to visitors. But we are not sure who is out there or what interests them. And we are not sure how to sell it' (F, Samoa)

'It is very different here than running a business in Tonga. Here the market for Tongan goods is weak' (older M, Tonga)

'Sell the real material and crafts of Tokelau. NZ materials hardly do sell' (M, Tokelau)

‘Many people support business in Tuvalu, especially the women. Make hand crafts and sell at the airport. Not looked down upon’ (F younger, Tuvalu)

‘But Tuvalu things are not marketable (here). Nor do I want to have to make so many that it would be worthwhile selling them. But who would want to buy a Tuvalu fan? I make them so easily, but who want them?’ (F, Tuvalu)

Nonetheless they raised issues about: the mismatch between their pre-migration experiences and the reality of migrant experience. They felt that Pacific efforts and contributions to the new context of New Zealand were not sufficiently valued and that the mainstream system and their own cultural communities have failed to address the issue of interface between western and non-western efficacy. Further, that diasporan identity, demographic change and embeddedness of Pacific individuals in the future earnings inherent in cultural economies lay at the heart of this lack of transference. There was also an assumption that all Pacific communities were at the same stage of enterprise development.

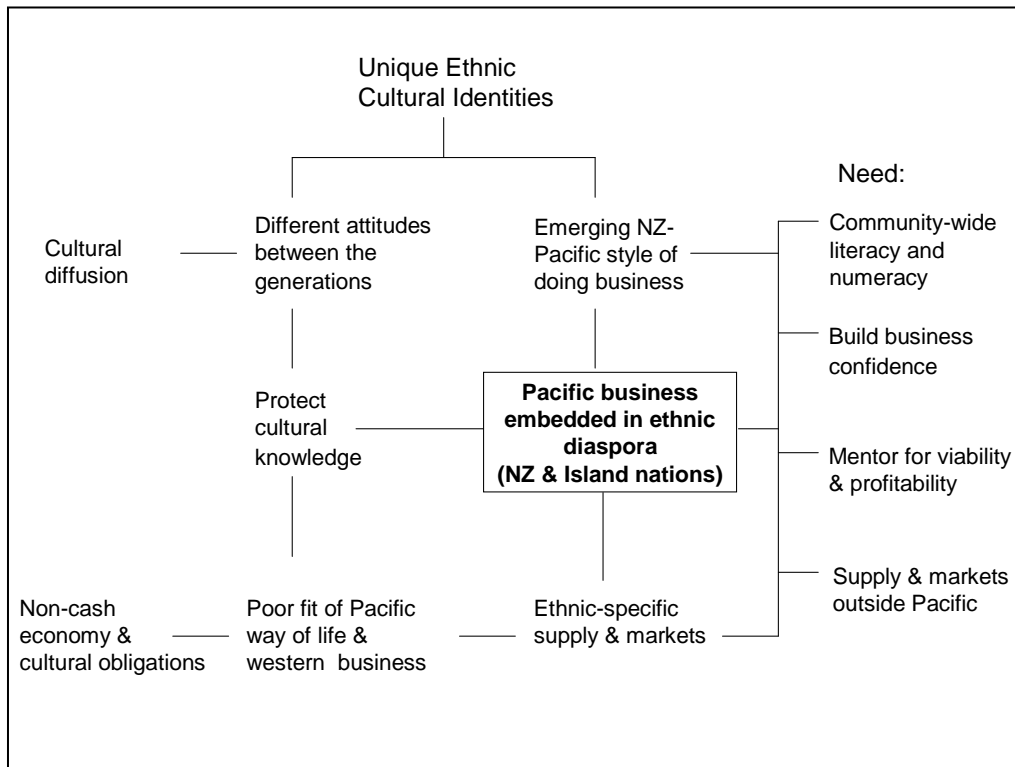
The next section summarises the 16 edited texts from Pacific Entrepreneur and Community Affirmation discussions (Appendices 1 to 5). It identifies key dimensions for the nature of interactions (transactions and encounters) at the interface of community and enterprise as well as the ‘sailing conditions’ for each community.

Results - Framing Pacific cultural enterprise

This section synthesises the Pacific community research data, collected and analysed using the Mutuality method and culminates in a framework for New Zealand-Pacific transactions at the interface of Pacific (selves) and non-Pacific (other). It provides clarity about Pacific community views on core question for the thesis - ‘That societal marginality can be a positive position from which to develop tourism enterprise and cultural product’ as well as the sub-question - ‘What enables or inhibits interactions at the interface of diasporan Pacific communities, tourism and cultural enterprise?’

Several issues were common to all of the cultural communities, though stated slightly differently by each group and had different emphases. Overriding concerns were confidence and capacity. Meaning, how to understand and operate in the world views of each diasporan ethnicity as well as in mainstream New Zealand society. Underpinning this were concerns about how to retain unique cultural social structures and values (which may bring a competitive edge for business) and attain the benefits to which they aspire. The ethnic-specific view is very different than the pan-Pacific perspective advocated by WPB, Pacific Leaders or the Waitakere Pacific residents since the governance context (partnership with local government) implies a collective pan-Pacific perspective. However the reality is that even when common issues are discussed, the speaker in every setting situated their comments in the context of ethnicity (vide pan-Pacific discussions). Figure 5-3 summarises these issues.

Figure 5-3 Issue - Ethnic-specific NZ-Pacific Cultural Enterprise



Reluctance to work together at the pan-Pacific level to achieve critical mass was evident throughout the discussions, even though most groups talked about the benefits of such an approach. Ethnic-specific values and obligations were seen as more important than between group cooperation. Inter-group comparisons were often made with a sense of rivalry. Nonetheless, each group sought the same outcomes – confidence in daily life and in business - but sought it from different starting positions and with different capacities. The kinds of support that would be needed to achieve confidence were long-term mentoring by people who know how to walk in both worlds, a central *fale* (central place for community, culture and business) at which people would gather to talk about issues, learn and teach between generations, problem solve issues affecting their lives, find out about new ideas and try out new ones themselves, be assisted by a core of experts in skills that they themselves did not have, obtain resources (material, funds, ideas, and develop spiritual strength. This was a place at which they felt they could be healed spiritually, mentally and physically, and it could be a base from which to access wider society. Each ethnic community was envisaged as a network of smaller family clusters of *fale* which would link to a series of smaller versions of the larger service centre, one for each ethnicity.

The need to protect the elders and cultural knowledge unique to each ethnicity arose in each of the discussions. It was underlined most strongly by Samoa, Tokelau,

Tonga and Tuvalu. Kiribati was confident of their cultural knowledge because they were recent migrants. Each group also commented on a poor fit of western business with Pacific cultural values, yet Entrepreneurs from Kiribati, Tokelau and Tonga said that ways could be found for western business practice to fit with cultural values. Samoa noted that culture and business were inextricable but that culture and family attitudes can hinder business viability because of gifting and exchange obligations. As a group however, Tuvalu was not as confident of the possibility of achieving success in this regard as the others. The majority of ethnic groups noted that work needs to be done to build business confidence amongst Pacific communities, but only Samoa mentioned the need to look beyond Pacific communities to access new markets. This implies that for the others there is an assumption that both markets and supply should remain within ethnic-specific communities. Intergenerational differences were emphasised strongly by two ethnicities (Kiribati and Samoa) as well as by each of the Entrepreneurial discussions.

The other issues common to all were sustaining ethnic specific uniqueness, energising enterprise, prioritising business and culture, enabling transactions and interacting in two worlds. Each question of the focus group discussions refined these issues and illuminated some underlying dimensions and lead toward a framework for Pacific cultural enterprise.

Unique identity

The cultural diaspora for all Pacific Islands is dynamic and fluid, characterised by frequent travel to and from the islands for short term, longer term and lengthy settlement as well as active visiting friends and relative populations (Bedford, 2007). The key issues for sustaining cultural uniqueness within this active diasporan context of Pacific island migration were the questions: do Pacific communities wish to be unique in the context of Waitakere/Auckland? If so, then is uniqueness pan-Pacific or ethnic-specific? How can uniqueness be safeguarded? What should be shared outside cultural communities? These questions relate to issues of identity and values.

The term 'Pacific communities' assumes pluralism, thus the research approach was framed from this perspective. The mandate of the research partner, WPB, is to advocate for and on behalf of 'separate' ethnicities and is structured (quasi-colonially perhaps) pluralistically, although WPB also that some features are common to all Pacific peoples and thus 'pan-Pacific'.

The information gathered challenges the thesis that 'that societal marginality can be a positive position from which to develop tourism enterprise and cultural product'. Contained within the concept of marginality and deciding whether or not these communities are positioned at the outskirts of mainstream society contains sub-

questions such as: Are Pacific peoples marginalised? And in what ways is marginality defined?

Each of these communities spoke about being marginalised. Extant statistical and academic data confirm the minority status of Pacific communities in New Zealand against socio-demographic and economic indicators (Chapter 3), but the extent of marginalisation (externally imposed and otherwise) is dependant upon size of population, recency of arrival in New Zealand, strength of trans-local and trans-national diasporan flows and social cohesion, as well as others. Intentional marginalisation was noted in Chapter 2 as an empowered choice not to take part in a set of activities which might erode values, lifestyle, family composition, *habitus*, language and many more. In this study, Tuvalu is a small community, confident and self-assured in their distinctiveness and ability to innovate in new environments, yet wishes to remain separate from other Pacific – is that marginality? Tonga as a community is self-sufficient with hierarchical and societal clarity and an existing enterprise base, but is not wealthy. Is separateness from the mainstream, marginality or choice?

The research indicated that Samoa has three approaches vis-à-vis culture and enterprise in New Zealand. These are ‘traditional’, transitional, and contemporary New Zealand-Pacific. Kiribati is new and tiny in population but energetic. Tokelau is not comfortable with the notion of cultural enterprise or tourism and may well not take that path. Waitakere’s Pacific communities are, in the main, interested in learning about how to develop enterprise from cultural knowledge or resources? But the challenge of retaining knowledge, social structures, cohesive families with elders embedded and youth (or adults) not involved in other social worlds and becoming educated in both worlds is a very difficult task to achieve unaided, whilst still trying to survive at basic economic levels. One must conclude there are elements of choice shown amongst each of these, as well as lack of access to the skills to do so.

Pan-Pacific or ethnic-specific

There were commonalities between the groups about the issue of how to protect cultural uniqueness. All communities were firmly of the view that decisions on uniqueness, protection and sharing (whether inside or outside) of a culture must be made by the ethnic community, not by individuals, but there were nonetheless issues specific to the New Zealand context which affect all Pacific.

The Kiribati group, new to New Zealand, was secure in their knowledge of language, culture and social hierarchies as well as their uniqueness amongst other Pacific communities. The most treasured items to be protected are the Kiribati canoe, fishing items, and the wedding mat. They were confident of their ability to access cultural resources and felt that continuance of teaching youth, use of authentic not artificial

materials and teaching within the context of the Church were essential to retaining the perfection of Kiribati culture and language.

The Tokelauan community identified their unique items as *ba* (white, yellow and brown mother of pearl) used in personal decoration and fishing lures. Many designs were unique to Tokelau and to each Island such as flowers, carved walking sticks, canoe shapes and fish snares. Tokelauan pork and villages were different from other Pacific Islands.

The Samoan groups emphasised that cornerstones of the distinctive 'Samoan Way' were the values of 'giving, gifting and loving' in terms of exchange, reciprocity and respect as well as shared leadership that extends into community networks. Specific items unique to Samoa in New Zealand include the language, Samoan cultural hierarchy, designs for *tapa* and tattoos, everyday and decorative items, seafaring and fishing, house building, and natural medicines, song, stories and many others. The food was considered unique, as was the talent for dancing.

The Tongan community said that for them, uniqueness of culture was expressed through community cohesion, well defined values, the separate roles of men and women in society and the cultural hierarchies that pervade Tongan traditional customs. Tongan culture is intangible, expressed in song, dance, language and stories and yet tangible in such things as the designs, patterns, arts and crafts specific to men (rope making and tying, carving canoes, tattoos) and to women (*tapa*, fine mats, costumes).

The Tuvaluan groups were confident that their eight islands stand uniquely amongst other Pacific cultures. Tuvalu uses many bright contrasting colours in its traditional arts and crafts as well as modern clothing and dance, music costumes and performance styles. These are distinctive amongst other Pacific ethnicities for which natural materials and few colours predominate in traditional items. Items that could be used for a uniquely Tuvalu enterprise niche might include hats, sitting mats, model outrigger canoes, bags, baskets, fans, fishing equipment, coconut tree climbers, coconut de-husking sticks and brooms.

Contextual distinctions were made by each group however between the issues that surround cultural knowledge in New Zealand compared to those that occur in the Island yet their effects spill over into New Zealand. For instance indigenous lands were a very important issue in Samoa, and the civil unrest in Tonga had affected many New Zealand-based Tongan families.

To safeguard?

Pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs thought that each ethnicity would have a different approach to this issue. Entrepreneurs identified a widely felt fear of appropriation,

copying and mass production of Pacific arts, design and natural materials by non-Pacific peoples. But apart from consensus on that issue, views differed about how protections should be enacted. For instance some believed that if items were made to be shared, then they could also be sold (Samoa) but if they were treasures, then they should not ever be seen in the marketplace (Tokelau). Others said that the best way to protect the treasures was to keep the knowledge a secret or never to sell an item so that others cannot appropriate the designs. Yet others thought perhaps it was alright to show the process if you kept some parts aside either as family or individual knowledge, that way you could protect the craft and its skills from being exploited by others. However, some were happy that families within a community came together to prepare items for sale or brought their elders from the islands to help teach the youth and second-generation New Zealand-Pacific (supported by government funds). This actively protects culture, since knowledge is passed on within the processes. Entrepreneurs said that a great deal of work was needed however about how to use western systems of intellectual property, patents and copyright effectively and easily.

Yet there was a strong sense of concern in the discussion groups about the apparent disinterest in learning from young people, who were apathetic about treasures and gifts of knowledge given to them by their elders (All Ethnicities). Yet when they become parents they want to regain the traditions and culture to pass their special identity to their children. The mothers became interested in learning to weave baskets, young women too if there were costumes to be made. But there were not many elders to pass on the knowledge and many would not disclose the process of beginning a mat, basket or other cultural items because the beginning can involve prayers and methods unique to each culture, or even to a specific artisan. Also, it can require uniquely prepared raw materials and ways of placing and tying together the strands to be woven. While the desire to protect cultural knowledge and resources was common to all of the ethnicities, the means of protection differed slightly between them.

Kiribati consists of three island clusters, scattered over more than 3,400 km. Each island has developed its own ways of doing things particular to that location and family, so family-specific traditions passed on through elders were most important. If an object was made for market then it should be started at home to protect the beginning. It may however be completed in public, the process tacitly shared at that point, but the most important part of the cultural knowledge was preserved intact.

The Tokelauan groups also said that families were specific to an island and the family unit was responsible for protection of cultural knowledge and reluctant to share knowledge beyond the family. Links to each island in the homeland group were also very important, but regular contact with elders of their communities (and thus protection and preservation of the culture) was exacerbated by distances and the

high cost of travel to these islands, remote from the major tourist travel routes. The Tokelauan community protects their treasures by not disclosing the beginning of an item and also by passing knowledge on only within a family. The Church plays a pivotal role in the active preservation of culture, traditions and language and in the social cohesion of the Tokelauan communities. Many more people live in New Zealand than in Tokelau, so the issue of cultural continuance and protection is particularly poignant. Some of its members longed for more frequent travel home for extended periods to learn the old ways and hoped that elders could come to here to teach the Tokelauan grandchildren born here in New Zealand as well as for closer ties to other Tokelauan living locally in this country.

The Tuvaluan community placed emphasis on proactive strategies to protect and preserve Tuvalu identity here in New Zealand. While they thought that traditions were safeguarded within families specific to each island of Tuvalu that these, however, were not being shared widely enough within the Tuvaluan community. Additionally, they were aware of a growing rift between older, island-born Tuvaluan, confident of their heritage and younger New Zealand-born, unsure of what was precious to their culture. Another concern was appropriation of design, for example the distinctive, local innovation of brightly coloured baskets made from airline freight tape is now mass-produced in large numbers offshore and sold in discount stores. As a result, many at the meetings felt that the only way to preserve the culture was not to sell their goods or share them with anyone outside the community or family.

The Samoan community believed the issue of protection of cultural knowledge and resources was central to identity. If the treasures are protected, the elders are also protected and thus Samoa's distinctiveness amongst other Pacific communities is safeguarded. Another way to protect the treasures was to only make them available (gifted or sold) in the Samoan community, amongst people who understand the value and meanings inherent in each item. Enduring attachment of cultural meaning was extremely important to these elders, even when a cultural item goes outside the Samoan community – whether gifted, exchanged or sold. Community discussions to identify and develop the features of the unique Samoan identity would be a proactive step towards protection of Samoan culture for the future, and that the community should plan to demonstrate its distinctiveness to other Pacific groups in Auckland. Another strategy was to encourage communities and families to keep planning for and making cultural items for sale. In the process of gathering, cooperating and working together for extended periods elders pass the knowledge down to younger people. Further, culture would be protected if Samoan youth learned the maternal language, were strong in the Samoan Way and did not adopt the ways of other cultures. The Church was considered to be active in preserving Samoan culture and

traditions, but some community members' thought that this activity could be increased.

The Tongan group also said that cultural knowledge should be protected by passing knowledge down through the generations but using the separate routes of established hierarchies within (not between) communities of nobles and commoners, men and women. Further, they said, that the act of writing down stories or recording songs was a way of preserving cultural traditions, albeit in new forms, to enable wider distribution. Nonetheless, they thought that traditional materials should be kept aside to make the ceremonial treasures. Authentic designs could be used for sale, but only if they were produced in non-traditional materials such as local New Zealand materials with similar properties to the originals (e.g. *harakeke*, flax) or synthetics. Traditional materials could be used, but only if made as scaled down replicas of the treasure. The important thing was not to produce the actual treasures, in form, design or materials. In general terms, other issues specific to the protection issue in this New Zealand context were, leverage of western laws such as copyright and patent, cultural diffusion and borrowing (amongst Pacific), appropriation by other cultures (non-Pacific), rapidly changing identities, intergenerational dynamics and the emergence of new forms of Pacific cultural expression evolving onshore.

All communities have experienced the diffusion of their culture to greater or lesser extent. Samoan and Tongan communities have lived in New Zealand for several generations and cultural diffusion has occurred amongst New Zealand-born children, most of who had been educated in mainstream schools and child care centres. However a new trend towards the establishment of ethnic-specific language nests had begun to address the issue of language and cultural loss. The Tokelauan and Tuvaluan communities were encountering first and some second generation effects. Kiribati however, a relative newcomer to Auckland had not yet experienced much change. The increased incidence of intermarriage between Pacific, Maori, Asian and European cultures also had contributed to diffusion as well as to identity confusion, exacerbated by increasing proportions of New Zealand-born youth of multiple ethnic origins.

Many of the discussion groups highlighted that language and cultural traditions remain strong in their families as long as children were in the home, prior to attending mainstream school, but that changes occur rapidly once children mixed with a wider range of nationalities. Changes included speaking the first language with a 'New Zealand' accent, replying in English to the Pacific language spoken by an elder at home and not able to spell words correctly. The smaller communities, Kiribati, Tokelau and Tuvalu in particular, mentioned their concerns about the adoption of language and borrowing of cultural practices from longer established and larger Pacific groups such as Cook Island Maori, Samoa and to a lesser extent,

Tonga. As well, they mentioned the politicised power-base that older-established groups had developed in terms of dominance of pan-Pacific and pan-urban community organisations, non-governmental and quasi-governmental bodies.

The issue of changing ethnic identities in the New Zealand context was a key issue amongst all of the ethnic groups, in both positive and negative terms but it seemed most problematic for smaller communities (Kiribati, Tokelau, Tuvalu). Nevertheless the larger Samoan and Tongan groups were also experiencing change. Oral traditions were being lost, language use and accuracy was decreasing, and youth were losing their culture in New Zealand without frequent or extended stays in the Islands and were being influenced by other Pacific as well as mainstream cultures. Globalised influences such as North American 'gangster' culture have had a big effect amongst youth through music, hip hop dance and music styles, television, film and virtual gaming. Indeed expertise in hip hop is gaining such a large amount of ground in Pacific Auckland that local groups are winning international competitions.

The sense of loss through appropriation by other cultures was a raw nerve for all of the discussion groups. This applied to music, food, language, designs, patterns and forms and their inappropriate use in personal and business environments. For example Island-style foods such as raw fish, are being made for sale in food outlets such as the Valentines restaurant chain by people who were not Pacific. 'All Black' rugby players and rock stars wearing Pacific tattoos without permission, gifting or hereditary rights. However, some people felt that these changes were positive for Pacific in that they promote and show the strength of Polynesian cultures as infiltrators, influencers 'taking over' the identity of New Zealand mainstream.

Intergenerational dynamics also emerged as significant issues with regard to protection of cultural uniqueness. A perceived disconnect between older Island-born and younger New Zealand-born Pacific was reportedly growing in scale and impact, in part because of relatively small numbers of elders compared to a very large youthful population, but also because value systems were undergoing rapid change.

However, the pan-Pacific entrepreneurs noted the emergence of new forms of Pacific culture and values. These they said reflect the position of each culture in the new cultural context, each of which have their own integrity, worth and validity. For instance local images such as landscapes, birds, plants and other ethnicities are now used to express traditional stories and meanings. Local materials were used as cheaper, pragmatic equivalents for traditional materials by master craftsmen and women, substitute synthetic materials were sought. Professional artists in particular were the most obvious expression of this new and vibrant contemporary commentary on the life experience of being Pacific in New Zealand.

A few of the pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs talked about the importance of their businesses being grounded in cultural values (respect, reciprocity, exchange, networks) and knowledge (Pacific foods, design, patterns and forms) but that practical necessities such as the cost of freight, inaccessibility of Pacific raw materials, import restrictions, etc., had meant that local innovations had occurred and would continue for the future. For example, many cultural enterprise items were now being made in new materials or formats such as screen-printing, quilting, carving, tattooing, weaving, appliqué, pottery, clothing, t-shirts and furniture. This they felt was a good thing, since it increased the relevance of Pacific designs to a wider consumer base (and improved the 'business bottom line' by reducing cost).

The researcher had expected to see a definition of pan-Pacific uniqueness develop, since that had been the starting point of the cultural partnership with WPB, mandated as it is to advocate across communities. But it was significant that each person, in every discussion, whether pan-Pacific in composition or not, illustrated their arguments by using examples drawn from their own culture, or from the culture of other Pacific groups. Indicating two things, first that ethnic identity for the participants in these discussions was extremely important to them, but second that these communities are not hegemonic and identify 'Self' by defining the 'Other' (Pacific) and reflecting on their own uniqueness by means of that comparison (vide Said, 1975). Further that the New Zealand setting has placed, by accidents of history, several Pacific ethnicities in the same milieu and that a common description of a 'Pacific Way' has developed as a result. However, despite this indicator of a pan-Pacific view, each person situated their comments in a diasporan sphere of influence - the Samoan Way, the Tongan Way - of dealing with an issue. This point perhaps implies the presence of *autopoietic* self-referent, self-generating processes, but also gives a sense of pan-Pacific *habitus*, so, both are present.

To share?

While agreeing that decisions on sharing cultural knowledge and resources, whether inside or outside the community, should be made by the community, not individuals, it seems that identifying what could and could not be shared and with whom, was not clear-cut in the New Zealand context. Nor were the responsibilities or processes for making these decisions, because of the complex nuances and dynamics of exchange, reciprocity, barter and gifting (from standpoints of love and respect) that occur within Pacific societies and families. Further, in the enterprise context of this research 'share' also implies trade and the sale of goods for money which further complicates the issue.

The pan-Pacific entrepreneurs identified discrepancies between the attitudes of older and younger generations. Older members were confident and clear about what could be shared with strangers and what should be kept within the family and community.

In their opinion, decisions were made on the basis of hierarchical value or sacredness. However, most of the younger members were not so sure. They were born in New Zealand, had not been to the homeland islands often enough to know, or had not yet had the opportunity to learn and depend on the elders of their cultural communities for guidance in this respect. Since this discussion took place with elders present, the younger participants may have thought it inappropriate to comment. And perhaps traditions are valued from very different perspectives as one grows older. Another possibility too is that there may have been a conscious suppression of knowledge by some Pacific migrants.

Overall, community opinions differed a great deal amongst the groups on the question of what to share, with whom and on what terms. Some believed that if items in a culture were made to be shared within that cultural group, then those items could also be sold. But if they were treasures, then they should not ever be seen in the marketplace. However, some said that they had seen unrestricted trade taking place throughout the market by some of their own, which undermined the care that they take to protect cultural knowledge and resources. Further, if a great deal of money was offered for an item, even with prohibitions on its sale, the decision whether to sell was not clear. In that circumstance, advice from the elders was crucial for the community members.

In the Islands, Kiribati had shared knowledge and culture collectively amongst extended family, but found here in New Zealand, that individual possessions and action were favoured. So, they were cautious about saying what should be kept within the community and what could be shared outside. They thought that their community needed to discuss this carefully before proceeding with any planning for cultural enterprise. But it was noted that the most treasured items (that should never be shared outside the cultural community) were the Kiribati canoe, fishing items and the wedding mat.

New Zealand-born Tokelauan asked that cultural knowledge be shared with them by the elders. Some said that whilst they have seen the treasures they had no experience in how to make or use them, or perhaps they knew how to finish an item but not how to begin it. A comment was made after the meeting that perhaps the young person had not yet earned the right, or shown sufficient willingness or humility, to be taught. Nonetheless some Tokelauan elders were eager to share everything with the next generation because they could see that the knowledge would eventually be lost. But others were more cautious and thought the question should be considered over an extended period, with all community members, that it was important to work out collectively what was unique and special to Tokelau and how to protect that knowledge within families. As well, to determine what can be shared outside so that businesses that respect cultural values can be built from cultural knowledge in the

future. The Tokelauan community discussion said that such steps would be positive group cohesiveness. However, two things were agreed upon: the white *ba* was very special, it must be earned and cannot be sold. But brown *ba* may be sold in the markets such as Pasifika Festival and in the tourist trade in Tokelau (though it was noted as not extensive). Both the Samoan and Tongan groups were pragmatic about the issue of protecting uniqueness and treasures vis-à-vis sharing outside the culture. Neither group wished to limit any commercial opportunities. But both suggested that cultural enterprise should not occur without leveraging protection from cultural prohibitions, social hierarchies and mainstream laws such as copyright, patents and intellectual property. This perhaps indicated a greater level of commercial awareness than had been apparent in the other groups.

For the Tongan groups, cultural knowledge cannot be shared with others who were not of the same cultural group or hierarchy, or between men and women. The fine mats, tapa, language and stories specific to royalty and the nobles must not be shared outside those groups. Nor can the knowledge of professional master craftsmen or women be shared with any others since these are forms of cultural wealth. Commercialism was an acknowledged threat to culture but was also an opportunity to earn income. Yet they felt that the processes of enterprise development should be carefully managed and vetted by the community so that the treasures and specialist knowledge were protected, and that the form of cultural product and services should always protect the authenticity and integrity of the treasures and yet permit sharing with non-Pacific communities (outsiders) to earn income. For instance, creation of miniaturised reproductions of art and crafts, shortening or modification of songs and dances would be permitted and thus the originals are known only inside the community.

The Samoan community was confident of the abilities of its community members to initiate, develop and succeed in cultural enterprise. Yet views on how this could be achieved were divergent. Some community members thought that no assumptions should be made about what items were saleable or could be gifted outside the community because that might limit what was sold. Others thought that there should be decisions made about what should and should not be made available in the marketplace and what must be kept within the community for ceremonial and special occasions, and that these decisions had to be made by the Samoan collective. In some instances cultural treasures are being given away by Samoan people, including *matai* and land titles, or indigenous land had been used to secure loans. However, for others in the discussion groups, there were treasures that should never be shared outside Samoan communities including Chiefs' names, men's and women's tattoos, the authentic tapa cloth and headwear for traditional dances. Similarly, while *falalili'i* (mats), *'ava* (kava) making and drinking ceremonies are treasures that should be kept within the communities, these were being shared outside as

commercial activities for tourists in Samoa. The Samoan community spoke largely about cultural enterprise as tourism in Samoa. And at one point an elder reminded the group that ‘we are talking about New Zealand here, not Samoa’ which brought the discussion back to local circumstances. But some Island-born people continued to situate their comments in the context of homeland experience. Specific items that were mentioned as items to share were foods, hair brushes, jewellery, copies of *tapa* cloth, *sapelu* (knives), fans, clothes, handicrafts, boats, fishing equipment, house building techniques, medicinal roots and plants. Thus while commercial enterprise is supported and ongoing in the Islands and in New Zealand some prohibitions have been put in place that prevent items entering the market. But there are also items that perform both commercial and non-commercial roles.

The Tuvaluan community groups did agree about what was not for market and what could be sold and under what terms, but also what could be used in the tourism industry in Tuvalu. Treasures that should never be sold were items gifted during weddings, headwear and necklaces especially made for the chiefs, ceremonial shell necklaces, a special skirt worn around the shoulders, a *tapa* worn at the waist with strips that hang down, plain white pandanus headdresses made for ceremonial days, and whales' teeth. But there are things that can be used in business such as sitting mats, model outrigger canoes, bags, baskets, fans, especially those made with traditional materials (preferred by tourists in the Island context), also an item for climbing a coconut tree, brooms, the de-husking stick and other everyday household items.

Overall, this dilemma of what to safeguard and what to share in business and with other cultures was common to each Pacific cultural community. The intent not to share was expressed in terms of sacredness and ceremonials, authenticity of design and materials or to protect both elders and cultural knowledge. However such protections depended upon social hierarchies, trust within families and community cohesiveness. The strength of diasporan social worlds was also a factor in being able to access elders and return ‘home’ to learn traditional ways in their homeland context. The need for families to gather at a metaphorical ‘*fale*’ where they could be immersed in the homeland language, teach and learn songs and stories, and learn social rules and cultural values within each ethnicity was also heard. The same issue had emerged earlier in the 2001 and 2003 (Cave, 2009f; 2009g) studies, perhaps suggesting that that issue had not been resolved in the intervening years. Other factors which influenced the protection of cultural knowledge were the recentness of arrival of a community in New Zealand, the size of that group living in the area, its demography (proportions of elders, parents and children), decision-making abilities and the degree of access to authentic materials and expert knowledge.

Nature of identity

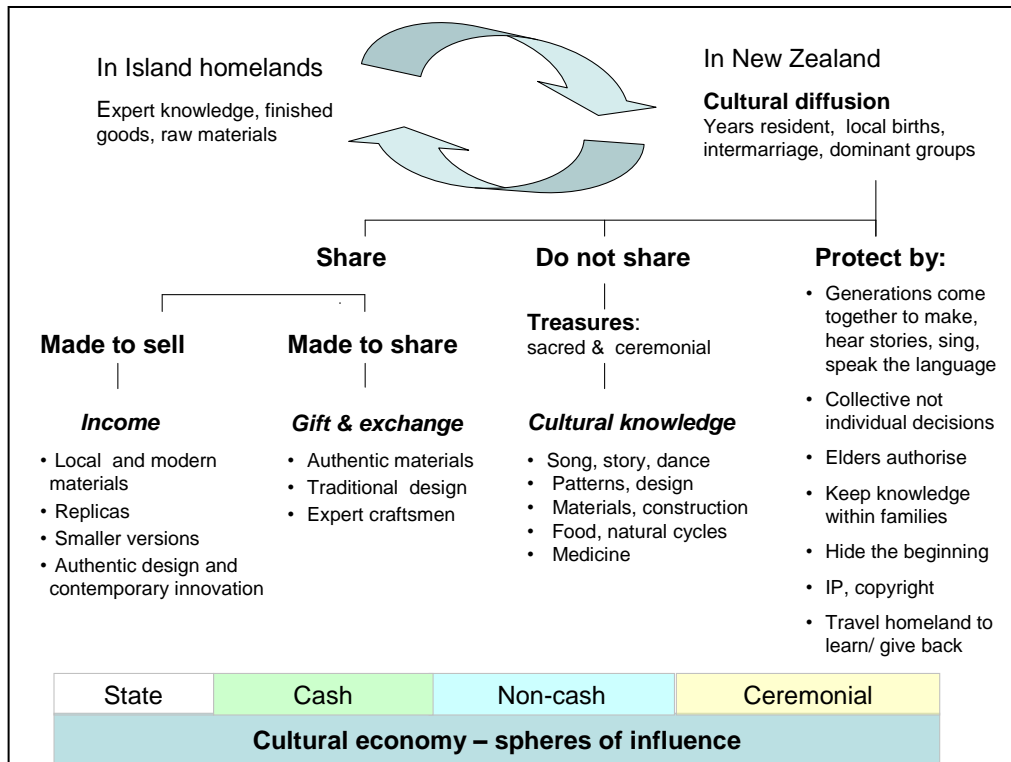
The dynamics of uniqueness are summarised in Figure 5-4. Unique ethnic identities currently exist in New Zealand at the margins of mainstream. But as the discussions revealed, cultural integrity is at risk and may not be sustained by all cultural communities in the context of New Zealand without considerable effort to maintain diasporan links and protect the traditions, treasures and cultural knowledge from dispersal and diffusion. Hence, competitive edge for enterprise could be based on unique cultural knowledge and resources, noting however, the effects of migration. This suggests that actual engagement in income-earning cultural business may be very low. Further, that there is a very different reality of emphasis on a cash economy in today's Pacific communities than would be optimal for the establishment of viable and profitable enterprise based on access to and control of cultural knowledge and resources. For example three types of transaction occur within the field of cultural enterprise activities: cash, non-cash and ceremonial economies.

The notion of a 'ceremonial economy' is supported by the research of Horan (2002). The State also is a major influence for the economic survival of Pacific communities, both in New Zealand (as protectorates, citizens and welfare dependents) and in the islands (as an employer) so also should be included in this discussion. All four are integrated and have different roles in diasporan community life. The balance between them has not however been quantified and is an area of future research interest. Yet the emphasis on all four within Pacific communities may be one of the reasons that tourism is difficult to sustain, since only a portion is actually part of a monetary market economy.

Pacific communities appear to rely upon sharing and sales within ethnic-specific and Pacific circles, rather than outside. In the groups, each community talked about the need to make its own determination about whether it wishes to shift the balance between the cash and non-cash economies, which might occur if there is a will to develop enterprise from cultural resources. It also suggests that ethnic specific identity underpins all of the discussions and influences the responses to all of the questions and issues raised. Thus different ethnicities create distinct contexts or perspectives within the information and should be treated therefore as contextual, since the sum of responses from each ethnicity has given a different perspective or voice to the research.

Whether or not Pacific ethnic communities can sustain culture for the long-term was also highlighted as a critical issue because of cultural diffusion - the result of inter-ethnic marriages, two and three generations of New Zealand births, education in non-

Figure 5-4 Issue - The Informal Cultural Economy



ethnic languages, dominance of one or more Pacific cultures, the appeal of mainstream culture and gangs for youth, amongst others and is the dilemma of what to do about the strong cultural influence of the non-cash economy upon the ability to earn income. Nonetheless, as noted in the community discussions and the market research, new forms of New Zealand Pacific cultural knowledge have emerged from within the second and third generations of New Zealand that have their own dynamism and referent icons, symbols, materials and processes that reflect the position of each ethnicity in New Zealand. These, together with the increasing numbers of local Pacific births (now close to 70% of all Pacific people resident in New Zealand) may affect the sustainability in the long term of traditional customs. And we have already noted the potential for a type of pan-Pacific view of identity that might be reflected in the references made in the discussions to the ways that ‘Other Pacific’ behave (Othered Seves).

Tensions were expressed in all of the discussions about the confidence that recent arrivals have in cultural uniqueness, identity, protective mechanisms and what should be shared/not shared, when compared to second and third generation communities. So perhaps identity could be seen as bounded by whether people live by ‘Island’ values or ‘New Zealand’ values. Yet this is compounded by a growing trend for cross-Pacific and other ethnicity marriages and births, so the identity issue is clouded even more if one holds to an ethnic-specific view of the diaspora. ‘Island-Pacific’ and ‘New Zealand-Pacific’ also links (but not neatly because of diasporan and workforce

mobility) to age. Wichman To'u identifies six types of Cook Island peoples living in New Zealand which correlate with 'Island' versus 'New Zealand' value systems and lifestyle choices, not necessarily with age (Personal communication, Hamilton, October 2007). We heard in the discussions comments about the values of New Zealand-born and youth being very different than those of older, Island-born people, but that values and importance of traditions change with life stage. However, the voice of youth was, while not absent, not well represented in the discussion groups.

Values, attitudes and reported actions differed qualitatively between 'Island-Pacific' and 'New Zealand-Pacific' in the discussions about enterprise and the context of Pacific life in Waitakere. Further, we heard that the impact of cultural diffusion for some people was rejection of Pacific values and identity to the extent that some individuals were described as 'non-Pacific'. So, a new dimension of Pacific cultural life and enterprise has emerged, 'Identity'. This comprised three categories, Island-Pacific, New Zealand-Pacific and Non-Pacific, each defined by lifestyles and differing values sets and referent organising structures (*habitus*), seen as referent ways of living their lives but with sub-culturally distinct variations and combinations. The author is reluctant to define these too closely because the descriptions given in the groups were vague and cultural nuancing is so diverse that the 'categories' are fuzzy and open, yet examples were given in the discussions about what they meant.

Some groups and individuals 'looked first to the islands' for examples of values, structures, rules, issues and experience, and to describe their understanding of how things work in their lives (Island-Pacific). Others gave examples of their community as people situated first in Auckland, and concurrently (but not second) in their ethnicity, and exhibited high awareness of local conditions (New Zealand-Pacific). In global terms, these are micro-communities, but ones which are diasporan in nature and constantly evolving. To summarise, the characteristics of these styles are:

Island-Pacific

A lifestyle that primarily adopts the cultural systems, beliefs and *habitus*, i.e. values and social structures of an island nation as the yardstick by which to live their daily lives, respecting homeland hierarchies and customs, to live as if 'an island in New Zealand'. This style is self-referent to the homeland, in foods, cooking style, music choices, language in the home, ceremonies, etc. and has very close ties to the wider diasporan community overseas. Perhaps it also links to frequent exchanges of people to and from the Islands, but this is not a reliable indicator since travel is income and access dependent.

New Zealand-Pacific

A lifestyle that acknowledges New Zealand as 'home' and combine both in Island culture and also 'New Zealand' European values, perhaps for example operating a

western-style business, influenced by Pacific cultural values. The *habitus* of New Zealand-Pacific has elements of Pacific and local values and social structures. Languages used in the home may be interchangeable, bilingually one Pacific language (or more) and English. Foods are diverse and adapted to local conditions but faithful to Pacific 'style' of cooking or combinations of ingredients rather than replicating the originals. While referent to Island *habitus*, strategies to protect, maintain and enliven traditions and customs in New Zealand (and the wider diaspora) are continued within cohesive family and local community structures that are ethnically unique (amongst other Pacific and non-Pacific).

Not-Pacific

The term 'Not-Pacific' was referred to in the discussions as an absence of Pacific values or lifestyle, and in particular the focus on individual achievement. But another trend may affect these categories in the future, which is the pattern of New Zealand-born or New Zealand educated Island-born to the diasporan homeland in their late 30's and 40's, which might be an area for future research. The sustainability of the ethnic specific categories may in fact however be influenced by increasing community wealth, if the New Zealand-Pacific mobilise entrepreneurially. This leads into the next analysis, the nature of enterprise.

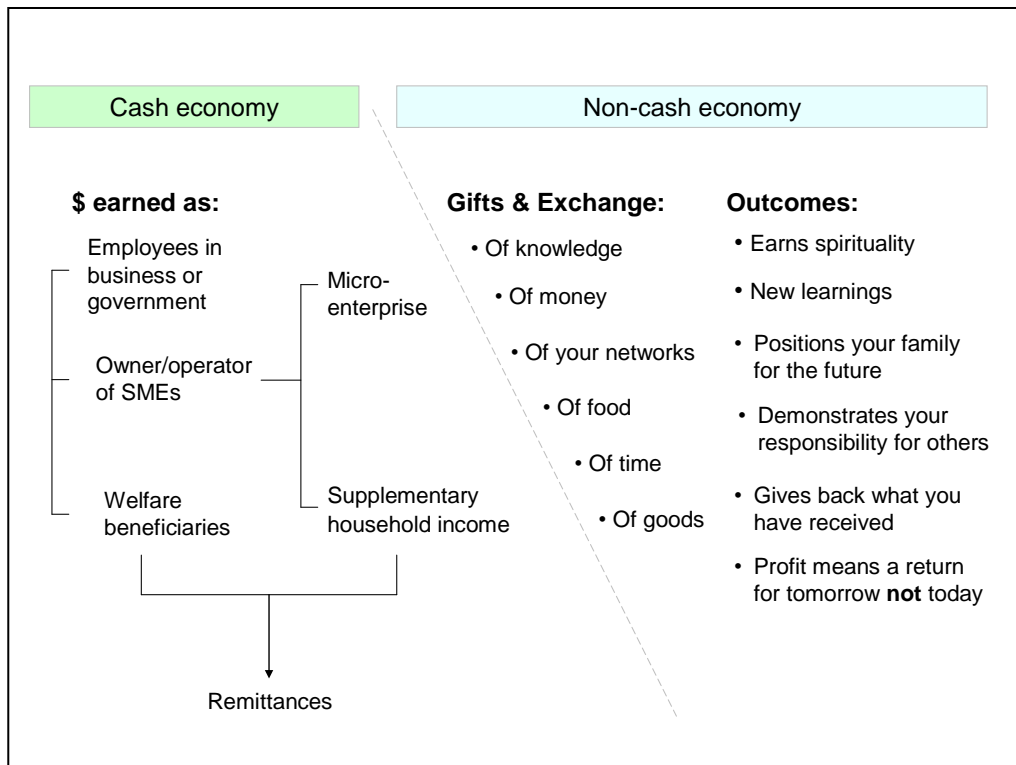
Enterprise intent

As outlined in Chapter 3, Pacific family income from monetary sources was sourced from wages and salaries, government benefits (unemployment, domestic purposes), investment, rent, and self-employed income. Employment levels were roughly equivalent to the mainstream but in general Pacific personal incomes were below the New Zealand national average, reflecting a young population structure and proportionally low education and skill levels. Only 2% of Pacific peoples were employers and 4% were self employed, substantially below the national average (Ministry of Pacific Island Affairs, 2005a). As entrepreneurs, Pacific businesses (employers and employees) tend to be established in secondary and service, rather than primary industries (Statistics New Zealand, 2002b). The key issues for all of the discussion groups on this dimension were: sources of earned income, notions of profitability, as well as facilitators and hindrances of entrepreneurship and the nature of enterprise intent.

Earnings and profit

Figure 5-5 illustrates the scope and emphasis of earnings as well as profit. Many participants in the community discussions were waged and salaried earners working in banking, accounting, education, health care, justice, factories, construction, media, cleaners, caterers, local government, police, etc. Some also were unwaged workers in the Church or volunteer organisations, or school age and university students.

Figure 5-5 Issue - Pacific Concepts of 'Earnings' and 'Profit'



Others were beneficiaries, pensioners, homemakers and unemployed. Some were self-employed entrepreneurs who operate small and medium enterprises in the retail sector or service sector, some of which were based in cultural knowledge. Unfortunately the actual enterprise activities of participants were not polled in this research, nor were personal details sought about income sources or levels which limit the conclusions that could be reached.

The discussion question of how income was earned by Pacific communities also revealed an internal cultural non-cash economy, in which income was sought from cultural activities, in-community exchange or sale (not for profit), and for-profit commercial enterprise (see also Chapter 3). 'Profit' was seen to have a different meaning for Pacific peoples that affected both the way in which people understand the terms used to explain Western business and the actions that were undertaken daily. In the non-cash economy, returns were said to be future earnings and rely upon an understanding that an obligation had been created by the gift (with an anticipated exchange/return or 'profit') of money, knowledge, time, expertise, access to networks, food etc.

The non-cash economy was informal, as was much of the supplementary income. The returns were not necessarily made in kind, but served to create relationships and build networks, a kind of future proofing for an individual and the family for and to

whom they are responsible. Supplementary income could come from gifts as well as from sales of cultural items at markets, festivals or within your network. This implies that the nature of enterprise may also differently conceived in Pacific communities.

Facilitating factors

Factors that facilitated the earning of income from cultural resources were: business intent, pricing, authenticity of design and materials, traditionalism, quality, themed context, confidence, product innovation and penetration beyond the cultural communities into non-Pacific markets.

The issue of price was a significant factor. The pan-Pacific Entrepreneur discussions noted that Pacific communities price cultural products in a range accessible to Pacific consumers, particularly for the elderly. This aided distribution of goods within the Pacific community (pan-Pacific, Samoa). Some participants thought that cultural goods should be valued and priced for scarcity, expertise and quality, but also questioned whether Pacific cultural treasures could be valued by using a western commercial yardstick (Entrepreneurs). A search of literature has not revealed much discussion of Pacific cultural treasures in this context, although a great deal has been done from western perspective on western art. This is an under researched area although some thinking has been done about the issue by Andriessen (2004), in Australia (Merlan, 1998) and China (Joy & J, 2004).

Quality was emphasised by the Samoan groups, for whom product saleability relies upon high quality, authenticity and cultural meaning accompanying each item into the marketplace. And for the Tokelauan community, it was vitally important that any income earning venture remain culturally authentic and include traditional materials as well as processes of manufacture. The Tuvaluan groups identified the Pasifika Festival as one opportunity to showcase Pacific cultural enterprise, since a wide range of ethnicities comes to the event. Some of their members observed that high quality crafts were able to reach much larger sums at the themed event than in other contexts. This is supported in the Pasifika market studies, in Chapter 6.

The Kiribati group said that that in their opinion, confidence in business grows alongside increasing faith and belief in one's abilities in that sphere. Also that community cohesion would be facilitated by the development of cultural enterprise income earning opportunities in the Kiribati community, especially if underpinned by positive, entrepreneurial attitudes.

The Tongan community thought that innovation from a traditional base was critical for the establishment of viable and profitable enterprise in New Zealand, but it was essential to be pragmatic in the face of scarcity of supply for authentic natural

resources, from which products could be made. But that high import costs and border control restrictions for biological materials were inhibitors to cultural enterprise of all kinds. Thus, it was incumbent upon them to improvise locally - to look for new solutions, seek new materials and new forms of cultural product adapted to markets in order to penetrate connected communities and external non-Pacific markets - and that these were probably to be found outside the ethnic cultural sphere or Tongan traditions. Further, they noted that active control and ownership of knowledge were essential to ensure quality standards. But retention of the cultural meaning was important and so access to cultural knowledge and (re)production of products and services based on Tongan cultural resources must be managed by the community concerned.

The Samoan groups endorsed the search for ways to promote and showcase unique and authentic Samoan products, but also were aware that new ideas were needed to attract markets from beyond the Samoan community. Some ways to achieve these ends also emerged, which will be discussed later in this chapter. One example that Tuvalu suggested was for New Zealand-born young people trained in business to work cooperatively with Island-born elders to operate sales outlets and research market preferences.

Hindrances

Hindrances to earning income from cultural resources were that Pacific cultural product is undervalued, Pacific businesses experience low profitability, craftsmanship is devalued and a sense that lifestyle values are incompatible in this context. Additionally, participants expressed unease with western business practices and that they experience competing demands for personal time and resources, felt a lack of knowledge about western business practices, and lacked access to information sources about business that they could trust.

The initial discussions with pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs had said that Pacific people unconsciously denigrated the worth of their own products against a perceived higher worth of mainstream goods and so charge lower prices for them. Some thought that this was because they were offered for sale within the Pacific community which has low disposable income and subject to cultural obligation (Samoa, Tuvalu). But on the other hand, if goods were priced for their true worth in terms of the time they take to make (years or months in some cases) and the actual imported costs, then the community would see them as too expensive (Tokelau). Unfortunately New Zealand-made items were thought of as low quality and known not to sell well (Tuvalu).

The market studies in Chapter 6 also identified a differential between Pacific (who could recognise the significance of an item and whether the materials were authentic

or not) and non-Pacific who were interested in the exoticism of the objects and did not appreciate 'value'. Yet if they were connected to Pacific communities both purchased more Pacific items as expressions of their identity, mirroring 'Pacific' style in clothing, personal accessories and food purchases. And in both contexts quality was able to be recognised and both markets purchased higher quality goods at higher prices so that two price points were evident. Island-born Pacific were more concerned about 'authentic materials' than were New Zealand-born Pacific (and non-Pacific) who were quite comfortable with local or synthetic material or colours as long as the 'style' was Pacific. Further, in the Pasifika suppliers' survey, innovation in materials and design founded in tradition had appeal to both Pacific and non-Pacific, seemingly selling 'better' than traditional. Yet the biggest issue was lack of differentiation of product between ethnicities, and an assumption that 'tourist' items sold in the Islands would also 'sell well' in New Zealand. This could however be challenged, and bears more investigation.

Another issue that the discussion groups identified was that Pacific communities appeared to place less value on creating cultural product than they had done in the homeland islands. Traditional crafts were now seen a 'hobby' in New Zealand (Tuvalu), with the result that master craftsmen and women were also undervalued (Entrepreneurs, Tokelau). That issue was raised earlier as a function of time pressures and will be seen again later in the competing demands of living a Pacific lifestyle. In reality it seems, while undertaken with the intent of earning income, that to date, cultural enterprises have not been profit-making endeavours. Prices appear to have been kept low and in the main, goods were sold within the cultural sphere or to connected Pacific communities to fundraise for a specific community outcome.

An in-depth analysis of the business viability of cultural entrepreneurs (Pacific food wholesalers or importers of finished cultural product) who came to the sessions has not been done. This could happen at a later date, although a cursory examination took place in the Pasifika suppliers' study (in Chapter 6). Supplementary and business income was noted as earned 'by Pacific people from Pacific people' (All). This was commented on by several discussants as an issue for the economic health and wealth of an already depressed community since fresh funds from outside sources rarely appear. An effect may be that already low income earners cannot supplement their income and that families go backwards, without sufficient surplus to pay rent, hire purchase or even obtain food. Yet the point was also made that these activities and style of 'doing business' benefits the community and their families in non-monetary ways.

Nonetheless, despite this somewhat gloomy picture there were some groups and individuals for whom an income founded in cultural knowledge was a positive and successful reality. For example, the musicians 'Te Vaka' (Tokelau), the hip hop

artists 'Nesian Mystik', caterer John Oyagawa, Pacific Flava', a boutique jewellery and accessories retail store in Auckland, and the 'SPASIFIK' Magazine seen in Air New Zealand departure lounges and many more.

Other issues that many Pacific arrivals found difficult to understand or reconcile were the perceived differences between Pacific and non-Pacific values. For example, the focus on individual achievement compared to the values of support and thinking always of others that operates in the Islands and is taught in the home (Kiribati, Samoa, Tuvalu). The concept of selling also was uncomfortable (Tokelau, Samoa, Tuvalu), as was the idea of competition (Kiribati). Cultural obligations and commitments of funds and time also affected the overall profitability of Pacific businesses (Entrepreneurs). Younger Pacific people in the discussions did not welcome the challenge of trying to establish a business separate from paid employment because of the competing demands for their time and resources such as jobs, church, school costs, etc. (Tuvalu). Low levels of knowledge of western business practices and processes were identified as inhibitors, as was lack of access to sources of business and market information, specifically, where to obtain and keep up to date with information on potential markets, purchasing power, motives and preferences (Tonga). Sources of funds and knowledge of where to obtain them and lack of success in acquiring bank loans for start-up, continuance and development were also hindrances.

Nature of enterprise intent

Cultural enterprise meant several things in the context of Waitakere's Pacific communities. For instance, it meant developing and operating an enterprise in a distinctive way that could be specific to one's culture and values, obtaining income as a 'paid hobby' to supplement family earnings. Others said it meant finding a way that income can be gained from expressions of identity and activities described as 'cultural' such as arts and crafts, language, song, dance. Or from activities that encompass some aspect of your culture, such as nature, the land, sea, sky, fauna, flora, medicines, technologies or war. Cultural enterprise could also be drawn from everyday items such as foods or housing, etc. An enterprise might not be based upon sales but upon other types of transaction undertaken for benefits that are not part of the cash economy, such as exchange or gifts of time, knowledge, learning or money. All can be perceived as 'cultural enterprise'.

Professor Finau said:

'Most of these things are not a part of economic activity. It is based on reciprocation. You give something and a week later they will give you something back'.

(Personal communication, Christchurch, October 2007)

This research used arts and crafts as a starting point for the discussions because of their common perception as 'cultural activities'. The scope of study however was

quickly broadened to encompass any act of creativity, cultural expression or innovation which might, or might not be related to tourism. The research identified that few, if any, enterprises were engaged in cultural enterprise or cultural tourism businesses but that many of the community discussants would like to investigate how to progress from the current state of non-engagement towards a point at which they could confidently earn income from cultural activities that were uniquely their own. Thus, income could be earned by drawing upon knowledge and resources specific to each ethnicity. Distinctions were made however on the basis of enterprise intent between commerce, supplementary income, and activities that were not intended for sale. As a member of the Tokelau community said: ‘there must be some other kind of enterprise that does not involve selling but is a way to share our culture with our children, our own culture and with other communities’.

Not for market - to sustain culture and traditions

All of the Pacific communities said that the cultural product was an expression of its unique cultural knowledge and identity. The treasures of each cultural community were not for market. They were not to be given away outside the immediate cultural sphere of family or cultural hierarchy and were made for ceremonial and sacred reasons. However, there were some circumstances where an outsider could become part of the internal community, for example a foreign exchange student who lived with a Tokelau family for several months and was given a treasure, or where treasures might travel around the globe for a short time as a feature exhibition accompanied by elders. But these seem to be rare occasions.

Most of the New Zealand Pacific communities said that their elders were active producers of cultural products, some working almost fulltime on this endeavour, perhaps supported by a welfare benefit or pension. But many of the younger Pacific people said that the pressures of fulltime income earning jobs, community tasks, family obligations and Church activities push the creation of cultural product aside to a great extent and may prevent extended investments of time. However, some members of the discussions said that regardless of time pressures, creation of cultural product was a key element of their daily lives and personal identity.

Not Profit - to sustain identity and supplement family income

Some of the communities acknowledged that some types of cultural product can be shared, gifted, exchanged, etc., and also may be sold. But that sale was not the primary motivation.

The Kiribati community noted that, in their experience, very little money if any was earned from cultural enterprise. The Samoan groups reiterated this, saying that in New Zealand, income from cultural items was primarily earned from market stalls or from the Pasifika Festival. The Tokelau communities said that some of their

community earned a small income by importing goods from the islands and that sales were made to fundraise to meet specific costs (a community youth trip to a cultural or sports competition, for uniforms, for a building project, etc.). These were conducted amongst the Tokelauan communities, not with external non-Tokelauan or non-Pacific markets. However, most of the imported goods were given away within the community for weddings, special birthdays and other ceremonial purposes. The Tongan groups commented that income was earned from selling smaller versions of tapa and mats of authentic materials or tapa made from western materials so that the cultural knowledge is protected. Whereas the Tuvaluan community said that while elders were active producers of cultural products, they distributed the goods within their Pacific networks, occasionally for small amounts, or sold them at the Corbans Pacific Cultural Market in Waitakere, but did not make money.

One woman entrepreneur summed up the distinction between Not Profit and For Profit enterprise. She said: 'Commercial business is over there. That is for profit. But business-business is something I do for me. I make these things because of who I am. It is an expression of my identity as a Pacific woman. I give them away and if there is enough left over, maybe I will sell them'. This distinction was stated early in the research programme and tested for veracity by the researchers in every discussion that followed. The two definitions of business, plus the 'Not for Market' (ceremonial) concept were endorsed enthusiastically by every group as resonating with Pacific values and defining three, uniquely Pacific, views of enterprise activity. All forming the 'Cultural Economy' identified in Figure 5-4.

Another source of Not Profit income was derived from giving one's resources, time and skills to assist family, friends and community. This is a normal part of family and community life and differs from the western concept of 'donated' time (Tennant et al., 2006). Often fundraising activities within the cultural sphere of an ethnic community would entail selling for instance, homemade food and goods made from ingredients purchased by individuals (Tokelau). The purpose of fundraisers can to build a church, send a sports team to the Islands to compete, or perhaps to pay for costumes and travel of community performers, and many other reasons. At these events, in-community exchanges take place for other goods or money. The prices of such sales are kept low or reduced on a family obligation basis, so that members of that ethnic cultural sphere can access the goods (pan-Pacific entrepreneurs, Samoa, Tuvalu). This pricing strategy is an issue that crossed over into commerce as well (Entrepreneurs). The amount of money that changes hands has not been verified, but appears to be quite low (All). Income was however received from the sale of cultural goods and skills to supplement family income (say at the Pasifika Festival). Such sources allowed a person who might not otherwise be able to contribute via workforce employment (Entrepreneurs) to find an additional way to assist the family and diasporan network.

This Pacific view of 'Not Profit' business is very different than that understood in western mainstream business world as non-profit or not-for-profit enterprise or organisations. Organisations that belong to the non-profit sector are 'organised, private, non-profit-distributing, self-governing and non-compulsory' (Salamon & Anheier, 1997) depending upon volunteering and helping others as primary motive for participation in their activities. As noted above, Maori, Pacific and other immigrant groups share a strong commitment to the extended family, where 'community service' is often seen as an extension of everyday family responsibilities as opposed to a separate non-profit or voluntary activity (Tennant et al., 2006). This is not to say that not-profit businesses in the western sense do not exist in the Waitakere Pacific community. Indeed the WPB and WPACT, which oversees the Corbans Estate Cultural Market, are examples of not-for-profit organisations along western lines. They are partially funded from the public purse by local government and yet for the latter, there is an expectation of income sourced from sales or commission, sponsorship and grants.

All of the Waitakere ethnic communities were eager to begin enterprise based in cultural knowledge and wanted to progress their thinking beyond the market stall barrier. Although as noted in the section about sharing, a degree of caution was expressed. There were however disagreements about whether to work beyond the in-community Pacific ethnic spheres and connected communities, or to remain within them. The Tongan group was enterprise-ready and enthusiastic and had done some planning. The Samoan groups were well on the way towards cultural enterprise with specific, well-developed plans of their own, working across all of the types of enterprise, Profit, Not Profit or Not for Market. However the Tokelauan group mentioned that while they were experienced in setting up and running cultural enterprise in Tokelau, that some have found it difficult to sustain enterprises like that here in New Zealand since they were dependant on supply of product from either the Islands at high cost or upon many people in the local community who had other commitments. Members of the Tuvaluan community undertake Not Profit and Not for Market activities, but seemed reluctant to engage in For Profit cultural enterprise.

For Profit - to sustain business

All of the discussion groups, from each island nation, had representation to a greater or lesser extent of Pacific people who actively operate 'For Profit' small and medium enterprises. These were usually in the retail sector (food wholesalers, food manufacturers), importers (Pacific foodstuffs, cultural product - arts and crafts) but also service sector businesses such as education, child care, caterers and consultancy. Some of the entrepreneurs who operated micro-enterprises from their family homes wanted to take their part-time businesses to a fulltime level (pan-Pacific entrepreneurs). And indeed some of the people engaged in Not Profit enterprise could see the potential for developing personal and community expertise into profit-

making endeavours. But issues emerged about business continuance, start-up funding, training and the need for long-term mentors. Their past experience had been that mentoring through government-sponsored programmes, or assisted by universities had been too short, too cursory and not capable of addressing cultural issues since habitually they were framed from a western perspective.

Global Commerce – to access global markets

While the notion of global commerce *per se* did not surface specifically in the discussion groups, it is conceivable that a fourth type of business which branded itself as ‘Pacific’ could exist, leveraging a Pacific name, brand or personality. For example: Pacific Blue, a ‘no-frills’ airline company which flies to Pacific Island destinations, that is part of the Virgin Air suite of global companies. Air Polynesia is another example, although this is subsidised and part of the government infrastructure

These four elements, Not for Market, Not Profit (‘business-business’), For Profit (‘business’) and Global Commerce describe an *emic* perspective for an Enterprise dimension, allied to but separate from, the Identity dimension. The categories fundamentally express enterprise intent, not goal as had been proposed in Chapter 2. Goal is too hard and fast, and also - on reflection - was expressed from a Western business frame. Each category is by no means exclusive and their boundaries are, as in the earlier Identity dimension, fuzzy and permeable.

Obligations

The question ‘Can we be both...Pacific and business people?’ sat at the heart of this community enterprise research, epitomising the essential dilemma of living concurrent multiple cultural and work-life realities of numerically small, but culturally distinct groups amongst a mainstream majority. The issues which emerged from the Pacific Entrepreneur and Ethnic Community affirmation discussions for this dimension of cultural enterprise were priorities of business, commitments to community and obligations to family, organisations beyond the immediate community and the nature of obligation.

The Samoa discussion groups said that business was embedded in cultural networks. Thus in their opinion, an enterprise based upon say, the unique cultural knowledge and resources of Samoa could not succeed unless the individual sits within cohesive family and local community structures. Further, that it must have active strategies to preserve cultural traditions and values that are maintained here in New Zealand (Samoa, also Tonga and Tuvalu) as well as integrated into the wider Samoan diaspora elsewhere in New Zealand and back to the Islands (Samoa). This also threw up the question of networks: Who helps Pacific entrepreneurs to become established

in business? Who could help but are not able or willing to do so (reasons for which were beyond the scope of this research)?

In the context of New Zealand, community networks and cultural embeddedness of Pacific entrepreneurs were thought to produce incompatibilities between western commercial practices and Pacific community values. This created fundamental dilemmas for Pacific peoples in business, producing conflicts and contradictions for Pacific entrepreneurs who felt caught between cultural obligations and business practice (pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs, Tonga) in their communities and families and business.

Priorities in business

As a business person, extended families, cultural ceremonies or celebrations and the Church placed heavy expectations of the time and resources that could be committed to social obligations, both as an individual role model and mentor, and as a business entity. For example, being asked to provide sponsorship for sports teams and make donations to fundraising for Church and community capital projects (All). In fact, several discussants felt that family understandings of business practices and cultural expectations were not compatible. For instance, they thought that some family members did not understand basic business principles, such as that inventory in a stock room is not a surplus, but must be kept for future sale, at a certain price in order to remain in business (Tuvalu).

As noted above in the earning income section, if sales were made to Pacific communities, then prices were kept low so that elders, family and other Pacific can access goods and services. But this has an effect on business profitability. Another aspect of profitability was an attitude of 'pay you later' (Tuvalu, pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs). Or, there was a sense that if you were in business that you could 'afford' to give away money and goods to others in your family, because you must be wealthy (pan-pacific Entrepreneurs). There was thus a view that families need to be educated too, not just the person in business. Further, it was difficult for you to reconcile Pacific ways with commercial practice if you were to begin a business based on arts and crafts, and if your markets are in-community because: 'How can you, as a Pacific person start to charge for something that is customary to give away?' (Tuvalu).

Several felt that in order to stay in business, they had to act in ways which were perhaps not compatible with their values, such as sending a 'Palangi out front' because if the Pacific person was there, they felt they could not refuse a request from a cousin (pan-Pacific Entrepreneur). Another way was not to sell to Pacific people and make a shift away to non-Pacific markets or even to non-cultural styles of

business (Samoa). Other workable solutions are mentioned later in the chapter, in the New Zealand-Pacific business section.

Thus while the groups felt that it was essential to remain 'Pacific' in terms of identity and values, the commercial intent of their business and their commitment placed them in direct conflict with the social and community values and obligations that they expected of themselves and which are expected of them. For example, it might mean making a decision that the business must take priority over church, community and perhaps even family, but perhaps at some personal and cultural cost. Some business people do manage this successfully with an offset strategy say, limiting the amount given away, by allocating a provision for it in the budget (also implying a limit) or by supplying to paying customers first, then to others in the community.

Commitments to church and community

The degree of embeddness of an entrepreneur in his/her community was seen as a critical element to enterprise success by both Entrepreneurs and their communities (All) but yet affected their ability to function in business.

The positives were that families and friends come together at community events organised by the Community Boards or every week at church. These are celebrations of cultural uniqueness because families and all their generations come together to worship, speak the language and work on tasks with a common purpose. Despite the role of the church in the loss of specific elements of cultural heritage over centuries in the Pacific, it is ironic that churches continue to play a central role in community cohesion and cultural preservation, since worship (prayers, sermon, hymns) are conducted in the Pacific languages (Tokelau) and feast days and family days see performances practiced and taught by the older community members. Church groups can be an avenue to organise market stalls and fundraisers. For instance for Tokelau if hats are to be made, then elders from the church are heavily involved (Tokelau), and artisans at the Corbans Pacific Arts Market were organised by linking through the church (pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs). But there is a danger that by affiliating to the church groups one might cause factions within other Pacific groups since some denominations are specific to ethnicities.

The discussants said that the church is also a focal point at which to meet all of the people in your network and to gather information about people and expertise. The churches act 'as a *fale* where we go to keep our language perfect, it helps us keep it alive' (Kiribati). The Samoan churches strongly emphasising the fact that the youth should still have a strong sense of their Samoan culture, and to never forget their roots. As they said, 'the church is the foundation of our networks', 'the church is active in preservation of culture and tradition', and 'a Samoan business man must be active in the church and his community' (Samoa). When communities come together

and create arts and crafts for sale, this is an act of community cohesion and cultural preservation since the songs, food, languages that happen during this process pass on cultural knowledge. Some of the Samoan churches saw their role in the community as focal to social, cultural and economic/business development (Samoa). But other ethnicities thought of culture and business as incompatible activities, 'the church cannot be an umbrella to allow people to talk about business. It is separate. Using the church as place to talk about business is morally wrong' (Tuvalu). Commitments that Pacific peoples have to the church are to give money, time and expertise, food and support. 'We go to weddings, funerals, baptisms' (pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs). Need to keep strong relationships with the church. Of the Tuvaluan community, 80% belong to the church. Commitments to church help the community prosper or to fundraise for a church building or to donate food to the Minister. The Tongan discussants said that the wider community supported each other in enterprise development at the community board level, by coming together at events such as the research sessions, and working together to plan ideas such as the child-care centre at Ranui and the Tongan Village (Tonga). Look to community organisations to foster networks that can help Pacific business, foster business education and networks. 'We separate those activities. That is why we have Boards and community groups, they look after the business side' (Tuvalu).

Many groups also thought that contacts should be maintained with key people in the Island homelands so that supplies of traditional resources (raw materials, foodstuffs) and authentic high quality cultural goods made by artisans (both men and women) can be obtained easily by New Zealand residents who may wish to go into a cultural enterprise. These were needed for cultural reasons, such as weddings and funerals, etc by diasporan communities here, and serve to continue the social structures and cultural hierarchies (Tonga). Conversely, community embeddedness could also be a reason not to start a business. Several of the groups noted that failure of an individual in business brought shame to families (Entrepreneurs, Kiribati, Samoa and Tuvalu). For this reason many people said that it is safer just not to try. 'The communities are small, everybody knows everyone else' (Entrepreneurs). Family and social ties are very close so the opinions of elders, family members and others in the cultural community matter to individuals, thus their opinions can inhibit both action and choices (Tuvalu, Entrepreneurs).

Also, support from community elders was required for authorisation of actions in the cultural sphere - to approve and guide actions. The older generation was needed to inform the community about how to make things, which materials to use and why. Thus closer links with the older generation was essential to being able to build strong networks that would then allow preservation of culture (Tokelau).

The support of close networks of family and immediate community they felt were essential for the development and continuance of successful cultural business. Other members of the pan-Pacific and ethnic specific communities understand the values, behaviour and motivations of potential entrepreneurs and people in business (Entrepreneurs) as well as the cultural issues that entrepreneurs face on a daily basis. All of the discussion groups thought that support from community networks was essential to the success of individuals personally and in their business endeavours since entrepreneurs could look to them for expert assistance in culture or business, extra pairs of hands and for sales (All). The Samoan groups said that business and networks were one and the same, success in one should mean success in the other (Samoa). However, along with such support came a long-term expectation and responsibility for reciprocal commitments to look after those people in the networks as well (All).

Obligations to family

Strong family values were key requirements for Pacific business people, since family support was necessary to both driving a business and keeping the culture strong (Samoa, Tuvalu, pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs). Some said that family members were needed for emotional and cultural support as well as for their experience, expertise and assistance to operate a business (Entrepreneurs). Others noted that a Pacific person could always rely upon the wide range of skills present in the community - locally, elsewhere in New Zealand and in the Islands (Samoa). But 'family should come first and business second' (Kiribati).

However, the attitudes of family towards an entrepreneur could undermine a person's confidence. Some reported experiencing an attitude from their families that that if you were in business then you were not 'Pacific' (pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs, Tuvalu). Thus there could be tensions between family cultural obligations and their understanding of an entrepreneur's business priorities. An example of such tension was the issue of 'giving away' versus 'retaining goods for sale'. Some however said, 'we just don't have time with our family commitments to start something new so we keep doing what we know' (Tuvalu, pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs).

A related issue was one of growing individualism in New Zealand, contrasting with responsibility for others such as family and community members. This, plus the breakdown of social barriers of respect, hierarchy and role within families (Tokelau), plus trends for marriages between cultures, contributes to weakening of networks, and exchange obligations. These produce lessened confidence in cultural knowledge, diminishing the mechanisms for transmission of cultural knowledge and social cohesiveness of these communities.

One way to reconcile business practice with cultural values appeared to be structuring ways to develop collective wealth and acknowledge assistance from the family and community, in its establishment and operation. Communities could then come together to develop systems of mutual support. For example, Island-born elders (cultural knowledge) could combine with New Zealand-born youth (business knowledge and knowledge of the western system) [pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs, Tuvalu]. While one could argue that employment, disposable income generated and taxes paid by a Pacific business person being assists the community at large, there are some examples of family or community cooperative models that work. The Tjapukai Dance Theatre in Cairns, Australia is one, which relies upon a three-way management structure of entrepreneur (non-Indigenous married to an Aboriginal), indigenous Australian community, and federal government.

Nevertheless, some discussants said that their families did understand the challenges of being in business (Tuvalu). Where then do family commitments lie? Perhaps they could be placed at the end of the dimension closest to connections inside a cultural community, where the smallest but most intimate relationships reside. These have to do with responsibility for family members' well-being, cultural and physical safety, education and values. Not just from parent to child but between siblings and for grandparents and other relations who are part of an extended family.

Obligations to community

Several agencies were mentioned in the wider community context that could assist Pacific business in Waitakere. The closest being the community boards of each ethnicity. But next, in order of importance, were government agencies such as MPIA, NZTE, local government (WCC) and quasi-governmental organisations like PBT and WPB, as well as business development groups such as Enterprise Waitakere.

The pan-Pacific entrepreneurs were highly critical of the lack of effective assistance for start-up businesses made available to enterprise-ready entrepreneurs and those already in business by advocacy organisations such as PBT and WPB (who work on behalf of Pacific communities) (Entrepreneurs). Their sense was that PBT was not well-resourced, had relatively few staff dedicated to business development and had high staff turnover, especially at the leadership levels. Further that the focus of PBT's energy was wrong-headed in their view - lending support to government agencies and established high performers in business rather than to the grassroots enterprise-ready nascent business person. These comments raise questions about how effectively PBT has assessed its role.

When the initial discussion groups took place in 2005, the Corbans Estate Cultural Market and WPACT initiative was seen as not representative of wider community

interests (Entrepreneurs). It was criticised as being slow to get started - primarily due to lack of resources for the project. WPB, which initiated the project, operates on a small annual grant from WCC for advocacy rather than development purposes. Other factors included lengthy local government decision-making processes for annual, ongoing, or any funds to a new development project, the long time it had taken to establish a body, independent of WPB to oversee the development of the WPACT, and perceived tension between WPB and the new Trust. These tensions were further exacerbated by conflicting support for the project, as either standalone or integrated into larger WCC goals (read budgets, control and management). Representativeness of wider community concerns was also raised, related to issues of perceived capture of the project by a small number of cultural communities and internal conflicts due to separate aspirations for the respective cultural projects of each cultural community.

Nature of obligation

As noted earlier, cultural forces of stricture, encouragement and yet misunderstandings about values (derived from family, church, cultural hierarchies, community and the wider diaspora), also occurred in the concurrent cultural and work-life reality of Pacific entrepreneurs. These have had the effect of distancing a business person from their cultural communities, 'Othering', objectifying and setting them apart. Some of these assisted Pacific entrepreneurs, but others did not. Further, alongside embeddedness were positioned obligations and commitments to family and to community (Church) at local and diasporan levels. Evidence was provided by the discussions that some of their effects were powerful enough to discourage start-up, and affect Pacific business profitability through pricing and gifting obligations and other means.

Yet the support of families and communities remains to Pacific enterprise, and if cultural enterprise is embarked upon then the support of elders, and other cultural experts and family (close and extended), is essential to its cultural (identity) base and operations. However on the business side, attention must be paid to the investments of time and money needed to sustain a business for the long term. Hence a further dimension is proposed, Obligations (commitments).

The three elements of Obligation: to Family, to Church and Community, and to Business describe a loose set of categories for an Obligations dimension, allied to but separate from Identity, Enterprise Intent and the next dimension, Connectedness. The categories are intended to convey the range of commitments which Pacific entrepreneurs juggle as part of their everyday lives and which are requirements of 'belonging' to ethnic 'Us' and yet, create tensions. These occur because a Pacific entrepreneur cannot avoid any of these. Obligations must be managed concurrently, whereas the other dimensions are more distinct in terms of choice.

In terms of theory, the Obligations section revealed the existence of self-referent external organising interfaces, which are indicators of *autopoiesis* as well as internal values and structures (*habitus*) that relate to the social worlds of business, church and community, and family. This section also tells us about the nature of interactions within the community and some of the challenges of working across social worlds with differing self-referent values sets.

Connectedness

This section addresses the dynamics of supply and markets for cultural product. The cultural communities in Waitakere believed that the most important items upon which cultural enterprise might be built were traditional finished products, which were authentic and high quality. Supplies of traditional cultural goods can be obtained from the Islands as raw materials and as finished product. But perhaps the volume of goods could be increased by supplying some items of lesser quality (Tonga) that may be sold at a lower price, as was indicated by the Pasifika Attendees study (see Chapter 6). The issues which emerged from the discussion noted here are supply of cultural product, access to markets, and the nature of connectedness.

Supply of product

Avenues of supply for cultural resources (raw materials and finished product) were primarily via direct links to the Islands, but also to local sources.

Links to the homeland diaspora were facilitated through families and cultural hierarchies. Ideally, the discussants thought, aided by grants from the New Zealand and Island nation governments to enable ethnic communities to import materials, goods and/or master craftsmen and women, and to fund travel back to the homelands for extended periods for New Zealand-born Pacific. Incentives for master artisans and island communities were also thought desirable, such as direct payment for specific made-to-order items that left money in the villages without the intervention of a middleman (pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs, Samoa, Tokelau, Tonga, and Tokelau).

Some Pacific businesses currently in operation were based upon on direct purchasing in the Islands. Entrepreneurs travel to the Islands to select the goods and bring them back to New Zealand for sale at markets and festivals (pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs). Others import goods to New Zealand through their families who reside in the islands, and some residents in the Islands come to New Zealand to sell (Selave, 2005).

One issue associated with homeland supply was, how to ensure sufficient, consistent, and regular supplies of goods (Tonga). High quality authentic goods take a long time and a lot of skill and dedicated effort from master craftsmen and women to produce (Samoa). And, if demand increases, do those master artisans have the capacity to

respond? And were the networks reliable enough to send the goods when required? But would quality be compromised in such a process? There might be a temptation to buy ready-made goods from others at markets to meet a request (All).

Another issue was whether there was enough knowledge still remaining in the homelands to obtain authentic product. For example a Tongan family received a fine mat made in the Philippines that was bought as an authentic Tongan item, and the purchaser had not known the difference (Tonga).

Similar issues are faced when trying to activate local New Zealand supplies of traditional goods, compounded by the complexities of life in the mainstream western economy. For instance, there was concern about the capacity of trans-local New Zealand communities to be able to supply sufficient quantities, even if well organised (Tonga). Groups said that most people in New Zealand were in paid work and it is becoming harder to fit in time to make and supply cultural product within the lifestyle of New Zealand (Tokelau). And it was perhaps even harder to take the time out from paid work to develop a cultural enterprise business idea, plan it, find funds and undertake production alongside all the other demands from families, their ethnic communities, the church and paid jobs (Samoa). A caveat here is that majority of participants said that they were in paid work or retired, the voices of welfare beneficiaries who might have sufficient time but perhaps lack skills and education, may not have been heard explicitly in this research.

There was a sense too that less time is available in the New Zealand context than in the homeland for all community members (old, young and in-between) to come together and work collectively to produce cultural resources (Tokelau). The people who did have time to dedicate to creating cultural resources were older members of the community, but who many thought should not be asked to work hard and who may have other responsibilities in the household, such as child care while the parents work (Tuvalu), often at two jobs. The Mamas at Corbans were praised for their creative abilities and teaching, but were acknowledged as a small group that cannot produce large amounts (Tuvalu). Two of the Mamas took part in the research discussions within their respective ethnicities, although they had been approached as a group after one member requested that their group be included. This did not however eventuate.

Another factor was that the younger generation lack cultural knowledge so that it would be hard to maintain consistency of supply using local labour. Youth need to be trained in the cultural arts and acquire the necessary depth and breadth of knowledge. This would take many years of teaching and a huge amount of work was needed to learn the traditions, heritage, stories and skills necessary to become part of the process and to be able to produce cultural goods of sufficient quality (Samoa).

Further, there were restrictions on what, how much and to whom knowledge can be passed on (Tokelau, Tuvalu, Kiribati, and Tonga). Ethnic communities in New Zealand were thought to be small, youthful in structure with very few skilled elders living locally. Thus the ability to pass on knowledge and supply authentic cultural product, either in a group or within families is constrained (Entrepreneurs, Tokelau, Tuvalu). The structure of each community and its cohesion were also issues in supply in terms of their abilities to draw together expertise and be well organised (Entrepreneurs).

Other issues that emerged were that while making cultural resources was part of cultural identity, it was not however paid work. Choices were often made by Pacific peoples to spend time in paid employment rather than cultural activities.

Sales at the Pasifika Festival were short-lived (All) and reliant on family support to produce cultural items and to pay for materials, without knowing whether their costs would be covered or not. Nevertheless, community, family and other cultural activities still remain important.

Another issue was that authentic raw materials are expensive and slow to obtain since they had to be purchased through family in the Islands and local New Zealand bio-security regulations prevent the import of seed. But substitute materials are not favoured because they are not authentic.

Thus questions arose about whether cultural enterprise could be supplied, or even sustained in New Zealand on a voluntary 'work-now-paid-later' basis (Tokelau). Can sufficient expertise upon which authentic cultural products would be based be created? Or should cultural enterprise be differently conceived? How would 'earnings' be distributed to those whose voluntary effort produced them? In the Islands this might be to a village not an individual, but what would happen here? How would be the materials paid for in the first instance? What was the nature of payment? Money? Exchange? Education? Food? Housing? Could a business be a family or community cooperative and be profitable? Could an individual develop a business based on cultural intellectual property and knowledge that may belong to the whole or portions of the community? These questions were raised, but not answered in this research. Such issues reflect an Island-Pacific Identity affiliation centred in diasporan spheres of influence and link to the Identity dimension.

Access to markets

The other side of the supply equation is market demand, raising the question of who do Pacific communities believe are their markets. The market for Pacific cultural goods in New Zealand is weak (Tonga, Tokelau), the present demand is quite small and so too is the supply of product. But, if the scope of the market was expanded

beyond Pacific communities, or demand within those communities is increased, then the volume of goods needed would also increase, putting pressure on ensuring reliability of supply, as already raised (Pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs, Tokelau). It was also noted that the cohesiveness of homeland linkages would be substantially improved if there were good markets in Auckland for high quality resources (Tonga, Tokelau, Kiribati, Tuvalu, Samoa).

This research showed that Pacific enterprise, in all of its forms, perhaps with the exception of global commerce, at present sells almost exclusively within Pacific and Pacific ethnic community spheres. The current community networks are quite small and scattered around the country although there is a concentration in the Auckland region. The actual volume of trade is quite constrained because of this limited market. The comment was made that Pacific communities were experts at marketing and selling to ourselves (Cook Island) and for using the community networks as markets (Tuvalu, Samoa). Networks of church and social worlds such as local gangs, women's groups, parent's associations etc. which cut across, and are formed along ethnic lines, are methods of distributing goods and supplying cultural expertise, product and raw materials.

Some entrepreneurs had found that they could not survive in business if they sold only to Pacific purchasers because of the small size of the market, delayed payment and the temptation (on cultural grounds) to reduce the price or give the goods away (pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs, Samoa). These people had learned to prioritise sales to those who pay reliably, but always to make provision for elders. Some had developed innovative ways to widen the appeal of Pacific cultural enterprise. For example, *tapa* designs hand-painted onto ceramic platters, or Pacific and other designs painted on quilting fabric (pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs). Examples can be seen in the Pasifika Festival suppliers' study, Chapter 6. A full list of Pacific cultural enterprise ideas suggested by attendees at Pasifika is given in Appendix 12.

Other entrepreneurs had taken proactive steps to find out what the demand was for a product from both Pacific and non-Pacific markets. One example was coconut buns, which had initially been sold by Niuean Mamas only within the communities to Pacific families and at cultural markets. After some market research with Auckland restaurants, the Mamas discovered that there was a demand for authentic Pacific foods from high-end non-Pacific restaurants. So now the Mamas were selling to restaurants, making smaller buns and making much more money from the same ingredients - making a profit by selling to a market which can afford to pay more (Cook Islands).

The annual Pasifika Festival was suggested as a place to test out ideas before applying them more widely. Both Pacific and non-Pacific attend the event and

nascent entrepreneurs could look around the Festival to compare who had brought similar items, what prices were charged, and identify gaps in the market as well as opportunities for new ventures (Cook Islands).

Many of the discussion participants were not confident that they knew how to extend beyond the ethnic and other Pacific networks into wider New Zealand society for survival of their enterprises. This lack of confidence meant that they stayed within the 'comfort zone' of Pacific and ethnic communities where they are known, cared for and supported, thus operating as business within a set of known cultural parameters and constraints and they do not take the risky step of going into business and possible failure (All). Such embeddedness (in-community) might be felt as essential to remaining 'Pacific'. This reinforces the 'Us' and avoids the more difficult issues of confronting the non-Pacific 'Other', but inadvertently creates a barrier to economic survival by removing an option which is available in the market economy context.

If an entrepreneur has gone into business, then their profitability was reported as constrained on several fronts: by cultural issues such as the values of 'families first and business second', apathy, disinterest, and in some cases criticism of enterprise activities from family members, as well as sales to small inelastic markets with little capacity to change or meet increased prices for raw materials. If not already in business then community disincentives often discouraged participation in this alternative means of employment or, if enterprise-ready, individuals found that they risked community/family disenfranchisement (pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs).

The purpose of the original proposal for the PBCC business/cultural/tourism centre was in fact to bridge this gap to wider New Zealand society by providing 'incubator' style support for nascent business, supported by a profitable tourism attraction. This vision was still strongly supported by the community discussion groups (All) as a desirable solution to access wider markets and to build capacity. However, despite some community consultation in the initial years of concept development, that project had not anticipated the strength of ethnic-specific will to work independently, or the realities of in-community connectedness and focus. It did not consult at an ethnic-specific level (as this work has done, but nor were there resources available to do so at the time). Perhaps the current Waitakere Pacific Arts Centre planned for the Corbans Arts Precinct in Henderson will address this issue.

Ways that Island 'Us' can bridge perceived gaps to the Palangi 'Other' are offered in the New Zealand-Pacific workable solutions noted later in this chapter. All discussion groups said that prior to commencing planning for the development of cultural enterprise, that there had to be clarity about which cultural knowledge and

resources should or should not appear the business room and market place. The advice from elders was critical on this score (All).

Both the supply and market dynamics described by the discussion groups shared common ground in three respects. Firstly, they described a primary focus of local activity (including the diasporan supply of finished goods, raw materials and expertise) based around in-community networks. Secondly, they noted that some degrees of connectedness outside did occur, if people had found ways to interface with 'non-Pacific'. Yet the bulk of the Pacific enterprise (Not for Market, Not Profit and even For Profit to some extent) effort was inwardly focussed. Thirdly, the For Profit business people noted that they had resorted to external markets not for preference, but rather because the volume of goods sold was too small to survive if they relied upon Pacific alone.

Nature of connectedness

'Connectedness' is suggested as an important dimension for viable cultural enterprise. Its scope includes both demand from markets and supply, noting however that supply of cultural enterprise is constrained by local cultural capacities and that the costs of imports often necessitated local innovation (market dependant). Three types of connectedness categories are proposed – 'Connected Inside', 'Connected Outside' and 'Not Connected'. These vary in degree of proximity and distance from 'Us' and 'Other' for each ethnicity. There is not then one definition for all Pacific ethnicities, but several variants along a single dimension.

Connected inside community

Who is considered as 'inside' and who is 'outside' a community? These answers are more or less complex, depending on the ethnic community. The community discussions illustrated that for Samoa 'outside' might be the connected communities of other Pacific cultures, but for Tonga 'outside' can mean other sections of the Tongan social hierarchy. Whereas for Tokelau, Kiribati and Tuvalu 'outside' can mean other families from different islands, these boundaries implying both distance and proximity, and relating to cultural perception. Earlier in this chapter, market perceptions were explicated in terms of several levels: local, regional, connected and global. The ethnic communities in this chapter describe the communities with whom they were prepared to share cultural knowledge, and the nature of sharing similarly, but with some differences.

'Community' could be seen as the sphere of cultural influence (Gibson & Nero, 2007) or the diaspora of an ethnic community. Pacific peoples who live in New Zealand maintain very close links to the Island homelands through families who reside there, making frequent short and long-term stays in New Zealand. Large amounts of remittances were sent to the Islands to educate youth, care for elderly

relatives, invest in businesses, etc. So that, 'within' a cultural sphere can mean family, blood relatives or cultural community living in the same neighbourhood, elsewhere in Auckland or New Zealand and based in the homeland village, Island or nation. Thus, encompassing all of the diaspora, no matter where they live in the world.

Connected outside community

'Outside' as described by the communities in the discussion groups could encompass other Pacific cultures and nations, as well as non-Pacific. Connected communities were proximate. They intersected with and were part of ethnic specific cultural spheres. They included ecumenical networks, volunteer networks engaged in social sector issues such as Pacific advocacy, health, women, family violence, etc., Pacific professional networks and frequent non-Pacific travellers or workers in the Pacific nations or communities. Often these were also ethnically based and would then be part of the 'inside' cultural community.

Not connected

Beyond the connected community another level of individuals and communities were identified, reflecting non-Pacific regional demographics and cultural concentrations, either resident in the region or visitors. The discussions groups referred to these as 'non-Pacific'. These were 'distant' from Pacific communities in both a cultural and physical sense, even if they lived nearby because interactions were infrequent and minimal (dystopic). The actions of sharing within cultural spheres appear to be primarily non-monetary and were undertaken for other types of benefit such as cultural preservation, support for endeavours, financial assistance or investment in relationships to sustain the community for the future. Sharing with connected communities may or may not include a cash basis and includes other benefits such as equity of access, expressions of cultural identity, education and promotion of cultural uniqueness. But sharing beyond these two communities to engage with non-Pacific markets seemed able to occur on a fully commercial basis, perhaps because family, cultural or ecumenical obligations were not there. Conceptually then, 'Not-connected' might be located at the other end of the dimension from 'Connected inside'.

The theorisation of this dimension refers specifically to 'Otherness' theory and to interactions within, between and outside the multiple communities of the Waitakere area, the 'Us'. The discussion groups revealed that the majority of transactions carried out inside the communities, bordered on *utopic*, idealised interactions, which create symbolic and cultural capital. Except for those that are commercial in nature, where the desire for economic capital shifted the sphere of interaction into *heterotopic* realm, some of which could become tourism enterprises.

These four dimensions, Connectedness, Obligations, Identity and Enterprise Intent describe an *emic* perspective on the parameters which influence the character of Pacific cultural enterprise in the New Zealand mainstream context, revealed by the Waitakere Pacific community discussions. Each dimension is made up of a range of pivot points or categories upon which meaning turns, along societally structural continua. These reflect distinct attitudes, values and assumptions, pluralistically, across all of the Pacific ethnic communities.

The community discussions also informed us about the factors which enable transactions, business or otherwise to take place. This will be addressed next.

Between world views - New Zealand-Pacific enterprise

Regardless of intent, commitments, connectedness and identity, the groups expressed widespread concern about the capacity of Pacific communities to start, continue and succeed in business (All). Issues which emerge in this section are island traditions of entrepreneurship, enterprise readiness, emergence of a New Zealand-Pacific style of business, cultural cohesiveness, an iconic centre for each ethnicity and workable New Zealand-Pacific Business strategies.

Island traditions of entrepreneurship

Discussants said that in the Island homelands some of the family income comes from remittances sent from New Zealand and elsewhere around the globe. Other sources were paid employment in the State, not-for-profit or business sectors, and earnings from indigenous cultural tourism enterprises. These include the supply of souvenirs, performance, clothing and management of accommodation, tours, etc. (Tokelau). Many of the groups said that enterprise is well supported and quite successful in the Islands. In their experience, family members ran businesses in the home islands, especially the women, used to selling to tourists at the airport and hotels and supported by governmental assistance, such as the National Council for Women (Tuvalu).

Thus the extent of business failure, lack of confidence and success here in New Zealand was puzzling for some because they had come from an active and thriving enterprise culture in the Islands (Entrepreneurs, Kiribati, Samoa, Tuvalu). The practice of business in New Zealand is very different to business as experienced in the Islands. The thinking is different (Tonga). Island enterprise took place in an economy perceived as without competitiveness and now some people said that they find themselves immersed in a confusing, contradictory and competitive market economy that is hard to understand or know what to do (Kiribati). In New Zealand, income from cultural enterprise was reported as limited, due to 'brand confusion', dissonance between Pacific in New Zealand and the perceptions of non-Pacific

markets that Pacific enterprise happens in the Islands, not New Zealand. Further, that accessibility to the homeland affected a community's ability to preserve ethnic cultural uniqueness, and that Pacific effectiveness in business was influenced by a poor understanding of the functioning of the western economy.

Enterprise readiness

The Kiribati community said they were ready to embrace any and all new knowledge so that they can progress quickly in the New Zealand business world (Kiribati). The Tuvaluan groups seemed impatient to take on entrepreneurial challenges and to drive new initiatives, for the betterment of all communities as well as their own. The Samoan and Tongan groups already have enterprise plans underway for both community and economic development. Yet the Tokelauan groups were more cautious in their approach.

All felt there was a lack of basic business acumen in all Pacific communities whether in business skills, entrepreneurial attitudes, understandings of concepts of supply and demand, and basic knowledge of what a business needs to run (pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs). But, across all communities a need was stated to improve levels of basic numeracy, literacy and English language skills essential to doing business in New Zealand.

There was also a pressing need to build business competencies and thereby build confidence and ensure readiness, such as how to obtain up-to-date market information, as well as training about how to develop a business and to remain profitable and how to access start-up funding and finance ongoing operations (Kiribati, Samoa, pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs). Further, some thought that the elders would benefit from knowing how to run a business and how to attract customers (Tokelau). But successful, sustainable cultural enterprise could not happen unless the younger generation was trained in the cultural skills required to make products and so can keep an enterprise going for the long-term (Samoa).

Solutions to some of these issues are proposed below. But regardless of possible solutions, the core issue was 'what to supply' via the networks? This returns us to the core question of what to share and what not to share, along with the issue of uniqueness of each ethnic community and to issues of cultural knowledge dilution by mass production (Entrepreneurs), loss of cultural meaning and the need to manage cultural transactions (Samoa, Tonga).

Cultural cohesiveness

An essential element of creating enterprise capacity amongst Pacific communities was cultural cohesiveness. Individual Pacific identities are central to uniqueness and to establishing a competitive edge in business. 'Reach into the unique cultures, stick to our values and protect our cultures, then when we were all strong and equal we can

come together and leverage off each other', attempts to work together in a pan-Pacific way at present were considered unrealistic (Samoa) because the disparities in numbers, education and length of time in New Zealand between the groups are so large. Yet it was acknowledged that smaller and newer communities might find it advantageous to link with a bigger cultural community until they were established (Kiribati, Tonga).

The Samoan, Tongan, Tokelauan and Tuvaluan communities wanted to work separately, within their own intellectual, cultural and fiscal resources. A good way to start was to create cohesiveness and from that base, develop strength in both cultural knowledge and business practice (Tokelau). It was also thought essential to map the expertise of each community for cultural, accountancy, business, legal, skills, etc. (pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs, Tuvalu, Samoa). From there, the next step might be to work out how to mobilise the family and cultural networks of business-skilled children and cousins, elders with strong cultural knowledge, supported by the wider networks of community boards and organisations (Tuvalu). While this was best done by each group on their own terms, the Tuvaluan community said they would like to lead the resolution of mobilising effort amongst all Pacific communities. This they thought could be done by planning and running workshops with WPB and WMS about all sorts of issues. For example, workshops about where to get business advice and funds, how to acquire market intelligence, how to design for market appeal, or how to produce goods profitably, etc., but not until the needs had been identified.

The entrepreneurs said that they were not in business for themselves, but rather to help their families. This idea establishes both the intent and the process of establishing and running a business. The process they use is to work within the immediate family first, to test ideas, to be challenged by them on safe ground, and to add business skills from the younger ones to the cultural knowledge of the parents. If they do not have the skills or knowledge needed, then the entrepreneurs use their collective networks to find others who do. Then, they go to the elders for a cultural perspective, and finally out into the community networks for wider sales and business advice (Entrepreneurs). But it was very important to keep up to date with who were the key people to go to and which existing business owners were willing to give advice (Tuvalu).

Long-term culture-broker/mentors were identified as a key means by which cohesive Pacific communities could learn to bridge the apparent divide between Pacific cultures and mainstream business. Such a mentor would understand the conduct of mainstream business and be able to communicate how to reconcile mainstream business and ethnic specific values (Kiribati). Mentors would be sought for this specific expertise and were thought to be most needed for the enterprise-ready people and embryonic businesses from within the communities (Tuvalu). They should be

sought first from within the ethnic communities, and facilitated by bodies such as PBT or WPB (Kiribati). The intent of the PBCC incubator concept in 2001 had been to provide such a role. Universities could also support communities since their research horizons were long-term (for example the research programme of this thesis which has mentored the ethnic communities and new Pacific researchers, thus building internal capacity) (Tonga). This is an issue for assistance from PBT or NZTE and government agencies since they need to show rapid measurable change. But first, the need was to plan, decide on a direction, prepare carefully and move slowly, aided by the mentor. The mentor needs to be in place all the way from micro-enterprise to SME development, so that ethnic-specific culture and values were not lost in the process (Tonga).

Iconic centre - for Island culture and business

Each of the ethnic communities identified the pressing need for a focal point for the conduct of business at which each community in Waitakere. These ethnic-specific centres, even if small, could be located, identified and be places where each ethnicity felt they could 'belong'. Culture-specific separateness (intentional marginality?) was seen as essential to the maintenance of cultural integrity, cohesive social structures, cultural hierarchies, language and to preserve the unique way of life of each Island nation in New Zealand. They would constitute havens but also be places of cultural strength from which to build bridges to wider society. Separateness was considered essential to be able to self-identify, to reinforce *habitus* and to keep ancestral traditions alive but pragmatically, to regroup in the face of confusion. They were seen as places where the generations could be brought together to problem solve, innovate and to confront issues that affect community members and determine ways forward. The iconic centres were envisaged as separate from churches but could also be cultural centres. However, some of the Samoan churches saw their role in the community as focal to social, cultural and economic development (Samoa).

The Tongan community expressed this thought clearly:

'Create an iconic cultural centre ... a *fale*, a cluster of buildings, dedicated to preserving, maintaining the cohesiveness of social structures and hierarchies of the Tongan way of life. Smaller community centres around the region could come together in this core, supplying product and people, sharing cultural skills, teaching, hearing and speaking the Tongan language, and trying out new ideas in a safe environment, authorised and commented on by elders.

First and foremost the Tongan Cultural Village would be intended to serve the Tongan community (who would have access free of charge) but people of other cultures would be welcomed, but as paying customers. Tourists and non-Tongans would be able to see how things were made, to appreciate the skill, care and time that master craftsmen and women need to create Tongan cultural arts. However, a long-term mentor/manager should facilitate the design, realisation and management of the Village and its embryonic businesses, which would have both social and commercial goals.

The Tongan Village activities were envisaged as being culture-based but would also include services that teach western life skills and mentor business development and continuance, and most importantly to help the community hold onto Tongan cultural values and add western values alongside' (Tonga).

Alongside this desire for hegemony went a desire to retain and develop unique identities for each culture that would help to distinguish one culture from another. In enterprise terms, this meant developing a brand – ‘brand Tonga’, ‘brand Kiribati’, etc (Tonga, Kiribati, Tuvalu, Samoa, Tokelau). A quality mark could be developed – to identify ‘Us’ alongside ‘Othered Pacific’ and distinct from ‘Other’ non-Pacific, creating an *autopoietic* self-referent system for identity (but in terms of difference not sameness).

The iconic centre concept has surfaced several times throughout this research. Its perennial and ubiquitous nature leads one to conclude that it is an essential feature of enacting any cultural enterprise reality for New Zealand Pacific communities. However, perhaps it is a metaphor for the disconnectedness and liminal state that Pacific peoples feel, dispersed, and rootless in the New Zealand mainstream context. The reality of developing common ground for Pacific of all ethnicities in Waitakere has so far been unconvincingly achieved, despite the goodwill and investment of the WPB and Waitakere City Council in the provision of dedicated staff, periodic funding and allocation of Council-owned and maintained buildings to the effort at Corbans.

Nature of New Zealand-Pacific business

The entrepreneurs’ and community discussions identified that, despite all that has been raised above, that they could detect something new in the business world, allied to increasing education levels amongst Pacific peoples in New Zealand (whether Island or New Zealand born), the passage of time and more experience as employees and managers.

They noted that a contemporary New Zealand-Pacific style of business was emerging in response to local conditions (pan-Pacific Entrepreneurs) – see Table 5-4. These are business people who walk in both worlds equipped with cultural knowledge and business skills, using distinctive business strategies. The strategies are allied to contemporary cultural traditions and to the New Zealand-Pacific Identity, but not exclusively. The innovations they employ are examples of hybridity or entrepreneurial capital formed from the leverage of cultural and financial capital, in the context of social worlds.

According to the discussions, a new style of enterprise suited to contemporary New Zealand Pacific communities would have the following characteristics. They:

- Take an holistic view of business - while Pacific enterprises are embedded in culture, they are supported by the New Zealand business environment rather than separate from cultural contexts
- Establish cooperative (central) support for each community that provides mentoring, networking, space to make and store, technology infrastructure,

- Have joint purchasing power and access to micro and bridging finance during lean times, plus spiritual and cultural guidance
- Plan across the community for complementary and additive programmes of activities that incorporate aspects of Not For Market, Business-business (Not Profit) and Business (Profit) that are suited to elders, people employed part-time, fulltime and youth
- Plan to step up from having ‘a job with micro-enterprise in the garage on the side’ to becoming a ‘cultural enterprise SME employer’
- Align products and services with both non-Pacific and Pacific values. For example, the current non-Pacific ‘Sunsafe’ message is consistent with Kiribati’s values of not exposing the body and could be an opportunity to develop ‘cover-up’ clothing
- Develop business acumen and cultural expertise in order to become empowered and confident in networks inside and outside Pacific communities
- Nurture New Zealand-Pacific entrepreneurship from the bottom-up, youth, families and elders (in church and schools) and across families
- Work to develop types of business that return benefits (non-cash and cash) across the communities who support them

To summarise these workable solutions, New Zealand-Pacific entrepreneurs: a) make sure that a non-Pacific person is located at the sales counter since that person would not be expected by Pacific community members to understand or meet Pacific cultural obligations (Entrepreneurs), b) have someone skilled in business managing the accounts and Pacific people explaining tradition and cultural background of products (Tonga), c) do not allow treasures in the business room (Tokelau), e) keep good records of who pays right away, who says ‘pay you next week’, and ‘I’ll pay you later’ and supply to them in that order, but usually keep something aside to give to elders and the Minister, and, f) work out ways to incorporate ‘giving away’ into business.

Table 5-4 provides some strategies that New Zealand Pacific entrepreneurs have found to be workable bridges that successfully integrate cultural knowledge and western practise, thus working across both worlds and enacting both sets of values. Other ideas heard in the discussion groups included having an accountant that knows the business you are in, rather than someone who is your accountant because they are Pacific and a relative. And, develop excellence in both culture and business to be in high demand because you understand well how each one works (Cook Islands). Several entrepreneurs said that it is essential to innovate around culture - arts and crafts are not frozen in time - they change and evolve throughout history.

Table 5-4 Workable New Zealand-Pacific Enterprise Solutions

Practice	Action
Plan	Plan to be profitable versus always at breakeven or under Cooperative planning within community rather than separate Expect and plan for ups and downs over the years Build confidence ourselves, don't wait for others to do it for us
Budget	Add 'goodwill' as a social benefit into the balance sheet Budget for expected gifting, discounts or free-of-charge items Provide for koha and discounts in annual accounts Establish an internal limit to the level of each gift (and number)
Sales	Sell first, give away after versus give first, sell after Evaluate what others sell (appeal, quality, size, packaging, who) Do not allow treasures in the business room
Price	Price to cover all costs (materials and labour, and 'overheads') Price at 'cost-plus' (fixed percentage, or contribution) High price for quality goods versus lower price for lesser quality e.g. expert weaving at higher price and practice weaving at lower
Expert advice	Long-term- mentoring versus short term advice Bring in Palangi to fast-track learning cultural business viability Skilled person to mastermind & mentor long-term development Have an accountant that knows the business you are in, rather than someone who is your accountant because they are Pacific and a relative Long term training for families and short courses
Produce	Short time to-market reduces costs Locally made finished product is cheaper to supply than imported Locally grown materials are cheaper Long time-to market is more expensive
Support	Become part of the New Zealand business community Family to help (volunteers), but make sure you cover all the cost of materials Keep costs low but set prices higher than the cost to produce (plus some extra to help with hidden costs like salaries, taxes)
Profitability	Locate your business in transport-accessible areas with high foot traffic Form ethnic-specific community collectives, plus earn revenue & get government support too
Finance	Cross subsidise: make higher profit margin from sales to non-Pacific (use New Zealand materials), rather than low profit from sales to Pacific (use authentic materials) Seek micro-enterprise loans Build a savings cushion

Master craftsmen add their personal touches to traditional designs, so all Pacific could create 'New Zealand-Pacific' traditions by using expertise and imagination to present traditional designs differently (Entrepreneur). For example contemporary Island-made goods imported from the Islands alongside traditional arts and crafts.

Interest levels were high amongst the community discussions about what sorts of adaptations should be made to increase the appeal to local non-Pacific markets (Tonga, Entrepreneurs, Samoa), but an issue was raised earlier about the processes for authorisation within cultural communities about the use of traditional design in new forms. The Pasifika Stallholders survey in Chapter 6 provides several examples of local New Zealand-Pacific innovations that appeared to be popular for both Pacific and non-Pacific customers.

Time to market is a crucial element of profitability, as is quality, both are related to price. Good quality authentic goods take a long time to make, whether supplied from the Islands or made locally. Market research (the Pasifika attendees and the International/Domestic tourist studies in Chapter 6) noted two price points, according to quality. There could then be separate prices for different markets - higher if authentic and sold outside the community and lower prices if made of New Zealand materials, made by a young weaver ('practice weaving') - or sold inside the community (Tokelau). Another alternative is to make goods at the high quality level, but buy materials at the lower price, and in this way maintain the traditional value but be cheaper to produce (Cook Islands).

But the comment was also made that coordination of pricing and the selection of goods on offer at markets or festivals are not well differentiated in venues where several Pacific nations sell concurrently (see the Pasifika suppliers study, Chapter 6). It is essential for income earning that community members do not compete with each other (Entrepreneurs). It might be useful to have someone from outside the cultural communities to price the goods fairly (Entrepreneurs).

It was essential too to know the cost structure of a business including start-up funds, source and repayment terms (Kiribati), production costs. Decisions about whether to use local materials, smaller formats, grow foods and plants, the amount of rent and tax to set aside, provision for power, staff and the cost of sales all affect business viability, as does the amount of money used for marketing (Entrepreneurs). These measures have increased the comfort level of current entrepreneurs. But there was still concern about how individuals would be perceived by the community for selling traditional products (Tonga).

The issue of differentiation also emerged in the context of successful business. Ways to differentiate suggested were to show what each island looks like in a video, use

hands-on activities to demonstrate cultural knowledge or that visitors can try out (Cook Islands) and to attach the story of the piece to the product. The heritage of an item is important and should be acknowledged in the transaction to reflect respect for the person and the village that the maker was from (Samoa). The groups noted too that consideration should be given to locating a cultural centre at the Auckland Airport, in Rotorua and other high traffic tourist destinations (Samoa) or in centrally located malls, easily accessible by bus. Further, that new technologies could be used to interest tourists in local products (Samoa). Leverage of these strategies could be maximised by links to external organisations, such as Waikato Management School, WPB and PBT.

These four dimensions, Identity (values), Enterprise intent (goal), Connectedness (markets), and Obligations (commitments) describe the sailing conditions encountered on the enterprise journey. Some of these were anticipated by the community participants, but others were unexpected. The discussions raised issues that had not been spoken of openly, but which are important influencers of decisions, direction and capability for communities, entrepreneurs and their families. It was evident that new awarenesses and understandings emerged in the discussions.

Discussants acknowledged that the meetings had helped them think about the past, the present and the future as well as find out more about issues and tensions that ‘everyone knows but no-one talks about’. The character of the dimensions challenge the western view of the interface between business and culture (interactions, encounters and transactions noted in Chapter 2), showing subtleties, contrasting viewpoints and cultural nuancing from Pacific world views. These dimensions could form the basis of a new model of New Zealand-Pacific business as well as describe the nature of in-community attitudes and action (*utopic*), vis-à-vis the business side (*heterotopic* for some entrepreneurs and communities, but *dystopic* for others).

Framing Pacific cultural enterprise

The Waitakere Pacific community discussions described the parameters of sustainable Pacific cultural enterprise in the mainstream context that reflect attitudes, values and assumptions seen across all of the ethnic communities. This does not imply that the dimensions are pan-Pacific. Far from it, they are conceptual abstractions that summarise the experiences of plural ethnicities. In fact, a different experience could be expressed through these dimensions for each ethnicity, or even perhaps each individual.

Enterprise is based upon transactions between a supplier and a consumer/receiver of goods and services, both tangible and intangible. Transactions can occur inside a community or organisation, with customers and with the external environment.

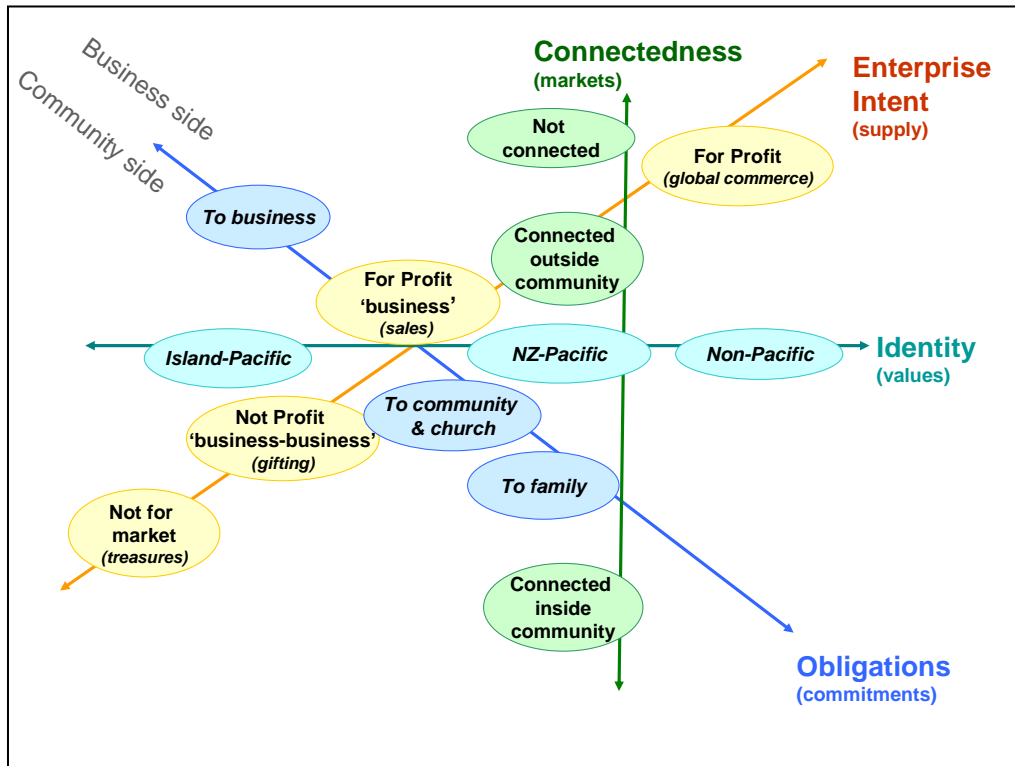
Transactions in the context of community-initiated products and services are informally managed. The initial conclusion of these community studies is that such transactions occur in several ways, ranging from inside the community to beyond, and that the nature of these transactions and the challenges that arise depends on the criteria that position communities (if working cooperatively) and working entrepreneurs.

Determination of where an enterprise or entrepreneur is placed on these dimensions describes a transactional nexus. The character of the nexus should describe issues, challenges and dilemmas that may affect the viability of an enterprise, whether commercial or not. In theory, decisions made on each of the issues would help to frame strategies for enterprise development, whether commercial or not. In the cultural community environment which depends upon ancestral knowledge, such decisions would serve either to protect or expose the uniqueness, i.e. the competitive advantage of each ethnicity, but should also assist a community to manage factors in the internal and external environment that might hinder or facilitate success. Examples of the decisions might be choices not to share certain elements of culture beyond connected communities (Samoa), not to show the entire creative process (Kiribati, Tokelau, Tuvalu), to create reproductions that do not replicate the originals such as smaller size, shorter duration of dances or using local materials (Tonga) and perhaps to develop new techniques (Tokelau) or cultural items which reflect new versions of each ethnicity and/or Pacific New Zealand (Entrepreneurs). Put together, the four dimensions provide a visual and conceptual summary of the character of New Zealand-Pacific Cultural Enterprise - Identity, Enterprise Intent, Connectedness and Obligations (Figure 5-6).

This research was primarily done to reflect Pacific cultural tourism enterprise (host) voices, so the intersection of Connectedness with Identity is placed just beyond New Zealand-Pacific position, between it and the 'non-Pacific' position on Figure 5-6. This diagram also summarises the scope of Pacific enterprise in terms of management and sociological theory. Thus, Enterprise Intent has to do with supply of product and the cultural economy. Identity refers to values (*habitus*), both cultural and entrepreneurial. The Connectedness dimension describes market characteristics as well as interaction dynamics, reflecting *utopic*, *heterotopic* and *dystopic* interactions. The Obligations dimension, expresses *autopoetic* entrepreneurial, cultural, and spiritual as well as community structures.

The framework also suggests that there may be a perceived 'community side' and a 'business side' to enterprise activities in the cultural sphere. Yet the realities are that these are porous, not fixed or rigid boundaries. Such porousness may aid connectedness to non-Pacific communities, help to ease the acceptance of difference,

Figure 5-6 Framing New Zealand-Pacific Cultural Enterprise



permit enrichment of artistic statements of culture and ease perceived pan-Pacific issues. Their fuzziness need not impinge on the core values of ethnic culture, but rather, creates opportunities for communities and individuals to exercise innovation, if desired.

A related question is - are core culture values 'better' than those based on individual talent regardless of background or visa versa? This is complex issue but one which is important in the light of ongoing change as migrant adaptations take place. These dimensions may hold for other cultures but are yet to be tested. This diagram could also be used to assess enterprise readiness by undertaking a mapping exercise with each community or group of entrepreneurs since it roughly divides into community values on one side, and business values on the other.

Dilemmas and decisions

The issues identified in the Deep Reading analysis were able to be aligned quite closely with those of the 'outsider-insider' view. For example 'preserve culture', 'business embedded in cultural networks', 'cultural diffusion', and 'different attitudes to culture/enterprise between the generations'. However their value is in identifying the underlying dilemmas and decisions that the five ethnic communities face. If these dilemmas are canvassed and answered during community discussions, they could provide guidance about strategies to manage the issues and help to alter the

positionality of each community or entrepreneur regarding ways to build entrepreneurial capital.

Figure 5-7 shows a series of issues (dilemmas, and perhaps decisions) that proceed sequentially, initiated from a key question heard throughout all of the conversations: ‘Do we have to give up our culture to become business people?’ The sequence progresses through a series of concerns about how to reconcile profoundly different cultural values and western lifestyles, to remain proficient in homeland languages and yet become adept in mainstream language, literacy and numeracy and to overcome seemingly inevitable intergenerational differences that arise over time. The loop ends with a New Zealand-Pacific enterprise solution that bridges both Pacific culture and western business.

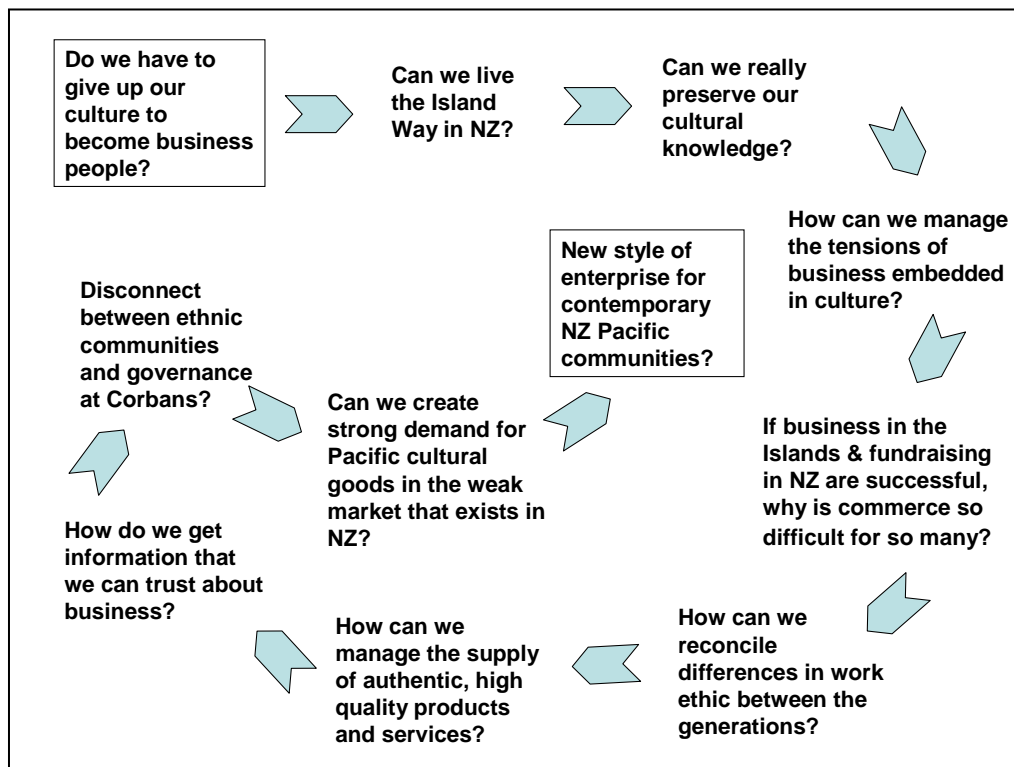
Some scepticism was noted about whether it is even possible for Pacific people to be in business in New Zealand because of differences between Pacific cultural and western ‘business’ values, the difficulties of creating demand and if successful how to ensure supply. Some suggest that cultural enterprise might be an even more difficult proposition. But these questions say far more about the conditions of experienced by Pacific at the margins of New Zealand society than the surface view was able to penetrate. For example the questions can we live the way we want to in New Zealand? And can we really preserve our culture? Imply a struggle to maintain language, lifestyle and community cohesion.

Business viability is also questioned but with puzzlement since Pacific is successful in business in the Islands and in fundraising in New Zealand, but why then is it so hard to make headway here? Is it because of difficulty obtaining the high quality of supply and standards that Pacific assume would be required, or that the information they received cannot be trusted or was inaccurate, or that the dream of a cultural and business centre at the Corbans’ art precinct have not been fulfilled? A sense of cynicism emerges, plus a lack of hope.

Thus the underlying sense from this information is that whilst a position of marginality might provide a unique selling proposition and competitive edge that position at the same time inhibits success and access to mainstream. The dilemmas and choices in Figure 5-7 were extracted from the edited community transcripts.

The dilemmas could be considered as choices but actually state the nature of a Pacific person dilemma in terms of, which way do I go? What choice should I make here? How do I weigh these things up? Who can help me? These are not dilemmas to be solved alone but issues to discuss in each community prior to taking action. Since they have been synthesised from all of the Pacific community information, the list also indicates preferences and values and hints of common Pacific *habitus*.

Figure 5-7 Issue - Dilemmas and Decisions



This research has shown that Pacific business is embedded in culture and in networks of community values and identity. But it has also shown the importance of ethnic-specific contexts, each with their own uniqueness, treasures, traditions and contemporary challenges. Perhaps enterprise education should be similarly embedded in families and the respective ethnic communities. In-family education would enable Pacific families and entrepreneurs to learn about the values, practices, concepts and attitudes of business at the same rate and ensure that family members understand the challenges faced by their relatives in the business world and can actively support their endeavours. The *habitus* of the informal non-cash economy is radically different to that of the formal market economy, so that tensions can emerge for diasporan (and indigenous) ethnic entrepreneurs that place them at odds with their familial values. When a nascent entrepreneur learns the new language and concepts of the 'business' world, they are equipped with a set of tools and skills that their family, who may not have had the same education, cannot understand – thereby creating tensions between them. A shift to in-family, in-community education, specific to each ethnicity might alleviate these issues. The next section describes the role of 'Enablers'.

Enablers

Each ethnic community seemed to be at a different stage of development. Each would start on an enterprise journey from a different position depending on its position in the homeland economy, pre-migration education, and cultural

cohesiveness. Each has a different pattern of immigration and history in New Zealand (and elsewhere in their respective diaspora). Some, have been resident in the country for over 100 years, some arrived as agricultural workers, others as high school graduates. Each group has a different demographic make up and capacity to enter the education, economic and social systems of this new environment. Each has more or less critical mass of numbers, more hierarchical social systems, etc.

The research began by assuming that all ethnic communities were at the same stage of development and had the same aspirations. This is simply not so. Thus there is no real reason for ethnic communities to push to try to be the same, or do as well as others. Each must take a different path because they have different goals, starting points and sets of needs. Nonetheless, each can learn from the experience of others if they so wish. The analysis also revealed there were some people, processes and places which, if they act in the interests of Pacific communities, could assist with enterprise development – named respectively as Enablers and Stepping Stones. Table 5-5 is not intended to imply any particular hierarchy or assignment of role but is a way of scoping the range of mechanisms associated with the dilemmas and decisions. ‘Enablers’ are primarily people and organisations which can facilitate or hinder the progress of Pacific peoples in terms of cultural enterprise development. Stepping Stones are both processes and places. As processes, Stepping Stones could be organised into a sequence of actions that could be taken if a community wishes to assess the starting point, identify the destination, and take steps to journey towards it. The community discussions (Appendices 1 to 5) identified action strategies for language nests, play centres, cultural centres and others to preserve and sustain culture.

The enabling transactions discussion informed the questions of social worlds, support networks and also reinforced the notion of cultural embeddedness. It also provided further evidence of community cohesiveness (and inherent weaknesses). The locales at which a role might take place, for instance the church was identified as important needed for the effective functioning of Pacific communities, a place at which to both preserve culture and for some, to consider enterprise. Role theory was invoked in terms of who can or cannot be responsible for which actions, regardless of whether they should, and indicated power imbalances between cultural and economic hierarchies, yet demonstrated that in some instances at least the ‘powerless’ are becoming ‘powerful’. The information also challenged the notion of incompatible cultural values and business practices which had been inherently assumed by the researchers (and the cultural communities). Evidence was provided of successful businesses which disprove that contention. Further, the analysis supported the Pacific Leaders and Ethnic Community business values study contention for the existence, not of one, but several ‘Pacific Ways’ of doing business and the continuance across countries of Island enterprise that can and is working.

Table 5-5 Enablers and Stepping Stones

Inside community	
ENABLERS - People	STEPPING STONES – Processes
Immediate Family	Exchanges of goods, people, knowledge. Protect culture, treasures, language, patterns and designs.
Relatives	Exchanges of goods, people, knowledge.
Friends	Exchanges of goods, people, knowledge.
Elders, <i>matua</i>	Access cultural resources materials, tools, equipment, history, stories, meaning, and significance. Use and teach protocols. Approve/authorise. Communicate context/significance.
Chiefs, <i>Matai</i>	Leadership. Transmit <i>épistème</i> and values. Preserve cultural hierarchies. Protect culture, treasures, language, patterns and designs. Approve/authorise. Communicate context and significance.
Mentors	Guide enterprise development.
Leaders	Leadership. Anticipate and manage change. People who stand up and look to the future. Advocates, navigators, managers, chiefs.
<i>Tofunga</i>	Access cultural knowledge, spirituality, sacredness, treasures, expertise, wisdom, language, values, and protocols. Retain sacred hierarchies. Protect culture, treasures, language, patterns and designs.
Reverend Ministers	Access cultural knowledge – spirituality, sacredness, treasures, expertise, wisdom, language, values, protocols. Retain sacred hierarchies. Give away for free.
Ethnic community members	Ensure that culture is part of everyday life, not part time.
Ethnic Community Boards	Access people – elders, mentors, advisors, backers, investors, supporters, willing hands Learn culture, history, traditions, Pacific Diaspora, New Zealand society and context, language (Pacific, English), numeracy, literacy, business Learn – at home, in community, school, tertiary certificates, and short courses Come together to discuss issues, plot a direction and make decisions. Assess community cultural and enterprise position. Preserve and pass on the ‘Kiribati, Samoan, Tongan, Tokelauan, and Tuvaluan Ways’ down through the generations. Create touristic experiences
WPB Ethnic Reps	Participation in community. Anticipate and manage change.
Ethnic Business Organisations	Referrals to others with specific skills. Mentoring.
Expert craftsmen (women)	Pass on creative processes. Protect and share culture, language, patterns and designs.
Apprentices to experts	Learn creative processes.
Established business people	Teach, learn new ways, be mentors.
Trans-local customers	Transact sales.
Schools	Teach languages, develop and use cultural resources.

Mapping cultural transactions

Potential tourism and cultural enterprise products are mapped onto the grid in Figure 5-8 (as was done in Chapter 2) to produce four types of cultural enterprise. This diagram is framed from an internal *emic* perspective, relying upon all of the internal dimensions to map cultural enterprise transactions. Thus it could be used to assess current community position (the starting point) and plan a developmental course if a community (or entrepreneur) wished to consider development of enterprise based upon cultural knowledge or resources.

In Figure 5-8 the boxed categories are:

Upper left	Traditional Products, Pacific and non-Pacific markets, for sale
Upper right	Contemporary Products, Pacific and non-Pacific markets, for sale
Lower right	Contemporary Products, markets inside Pacific community, gifted
Lower left	Traditional Products, markets inside the Pacific community, gifted

Firstly, the 'for sale' items are considered. If a community (or entrepreneur) who self-identifies as Pacific (Island-Pacific and/or New Zealand-Pacific) wishes to develop a Traditional Product or Business (for profit), then sales to markets that are both 'inside' and 'outside' the community are necessary because of the size of the trans-local in-community market in New Zealand and limited scope for new money within Pacific communities. Consideration might be given to sales within the wider community diaspora offshore, or to inclusion of other Pacific ethnicities, both of which would expand the size of the market. These items should not be treasures, but products which can be shared outside. The transactions (obligations) should be business focussed. This positioning of product would attach 'traditional' as its brand thus carrying with it necessity for authorisation by elders, cultural authenticity and quality and made of traditional materials, but designed and packaged to appeal to both Pacific and non-Pacific niche markets. Although locally grown materials may be used to reduce the cost of imported ones, this would need to be acknowledged to the customer. It would be very important to ensure that the heritage values of the objects (or a service) are made known and that cultural meanings still attach to the products.

However, since business profitability is essential, care must be paid to internal cost structures of the business, as well as marketing and careful research about where and how to place such products. It may be for instance that the 'brand values' are traditional but the product might take several forms, each designed to appeal to different markets (of course being aware that non-Pacific and Pacific are made up of several ethnicities, one solution does not fit all). An example of the same brand values, placed in several markets is Coca Cola, now old enough to have its 'traditional' version and form as well as several other variants for different markets.

Figure 5-8 Mapping Cultural Enterprise Interactions

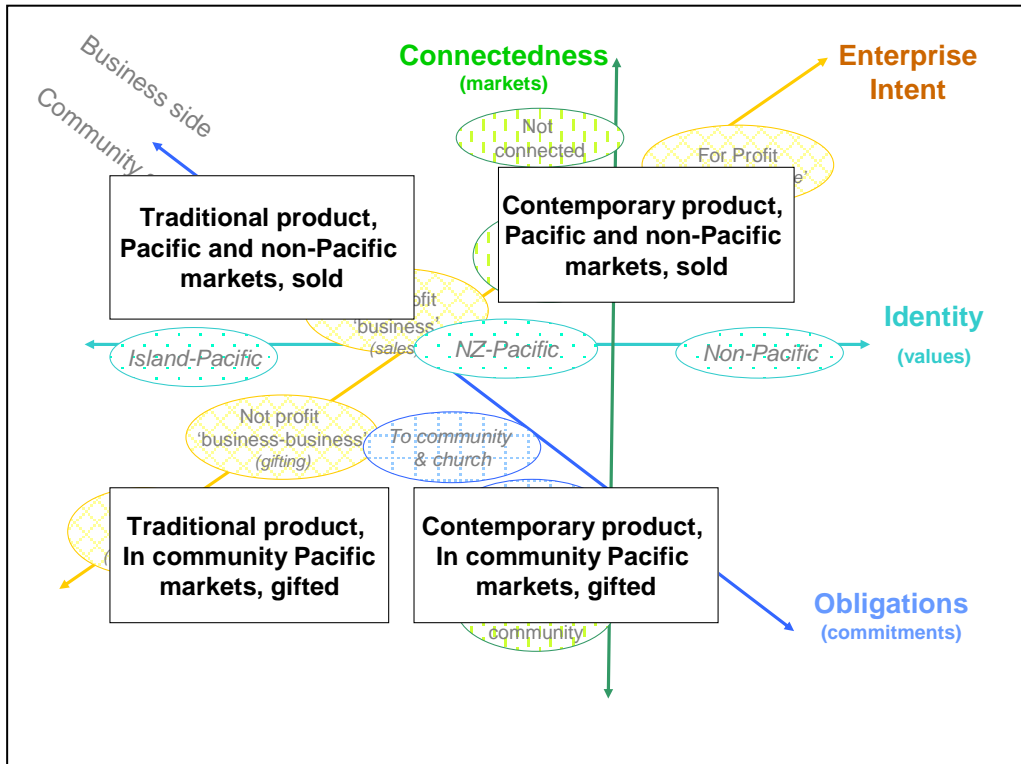
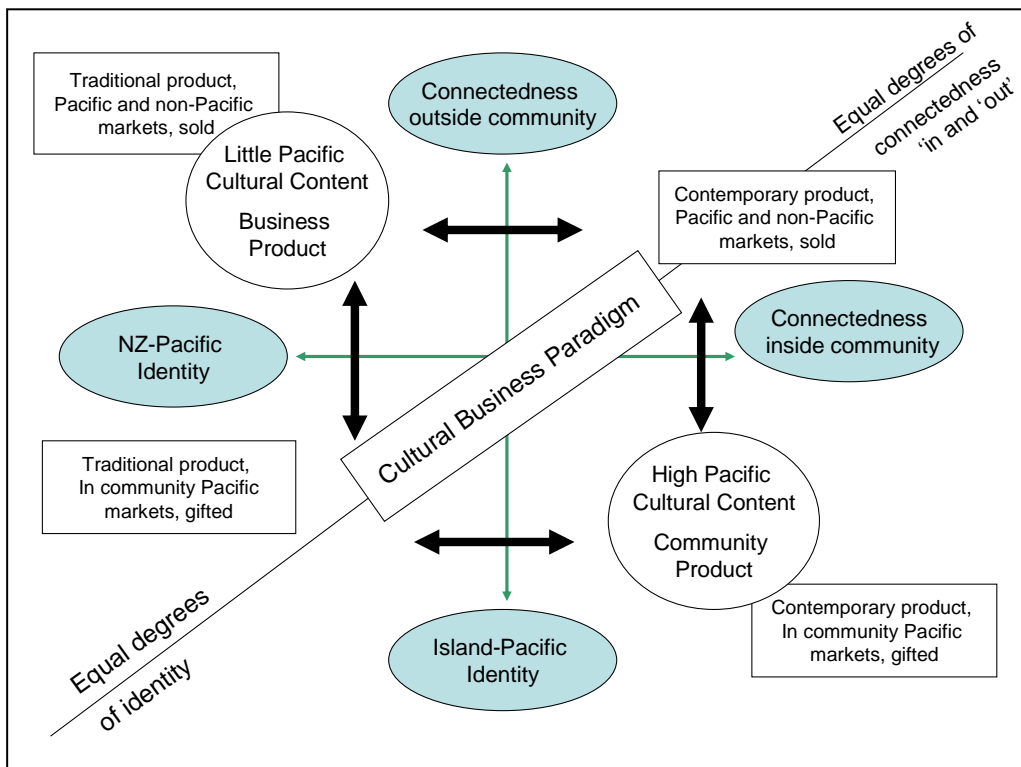


Figure 5-9 Framing A New Cultural Business Paradigm



An example of careful attention to profitability is the Tamaki Brothers Maori cultural products. These have the same brand values - 'Maori heritage, tradition, elders authorise, family values, experiential, interactive, theatrical, teach Maori culture in short sound bites'. For example, the separate products of bus tours, hotel performances, Maori village re-enactment experiences, dinners and demonstrations of cultural arts such as carving and weaving are offered to different audiences. But have the advantage of being able to be packaged together in many combinations or purchased separately for a modest sum, but when combined make a lucrative business proposition for the tourism operator.

The Contemporary Product may be designed to reflect Pacific, New Zealand or global themes of nature, etc., separately or in combination. The materials used might be locally sourced, may not be traditional (metal, ceramic) and the methods also could be contemporary. They are made to be sold, so the same comments as above concerning markets and profitability apply. However, they might even take forms which are non-Pacific since they are positioned beyond New Zealand-Pacific values /identity on the Identity dimension. Examples might be the innovative ceramics sold at the Pasifika Festival mentioned in the Pasifika Suppliers Study (Chapter 6) or contemporary paintings by Samoan artist, Fetu Fe'eu or hip hop musicians 'Nesian Mystic'.

Gifted items are traditional or contemporary. The community discussions suggested that these distinctions are central to the informal cultural economy. Their manufacture and distribution occurs inside Pacific cultural communities by gifting, exchange and ceremonial activities. They are the treasures that are Not for Market, and Not Profit 'business business' items made to be shared.

Figure 5-9 extends those interactions to consider a tourism management perspective. The diagram describes a new cultural business paradigm that might be applicable to other cultural settings since it considers issues at the core of sustainable tourism - sustaining cultural distinctiveness at the interface of community and business, the production of tourism industry and touristic product, based in cultural knowledge and the nature of non-monetary encounters and monetary transactions during interactions between visitors and host.

The paradigm for cultural tourism enterprise identifies Connectedness (inside and outside the community) and Identity (New Zealand Pacific and Island-Pacific plus 'degree' of cultural content (little cultural content as opposed to high cultural content) as the key drivers of types of touristic and tourism cultural product (traditional or contemporary) as well as where it is available to consumers (sold, gifted) and to which markets (non-Pacific or Pacific). Interactions between these

animate the paradigm as encounters, if non-monetary, and the transactions, if based on the exchange of cash for product or service.

Externally the paradigm might be imagined as looking somewhat like a geodesic dome within which one can see the connectors as well as the nodes and the spaces formed between them. Thus, rather than aligning these dimensions as binary poles, the Cultural Business paradigm suggests that the essential complexities of cultural enterprise are balanced three-dimensionally across the ends of the poles. Thus Island–Pacific Identity is balanced by Connectedness outside the community. New Zealand–Pacific is counter-balanced by Connectedness inside the community, and cultural content. Logically there are mid-points where there are equal degrees of Identity and equal degrees of Connectedness (inside and outside). This may be where diasporan entrepreneurs operate most effectively, whether as individuals, family collectives or community cooperatives. Each entrepreneur and community groups is envisaged as operating within specific cultural contexts. It is nonetheless possible for diasporan communities to produce both Community product and Business Product. Community products, cultural context, values and thus probably *épistèmes* are essential parameters of situatedness of each product, as things that are known.

Positioning Waitakere’s Pacific communities

A key finding is that each community is in a different position in relation to capacity and business confidence and that they do not have to compete with each other. This should take the pressure off the smaller communities who seem to feel that they all must be in the same level of development as the other, larger ones.

Table 5-6 assesses each of the Waitakere communities on the four dimensions of the New Zealand Pacific Enterprise Model (Figure 5-6), and summarises the types of capital associated with each dimension and each community.

From the table, it can be seen that Kiribati is in the process of developing entrepreneurial capital and has high social capital in terms of community cohesion and dual priorities for preservation of culture yet entering the business world.

Samoa in contrast, spans all positions and ranges and has all of the types of capital discussed.

Tokelau and Tuvalu have high social and cultural capital but may have low entrepreneurial capital since their focus is mainly within community social worlds. Tonga however has high entrepreneurial capital and the ability to span both the community and business worlds.

The position of each community is then mapped on the matrix (Figure 5-10). It is important however to note that these diagrams are generalisations. Place and culture-specific exceptions can be found, but in the main, these conclusions hold true across the Waitakere Pacific communities who engaged in this research.

Tokelau is positioned within the Not for Market end of the Enterprise Intent dimension, with a strong Island-Pacific identity, and high connection inside community and high commitment to family, church and community, thus is strongly guided by the homeland Tokelau zenith star.

Tuvalu is slightly more centralised on the diagram, firmly at the Not for Market position, but undertaking 'business-business', selling if enough is left over and with strong embeddedness in community, church and family relationships.

Kiribati is positioned centrally since they are first generation migrants and confident of their Island-Pacific identity, yet embarking on commercial enterprise.

In contrast, Tonga appears to be enterprise-ready well educated and equipped in the main, with strong human and entrepreneurial capital. However their New-Zealand Pacific position may in fact be misleading since the hierarchies and cultural capital are also strong.

Samoa is located in three places on the diagram to indicate the disparities in the community of 3rd generation, recent migration and those who have rejected Pacific culture in favour of the mainstream western way of life.

Thus, the five communities who took part in this research cannot reasonably expect to achieve the same outcomes and should realise that they each have their own paths to chart, and that they each need different types of resources and assistance.

Implications - entrepreneurs and communities

What then are the implications for Waitakere's Pacific communities? What conclusions can be drawn and how do these relate to theory?

The research was initiated from the point of view that core values and expressions of difference, enacted by groups of allied social worlds in order to directly benefit their communities, can create a cluster of products and services that both attract a consumer market of international and domestic tourism (therefore foreign exchange) from ethnicities beyond the originally migrant Pacific markets. Further, that these support each other through their networks to supply products and services based on

Figure 5-10 Mapping Waitakere’s Pacific Communities

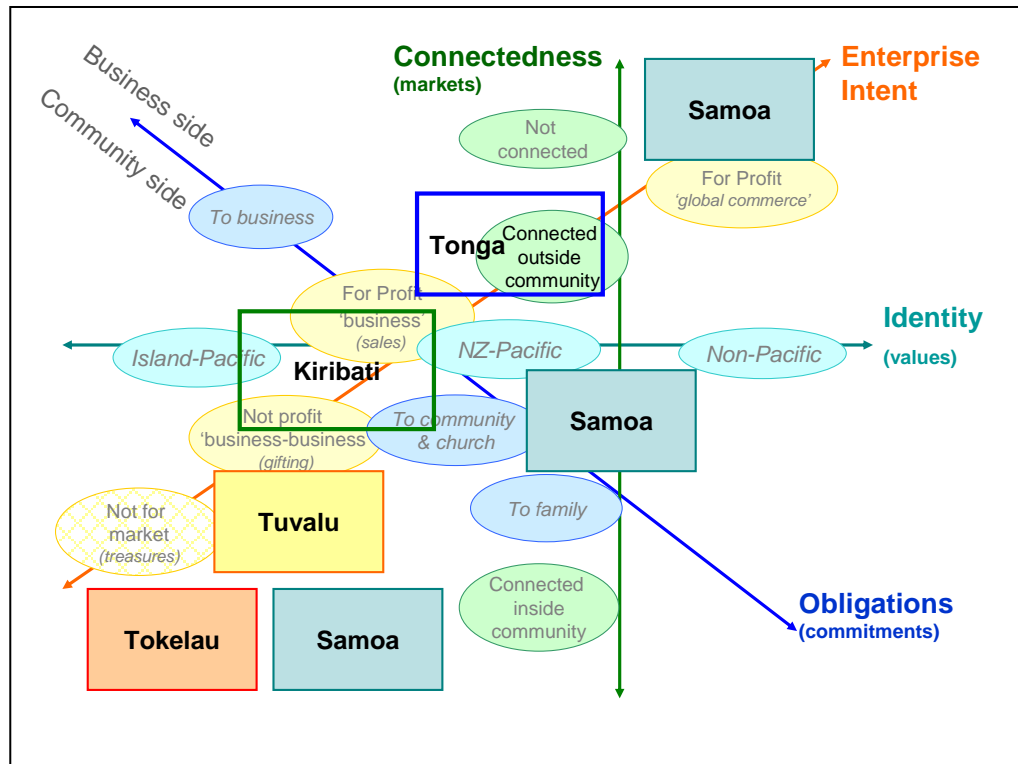


Table 5-6 Assessment of communities, cultural enterprise and forms of capital

Community	Kiribati	Samoa	Tokelau	Tonga	Tuvalu	Informs
Dimension						
Identity (values)	Island Pacific	Island Pacific & NZ Pacific & Non-Pacific	Island Pacific	Island Pacific & NZ Pacific	Island Pacific	Cultural capital
Connected (markets)	Inside & Outside	Inside & Outside & Not connected	Inside	Inside & Outside	Inside	Social & entrepreneurial capital
Enterprise Intent (supply)	Not for Market & Not Profit	Not for Market & Not Profit & For Profit	Not for Market	Not for Market & Not Profit & For Profit	Not for Market & Not Profit	Financial & entrepreneurial capital
Obligations (priorities)	Business & Community & Family	Business & Community & Family	Community & Family	Business & Community & Family	Community & Family	Social capital
Future Action?	Learn about the market economy, establish pre-schools	Preserve culture, establish Samoan cultural centre and business	Preserve culture, establish business	Preserve culture, establish Tongan cultural centre and business	Preserve culture	Political capital

the unique cultures and resources of the Island Pacific but sourced within the respective communities of experts, producers and willing hands. The concept then implies a network of networks, serviced by a common infrastructure of technology, administration and expertise located in an iconic themed tourist attraction.

The research queried whether cultural tourism product could arise from a migrant context where peoples are no longer located in indigenous lands and where cultural hierarchies and social networks influence product development and are possibly re-made in the new social context. It found that the amount of cultural capital varies across diasporan Pacific in Waitakere, depending upon spheres of influence, the strength of homeland hierarchies, their values and sense of identity. These are strongest for more recent migrants but that for communities with longstanding migration relationships with New Zealand, the proportion of local to non-local births inclines away from the homeland and separations between older and younger value sets are wider. Yet these communities retain ethnic distinctiveness, especially if reinforced by strong cultural hierarchies. These groups show both the confidence and ability to move between three world views – ethnic-specific, New Zealand-Pacific and non-Pacific (including business). It may be then that human and entrepreneurial capital might be enhanced with consequent gains in financial and social capital via cultural tourism products for the latter group more easily than those who have arrived more recently.

All of the groups are currently engaged in some form of cultural enterprise, which in the indigenous context might be called tourism. These include the products used in the formal tourism industry in that location (in-village, ecotourism, performance at resorts, airport retail). But in the New Zealand context, they are part of an informal kind of tourism at Pacific markets and themed festivals, primarily selling to each other, since producers of traditional product do not find themselves as valued by non-Pacific markets. Yet contemporary innovations are prized at the Pasifika Festival by both Pacific and non-Pacific (see Chapter 6). The products are economic contributors in the form of indirect financial capital. This research found that conceptions of business and enterprise (entrepreneurial capital) were not the same for these communities as might be in a western world view. Cultural enterprise in Waitakere includes Not For Market activities that produce tangible and intangible treasures, Not Profit (business-business) products made as expressions of identity and perhaps sold, but not at commercial volumes as well as For Profit business. There was little evidence for the Global Commerce type of enterprise.

Reluctance to work collectively at the pan-Pacific level except in governance and political (and some church) contexts, was evident in these discussion groups, because of the primacy of ethnic-specific values and obligations but also reluctance to move outside ethnic networks. Acquisition and retention of cultural and social capital is

extremely important to these communities. Nonetheless, each group sought the same outcomes – confidence in business but from different starting positions and different capacities. And, they each talked about the kinds of support that would be needed to achieve confidence. These included long-term mentoring by people who know how to walk in both worlds and a central ethnic-specific *fale* (one for each community). People would gather at the *fale* to talk about issues, learn and teach between generations, problem-solve issues affecting their lives, find out about new ideas and try new ones themselves. They would be assisted there by a core of experts in skills that they themselves did not have, obtain resources (material, funds, ideas, spiritual strength) and access wider society. People might be dispersed in smaller communities, each of which might have their own *fale* and smaller versions of the larger service centre, but contribute goods, time and skills to the larger central one. However future demographic trends may counteract these trends since they suggest the rise of cross-boundary social worlds that are less ethnically defined.

So, at this point, while the Pacific communities of Waitakere might aspire to leveraging human and cultural capital in order to create entrepreneurial and social capital, they have difficulties. This is not to say that it cannot happen, and as noted above in Figure 5-10, some have a less onerous task than others. These findings have important implications for government policy that seeks, in the main, a ‘one size fits all’ solution. Each, ethnicity in their own way can be and are ‘competitive’ in the wider and internal marketplaces because of their uniqueness, but there are choices to be made about the nature of the destination and the dilemmas to be faced, as well as the nature of the journey. And what is more, there needs to be better understanding of the departure point for each community, the capacity of the canoe and the crew as well as the sailing conditions that they might face. The journey should be guided and mentored by master navigators who assist them to sight the destination, set the sailing course and assist them to constantly triangulate the position of the canoe, guided by innate knowledge of the zenith stars and external signs, sea marks and signs of land.

The studies in the community highlighted the positives of cultural marginality as to hegemonic strength, leading towards defining a competitive position in mainstream western culture. But more importantly that the understanding of ‘business’ was very different in Pacific society.

The term ‘Identity Entrepreneur’ might be added as a key concept for Pacific peoples to reinforce ethnic-specific hegemony, validated by cultural knowledge and reinforced by spiritual faith. Further, that the concept of ‘dual excellence’ in both cultural knowledge and business practice may be a key driver for future cultural and economic sustainability in these communities.

Questions for the cultural enterprise research were developed by the WPB and WMS team from a framework of Pacific and western collaboration. Excellence in cultural knowledge and business practice at the nexus of western management and cultural theory was founded in assumptions identified in a prior study:

‘That Pacific cultural product can be supplied from all communities, that jobs and income can be generated from cultural knowledge and resources but that a positive image of the migrant community may need to be promoted within the mainstream. Additions made in 2004 in the cultural collaborative frame were that enterprise goals, values, aspirations and practice were homogenous across cultural communities but may differ by economic sector (Church business, community), that cultural values differ between ethnicities and that Pacific community members aspire to shift from market stall to SME style enterprise. Further, an assumption articulated by the WPB Steering Group that Pacific entrepreneurs might operate from within, at one level, a pan-Pacific set of ‘Pacific’ shared values and at another, culturally-specific values aligned with separate Island nations’

(Cave et al., 2003)

These assumptions were not proven to be well founded in reality. The 2001 and 2003 studies (Cave et al., 2003; 2007) were based around the idea of a centrally located business incubator for Pacific arts and culture that was also a high end tourist attraction. The reality is that the five communities who engaged in this research have little faith, at present, in the ability of such a pan-Pacific attraction to serve their multiple and separate cultural, social and economic needs. Their priorities are to preserve cultural integrity, develop cohesive communities and educate community members in Pacific languages.

The actual experience for these communities was that traditional arts and crafts were not high revenue earners and that there were problems for supply of cultural goods in terms of raw materials, expertise and resources from Island sources and from local New Zealand sources. The products which may be more successful are innovations which step a great distance away from traditional values. The realities of this will be tested in the next chapter (Chapter 6).

There appear to be perhaps three, maybe more, distinct values sets in the groups: a) traditional Pacific, b) traditional Pacific and New Zealand and c) New Zealand-Pacific. These may be related to generational or migratory differences. Traditional Pacific might be described as older people who arrived in New Zealand in the 1950s and 1960s who hold fast to their respective Pacific languages, cultural structures and traditions and who wish above all to retain the old ways. Culture has become part-time for many people except for older members of the community alongside their paid jobs, Church, family and cultural community commitments. The communities were preoccupied with their own, respective agendas and there was some disconnection between the organisations such as WPB with a pan-Pacific agenda (set

by the New Zealand local government structure) and each of the communities in terms of priorities.

Concluding summary

One of the unique contributions of this research is that it has spanned five cultures, identifying commonalities and distinct differences, rather than being focussed on one culture as is much of the present day Pacific research. Also its findings and theorisations emerged from within the cultural milieu rather than being externally imposed.

This chapter investigated the question of what enables or inhibits interactions ('encounters' between culturally distinct groups and fiscal or economic 'transactions') at the interface of diasporan Pacific. It generated an *emic* perspective from which we can draw conclusions about the current economic and social 'sailing conditions' for nascent entrepreneurs poised to begin an enterprise development 'voyage'. The research also allows us to estimate the 'position' of each of the communities who engaged in depth in this project.

The position of each community is integrally tied to the respective economic and social climates. It is clear that each community has unique challenges to face and that some are more 'advanced' along the enterprise journey than others (Tonga for instance) and yet other have little desire to embark on this path (Tokelau for instance) and that sweeping generalisations about 'all diasporan Pacific in Waitakere' have little place in this conclusion. Nonetheless, it is also clear that the 'zenith stars', a metaphor for the strength of the sphere of influence for each community, that continues to link Pacific peoples to their sea of islands and the 'seamarks' of external conditions (such as the proportions of New Zealand-born to Pacific-born and localised clusters of 'ethnoburbs'), are major influencers of identity, business capacity and confidence. But these create a paradox for diasporan Pacific – if cultural and social capitals are strong, then confidence and capacity to engage in a diasporan world are also strong, but since families that hold the Pacific together, not governments, or even community organisations, family can unconsciously undermine entrepreneurial effort if there is a collision of world views. Hence, steps along an enterprise journey should be made within Pacific families and diasporan social worlds. In this way, entrepreneurial confidence and capacity of nascent entrepreneurs can be increased, using workable New-Zealand Pacific strategies, enacted within culturally embedded and supportive networks that remove (or reduce) cultural dissonance.

There is a great deal of hope in these communities that they can learn how to survive in this diasporan world and evolve ways to cope, perhaps guided by mentors who can

see the bigger picture, walk with confidence in both worlds and help Pacific communities to steer between the shoals, by being located in a central, if virtual, *fale*.

To some extent this chapter has looked back, to the ancestral past, but reflects the contemporary 'between worlds' present in New Zealand. It has also looked forward to the aspirations of each cultural community, echoing many of the themes identified by the Pacific Leaders and Waitakere residents at the outset of the project.

This second stage of the sailing course, the *etak* of 'seamarks and zenith stars', has examined the capability of each community 'canoe' and the capacity of the 'crew' to develop and sustain cultural enterprise. It also articulated known and unforeseen, internal and external factors 'seamarks' that drive interactions at the interface of Pacific cultural economies with the mainstream market economy, some of which have the capacity to force a canoe off course. These drivers both inhibit and enable Pacific communities to confidently encounter other cultures (other Pacific and non-Pacific) and enter into business transactions within and outside cultural communities. It also described the internally sourced 'sailing conditions' for a journey towards and enterprise destination - the tensions, challenges and dilemmas of developing sustainable cultural enterprise as migrants. The chapter demonstrated the power of the diasporan ancestry and linkages in shaping the nature of entrepreneurial embeddedness and possibilities for cultural enterprise, represented by the zenith stars of the homeland islands. The 'zenith stars' of each Island act as unvarying beacons of spirituality, culture and identity, epitomising people, place, flora, fauna, oceans and skies, and provide reference points against which to measure the distance travelled, and yet to go, as well as the positionality of the individual, the family and the community.

The next chapter looks to the new reference island of enterprise, not to situate the canoe at the interface of community and notions of enterprise, but at the interface of community and consumer.

Chapter 6

Marketplace Perspectives

(3rd *etak Signs of Land*)

Introduction

Chapter 6 is the companion to Chapter 5. Together, they outline ‘sailing conditions’ encountered by several Pacific communities in Waitakere in endeavouring to establish enterprise based in cultural resources. Chapter 5 looked at the internal dynamics and perceptions of ethnic communities’ vis-à-vis diasporan tourism enterprise and Chapter 6 the external.

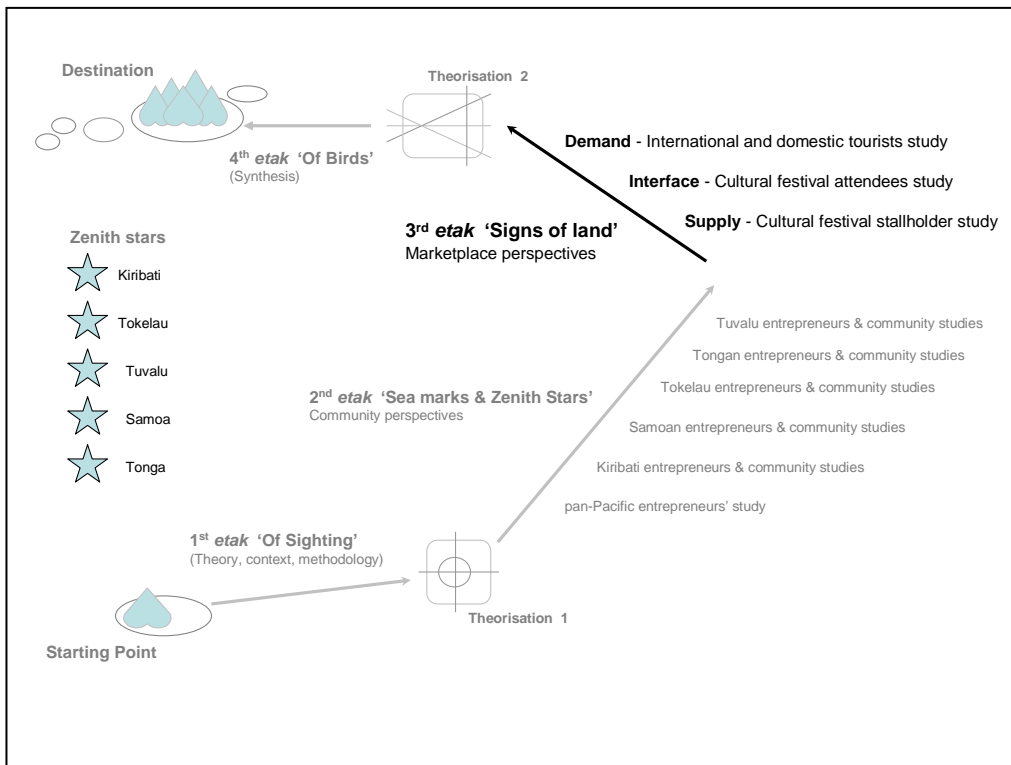
This chapter answers question ‘What happens at the interface between diasporan communities and consumers?’ This estimates the position of the New Zealand-Pacific ‘canoe’ vis-à-vis actual encounters and transactions at the interface of diasporan Pacific communities and consumers. The studies it contains clarify the internal dynamics of diasporan Pacific social worlds, encounters of world view, diasporan transactions and the nature of cultural enterprise. It also informs theory concerning otherness, enterprise and interactions, specifically addressing notions of capital and *habitus*.

This chapter is given the title ‘3rd *etak - Signs of Land*’ because it grounds the aspirations of diasporan Pacific for tourism and its support via cultural enterprise in the realities of time and place-specific viability in Aotearoa, New Zealand. According to the navigational metaphor for the research and enterprise journey, ‘Signs of Land’ include the different types of birds, time and direction of flight that indicates distance from land, the presence of vegetation in the water, cloud patterns that gather in the sky around an island and the ‘loom’ produced by lagoon and beach reflections of an island in the clouds above it. Figure 6-1 reproduces the initial navigational chart and emphasises the current position of the research ‘canoe’ on the voyage.

The research collaboration planned and undertook five marketplace studies, three of which are noted in this chapter. They assess three things: a) stallholder supplier perspectives at the interface of host and visitor, b) social dynamics and purchasing behaviours from connected community and visitors’ perspectives, and c) potential demand from international and domestic tourists as well as local Auckland residents.

It should be noted that the term New Zealand-Pacific is used from this point onwards to make clear distinction between people who identify with New Zealand as a place of residence versus those who reside in the Islands. Earlier in the dissertation, Chapter 5, distinctions were seen between Island-born and New Zealand-born people.

Figure 6-1 3rd *etak* 'Signs of Land'



The term 'New Zealand-Pacific' is also used to refer to a new set of values and identity emerging within the second and third generation Pacific communities of Waitakere.

The first study looks at the supply perspectives of stall holders at a cultural festival. This demonstrates the realities of ethnic-specific social worlds in action, perceptions of otherness in the assumptions that stallholders make about cultural product and who will purchase which goods and the realities of diasporan entrepreneurship in the touristic context of a cultural festival. It looks specifically at New Zealand-Pacific entrepreneurs. Future research might contrast these views with those of the Island Pacific entrepreneurs at the festival. In terms of the theory, it addresses the nature of transactions (sales) and also hybridity (innovation). It also demonstrates ways that social capital is leveraged by encounters of difference and within social worlds, and provides insights into the nature of entrepreneurial capital.

The second study examines the consumers' motives for and dynamics of encounter (with Difference and with Same, therefore Otherness) and transactions (purchases) at the interface of Pacific and non-Pacific at the same cultural festival. Researchers in the study talked to Pacific and non-Pacific consumers, locals as well as tourists. This study also informs hybridity, but from the lens of motivation and demand. It asks about genuineness (how can one tell if an experience is authentic or not) and has implications for hybridity and enterprise intent as well as encounters with difference.

The third study is an assessment of demand from international and domestic tourists as well as local Auckland residents. However it is a summary of a study available as a Working Paper (Cave, 2009b) and provides strong statistical data from a large sample of respondents. It validates and deepens understanding of many of the conclusions reached in both the supplier and attendees surveys.

Pasifika stallholders

The stallholder's survey at the annual Pasifika Festival was small and informal. It profiled host /suppliers and observes cultural enterprise transactions at market stalls set up for sales to local residential Pacific and non-Pacific markets. An extended version of the study is available as a Working Paper (Cave, 2009d).

The Pasifika Festival is:

‘...the cultural experience of the Auckland calendar. It is the only day you can visit Pacific Island villages without leaving Auckland. You will see, smell, taste, feel and hear the uniqueness of Auckland's Pacific Island community’

(Auckland City Council, 2005a)

The two-day event brings together Pacific communities from across the metropolitan and upper North Island region into one locale in order to ‘develop, promote and celebrate the diversity and unity that is Pasifika’ (Auckland City Council, 2005a). It is organised annually by Auckland City Council staff, overseen by the Pasifika Trust Board and largely funded by the Auckland City Council with supplemental sponsorship and rentals paid by stallholders occupying space dedicated to their nation for the day. The event venue is Western Springs, a raceway and urban parkland of rolling hills centred on man-made lakes and waterways. The setting is ideal for such an event because of its numerous walkways, nearby parking for private vehicles and closeness to public transport routes.

Process

The survey explored the lived experience of stallholders by conversations and observation (interview guide Appendix 8). It was hypothesised that the range of product on sale at the Festival reflects the perceptions (personal constructs) of suppliers about consumer preferences for Pacific goods and the types of people that they hoped would buy their goods. The research team was multilingual and culturally matched with the stallholder, so that Samoan researcher talked with the Samoan stallholders, etc. The team capacity for this study included four Pacific languages - Samoa, Fiji, Tonga and Cook Islands.

Questions were sourced from team discussions about the characteristics of Pasifika stalls and associated issues of supply. The study asked: What were the suppliers' perceptions of consumer/visitor preferences? Did suppliers try to sustain cultural

uniqueness? Did they energise enterprise by creating a competitive point of difference, such as product innovation, display and branding, developing new markets? What were the transactions that occurred? Did cultural networks support the enterprise? Who were Pasifika's entrepreneurs? And who were the stallholder's customers?

Seventeen stallholders were interviewed. Five were completed in the New Zealand-Cook Islands Village and the New Zealand-Samoan Village, 4 in the New Zealand-Fijian Village, 2 in the New Zealand-Tongan and 1 in the New Zealand-Niuean Villages. Unfortunately stall owners were often occupied with customers which prevented the researcher from interrupting the sales process to first seek consent and then to interview.

Results – Stallholder villages

Observations were made at the New Zealand-Cook Islands, New Zealand-Fijian and New Zealand-Samoan Villages. Observations were not done however in the Niuean and Tongan villages although a small number of interviews were conducted there. Their data is not included since the numbers were so small.

New Zealand-Cook Island village

There were two Cook Islands Villages within the Pasifika Festival. One, the Cook Islands Village set up by stallholders who reside in New Zealand and the other of stallholders who reside in the Cook Islands. The homeland village was distinct from the New Zealand Village, delivering a cohesive design approach with differentiated high quality products. Most of the other homeland and local ethnic Villages at the Festival tended to compete with each other, duplicating cultural products that are perceived to sell well (Wichman-To'u, 2005b).

New Zealand-Fijian village

At the New Zealand-Fijian Village the name 'Fiji' was used at some of the stalls as an identity tag or brand name to market the indigenous culture and tradition. This added a layer of authenticity to the items offered for sale (Nand, 2005). The Fijian village might in future want to include Fijian Dance and other authentic Fijian symbols such as the dance (*meke*-using narratives based on oral traditions), songs and chants, Fijian *lali* (hollow log drum pounded with wooden mallets) or *tabua* (sacred drums). It did not include Indo-Fijian stalls (ethnically intermixed Fijian and Indian cultures) (Nand, 2005).

New Zealand-Samoan village

The stalls at the New Zealand-Samoan village were fairly homogenous in the products that they sold. Most were traditional products such as *pule tasi* (a traditional Samoan dress) and Island shirts, along with *tapa* (cloth made from beaten paper mulberry), hats and fans. The range of products was similar to the products that you

would find at a permanent market such as Otara in South Auckland. Certain stalls, especially those from Samoa, seemed over priced in relation to New Zealand-based stall owners, though they may have been relying on the authentic feel of their products because they were from the islands (Selave, 2005).

The majority of customers were female and in the 19-35 years age range. European women were mostly found at the stalls which sold contemporary versions of traditional patterns applied to modern day materials such as mirrors, ceramic homewares, and jewellery boxes. The Samoan-based stalls had t-shirts that acknowledged island groups and were more patriotic in their messages, for example one logo said: 'There are two people in the world, Samoans and those who want to be Samoans'. In contrast to these were the t-shirts printed by New Zealand owners which made fun of popular Western brands and logos, i.e. 'K-FRESH'. I was particularly attracted to the more patriotic messages because I knew that I could buy a t-shirt that made fun of Western culture from the Otara or Frankton market but had never seen t-shirts that acknowledged my island (Savai'i) at those markets (Selave, 2005).

The stall which sold homeware items was very different from all the other stalls because of its product range. The use of Pacific designs on serving platters and mugs generated a lot of interest especially among European people. These products would not look out of place in a western home-ware shop or a giftware store. The colours and designs were distinctly Pacific. The use of these two elements on ceramic (platters and mugs) made it attractive to another segment of the market. The stall owner commented that she does her small business on the side (works full time) but perhaps did see the potential of her product in the wider market (Selave, 2005).

Overall, most of the New Zealand-Samoan Village stalls sold the same products and there was little difference between them, except for the non-traditional product which used Pacific designs and colour schemes on ceramic serving platters and mugs. The stalls owned and operated by those who had come over from Samoa for the Festival had more expensively priced products than their New Zealand-based counterparts (Selave, 2005).

Stallholder profile

Fifteen of the seventeen stallholders interviewed at the New Zealand-Pacific venue live in Auckland. Two were part of a larger contingent of Samoan exporters that occupied stalls in both the local New Zealand-Pacific and Island-Pacific halves of the festival venue. One had travelled from the South Island and another from Samoa for the event. Just under half of the stallholders operated part-time micro-enterprises, led by an individual but actively supported by immediate family members. The motivation for stall holding was primarily to supplement household incomes and to

leverage the expertise of artisans in their family units. One family stall was fundraising for enough money to make a trip to a family reunion in the Islands. Another had set up the stall as a way to earn income outside the immigration system because they could not get visa or work permit. These mirror the cultural and informal economies discussed in Chapter 3.

Three stallholders told interviewers that they were enterprise-ready and wanted to progress to a formal commercial level, expanding their activities and markets but did not know how to do this. Seven stallholders were formally constituted owner/operated small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) with commercial attitudes to the interviewers as well as in their sales and display methods and range of stock. Only two however were part of a larger business consortium (the Samoan exporters).

It appears that Pacific stallholders expected to be able to make money at the Pasifika Festival from the sale of cultural goods, some made locally in New Zealand specifically for the purpose and others imported from Island homelands. Some of the transactions that took place at the Pasifika Festival which emerge from the Cultural Expert observations identified issues regarding, local manufacture versus imported finished products, traditional goods emphasised versus contemporary innovations versus local versions using substitute materials, display and thematic interpretation, and product differentiation.

Social worlds

Family members and the extended networks of stallholders at Pasifika were present in fairly larger numbers to assist with the operation of the stalls. Trans-local and international diasporan links were activated to import materials, foods and finished product from the Island homelands.

Some younger family members were present at the stall in lieu of an older expert artisan, for example a son studying business at university was working on a stall on behalf of his elderly mother. The two generations helping each other and respecting complementary expertise. Another example of cultural expertise combining with business acumen was a Fijian artist who partners with a European man, he runs the business side.

Many of the stallholders were either enterprise-ready micro-entrepreneurs or slightly larger SMEs operating in other locations (in Auckland markets or offshore). However there were also some examples of families taking advantages of the festival occasion to sell cultural goods to fundraise for a family trip, or to earn income outside official channels.

Transactions

Overall, stall holders appeared to believe that the visitors to the Pasifika Festival would purchase 'authentic' cultural products, since these were the bulk of the goods at the stall counters, although some were contemporary innovations. Also, it was evident that some local innovations were considered 'genuine' by the makers, illustrating the evolution of new traditions in the New Zealand context.

The stallholders at Pasifika anticipated that to be other Pacific peoples and NZ Europeans. In reality however, the consumers at the more traditional stalls were primarily New Zealand-Pacific or Island-Pacific. Few Europeans made purchases there. However both Europeans and Pacific made purchases at those stalls where contemporary innovations were combined with traditional. Stallholders assumed that consumer preferences were for souvenir-type items such as t-shirts or traditional items that 'sell well'. However since the majority of stallholders provided similar product ranges, resulting in a lack of cultural uniqueness and little differentiation occurred between product, stalls, ethnicities and the two international and local Villages. This produced bargain hunting behaviours on the part of purchasers from all ethnicities.

Assumptions made about the consumers also say something about the stallholders, tending to imply that the lived experience of the Pasifika stallholders is to enact a 'touristic' stereotype that may be real in the Island context but may not be the reality here in New Zealand or at the Pasifika Festival. The Attendees market survey discussed later actually suggested the opposite was true. Attendees wanted to be part of the Festival because of community identity – rather than for tourism. This serves to 'Other' the stallholders, their own communities and the non-Pacific visitors, whereas this study suggested Sameness, ethnic distinctiveness and *utopian* adherence to cultural values.

The majority of the foods available in the New Zealand Pacific Villages were local variants of foods eaten in the Islands (e.g. doughnuts, coleslaw) but some were imported from the Islands such as fruits, vegetables and fruit juice (*noni* juice). Yet the team's cultural experts commented on non-traditional ingredients being used in some of the New Zealand-Pacific foods. Adaptations to local conditions are evidently occurring.

Transactions were enhanced by use of interpretative display techniques. These increased the sense of authenticity and created an engagement relationship between supplier and consumer. It seemed, but is not substantiated, that more sales appeared to take place at stalls which had contemporary and traditional items than at the purely traditional. Certainly these were better attended by all ethnicities. The amount of information added to the displays about the history and significance of the goods

appeared to enhance the appeal of products and the level of sales activity, as did the themed appearance of stallholders. Traditional dress, greetings spoken in Island languages, and additional signage or branding appeared to be significant factors in successful sales, as did the use of colourful and attractive display techniques. These factors, plus the location of the stalls and the amount of congestion experienced at some locations affected how well or how poorly cultural items and food were sold. This then affected the profitability of the event for individuals, families and community groups who can only sell on that day.

But the key issue affecting sales was lack of differentiation of product. The majority of island groups brought the same goods to sell, whether traditional or contemporary. These look similar even to the trained eye and little differentiation attempted by the stallholders. This may have implications for prices that can be charged and comparative shopping.

Cultural product

Traditional foods or goods at the stalls were either made locally in Auckland or imported as finished product, whether as food or arts and crafts. It was not clear how much of the locally made products had been fabricated from imported or locally sourced raw materials. In some cases local products appeared to be made of locally-sourced substitutes or contemporary non-traditional materials which was not unexpected given the distance, cost and bio-security restrictions imposed on natural fibres etc.

Some of the stalls visited showed evidence of innovative products. Examples of new products made in new materials but based in cultural traditions were mirrored mosaics, shell mirrors and pottery. Other innovations were using traditional materials and colours such as *tapa* cloth handbags, scale models of canoes, *ukeleles* or drums. All were intended to be attractive modern day household items, shifting the utility of everyday Pacific materials into different products and markets.

Traditional materials used in new ways were such as hand-painted shells, coconut decorative borders around mirrors, oils produced from indigenous trees and flowers, *ata* tree bark was formed into floral hair decorations, or *tapa* used to make 'Louis Vuitton' style handbags. Similarly, traditional processes were used with new materials (airline packing tape, synthetic fabrics) but most frequently, traditional Pacific designs, patterns and colours were rendered on new materials using contemporary processes such as hand-painted pottery, mirrors, table cloths, wall hangings, wall panels, etc.

Contemporary cultural product innovations were art or household items based upon Pacific designs or traditional materials. Examples were, contemporary art (painting),

clothing (t-shirts, etc) and household items (table mats, mirrors, boxes, quilts) which bore traditional colours and designs but were made of western materials (pottery, mirror, tiles, ribbon, cloth, etc).

Many of the items now considered 'authentic' were actually made of non-traditional fabrics and synthetic dyes e.g. the Samoan *pule tasi* or the Cook Islands *ukulele*. But the majority of the sales tables featured authentic hand-made crafts in traditional styles, colours and materials. Pandanus featured in almost all of the villages, as did materials derived from coconut and paper mulberry fibre. The commonality of materials, colours and types of product produced a visual and content uniformity between the New Zealand Pacific Villages.

Implications – Pasifika stallholders

This study reinforced the realities of high social capital in diasporan Pacific worlds, appearing in the form of extended family members assisting at the stalls, the embeddedness of nascent entrepreneurs and ethnic-specific stallholder identity. It also indicated that perceptions and assumptions about the consumer market and self-image of entrepreneurs may have a levelling effect as noted by Dika and Singh (2002) thus actual market exchange is less important at the event than expressions of solidarity. This was borne out by the nature of transactions which were low volume and competitive on lowest price if traditional, but higher volumes were experienced if enhanced display thematics and contemporary products based in traditional customs. A position of marginality and strong cultural capital was leveraged positively in terms of developing contemporary innovations to increase competitive edge, develop trade for new markets (European) and to successfully generate sales. But this did not function well for traditional imported products. However, the nature of what is 'traditional' is itself a moot point in this diasporan context since foods which the stallholders said were authentic were in fact local versions with substitute ingredients and many 'authentic' products were made of contemporary materials.

The stallholders study informed about assumptions about the consumer, the profile of suppliers, intended earnings and anticipated transactions as well as the role of social networks as both supplier and consumer. It revealed that social and cultural capitals were strong within the New Zealand-Pacific villages but that actual financial gains were small.

The next section discusses the motives for encounters and transactions (purchases) at the interface of Pacific and non-Pacific at the same cultural festival from the point of view of the festival attendees.

Connected markets - Cultural festival attendees

The Pasifika Festival is attended annually by over 200,000 people. In 2005, attendees at the Festival came from the three Auckland inner city wards adjacent to the venue. Nineteen percent came from Manukau City, home to the largest concentration of Pacific Islanders in the metropolitan area and 15% from Waitakere City (the collaborative action research partners). Two thirds of the people at the event were of Pacific descent and the remainder a mix of New Zealand European, Maori and Asian. Almost half were under 30 years old. Reasons for attending the event cited in the survey were: food (24%), entertainment (28%), seeing the crowds and meeting people (14%) (Auckland City Council, 2005b).

Process

The study of attendees undertaken at the Festival was to understand the demand motives for encounters and transactions (purchases) at the interface of Pacific and non-Pacific peoples. It is available as a Working Paper (Cave, 2009a). The study hoped to obtain responses from a highly motivated purchasing segment of the Auckland residential market and thus balance the perspectives of stallholders who had brought goods to sell.

Interviewers for the study were WPB Board members and student volunteers from Waikato University. WPB provided vouchers for food and WMS contributed to petrol, parking costs and shopping vouchers for the volunteers. Two hundred and forty conversational interviews were conducted with people approached at random (Interview guide, Appendix 9). One hundred and thirty people indicated that they would take part in follow-up research in Focus Groups. A competition incentive of a shopping voucher was offered to survey respondents. Analysis of the responses used a mix of qualitative and numeric methods. Conversational questions were analysed by immersion in the data followed by content analysis to identify key themes. Non-parametric statistics such as crosstabulations (SPSS) were analyse key themes. Top-line results (verbal and visual) were presented first to WPB and then to each of the Pacific community groups as a stimulus for the Community Enterprise focus group discussions.

Behavioural questions asked were: How long have you been at the Pasifika Festival today? Why did you come to the Pasifika Festival? How did you spend the day so far? What did you do, see or perhaps hear? Also consumption patterns and decision-making: Did anyone in your group spend money today at the Pasifika Festival? Do you remember what was bought? Roughly how much was spent? Are you able to say what appealed to you about those things that were bought? Amongst your group, who makes the suggestions about what to buy, and who actually spends the money?

Perceptions of genuineness were obtained by asking: Would you call the items that you have bought as 'genuinely traditional' to Pacific Island cultures? Why do you think that they are 'genuinely traditional'? Is there a difference, do you think, between something that is called 'traditional', and something that is 'not traditional'? What do these two phrases mean to you? Can you think of examples here today? Questions about age, residence, gender and ethnicity were also included.

Results - Pasifika attendees

Respondents

The study results were consistent with the Auckland City survey (Auckland City Council, 2005b) in terms of a youthful age profile and representation from suburbs adjacent to the venue, i.e. Manukau City, Auckland City and Waitakere City. However, one fifth of this sample was from Auckland's North Shore City. Eleven percent were international visitors and 7% New Zealand domestic visitors from Northland province, the Waikato and Wellington provinces.

The ethnic profile of respondents was one quarter New Zealand-Pacific and New Zealand European, 12% Maori, 9% International European, Asian and New Zealand Asian, as well as 4% visitors from the Pacific Islands and North America.

Two thirds of the respondents were female. Cross tabulations of ethnicity by age showed that the majority of Pacific visitors were under 19 years of age but that up to 45 years of age was well represented [$\chi^2 = 160.96$, $df = 30$, $\rho < .005$]. New Zealand European visitors were generally between the ages of 19 and 55 years of age. Maori in the sample were predominantly (but not exclusively) 36 to 45 years in age. The numbers of New Zealand-Asian respondents were evenly spread from under 19 years to the mid-thirties, as were the international attendees.

The Pasifika visit

At the time of the survey, shortly after noon, almost half of the respondents had been at the Festival for two to three hours. One third had only just arrived but nearly twenty percent had been on site for over 5 hours indicating that for some, Pasifika was an all day affair. These were New Zealand-Pacific. Almost half were short duration visitors which may reflect the proximity of the Festival for local people, or the time of day the survey was done. Cross tabulations of residence versus ethnicity, as well as for age, support proximity to the venue as a determining factor for attendance – for all ethnicities - Pearson's Chi Square showed a significant difference for ethnicity [$\chi^2 = 202.48$, $df = 35$, $\rho < .005$]. For example local New Zealand Europeans, Maori and New Zealand Asians typically were at the Festival for up to 4 hours. Interestingly the international visitors had arrived very early in the day and remained on site for an extended time, well over 5 hours.

Reasons to attend

The reasons for attending the Pasifika Festival went beyond those noted above by the Auckland City Council survey. People of all ethnicities came to the Pasifika Festival, in order of importance: to observe Pacific cultural displays, to sample unusual new foods and hear new music, to be part of the atmosphere of the event, for a leisure excursion with family and friends, to learn more about other Pacific Island cultures and to reaffirm ethnic Pacific identities. Other reasons were: fun, to perform or run a sales stall, to shop at the stalls, part of a school visit, or because it was a free outdoor event.

Reasons for visit were closely correlated with ethnicity. For example, Pacific peoples were there either to support their own ethnic community, to reaffirm their own culture or to find out about the cultures of other Pacific Islanders [$\chi^2 = 144.17$, $df = 30$, $p < .005$]. There were however several Pacific peoples who had not been to Pasifika before and made the trip to do something other than their usual weekend activity. Maori came to support other Polynesian peoples and for a cultural excursion. New Zealand Europeans and New Zealand Asian attendees were at the Festival for an outing, to try a new activity or to observe cultures other than their own, in common with all of the international visitors.

Nuances within these responses reflect cultural distancing as well as behaviour and levels of involvement with the activities at the event. The most frequently mentioned theme 'Observe Pacific Culture' was made almost exclusively by non-Pacific people. The reasons given by New Zealand Europeans were positively phrased, recognising the positive contribution that Pacific people make to the character of Auckland, but they also implied a lack of knowledge about Pacific culture. Reasons stated were: 'to see the sights and sounds of the Pacific' (New Zealand European), 'Learn more other culture and their life and how they do it' (New Zealand European), 'To get to know more about Pacific culture, New Zealand is becoming a multicultural society' (New Zealand-European).

Lack of familiarity with Pacific cultures was also exhibited by international visitors, who attended the event as a fortuitous adjunct to their stay in New Zealand, reflecting awareness of Pacific people as 'other' than the culture of the observer:

'We came in a group of 14 from France. We're studying English in New Zealand and have been here for 3 months, we're curious about the festival' (International European)

'Interested in the Pasifika festival and see different cultures' (International Asia).

Although less frequently mentioned, it is useful in the context of this thesis to contrast the themes 'Reaffirm identity' and 'Observe other Pacific' with the 'Observe Pacific culture' theme. Reaffirm Identity was mentioned by all Pacific peoples, including ethnic-specific communities and residence in New Zealand and overseas.

Some said they were there to support the Pacific community:

‘I am here for the opening for Niue group, church group and to look around’ (New Zealand-Pacific)

‘Because I came from Niu Sila. Its the festival of our people’ (International Pacific)

‘I am helping my friends in their stalls also I am looking around’ (New Zealand-Pacific)

‘To support my family in the dancing’ (New Zealand-Pacific)

‘I came because I’m an Islander and I enjoy the Pacific Culture’ (New Zealand-Pacific)

‘This is where we come from’ (Tuvalu and Cook islands) (New Zealand-Pacific).

Others, saw this as an opportunity to make contact with homeland cultural heritage or to gain a sense of Self within majority New Zealand culture, saying:

‘See people from where I am from, I’ve never been Home’ (New Zealand-Pacific)

‘For traditional food’ (New Zealand-Pacific)

‘A new experience, reaffirming my culture’ (New Zealand-Pacific)

Family ties between Pacific and non-Pacific peoples were also evident:

‘My wife is an Islander’ (New Zealand European).

Pacific identity was expressed in these responses as an affirmation of Sameness through common links between people such as marriage, culture, traditions, food. Interestingly one person said:

‘It’s traditional to combine all Pacific cultures together to taste, see and hear what is around’ (New Zealand-Pacific).

This last comment suggests the creation of a new tradition, the ‘Pasifika Festival’, an artificial branding of a type of hegemonic activity grouping.

While homogeneity of community is suggested, there was however heterogeneity in the reasons for attendance. Pacific peoples acknowledge a common island nation heritage, but continue to abjure cultural similarity, articulating cultural distance between ethnic-specific groups. Othered Selves were reinforced by the distinctive Village set-up of the Festival.

In the ‘Observe other Pacific Islanders’ theme, many respondents said that they had come to the festival to:

‘Check out all the things, performers from other nations and islands’ (New Zealand-Pacific) ‘Experience other islands’ (New Zealand-Pacific)

‘See and be a part of different cultures’ (New Zealand-Pacific)

The large numbers of people attracted to attend the Festival, the range of ethnicities and yet the high proportion of attendees of Pacific descent at the Festival were indicative of the importance of the Festival in reinforcing and affirming a position of

strength for Pacific communities in mainstream Auckland. This statement of hegemony is confirmation that in this context at least, for one day, that marginality is a competitive force. Yet the Pasifika Festival is not attended by all Pacific Islanders.

A 'Sample Something New' theme illustrated that the Festival was a chance for Pacific people too to venture into the unfamiliar territory. Some said:

'It is my first time to the festival, my friends have been before and said that it is really good' (New Zealand-Pacific)

'I want to see something different, haven't been before to the festival I heard that it is huge' (New Zealand-Pacific).

The festival was seen by many non-Pacific people as a controlled encounter with unfamiliar environments which allowed them to sample the unfamiliar:

'... a different tradition, never been' (New Zealand European)

'Was driving by and wanted to see what it was' (New Zealand European)

'Saw it in an 'Auckland newspaper advertisement' (New Zealand European)

'I have never been here before this is my first time' (New Zealand European).

International visitors and new immigrants to New Zealand also wanted to experience this sense of difference and adventure:

'See some different things and people' (New Zealand Asia)

'Holidaying in New Zealand. Maori friends introduced Pasifika festival' (International North American)

'A Holiday experience, different thing' (International European)

'We saw the Pasifika festival advertisement in newspaper. We have never heard of that before so quite interested about that' (International Asia).

Everyone shared the view however that a key part of the experience was to be a part of the 'special' laidback yet highly charged energy of the Festival. Many went there simply to:

'Enjoy that 'special' atmosphere' (New Zealand European)

'All sort of Pacific beats, and the smell of Pacific food, also the different types of accessories (arts and crafts)' (New Zealand-Pacific)

'Experience the atmosphere, items from cultures, shopping, visiting friends at the festival' (Maori)

'Just to fill in the afternoon, bring the kids down and to come and enjoy the atmosphere' (New Zealand European)

'To enjoy the music, entertainment food and cultural experience' (International Asia).

Consensus was strong about the 'Weekend Excursion' theme which divided into friends and family groupings:

'An excursion with friends' (New Zealand-Pacific)

'Just enjoying a day, see some performance, meet friends' (New Zealand-Pacific)

'With our old friends, eat and drink' (New Zealand European)

‘Just to fill in the afternoon, bring the kids down and to come and enjoy the atmosphere’ (New Zealand European)

‘Good for kids, relaxing listening to music, never been’ (Maori)

‘It's weekend and spend sometime with family’ (New Zealand European).

A suggestion also emerged that perhaps there is a lack of available activities in Auckland. Two people said:

‘Just have something to do at the weekend’ (International North American)

‘Kill time, some people in the group had been to the event’ (New Zealand-Pacific).

The activities undertaken were those that one would expect at a Festival venue: strolling around in a holiday mood shopping at the stalls, eating food, listening to music, watching performance and dance, meeting friends. As one person said:

‘I walked around some stalls, saw food, listened to a love story, viewed crafts’ (New Zealand European).

But there were also hints of more deliberate actions, such as walking around the lake to see each one of the Villages, seeking out a fight to watch, avoiding the crowds by arriving early, taking photos to remember the day, seeking out traditional arts, crafts and foods, and voyeuristic observance of people from cultures other than their own:

‘Sitting under a tree watching people enjoy the good weather, watching the concert’ (International European)

‘Many island dressing people’ (International Asia)

These answers indicate a strong relationship between perceptions of Pacific culture and the culture of the individual. It was possible to verify this by cross-tabulation of the response categories (themes) with demographic characteristics. These determined that Pacific peoples were at the Festival for three reasons: to support their own ethnic community, reaffirm their own culture and to find out about the cultures of other Pacific Islanders [$\chi^2 = 280.33$, $df = 88$, $\rho < .005$].

Yet many Pacific people had not been to Pasifika before. Maori came to support other Polynesian peoples, to widen the knowledge base of their children and for an excursion to a cultural festival. New Zealand Europeans and New Zealand Asian attendees were at the Festival to observe cultures other than their own, for an excursion and to try a new activity, acting in common with all of the international visitors. A Pearson Chi-square correlation of the reasons given by age showed that significantly, the Youth market attended for the special atmosphere (the music, the food, the crowds, the performances) [$\chi^2 = 144.58$, $df = 66$, $\rho < .005$]. To ‘Sample Something New’ and ‘A weekend excursion’ with family and friends was popular with people 19 to 45 years. ‘Observe other Pacific cultures’ however was common to all age groups.

Cross tabulations also showed that high ratings came from people who were not of Pacific Island descent (International tourists and New Zealand Europeans). They said they came to the event to look at cultures different to themselves, for a weekend excursion with family and friends, to try out new experiences and to be part of the entertainment and atmosphere [$\chi^2 = 65.21, df = 20, p < .005$]. New Zealand-Pacific rated the event most highly amongst all ethnic groups. Under 19 year olds came to the event primarily to watch the entertainment and hear the music. Nineteen to 45 year olds were there to try out a new pastime and adults (35-45 years old) with families came for a weekend family activity. These findings segment the audience in terms of motive and key messages that might attract them in the future.

Purchases and price

The amounts spent ranged from \$300 to \$2.50 depending upon group size, time spent at the event when interviewed and the item. Nearly 70% of the attendees spent less than \$20 at the event, 15% spent between \$20 and \$40, and only 17% spent more than \$40, indicating perhaps the low disposable income of the majority of attendees. Note however, that the surveys were done in the middle of the day and that one third of all respondents had only just arrived on site (see Table 6-1). So that many people were unable to be specific about their intended spend. Almost all attendees bought food, generally spending under \$10 per person, and if they had not already made a purchase from the stalls, stated their intentions to do so.

Table 6-1 outlines the purchases made and amounts spent. Jewellery was the most popular item, after food, to be purchased. The amounts spent ranged from \$140 per person to under \$10. These figures may not represent the prices paid since many people reported a total amount for several items and could not then be included in the analysis. People appeared to have either spent in total, more than \$80 or less than \$40. A similar price separation appears in the amounts paid for everyday items, Island produce, traditional clothing and crafts. This may only reflect a higher volume of purchases made but may also reflect two price points in the purchases made. Nonetheless it is interesting to speculate as to the meaning of these figures, do they mean higher prices were paid for higher quality or are they ethnically determined?

The length of time respondents spent on-site was only slightly significant for two items, traditional Pacific clothing [$\chi^2 = 7, df = 2, p < .05$] and jewellery [$\chi^2 = 19.11, df = 8, p < .05$]. New Zealand-Pacific and international visitors had been at the festival venue the longest, perhaps here we see purchases to reaffirm traditional heritage, souvenir behaviour by international guests and sun protection (hats) on a hot day. There were no significant differences in the purchases made by age, ethnicity, residence, or gender. However, ethnicity was a weakly significant factor in the length of time spent at the event [$\chi^2 = 4.41, df = 24, p < .05$]. International visitors and New Zealand-Pacific spent upwards of 5 hours at the venue, whereas

Table 6-1 Purchases made at Pasifika

Item	Amount		\$100-140		\$61-80		\$41-60		\$21-40		\$11-20		<\$10		N	Row %
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%		
Jewellery	1	4	2	9			4	17	8	35	8	35	23	13		
Pacific food					3	3	7	7	15	15	76	75	101	56		
Pacific drink					1	17	1	17			4	67	6	3		
Gifts									1	50	1	50	2	1		
Everyday items			1	11			2	22	4	44	2	22	9	5		
Modern Pacific					2	22	1	11	2	22	4	44	9	5		
Art							1	50			1	50	2	1		
Produce					1	33					2	67	3	2		
Traditional clothing					1	14					6	86	7	4		
Traditional crafts	1	5			3	16	1	5	5	26	9	47	19	10		
N	2		3		11		18		34		113		181			
Column %		1		2		6		10		19		62		100		

Table 6-2 Product Appeal at Pasifika

Appeal	Frequency	Percent
Different than my culture	30	17.5
Don't know	28	16.4
Aesthetics	20	11.7
Culinary adventure	20	11.7
Satisfy hunger/thirst	18	10.5
My Island	11	6.4
Event atmosphere	8	4.7
Good Quality	7	4.1
Not available	7	4.1
Express individuality	6	3.5
Sensory appeal	6	3.5
Cheaper	6	3.5
New to New Zealand	2	1.2
Available	2	1.2
Sub-total	171	100
Missing	69	
Total	240	

New Zealand Asian, Maori and New Zealand Europeans all visited for around 3 hours or less – a useful point if tourists are to be considered as a possible market.

Product appeal

Table 6-2 shows the product appeal themes, in descending order of frequency of mention (Table 6-2). Chi-square statistics showed no significant influence on the appeal of an item purchased for age, ethnicity, gender, residence or other demographic factors.

The theme of difference in cultural experience and unfamiliarity as an attractor was given as a reason by the majority of the attendees for the theme ‘different than my culture’:

‘I think because it’s unusual to the one they have here’ (New Zealand-Pacific)

‘Yes, because they are quite different from what we usually have’ (International European)

Items were purchased by many as souvenirs of an immersion experience in the authentic (equated with traditional) life of Pacific island peoples:

‘It is traditional jewellery from Pacific’ (International Asia)

‘Authentic, they’re made of natural materials’ (New Zealand European)

‘Traditional island food’ (International Asia)

‘The crafts are special and most of them use natural material’ (International North American)

‘It is a traditional hat’ (International Pacific)

A substantial percentage was not able to say what the appeal was, precisely, but the notion of aesthetics appeared in comments made about the arts and crafts available in the stalls. People said:

‘Beautiful colours of the products and beautiful design as well’ (Maori)

‘Great design and beautiful colour’ (New Zealand European)

‘The design on the bag with the weaving’ (New Zealand-Pacific).

Next in order of appeal was food, explained in terms of a new culinary experience and a utilitarian need to eat:

‘We have not seen those foods before, we just had a try’ (New Zealand European)

‘Had it previous years, always look forward to eating again here’ (Maori)

‘I am from rural Maori area, having Pacific food is very different’ (Maori)

‘Try different foods from other islands’ (New Zealand-Pacific)

‘There’s just something different about eating a pork sandwich than what I’m used to’ (New Zealand-Pacific).

Many purchases appealed to a desire for cultural proximity. For example ‘these were from my Island’ was also a means of affirming culture and supporting the community.

Personal preference was stated:

- 'Because it is my own food, what we normally eat in Fiji' (International Pacific)
- 'It was something familiar' (New Zealand-Pacific)
- 'It reminds me of my island' (New Zealand-Pacific)
- 'Reminds me of a trip home' (New Zealand-Pacific)
- 'The place of origin, going back to my roots' (International Pacific).

The fact that these items are not readily available in Auckland, and that the opportunity was seized to make the purchase was also part of the appeal:

- 'It is hard to get' (New Zealand-Pacific)
- 'Some products I can not find in normal market' (New Zealand Asia)

The atmosphere encouraged people to participate in activities and to buy food, arts and crafts:

- 'The outlook. It's beautiful isn't it? It's gorgeous!' (International North American)
- 'I liked the atmosphere' (International Asia)
- 'The singing' (New Zealand European)
- 'The things I bought were beautiful and really fit the island theme of the day' (International European).

Allied to the atmosphere were the experiential nature of the event and the sensory nature of the smells sights, sounds and people wearing island clothes:

- 'You know, I just like fish, fried chips... I would say the smell of it appealed to me' (Maori)
- 'I like the handmade crafts and it's very hot today so I bought the fans. That black taro plant is very nice' (New Zealand-Pacific)
- 'The water melon, yummy smells' (New Zealand-Pacific)
- 'I like the atmosphere, and people wearing island clothes' (International Asia).

Quality of the arts and crafts was also a factor in the appeal of an item purchased as was the desire to make a fashion statement by buying an item which differs from the norm and to express the individuality of the person:

- 'The culture and quality, nice looking' (International European)
- 'It has cultural significance, is a fashion expression' (Maori)
- 'Tropical colours, tropical food, the price was reasonable' (Maori)
- 'For Sunday service to fan ourselves' (New Zealand European)
- 'Earrings and bags to use everyday' (New Zealand-Pacific)

A small number of people mentioned that the cheapness of the items was a major factor in making a purchase. For instance they said:

- 'We were hungry and the Samoan food is much cheaper' (New Zealand-Pacific)
- 'Wanted to buy some ethic stuff that he can't buy in Japan and the price usually much cheaper than Japan' (International Asia)

Finally an interesting comment was made that Pacific goods are 'so kiwi' that they do not hold any appeal:

'To me it's not very special because you can buy these in other places' (New Zealand Asia).

Thus the appeal of purchasing items all relate in one way or another to the adventurousness of experiencing a different culture other than one's own, regardless of whether people are Pacific Islanders, non-Pacific residents of Auckland or international visitors. Attendees became connected to the event through cultural proximity and tacit membership in the ethnic culture. These are complicit acts wherein visitors engage in the transaction. Many of the purchases were clearly not made elsewhere, but were made encouraged by the ambience of the venue, easy accessibility to potential purchasers and the experiential nature of the sights and sounds at the venue, or made as pragmatic purchases during a visit of several hours duration.

Decision makers

The survey asked who purchased the cultural products. While most decisions to make purchases were made by individuals themselves, stated by 55% of respondents, predominantly women. However 16% of purchases were joint decisions, 14% were made by someone in authority in the group, 9% were made on behalf of children, and 3% were joint decisions for which payment was shared. A number of females abdicated their decision making power in favour of a spouse, a child or a shared decision with others in a group (37% of all women) [$\chi^2 = 24.5$, $df = 12$, $p < .05$]. These results have some implications for future sales enterprise strategies.

Genuineness

The performance of the event authenticates the activities and stalls. Over 11% thought that products and performances at Pasifika must be genuine, by virtue of inclusion at the event venue. A similar percentage was confident about knowing what was genuine because of their cultural heritage. But others said that if it is made or performed in the traditional way and made of materials or produce from the islands, then an item must be genuine. Around 10% thought that the activities, foods, etc must be genuine because they differ from anything that they know in their own culture. Smaller numbers reached similar conclusions, saying that items were genuine if they had been made by hand, made in the Islands (labelled 'Samoa' for example), sold to them by 'Island looking' people or looked 'Pacific' to the purchaser because of bright colours.

However, others thought that the items at Pasifika were not genuine at all (10%), others that mostly the food was genuine, but not all of the other items, and that although Pacific products are represented at Pasifika, most were modern, not

traditional examples. A few respondents noted that you can buy many of these items in the supermarket and therefore they could not be genuine to the Pacific.

In summary, while the majority of respondents had no idea whether items at Pasifika were genuine or not, items were considered genuine if they had the following characteristics (in order of importance): a) if they are sold at Pasifika, b) of my culture so I know, c) made in a traditional way (also implying expert Pacific cultural knowledge or pre-conceptions about what is 'traditional'), d) if they are different to what I know from my culture, and e) made from materials or produce sourced from the Pacific Islands (implying that an item is less genuine, or perhaps not genuine at all if New Zealand materials are used).

There was clarity too for some people for whom none of the food or arts and craft products were genuine, or that some were genuine (food only) and the others not. Together, these comments suggest complicit agreement that the genuineness at Pasifika is constructed, but the enormously high ratings say that such artificiality is forgiven because of the energy, the atmosphere and the explosion of cultural affirmation and tacit inclusiveness that takes place.

Statistical support for such contentions came from Chi-square tests which indicated that there was a very strong correlation between the belief in the genuineness of an item and reason for purchase [$\chi^2 = 210.02$, $df = 140$, $p < .005$], as well as with ethnicity [$\chi^2 = 149.94$, $df = 112$, $p < .005$]. Then or at least a belief in genuineness was a powerful motivator in making a purchase. Specifically, the attribute of 'sold at Pasifika' correlated with 'made the traditional way', 'celebrations of ethnic Pacific identity' and an almost curatorial desire to 'collect an item from another Pacific culture because it is 'different to what I know''. Genuineness also linked to purchases made for 'fun', experiences 'to be part of the atmosphere' and to 'weekend excursions'. Thus the festival experience has two dimensions, the weekend leisure excursion, and support of the wider Pan-Pacific community. Many Pacific people also however noted that in their opinions the items at Pasifika were not traditional at all, acknowledging the artificiality of the event. International visitors noted that genuineness was related to the validation brought to the item by being 'sold at Pasifika' and 'different to what I know'. New Zealand Europeans however were not clear at all whether the activities and products at Pasifika were genuine or not.

Opinion was divided regarding genuineness but some people were aware that some items were authentic and at the same time others were not. But if the items were 'handmade' in the eyes of the purchaser, then chances were that the products were genuine. It was clear too that authenticity could be added or acquired by a cultural product. An item can increase in authenticity and monetary value if enhanced contextualisation takes place. Sequential contextualisations might be: a) a purchaser

is told of an item's authenticity by the seller, b) if a 'Pacific looking' person is selling the item rather than a non-Pacific person, c) if that person is dressed in clothes that are perceived as 'traditional' by the consumer, d) if the purchase takes place in a themed Pacific venue, e) if Pacific music is playing in the background or better still a live performance, and f) if the appearance of the venue is 'tropical' or replicates the 'Islands'.

Such interpretations and complicit engagement in what can be in fact an inauthentic setting are born of Otherness and willing suspension of disbelief. In an unfamiliar venue, individuals construct stories of what they see around them based in both prior experience and fantasy.

People were also asked to describe which things to them were traditional and not traditional. A question that is useful for future marketing and promotion of Pacific enterprise initiatives. This was hypothesised as exhibiting differential *habitus* between European and Pacific Island communities, or between local and tourist markets. However, in the first respect we were wrong. Few disparities could be detected between views of what constituted traditional practices and goods at Pasifika on ethnic grounds. There was universal consensus that 'used today: passed down through the generations' was the meaning of traditional. Next in frequency of mention were comments that in fact there was no difference between traditional and non-traditional. No significant differences could be detected for ethnicity, age or gender but a slight significance could be attributed to place of residence between tourists (international and domestic) and local Auckland residents. For example, Auckland residents focussed on 'Island style', 'distinct ethnicities' 'handcrafted', but also 'no difference between traditional and non-traditional' at the Pasifika Festival.

Maori were more aware of the importance of genuine materials and processes to ensure authenticity than New Zealand Europeans. Another effect of ethnicity was that many of the New Zealand and International Pacific bought items that they knew to be genuine in order to reaffirm their identity and sense of belonging in their community, acquiring cultural proximity by these actions. However, impulse buying did take place amongst attendees due to the 'event atmosphere', the conduct of a 'new experience' or intent to acquire 'a souvenir of the visit that was different to my culture'. Impulse buying was positively statistically correlated with being 'sold at Pasifika'. This again confirms the power of event as authenticator.

New Zealand-Pacific were confident in being able to assess the veracity of items by virtue of their cultural heritage, but also stated that many of the items at Pasifika were not traditional at all. Yet that being on sale or performed at the Pasifika venue lent credence to genuineness. This last was agreed by all ethnicities. However, a certain number of New Zealand European and some international visitors did know that

some items but not all were genuine, indicating prior knowledge perhaps by travel, reading, employment in the islands, family members of Pacific descent etc. but also suggesting that prior knowledge, cultural affirmation and curiosity were all motivators for people attending Pasifika.

Implications – Connected markets

This study has discussed the motives for encounters and the actual transactions (purchases) that take place at the interface of Pacific and non-Pacific at a Pacific – themed cultural festival

We ascertained that the Pasifika Festival audience is wide ranging in age profile, drawn predominantly from the suburbs closest to the venue and dominated by Pacific peoples but with strong representation of New Zealand Europeans, some international visitors and a handful of domestic travellers. Those who encountered Pacific peoples were connected by proximity and/or cultural affiliation. Attendance was motivated by affirmation of identity (for Pacific peoples) and cultural support for other indigenous peoples (albeit from other lands) on the part of Maori. The key reasons for attendance on the part of New Zealand European, New Zealand Asian and international visitors were curiosity and controlled encounters with the colourful Other. All attendees, regardless of ethnicity valued the weekend excursion to a free, outdoor venue - characteristics of tourist attractions which were signalled as important to all of the Auckland regional respondents in a previous study (Cave et al., 2003).

Actual transactions made were primarily food, but interviews were conducted in the middle of the day. Few people spent more than \$40 however, with the majority spending less than \$20. There appeared to be a suggestion of two price points in the purchases made, dependent on quality and novelty. However, insufficient information is available to make conclusive statements. Product appeal was based mainly on the newness of the experience for participants, aesthetics and culinary adventure, all of which relate to complicit agreements on behalf of the purchaser to engage in the transactions as well as the producer or salesperson (who may not be one and the same) and buying souvenirs to demonstrate to the non-attending wider community that these people had participated in the event. It also shows affiliation to one's own cultural community and to take the opportunity to shop for Pacific arts, crafts and produce that are otherwise rarely obtainable in New Zealand. Performance of the event was tacitly agreed by participants sourced from the connected communities who attended the event. Each acted roles in the theatrically constructed imagined Pacific community whose purpose in coming together was to demonstrate hegemony, to educate others, earn some income from cultural resources and to be entertained.

The Pasifika Festival self-validates through complicit authenticity. Relatively equal numbers of visitors thought that all the products in the stalls and performances onstage must be authentic by virtue of inclusion in the event. Others however demonstrated confidence by cultural heritage and others relied on the people selling or performing, 'looking Pacific' because of physical appearance such as skin colour, apparel or by storytelling the lineage of its heritage. In the context of this large, well attended one-day event difference or distinctiveness from mainstream culture is an advantage. The sights, sounds, smells, sensations, setting and season all conspired to create a liminal atmosphere of emotions and actions that do not belong to the everyday. Perceptions of authenticity were deepened by enhanced contextualisation - increasing levels of cultural thematics as well as by increased interaction with the consumer and involvement in the story produced by the seller.

However, consumption too is complicit. The connected communities are buying from and selling to each other, except for the non-Pacific attendees who were there because of proximity but spent relatively little time or money at the event (from the evidence obtained thus far). A small number of international visitors stayed for several hours and spent more money than the locals. Thus such an enterprise model, while it does attain competitive edge over other events on that weekend, cannot possibly attain substantial economic improvement for the lives of Pacific peoples. Yes it generates funds, but just how much has not been established.

To my knowledge, there has not been an investigation of the costs of raw materials to produce cultural items for sale, nor has an account been made of the volunteer time for market stall holders, performers, etc to prepare for the event. Is this really a profitable model for individuals, families and community groups? On the face of it, little money changes hands. If money is made then it is potentially from volume, not from niche sales. The amounts spent on items were quite low. Perhaps the Auckland City Council benefits the most financially from the stall rental since most of the effort is volunteered. The market stall approach to the sale of cultural product depends on transactional agreements entered into between the purchaser and seller about the nature of value – value in terms of the ability of an item to affirm cultural cues, linkage to themed spontaneity and novelty value for some. However, the event would not have such a high societal impact or attendance if it were held weekly. Though it is interesting to speculate on whether costs to the volunteer-based community might reduce if held weekly.

The people who attended the Pasifika Festival were 'connected communities'. They lived close by and/or were Pacific descendants, had prior knowledge or experience of the islands, or were tourists connected to the event by virtue of its vicarious availability as an excursion. People became immersed in the event atmosphere and

entered a liminal state, willingly suspending disbelief for the duration of the experience.

The results imply that one set of characteristics cannot be presented for the different markets, yet ethnic-specific differences appear to not be well understood, either by Pacific or non-Pacific peoples. The evident emotional, cultural and financial successes of the day tempt one to speculate that it could be sustained as a market model for a long-term, year-round operation. Noting however the limits of geographical proximity in terms of audience attendance and the associated cultural attendance dynamics, can this mode be sustained for a year-round venue? Is it an all-weather sustainable and viable enterprise model? The feasibility study for the PBCC concluded that a themed cluster of attractions may, if well executed and managed, be viable on a base of the local market (Cave, et al., 2003). What then about the international and domestic VFR market? How do they perceive Pacific product? What are actual and potential purchasing opportunities? What are the inhibitors for this market if any? These questions are explored in the next study. The Pasifika Festival Attendees survey gathered emotional as well as market intelligence. The raw results were summarised into a single page and used as a stimulus for focus group discussion in the community studies half of the dissertation research.

Tourist and resident markets

This section summarises a study which assessed potential demand for Pacific cultural product from international and domestic tourists in Auckland as well as Auckland residents. Asking specifically, ‘What are the consumption patterns and profiles of purchasers of Pacific product and brand perceptions?’ It includes the possibility that, depending on route for the long-haul travellers to reach New Zealand (or for outbound domestic travel) that actual purchase might have been made in the Pacific Islands (questionnaire, Appendix 10). The study is not included in its entirety here because of space limitations, but is available as a Working Paper (Cave, 2009b).

The study provides strong statistical data from a large sample of respondents (N=743) and is a quantitative validation and deepening of understanding for many of the conclusions reached in both the earlier Pasifika supplier and attendees surveys. Specifically, it describes motives for encounters (with Difference and with Same, therefore Otherness) and transactions (purchases) at the interface of Pacific and non-Pacific in the international market place. Findings develop a focus on dimensions of Otherness as well as cultural proximity, revealing *habitus* where it is found. This study analyses enterprise scope and scale expected by respondents, gaps between products identified and actual supply, capability to supply cultural product. Thus it also informs the enterprise dimension of the model from Chapter 2, highlighting the

dilemmas inherent in establishing and maintaining competitive edge based upon cultural knowledge and resources.

Process

A survey of 743 people was conducted in April 2005 at the Viaduct Basin, Auckland and in Hamilton, New Zealand. A mixed method instrument was designed to first establish a conceptual context for the survey by introducing open-ended speculative questions about the nature of a 'Pacific Island brand' and ideas for potential Pacific businesses. It then asked about specific purchases made, followed by Likert-type scale perceptual questions concerning consumption ideologies, quality and authenticity as well as points of sale., purchase motivations and pricing. Brand dynamics and respondent perceptions of Pacific cultural product were explored as well as socio-demographic profiles.

Numeric data were collated on an Excel spreadsheet of pre-coded responses and SPSS used to produce descriptive, bi-variate (t-tests), non-parametric (chi-squared and cross-tabulations) and multivariate (ANOVA, factor analysis, principal component analysis) statistics as required. Conversational style questions were analysed by content analysis using the computer software packages CATPACtm and TextSmarttm.

Results – Tourists and residents

Respondents

The sample of 743 respondents allowed a statistical challenge to many ideas that were raised by the Pasifika studies. Equal numbers of males and females were interviewed, half were 25 years and under and the rest evenly split between 26 to 35 years and 36-45 year old age groups. Only 5% were 46 years and older. The sample divides into one third international (N=382) and two thirds New Zealand respondents. Of the New Zealand participants, 25% were from the Waikato area and 36% residents of the Auckland metropolitan region, reflecting a profile of winter tourism usage of the inner city harbour front, the Viaduct Basin.

We had noted in the Pasifika Attendee study and an earlier study of Auckland residents (Cave et al., 2003) that prior travel to the Pacific Islands and family linkages were key factors in terms of respondent attitudes, perceptions and product preferences. Similar results were obtained in this study. Nearly two thirds of the New Zealand respondents had not ever travelled to the Islands and ethnicity played a major part in the numbers of times a visit was made. As expected, Pacific Islanders were the most frequent travellers to the Islands (60% reported between 3 and five visits). A small number of Pacific Islander respondents had not ever made the trip, but significantly, neither had major proportions of New Zealand Europeans (60%),

New Zealand Asian (86%) nor some of the international visitors from the United Kingdom, North America or North East Asia (60% respectively).

Purchases and price

Findings of this study retained a focus on dimensions of otherness and cultural proximity or distancing between and within cultures, again revealing *habitus* for the domestic New Zealand European respondents and implying a parallel Pacific *habitus* that differs markedly from that of the mainstream. And within the Pacific views, differences appear between New Zealand-born Pacific and Island-born new settlers as well as International Pacific visitors to Auckland.

In terms of consumption patterns, the amounts spent on Pacific cultural products were in the main quite low except for spend on art, traditional Island clothing and music CDs. The higher spend for art was made by both domestic New Zealanders and international guests, whereas Pacific Islanders and Maori appreciated the intrinsic value of traditional cultural items. Cultural performance was valued by Pacific respondents, but many of the non-Pacific people had experienced performance as a free, unpaid for encounter, probably allied to tourism in the Islands. The study established that respondents who bought the most Pacific cultural products were of Pacific Island descent or had friends or relatives of Pacific ethnicities living in New Zealand, or who had travelled to and or lived in the Islands. There appeared to be divergent purchasing patterns amongst the international respondents. Typically North American and Australian visitors to Auckland reported spending more money than did their Asian counterparts. Within the domestic New Zealand market, art, personal items and Pacific foods were favoured, especially by respondents living in the upper half of the North Island. Two price points were identified which appear to relate to perceptions of quality and authenticity.

Reasons for purchase

Cultural items were purchased because of their value to Pacific communities as identifiers of community membership, self identification and associated cultural proximity. But with some nuances in that International Pacific emphasised authenticity, whereas the primary motive for New Zealand-Pacific was to 'identify with my community'. Cultural affiliation was surprisingly expressed by New Zealand Europeans, Maori and New Zealand Asian, alongside a duality of exoticism and individual expression by wearing/using an everyday item of 'distinctive' Pacific design. International respondents however emphasised objectification, wanting to acquire Pacific souvenirs as trophies and motility status symbols in their home countries. Gift-giving and personal relationships with the seller were identified too as key drivers of purchase decisions for International visitors.

International visitors identified commercial venues or perhaps art galleries and museums as points of sale. New Zealand European mainly thought that Pacific

goods were only obtainable from cultural festivals or tourism attractions. Neither was aware that Pacific goods are also available in open-air markets, at church sales, in Pacific homes, and at car boot sales. This suggests lack of knowledge and limited access, and point to the need for better marketing and opportunities to place Pacific products in those locations expected by potential markets.

The sales venues had importance in terms of attributions of authenticity and were culturally associated. Levels of cultural thematics such as physical appearance and perceptions of traditionalism based upon the materials used and place of manufacture were common to all non-Pacific ethnicities. However, international and domestic differences emerged in that New Zealand-born Pacific and New Zealand Europeans were comfortable with updated traditions in the use of contemporary materials because of the lack of availability of the original materials and lack of cultural knowledge respectively. International Pacific however were staunch in their views that authentic meant made in the islands of Island materials only. International visitors were more of the view that colour was the indicator of Pacific cultural authenticity. Notions then of quality associated with authenticity differ on a culturally based on cultural proximity, confusing the assumption of greater authenticity equals higher price and higher demand.

Brand

Brand associations in terms of Pacific island style separate the global market into those who know and those who do not, rather than along international/national lines. Pacific Island style was associated with intangible perceptual images of place, tourism and lifestyle drawn from the Island nations, not New Zealand as were the tangible descriptions of physical design. Pacific respondents and New Zealanders of any ethnicity, if they had travelled to the islands or had friends or relatives of Pacific descent were aware that 'many Pacific brands' exist, each one allied to many Pacific cultures' (see Appendix 11). However, international visitors and New Zealanders who had no prior knowledge of the cultures, subscribed to an image of 'One Pacific style, One Pacific culture'. This has significance for the positioning and branding of both current and future Pacific enterprise, suggesting that natural markets are those who have prior knowledge and that a great deal of work may be needed to shift the perceptions of the others because of the void in cultural distance.

Suggested enterprises

Enterprise suggestions and the earlier question about points of sale, netted results useful for the enterprise dimension of the thesis regarding the scope and scale of enterprise clusters (see Appendix 12). These indicate that market stall/cultural festival model is top of mind for most respondents producing a challenge for Pacific entrepreneurs wishing to build toward retail and service SMEs or tourism attractions. The good news is that tourism is closely associated with Pacific cultural product, but the bad is that the tourism is assumed to be located in the Island homelands, not

based in Auckland, New Zealand. This conclusion holds for both the international and domestic New Zealand markets. On balance, respondents were puzzled about why diasporan communities would want to mount cultural tourism product in New Zealand rather than in the Island homelands.

Implications – Tourist and resident markets

The continued themes of exoticism, difference and cultural distancing noted by the international and New Zealand domestic markets might be seen as supportive of competitive edge and thus could be seen as an opportunity. Yet the marginality of the communit(ies) creates barriers for brand perception, consumption, access, value, price and enterprise potentials both in scope and scale for these markets. That, coupled with the cultural proximity (hegemony) proffered by the Pacific communities in which consumption is internal and allied to preservation of culture describes polar opposites along a cultural dimension, albeit ameliorated by prior cultural knowledge and social relationships.

In some ways, the results of the global marketplace study validate the Vision of the Pacific Leaders and the Pacific communities for a heavily themed Pacific Island cultural centre. But there is a distance to travel from the market stall perception of diasporan Pacific cultural product and Disney-fied tourist attractions at the other.

Concluding summary - in the marketplace

The intent of this suite of marketplace studies was to investigate factors that might influence demand for migrant cultural product in a diasporan and informal tourism context. The theoretical underpinnings for these studies are drawn from the conceptual framework in Chapter 2 which suggests on one dimension, that culture bound perceptions of the Other on the parts of hosts and guests respectively create tensions as the content of culture is communicated in tourism interactions, and, on another dimension, that enterprise values based upon tourism product influenced by informal social contexts and culturally determined manners of doing business.

Findings suggest that prior knowledge, community connectedness and brand awareness are drivers for participation in Pacific tourism and enterprise interactions from a market perspective. Ethnicity was found to be the key variable across the board. Pacific respondents expressed far greater enthusiasm for Pacific product than Maori or New Zealand Asian, and New Zealand European however were at best ambivalent and culturally distanced in terms of values, assumed scope and scale of enterprise and popularity of cultural product. In one respect evaluations are skewed since few New Zealand Europeans had travelled to the Islands, yet their preferences within the entire range were allied to the familiar (European culture) and to types of product which reinforced cultural distance (Othering).

The research showed that international visitors can be attracted to Pacific products and services and that the open-air markets are at present trademark success stories for Pacific enterprise but their dependence on voluntary labour and lack of income earning potential may be major inhibitors of future success in the formal industry. Thus entrepreneurial capital needs to be built within the communities.

The ‘paradox of marginality’ assumes that access to cultural (natural) resource can become a competitive advantage and basis for tourism product. It relies however on the definition of marginalised communities as being distant from tourist flow (urban, rural, fringe), ‘Othered’ (such as homosexuals, women), hegemonic (self-defined – indigenous, ethnic), imaginary (themed attraction) or intentional (Amish, artists, monks) and that the potential exists for these communities to create cultural product because they are not mainstream. Further that they have the capacity to develop and retain a strong, agreed core of cultural values that are not diffused amongst the mainstream and the capability to develop businesses that function within the mainstream economic system. It also implies that conditions of peripherality should be maintained and thus destination dynamics may need to prevail in terms of access, image and clustering of activities.

Yet is marginality a good thing? If it does not keep pace with contemporary change, it tends to isolate peoples, who become unable to access education, services, economic benefits, etc. Might not then people who wish to be better understood by the mainstream, not be marginalised further?

The third stage of the journey, the marketplace studies was the *etak* ‘Signs of Land’, grounding the community’s aspirations and dreams, capacity and capabilities in the reality of market demand. This stage assessed what goes on at the interface of suppliers with consumers (Pacific, tourist and residential markets) and helped to show some of the features of the several Pacific ‘enterprise destinations and the direction in which they might lie. The group of studies profiled stallholder suppliers, identified assumptions made by suppliers about their product and their consumers and the appeal of Pacific products to actual and potential consumers. They also suggested market segments, sales and marketing strategies and illustrated brand perceptions and enterprise ideas. The chapter demonstrated the *autopoietic* dynamics of social and cultural capital at work at the Pasifika Festival.

This completes all of the studies. Now the research canoe might be considered ‘abreast’ of the enterprise ‘screen of islands’. The next chapter synthesises the results from both the marketplace and community studies and attempts to align the signs of land, seamarks and guiding stars. If the Navigator considers the signs are correct then he/she turns from the windward course (the 4th *etak - Of Birds*) toward the destination (the conclusion) and perhaps will make landfall.

Chapter 7

Synthesis

(4th *etak of Birds*)

Introduction

The intent of this last chapter is to pull together the several analytical threads that have been explored in this research. In so doing, it reflects upon concepts grounded within the results and changes to the initial conceptualisation of the dynamics of interaction in cultural tourism (Chapter 2) and the validity of the thesis proposed in this dissertation. The thesis was:

‘That societal marginality can be a positive position from which to develop tourism enterprise and cultural product’.

The conclusions are discussed in three sections: ‘Sailing Conditions’, ‘Insights’ and ‘Destination’. This chapter also assesses the extent to which this project has contributed to new knowledge and theory in the tourism field and cross-cultural research methods. The research journey might now be considered ‘abreast’ of the destination ‘screen of islands’. The Navigator can align the signs of land, landmarks, seamarks and guiding stars and turn towards the destination to make landfall. This is the 4th and final segment, the ‘*etak of Birds*’.

The synthesis undertaken in this chapter re-aligns the first theorisation (Model 1, Figure 2-1) in terms of information revealed by each cluster of syntheses and questions concerning aspirations, internal community dynamics and external consumer interface. Further, it constructs a new theorisation of the issues which inhibit and enable encounter as transactions between cultures (Model 2, Figure 7-5).

It also challenges the thesis ‘that societal marginality can be a positive position from which to develop and manage community-initiated tourism enterprise and product’. To do this it draws on the answers to three questions - What are the diasporan Pacific community’s aspirations for tourism and cultural enterprise to support tourism? What factors enable or inhibit interaction at the interface between diasporan Pacific communities and tourism product/cultural enterprise? What happens at the interface between diasporan communities and consumers?

The first section of the chapter reflects on the sailing conditions (the informal economy and world view). The next section explores insights into the internal dynamics of diasporan Pacific entrepreneurship and tourism aspirations, and lastly, the chapter comments on the nature of the destination and new horizons for the future.

Sailing conditions

The informal economy

As suggested in Chapter 1, not all tourism experiences are formal. Many elements of the informal economy identified in Chapter 3 while not called the ‘tourism industry’ are nonetheless ‘touristic’ and an integral part of the tourism and social economy of a country, nation, region, town, village or family unit. Examples include songs, performance, arts and craft by volunteer, school and church agencies, etc. that are made freely available or at minimal charge to ethnicities beyond cultural communities, for education, politics and advocacy. Others might be invitations to private homes, ceremonies or cultural rituals where strangers temporarily become ‘Selves’, part of the ‘Other’ social world. Economists call these ‘value-add’ or indirect multipliers since they do not contribute directly to the earnings of communities. This however devalues their importance to the informal economy which represents the most productive sector in a number of Pacific nations (Gibson & Nero, 2007).

The informal, or household, economy ancillary to the formal taxable regime, noted in Chapter 3, is made up of traded commodities (betel nut, coconut), fundraising events for capital projects, inter-household transfers of money and remittances (mainly from offshore sources), a raw materials market, and items such as coconut oil, soap for the market of say Samoans living abroad, as well as movements of ceremonial goods (Gibson and Nero, 2006). Key local products, such as betel fruit, are sold by micro-entrepreneurs in the local market stalls to supplement income for household needs such as school fees, or to trade for imported foods. A ‘not for market’ example would be the making of Tongan fine mats which have high value to the ceremonial economy, especially to wage earning women who do not have time for weaving. The mats are exchanged in social contexts both in the home island and in the migrant context. Small proportions of fine mats are however sold where there is no social relationship. Women use the money obtained from such sources to support self-reliance and upgrade the household’s standard of living (Gibson & Nero, 2007). An example from this PhD research includes a note in Chapter 5 from Fiji, where a woman talked about sending money to the villages to pay for the fine mats, thus bypassing the ‘middleman’ and supporting the rural economy and the ceremonial economy.

The cultural festival studies (Chapter 6) provided many instances of the informal economy and its importance to families, for example providing supplementary income for older family members who perhaps can no longer work (or migrants from countries without governmental visa agreements with New Zealand). Other examples were family fundraisers (trip to Rarotonga for a family reunion), and micro-enterprises where a family member travels annually goes to Samoa to arrange

for and select goods for sale, and SMEs which import and export finished goods into New Zealand and elsewhere around the global diaspora. Many of these goods appear for sale at festival markets (vide Pasifika), museum and art gallery shops, airport and other retail outlets. Restaurants feature 'Pacific' flavours, ingredients and thematic events and supermarkets highlight 'Pacific' produce. Diasporan goods then become part of the range of products available for domestic and international tourists, at many New Zealand venues in the formal tourism industries.

And as noted in Chapters 3 and 5, the informal economy includes the gifting, exchange and ceremonial creation of products (and import of raw materials). Pacific goods are sold informally to friends and family wherever people meet at churches, community events, local flea markets, car boot sales, and many others. However, they are made available (or not) under social and cultural regimes described in Chapter 5, circumscribed by intent, identity, obligations and connectedness within and/or outside cultural communities. Thus, for Pacific migrant communities, diasporan links mean that 'indigenous' raw materials and finished product are available here, created in the homeland as well as in New Zealand, albeit constrained in their supply and distribution. At present, by far the largest majority are circulated within the informal touristic economy, not as formal tourism enterprises.

The household economy and diasporan spheres of influence links flow into issues of *épistème*, indigeneity and thus Identity.

Impact of world view

The research findings corroborate the need to situate each study in the unique cultural context and world view (*épistème*) of each ethnic community and its diasporan social world.

Values and organising interfaces that correspond with a 'Pacific Way' were identified by the Pacific Leaders and across the communities. These included obligations to care and provide for family, church and community, and to protect the treasures and the elders who embody cultural knowledge. Yet, the research has reinforced that each individual is embedded in their diasporan culture, that culture is identity and that the achievement of one person is an achievement for the whole community so that the 'Pacific Way' has to be interpreted ethnic-specifically. Individuals turn first to their families for business and other advice, and then go outwards into community and beyond if necessary.

Entrepreneurship is one way to earn income in order to take care of everyone in the familial context amongst waged employment, remittances, and welfare benefits. But the most common form of migrant Pacific entrepreneurship at present is at nascent levels of micro-enterprise, market-stall or fundraising. Workforce participation

levels and wealth indicators for Pacific Islanders are considerably lower than the mainstream national averages for New Zealand. However gains are being made in service industries, SMEs and consultancies as education and skill levels increase, especially for New Zealand-born Pacific. However, conceptions of what constitutes success, workable business principles, the styles of 'doing business' in the diasporan cultural contexts and the culturally embedded parameters at the interface of community/cultural economy with the business/market economy create tensions and dilemmas for individuals, family groups and cultural communities who might wish to develop cultural enterprise as a means of poverty alleviation.

Further, the communities were not homogeneous in their views about how 'Pacific' values translated into business action and there was intergenerational divergence about what constituted 'Pacific' values between older generations and younger. Nor was there agreement between Island-born and New Zealand-born (distinguished also from 'non-Pacific').

Thus, nascent Pacific entrepreneurs and those in existing businesses operate within dual perspectives. In this diasporan context they can agree that a set of 'Pacific' cultural values 'Self-Other' them from western values and perhaps serve as a common base from which to leverage collective political capital. Yet at the same time they are separate from each other in terms of culturally defined points of difference and unique value sets aligned with each Island nation and familial obligation.

First principles are established within these cultural points of difference which constitute a somewhat *utopic* view, constantly retaining cultural reference points of the Island homelands. This was evidenced by the Pasifika studies in the high degree of support (many hours of time, money, and willing hands, emotional and cultural) given before the event. It also appeared in the form of assistance to the stallholders, in operating the stalls, attendance, purchases made on the day, performances of music, song, poetry and dance (staged and impromptu) in the social networks and affirmation of the performers and activities 'seeing and being seen' and again in every community discussion group.

The difficulty is in reconciling the *utopic* view of how 'things should be' with 'how things actually are' in a *heterotopic* environment of Otherness. The community discussions (Appendices 1 to 5) identified action strategies for language nests, play centres, cultural centres and others to preserve and sustain culture. These are ways to retain 'Sameness', as is the call for a 'central place', a *fale*, for each community. Yet some entrepreneurs are finding ways to bridge a natural tendency for avoidance (*dystopia*) of the non-Pacific neighbourhoods of Auckland and western life. These were referred to in Chapter 5 in Table 5-4 as 'workable New Zealand-Pacific

solutions' and include planning for profitability rather than break-even, provision for a pre-determined level of 'gifting' in balance sheets, annual accounts and budgets, selling enough to be profitable first then 'give away' and price to cover all direct costs plus overheads. Other solutions are not to allow treasures in the business room, to consult with elders about what can be shared (knowledge, product, and design) and to ask for advice about your business from someone in your culture who also knows about business. It is also essential to have long-term mentoring relationships, extend business networks into the non-Pacific community, especially for new money and markets, use local materials to reduce production costs and to locate where the business can be most profitable.

This research confirms that Tongan and Samoan communities are actively engaging in these strategies, walking with confidence in both Pacific and non-Pacific worlds, either as Selves or by adapting self-referent systems with which to deal safely with the external worlds (*autopoiesis*) or stepping outside the Island nation or New Zealand-Pacific reference points to a non-Pacific position. It also confirms that Tuvalu and Tokelau are perhaps more reluctant to engage with external worlds (*dystopia*). Kiribati is eager to be part of their new setting. The communities which are more comfortable in the *utopic* mode showed that Connectedness, Obligations and Identity were powerful modifiers of behaviour in an enterprise development sense, because of radically differing *épistèmes*, strong internal *habitus* and *autopoietic* dynamics.

No comment can be made however about the communities which were not studied in depth, such as the Cook Islands, Niue, Fiji, Solomon Islands, etc. It is important to note that these findings are time and place-specific and that other conclusions might be found in other communities, or indeed in the same Waitakere communities, several years later.

There are challenges for nascent New Zealand-Pacific entrepreneurs, their families and communities to concurrently preserve cultures and to operate in the marketplace. Yet there are also opportunities to create distinctive styles of business (as seen in Hawaii) and to leverage diasporan indigeneity in contemporary forms that remain faithful to tradition, are approved by elders and create new characteristics which eventually become touristic, thus utilising marginality as a cultural tourism product.

The *épistème* of Pacific distinctiveness is recognised and articulated by non-Pacific and Pacific entrepreneurs and communities alike, although non-Pacific (unless connected to Pacific in some way by proximity or positive experiences) saw these as typified by 'one Pacific' and inextricably linked with tourism products tropical Pacific islands and perceived pastoral simplicity. That is, defined by images of place and therefore difficult to reconcile with 'non-island place' such as Auckland. The

cultural *épistèmes* translate into design, especially contemporary innovation, but again seen as ‘undifferentiated’ by non-Pacific. Nevertheless there is a point of difference that is ‘Pacific’ that can be leveraged into competitive cultural products, if the communities so wish. And, as the proportions of Pacific peoples begin to increasingly change the demographic landscape of New Zealand, they may constitute a distinctive part of New Zealand’s formal cultural tourism industry. The trans-local and trans-national ethnic community connections also confirm *épistème*, separately for each diaspora and ‘collectively’ for Pacific, as being distinct from mainstream New Zealand. The research also affirmed that each community desires to address the survival of culture and identity, as well as to dream of wealth and prosperity. These aspirations are facilitated by the returns and dynamics of the diaspora and hindered by increasing participation levels of New Zealand-born Pacific in western education which results in cultural diffusion, unless language and culture-specific resources can be provided from pre-school until tertiary level.

The contextual section of Chapter 3 reminded us that it is families not governments that hold the Pacific together (Gibson & Nero, 2007). The Pacific nation islands are fluid spheres of influence linked economic flows, movements of people for long periods and short stays (education or work) and exchanges. But positionality in relation to the physical and supernatural ‘homeland’ is ever important. ‘To lose one’s place, to not know where one’s island is, or to no longer be possessed by that island, is to be perilously lost at sea’ (Diaz & Kauanui, 2001). Perhaps this expresses a fear of loss or may be an innate conservatism, *utopia* that in itself inhibits development.

It could be said that holding onto a perceived ‘authenticity’ is not being fluid, but in fact Pacific social worlds adapt with time and constantly regenerate, perhaps more easily than other cultures, such as Scots for instance, because of the strength of social capital and diasporan indigeneity, and the flow of remittances and people to and from the Island nations. Thus, in the contemporary Pacific, ‘authenticity’ itself is constantly being refined. An issue for diasporan peoples is the length of time spent away from or uninfluenced by the homeland. In time, with lack of contact, people can become ‘more Tokelauan say than present day Tokelau’. And also, for Tuvalu and Niue where there are progressively few people living in the homelands, new identities are being forged in the new context, creating which some might call ‘inauthentic’ cultures but which in reality have their own integrity engendered by the critical mass of populations resident in this country .

Thus, world view or *épistème*, as it relates to diasporan social worlds remains foundationally important as a context for the research design and a reference point for the methodology as well as for interpreting the research findings and within which to frame future research.

Sighting the destination

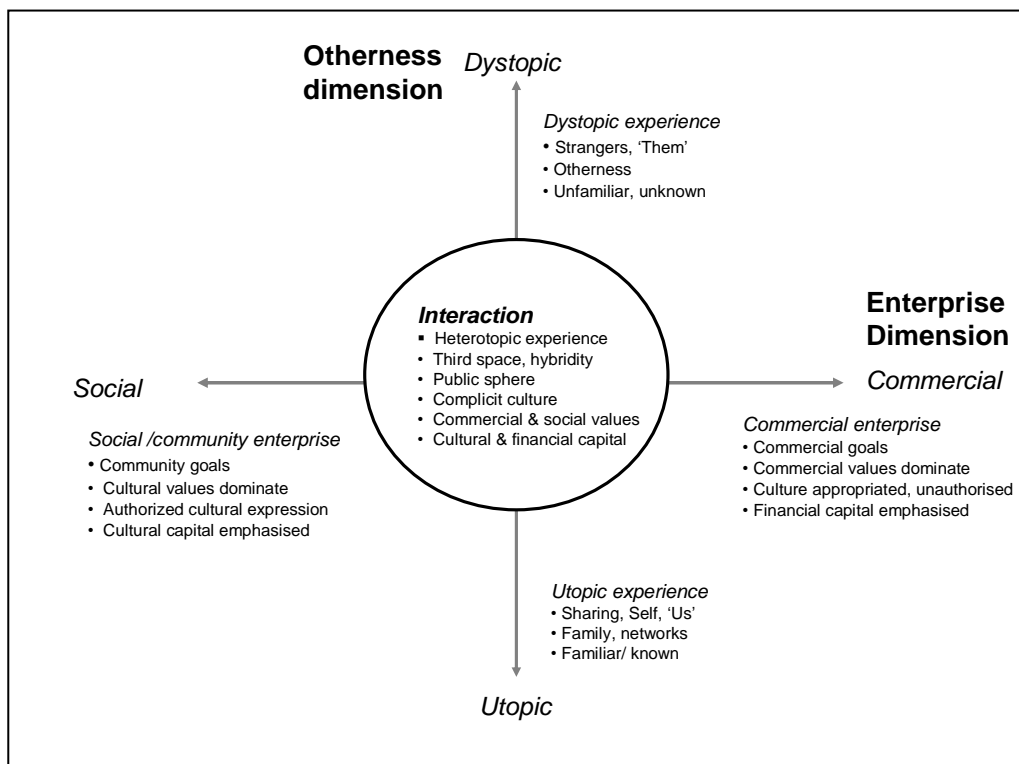
This section briefly reviews the new knowledge which emerged from the research and reassesses the initial model.

Initial concepts - Model 1 - Framing Interaction

This research examines the extent to which formal tourism expressions can arise from an informal social context and a culturally determined manner of business within diasporan Pacific communities. It was undertaken from the perspective of prospective tourism hosts to assess the potential that cultural enterprise and/or tourism might offer as an alternative means of income, or help members of each community to learn something fresh. This section lays the ground-work to challenge the model and if necessary, to reformulate, reject or create something altogether new.

The conceptual base of the thesis was expressed in Model 1, Chapter 2, (reproduced as Figure 7-1) underpinned by theory relating to marginality, Otherness, enterprise and interactions.

Figure 7-1 Framing Interaction – Model I (from Chapter 2)



The dimensions for the proposed framework for cultural tourism enterprise comprised, without an implied hierarchy, first an ‘Otherness’ or cultural experience dimension and second, an ‘Enterprise’ or entrepreneurial dimension. The framework describes a dynamic of interaction in cultural tourism settings that has implications

for both sets of people who participate, i.e. visitor and host. The ‘Otherness’ dimension was described as a continuum of difference, from idealised utopian familiar ground where Selves feel they belong, through meeting places where strangers are encountered (heterotopias), and to dangerous dystopic places where Others dwell, that are to be avoided.

The Enterprise dimension was described as having pivot points that turn on goals and values. Thus the social and community enterprise was envisaged as being empowered, self-sustaining and authorised expressions of culture and in the mid-range was located enterprise comprised of a mix of social and commercial goals.

Figure 7-1 summarises the two dimensions ‘Otherness’ and ‘Enterprise’ describing some of their characteristics (explained in full in Chapter 2), as well as a central area in which Visitors and Hosts might meet to ‘share’ cultural experiences with the ‘Other’. As noted in Chapter 2 these interactions might occur, in terms of the formal cultural or heritage tourism industry at purpose built tourism attractions, during tours of a heritage city or a Maori *marae* stay to experience lifestyles different from ones’ own at a performance as part of a resort stay, or an eco-adventure in an indigenous village off the beaten track. These can take place under varying conditions of control and freedom, authenticity and commodification, indigenous empowerment and powerlessness but generally money changes hands, some of which payment may be made directly to the cultural host. The next section reviews data from the research to establish whether or not the first model holds, or should be modified.

Not Otherness, but ‘Identity’ and ‘Connectedness’

Model 1 (Figure 7-1) theorised that ‘suppliers’ in the formal tourism industry would be located to the right of the Otherness axis (the upper right hand quadrant of the ‘Interaction Zone’) as this represents a space in which unconnected ‘consumers’ of difference could be welcomed and controlled encounters take place. This had been envisaged in the original concept for the Living Villages and retail/service centre complex of the Waitakere Pacific Business and Culture Centre (Chapter 6). Such controlled encounters can be seen in the hybrid cultures created at the Children’s Museum at the Canadian Museum of Civilisation (Macdonald & Alsford, 1989) or the intentional enclaves of ‘authenticity’ created by Huan entrepreneurs in China for backpacker tourists (Ateljevic & Doorne, 2005). However, it was also suggested that community participants in the informal tourism industry might locate in the centre of the Interaction Zone.

Each of the ‘locales’ on the Otherness dimension were envisaged as producing conditions that require differing tourism management strategies. Presumably no interaction between visitor and host takes place at either the *dystopic* or *utopic* ends,

except under rare circumstances, thus a management response from the host would not be required. However, the amount and type of contact presumably increases toward the middle of the conceptual axis. If so, then the opportunity for successful interactions would occur, or otherwise in *heterotopic* conditions. In an informal context where cultures interact, one or other can dominate or some hybrid of the two occurs.

In the formal tourism industry environment, positive financial outcomes and host/guest encounters are critical to business continuance as well as to repeat visitation and referrals, even when heavily subsidised by governmental support. Thus, this issue of the dynamics of cultural interactivity is of particular interest to cultural tourism. Further, when the tourism ventures are located in cultural and social networks as in this research setting, where informal cultural influences and obligations are stronger than commercial imperatives, the issue becomes more blurred and the dynamics more difficult to manage.

The research findings from the market studies nevertheless showed, that informal ‘public spheres, places of otherness, or *heterotopia*’ dominated the discourse. These were located on the cusp of ‘private cultural domains’. On the one hand, they provided traditional products to connected insiders, described as ‘the giving away part’ (the lower left hand quadrant of the Interaction Zone) and ‘selling only to ourselves’ some of which are contemporary product (the upper left hand quadrant of the Interaction Zone) and others traditional in form, described in Chapter 5, Figure 5-8. Both of these excluded unconnected ‘visitors’, unless serendipitous. Nevertheless, the right hand quadrant of the Interaction Zone could, from time to time be conceived of as open to connected outsiders and sales might be made within the complicit cultures which form, for example, at the Pasifika Festival (Chapter 6).

At first view, at the overview level, culture-bound perceptions of Self and Other suggested in Model 1 (Figure 7-1) appear to hold true for the experienced moments of informal cultural touristic interaction, as they do in the formal industry. ‘Same’ describes as a place of privacy where people ‘like you’ gather (safe, predictable - *utopic*), ‘Other’ describes a place of strangers, ‘unlike you’ and to be avoided (dangerous, unpredictable - *dystopic*). Yet, in the middle range, a series of places were revealed where strangers met as visitors and hosts in tacit roles for the durations of the transaction. These places are not linearly derived quadrants but are multi-dimensional spaces defined by role (maker or receiver), action (gifted or sold), period (contemporary or traditional), societal place (insider or outsider), relationships (connected or unconnected), and by identity (‘Pacifinness’). Reactive identities, complicit cultures, tacit inauthenticity and exclusions from cultural knowledge and processes were intentionally performed by Pacific hosts as a way to prevent appropriation and loss as well as to protect the Elders and to preserve cultural

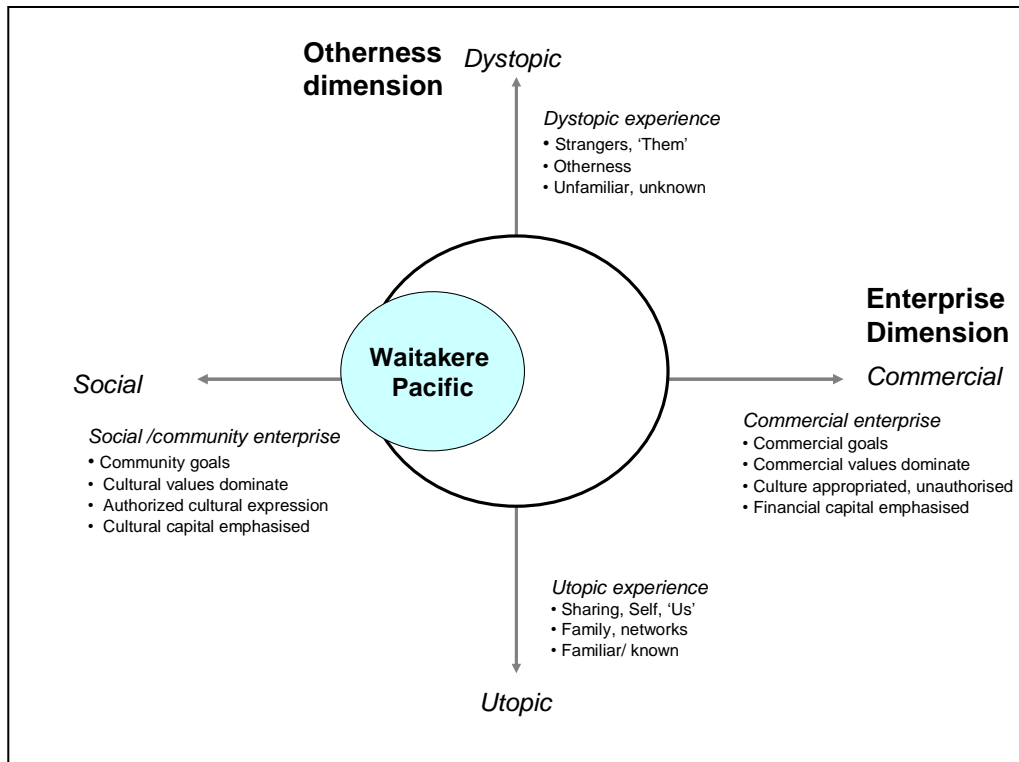
differences. Thus, the prior simplistic view of *heterotopic* interactions is challenged by the research conclusions, although Otherness theory still appears to apply.

The research also showed that some of these places were formal places of tourism encounter such as exhibitions at a museum or art gallery, resorts or cultural attractions visited elsewhere in the Pacific, but most encounters in the New Zealand context were informal - at festivals, community events and school performances. Some were open to people from other social/cultural worlds such as at the Pasifika Festival, in performances at conferences, and at flea markets but most activities were closed to outsiders and occurred at language nests, churches and cultural ceremonies. Some were financial transactions – fundraisers, sales made at festivals, community events and churches - but most were cultural transactions such as gifts or exchanges, especially for treasures within the ceremonial economy. These imply that the enterprise dimension may also need to be revisited. Thus, overall, while the core framework seems to hold for the Otherness dimension, the lived experience of Pacific communities of cultural enterprise necessitates a shift in perspective on that model.

Figure 7-2 indicates a different positioning of Waitakere's Pacific communities in terms of the central, contested *heterotopic* area. At the outset of the research, the author has suggested that overall, Waitakere's Pacific communities would locate in the central, *heterotopic* zone, halfway between social and commercial. However, as a consequence of this research, the author would locate the Waitakere Pacific (overall) mid-way between the upper and lower left quadrant of the Interactive Zone which in Chapter 2 were called respectively the Self-managed Zone and Zone of Privacy. These quadrants exhibit relatively low interest in commercial goals compared to social/community outcomes. Tensions were presaged if communities or individuals venture into commerce from this position. However, exceptions can be found in the data which locate specific instances in different positions on these diagrams, for instance some existing entrepreneurs and market stall activities fall into the Zone of commercial potential. But these are some distance away from the aspirations of the Pacific Leaders for fully commercial capacity and action.

The Waitakere Pacific communities are located in that position because the current range of activities is informal, exchange and ceremonially based and sit within the informal household economy, primarily touristic in nature. Thus the actual readiness of Waitakere's Pacific communities is at odds with the Leaders' aspirations (at present) to engage effectively with formal tourism activities and business. Having said this, some communities were more enterprise-ready than others and some groups made conscious choices not to engage in cultural enterprise. This is consistent with tourism activities which derive from the informal context of cultural communities where embedded social and cultural forces play major roles, as suggested earlier.

Figure 7-2 Locating Waitakere Pacific Cultural Enterprise on Model 1



This is not to say that these cannot change in the future, but if cultural enterprise is a desired end goal, then the focus of future strategic work on the part of Waitakere’s Pacific might be upon development of capacity and confidence via in-family, in-community ethnic-specific enterprise education and activities that preserve culture and develop the literacy and numeracy skills needed for effective enterprise operations, and develop a strong focus on the workable solutions for New Zealand-Pacific cultural enterprise. That is, one should focus more on the incubator portion of the original PBCC vision. However, under this approach it may be more difficult to demonstrate measurable change within three-year funding cycles (if governmentally funded) and perhaps more challenging to fund than a bricks and mortar visible ‘product’ such as a tourism attraction.

The research revealed that tourism transactions that might take place would be very different experiences for Pacific, Maori, New Zealand Asian and New Zealand European audiences. All groups were interested in potential Pacific products if high quality, interactive and informative, fits with perceptions of the tropics and are managed encounters. Further, they all recognised the existence of a Pacific brand, although these differed by European and Pacific views of ‘Otherness’ and ‘Self’. For example, New Zealand Europeans described a ‘Pacific’ brand as tropical, escapist, holiday-like atmosphere, but a place where Europeans might not belong. Whereas Pacific peoples hoped the brand would support collective cultural hegemony,

supported by/for each ethnicity, and provide a cluster of services owned and operated by Pacific for the benefit of connected Pacific communities.

The Pasifika stallholders (N=17, qualitative) made assumptions about their clientele at the festival in terms of bringing 'souvenir' items, basing the range of products on assumptions that 'Other' (non-Pacific) would also want to purchase the same, thus enacting a touristic stereotype about the market consumers as well as self-image of the entrepreneurs. Although there was evidently a market of sales to Pacific (Selves), there was little differentiation between the stalls, noticeable to culturally aware researchers. In addition, anecdotally, the most popular stalls were the innovative contemporary products.

Connectedness and Otherness were also noted at the day-long annual Pasifika Festival (N=240, qualitative), reinforced by geographic and cultural proximity. The Pasifika study of attendees informed theorisation about actual transactions that take place at the intentional community formed at the event. Again the most profound differences were detectable between non-Pacific and Pacific, but indications were that value laden and identity differences could be detected between Island-Pacific and New Zealand-Pacific. Few tourists attended the Pasifika Festival and there was a sense of serendipitous attendance from the international tourists – a missed timing opportunity for the organisers at the end of the tourist season in New Zealand. Relatively few purchases were made, primarily food or drink. Two price points were reported for purchases which appeared to relate to perceived value. Intrinsic cultural value was more important to Pacific people, thus, they valued traditional goods more highly than non-Pacific. The majority of Non-Pacific attendees were local residents, connected to the Festival by close geographic proximity to the venue. These people saw it as a risk-free culinary and cultural 'adventure' with family at which to be entertained, and perhaps purchase contemporary Pacific design items to identify with the exotic Other. Authenticity could be achieved by contextualising the goods available with appearance of the person at the stall and positive interactions with the customer and storytelling about cultural context, creating a complicit, *heterotopic* social world of 'authenticity' for the duration of the event.

Similar purchasing patterns were obtained in the International/Domestic Tourist survey (N=743, mixed method). Prior knowledge of Pacific peoples, frequent travel or familiarity with the Pacific correlated strongly with appeal or purchase of Pacific cultural products. But respondents were puzzled about why Pacific 'Others' live in New Zealand and would want to engage in tourism here, and not in the Islands. This suggests an element of brand confusion and awareness that non-Pacific in Auckland are on the periphery of society. People who lived close to concentrations of Pacific populations were also more likely to wear clothing and accessories to self-identify with Pacific, but in the sense of the exotic Other.

In terms of 'brand', Pacific respondents both knew and were able to separate Island nations with their associated ethnic styles, but non-Pacific, regardless of whether international or domestic travellers, collectively thought that there was one Pacific not several nations, and that the goods looked somewhat alike, unless they were connected by prior experiences to Island families. This then suggests that Connectedness to Community and strongly recognisable Identities are important to positioning Pacific cultural enterprise amongst wider offerings in the New Zealand mainstream context. Specifically, locating Pacific brands associated with tourism for international tourists and as part of the Auckland cultural scene for locals and domestic travellers.

Overall, the market studies identified the diasporan Pacific populations as the primary markets for Pacific cultural enterprise. Demarcations appeared to exist between island-born migrants and the second/third generation of New Zealand-born peoples who self-identify with the specific Pacific Island nations. There are also non-Pacific people who are connected in some way (travellers, family members, live close by, work with, had pleasant experiences) with Pacific peoples, as well as a range of *heterotopic* experiences where interactions between the two (several) cultures take place. However, the majority of non-Pacific was not connected to Pacific culture. The concentration of markets then remains within the several communities of the Pacific at present.

In terms of the community studies: Connectedness and Identity also emerged as variants within Otherness. The community studies (Chapter 5) discussed the two dimensions extensively so will not be reproduced here. It was more important to establish whether the market studies identified new dimensions or supported those from the community studies. In fact they support the Connectedness and Identity dimensions but also appear to suggest that the features of *dystopic*, *heterotopic* and *utopic* 'Otherness' should not be discounted. For example, evidence for Sameness and Self-Othering by Pacific respondents, expressed above as community cohesion, common pan-Pacific values and common objectives, is both idealised and utopic distanced from mainstream New Zealand's society, culture and business ethic at both practical and philosophical levels but in the context of *épistème*, appropriate to each ethnicity. Note: the axis for Connectedness is located between the New Zealand-Pacific and non-Pacific since Connectedness refers to Pacific Identity and not to non-Pacific. Thus the axis was moved to the right of the diagram in Figure 5-6. Perhaps then, rather than replacing the Otherness dimension with the other two, Otherness should remain, along with its theoretical distinctions *dystopia*, *heterotopia* and *utopia* (See Figure 7-3). Examples of the categories for Identity and Connectedness, drawn from the community discussion groups follow to remind the reader how they were defined.

Identity

Island Pacific

‘We don’t worry about preserving our culture because we are all very new to New Zealand (less than four years). We know our culture very well’ (M2, F1, Kiribati)

‘Why do we protect that? It preserves our elders. It tells the visitors from outside how important this *measina* (treasure) is – to serve our elders – not tell just the youth. It is unique to us. It is important for them to see what it means to us. It is so important to me! Even we see the real Samoa. When we serve ‘*ava* in the house, no kid is inside. No women around, except there is a *taupou* (daughter of the highest chief) who is mixing the ‘*ava* to be served. There might be some women *matai* receiving the ‘*ava*. Unless we do this it is forgotten’ (F1, Samoa) 13/10/05

New Zealand-Pacific

‘A traditional art form like baskets is not frozen in time. Can be made out of modern materials e.g. baskets made out of nylon binding materials. People use what is available at hand to create the traditional forms. Over time this will lead to a new traditional form’ (F2, Niue)

Not Pacific

‘Most of my life has been away from Tuvalu so I don’t know what is special and should not be shared’ (younger F1, Tuvalu)

Connectedness

Not connected

‘We need to develop a relationship with PI and non-PI to find the market for our product’ (younger F1, Niue) 27/07/05

‘There are a lot of people here who are ignorant – they know a lot about Fiji but nothing about Tuvalu, the Europeans, the *Pakeha*, even some Maoris they don’t know us’ (M1, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

Connected outside community

‘The weaving group - we have a Coordinator who works for the Council and provides the contacts and the networks - our group is popular in Waitakere area so it helps as well. Plus our family and friends help us’ (older F, Tuvalu) 27/07/05

‘I don’t have a full time job, am not working. I use my own time at home to weave/ to make baskets. I tell my friends (networks) if they want to buy and this is how the business operates. I am old, can’t do any other work, I use my free time to do weaving, that’s what I do best (older F2, Tuvalu) 27/07/05

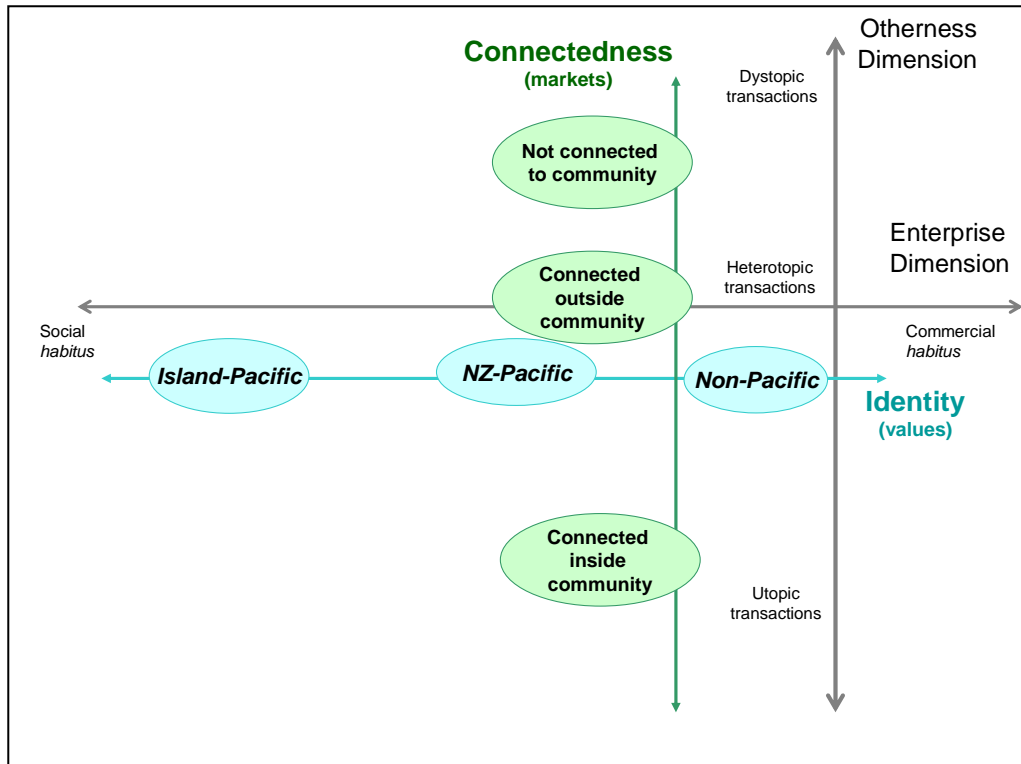
Connected inside community

‘People should work from within their own communities. For example, the Corbans, the people over there work together by linking through the church (F2, Niue) 13/06/05.

‘Also need good links back home. If we had a good market here then we will need to have good links back home for the quality resource (M1 Tonga) 28/06/05.

Thus the Otherness Dimension from Model 1 should remain but be supplemented by the addition of two Pacific community dimensions, Connectedness and Identity (Figure 7-3).

Figure 7-3 Framing Interactions - Identity and Connectedness



Not Enterprise, but ‘Enterprise Intent’ and ‘Obligations’

Model 1 (Figure 7-1) also proposed a second dimension, ‘Enterprise’ spanning enterprise goals conceptually underpinned by social values, community goals and protected cultures at one end and commercial goals and values leading to commodified or appropriated cultures at the other.

But the model had not anticipated the strength of the contemporary hybrid cultural products forming within Pacific migrant communities here in New Zealand. These were seen in the Pasifika Suppliers survey as highly successful ‘popular’ innovations such as tapa designs on ceramics and as ‘New Zealand versions of Cook Islands dishes now thought to be authentic’. They were also indicated by the appeal of contemporary ‘Pacific design’ goods purchased by New Zealanders (Pacific, European, and Maori) as identity markers to signify that these people ‘belonged’ to New Zealand by wearing ‘Pacific’, noted in both the Pasifika Attendees survey and the International/Domestic tourist market study.

Moreover, the Tongan community talked at length about the need to innovate in the New Zealand context, in part to protect the treasures by not reproducing them (although smaller versions could be made of the original, or the ‘original’ could be

produced in contemporary materials) but also to appeal to markets outside the Tongan community and strengthen local demand. This served to deal with pragmatic concerns of cost, distance, import restrictions and continuity of supply. There are also distinct differences between Island-born Pacific and New Zealand-born Pacific concerning the importance of adherence to traditional design and raw materials for cultural product. As well, differences in expectation about usage. For example the former group expected to use Pacific goods everyday (utensils, foods, finished creative products, ceremonial items), whereas New Zealand Pacific saw them more as gifts or for treasured display (Pasifika Attendees and International/Domestic Tourist survey).

The Pasifika suppliers study indicated widely variable enterprise intent. As noted elsewhere, enterprise was situated largely within the informal and ceremonial economies. One third of the Pasifika suppliers (albeit a small sample) were SME operators who could be called part of the formal tourism industry. The majority however were at the Pasifika Festival to earn some income, primarily to support other family members and to supplement household incomes by leveraging the expertise of artisans in their families. A very small number were enterprise ready nascent entrepreneurs who came to the festival as part of a weekly round of market venues. The Festival, and others like it provided ways that money could supplement the rural economies of the Islands in the form of remittances and facilitated exchanges of people, knowledge and redistributed goods to less wealthy members of the communities. Familial links were used to obtain product and raw materials.

Perhaps then, the Enterprise dimension should be seen more subtly than has been suggested in Model 1 and it might be advisable to not locate Pacific communities along the full range of this dimension. However, reality does not match this. Some Pacific businesses are commercial in the western sense, although census figures tell us that these are relatively few in number (Chapter 2). So, perhaps, since Pacific values contrast most strongly with non-Pacific values, the Enterprise dimension could be separated into two dimensions aligned to the underlying *habitus*, one relating to Pacific and non-Pacific Identity and another to Enterprise Intent which retains a social enterprise versus commercial dichotomy.

Data was not collected at the Pasifika Festival's International Pacific Village side of the event where elements of the formal tourism industry could be found, such as the Cook Islands Tourism Board, the Fijian Tourism Board and other Island governmental organisations. The interviews for the study focussed on New Zealand-Pacific stallholders. Nevertheless the international stands confirm the commercial categories of Enterprise Intent and anecdotally included Not Profit, and familial obligations.

The market data from the study of international and domestic tourists to Auckland, expanded on the notion of brand and characteristics of possible enterprise (values, *habitus*) in several ways. It asked respondents to put themselves in the place of a Pacific entrepreneur and to try to imagine what types of business might be undertaken (hoping by this strategy to expand the range of possibilities that were being considered by Waitakere entrepreneurs and community for cultural enterprise). This produced some fascinating results, respondents talked about ‘Other’, ‘Difference’ and ‘Self’ but also talked about the dissonance of Pacific enterprise in the New Zealand context.

For the tourists, imagined and real experiences of Pacific Island were inextricably bound up in the idea of Pacific design for non-Pacific and not-connected people as one Pacific - not several, but one. Pacific style of design (Appendix 11) was described as ‘tourism - exotic, authentic and handmade’ but also as ‘place- unspoiled environments, raw materials from nature, used in daily life, natural shapes and forms, patterns and colours that evoke the topics’ and as ‘lifestyle – friendly, laidback, dancing, music, look different, simple and undeveloped’. In other words, as a *utopic* pastoral image, noted in Chapter 4 as creations of colonialism and control.

Notwithstanding these misunderstandings, the physical attributes of the Pacific Island brand may well be useful, if challenged and modified within each cultural *épistème*. This is possible because of the recognition amongst the international and domestic tourists for designs that draw upon the distinctive patterns, colours, forms and materials drawn from the natural, cultural expression and spiritual worlds of each Island diaspora contemporary and traditional. This supports the Island-Pacific and New Zealand-Pacific categories of the Identity dimension, which, whilst it was proposed to nuance the Otherness dimension, is also significant for the enterprise area.

The range of enterprises suggested by respondents (Appendix 12) expanded the scope of potential enterprises beyond the range initially envisaged by the Pacific Leaders. Arts and crafts were mentioned, but so too were accessories (belts, bags, jewellery), boats and boat-building, clothing and cloth, household items, entertainment in all its forms, themed events, foods and foodstuffs, health and beauty products as well as hospitality and tourism products. Clothing, food, household items and entertainment topped the lists for international preferences (Chapter 6) because of associations with adventure, relaxation, fashion, exoticism and souveniring. However, authenticity was essential. This suggests that if done well, professionally run and authentically evocative of many of the elements noted above, it may not matter where and by whom a Pacific enterprise is created, if based upon cultural knowledge by embedded entrepreneurs.

Examples of the categories for Enterprise Intent and Obligations from the community discussion groups follow:

Enterprise intent **Not For Market**

‘As a Fijian, the only thing never to be on sale is a *tabua*. Never see it sold. (F1, Fiji)

‘In Samoa anything made to be shared is ok to sell. Fans and baskets too. These are things made to be sold. Things that we sit on or sleep on, we can sell. But fine mats are ceremonial. That is different. Never sell them (F1,Samoa)

Not Profit

‘Business-business’ is a hobby, you do it at home. Its fun, creative, is what you do to be yourself. But can be a type of entrepreneurship. If enough left over can sell (F1, Fiji)

‘Pacific aren’t so driven by money as others. You make it because you enjoy. Sometimes you undersell and sometimes you under price but it is not in her [Niuean woman’s] nature to sell at market rates’ (F 2,Samoa)

For Profit

‘Business is serious, formal, done for profit’ (F1, Fiji)

‘A family member when they come is told this is business you have to pay for it. Personally they ask for free. But is you say it is a business then they do understand’ (M1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

Obligations

Commitment to business

‘When you run a business. You must have a bed, give to the church, give to our family and have enough for your business. But you can’t run a successful business like that’ (F1, Fiji)

Obligations to church and community

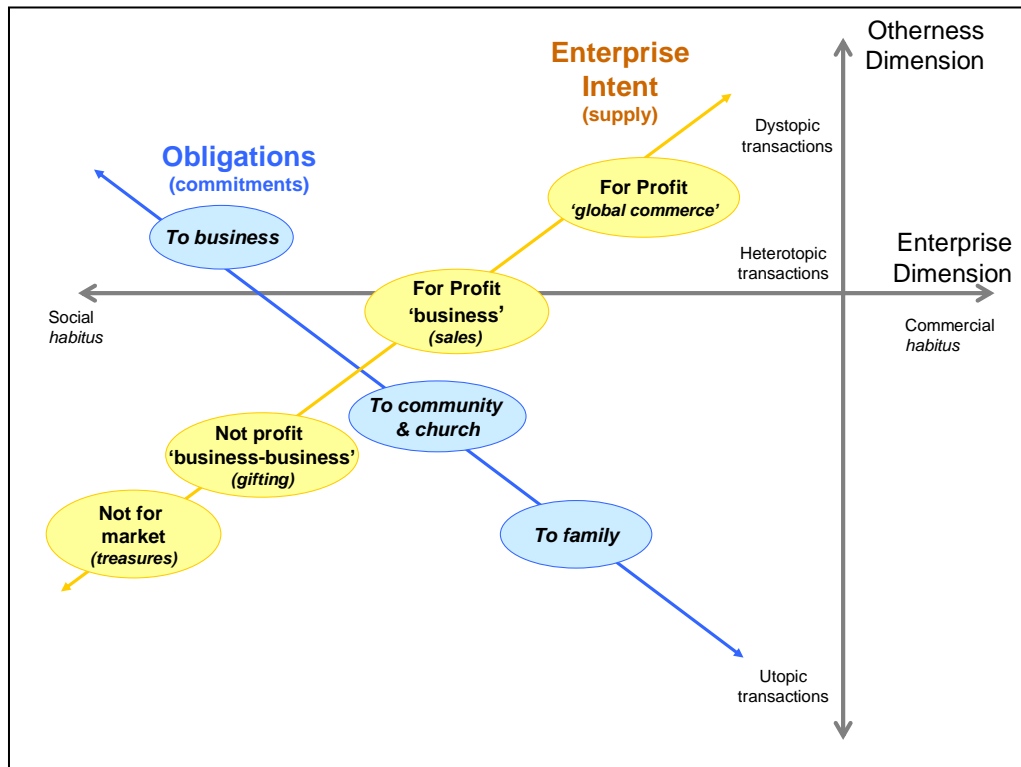
‘Our extended family will come, say ‘can you help’. Hard for me to say ‘no’. It is impolite and not the traditional way – so I usually give it to them. But I have to survive as well. There are overheads and staff, a lot of things to pay, so I draw the line. I don’t come in the front when I see the family come in. My husband is European. He is out there in the front. I send him out because I can’t say no’ (F1, Samoa)

Obligations to family

‘There are family obligations because we are very giving people, in a family we are expected to give what is required.’ (M, Samoa)

Thus the Enterprise Dimension from Model 1 should be removed replaced by two Pacific community dimensions, Enterprise Intent and Obligations (Figure 7-4).

Figure 7-4 Framing Interactions - Intent and Obligation



Interactions

Encounters are interactions that take place between two (or more) distinct cultures in a touristic context, and transactions are interactions in which money changes hands for goods or services.

The original model suggested that the dynamics of interaction between visitors and hosts in *heterotopic* ‘places of Otherness’ where difference is encountered, might be conceived of as equally balanced within community and outside. However, this research has shown that in the context of Waitakere’s Pacific communities, the balance is primarily internal.

Encounters

The Waitakere Pacific residents study (early in Chapter 5) anticipated that activities at a potential cultural centre would be a place at which all Pacific communities would interact freely, but the bulk of its encounters should be largely closed to non-Pacific, except for income earning transactions. The intent was then to set aside ethnic-community distinctions in favour of collective advantage and by this means to develop cultural strength and turn a position of marginality to positive advantage.

That thought was also evident in the complicit culture of the Pasifika Festival that attracted large numbers of visitors, and presumably sales. Greater numbers were

potentially achieved by this strategy than might have been achieved by nine separate cultural festivals. At the Pasifika Festival, open transactions occurred between outsiders (non-Pacific) and othered insiders (other ethnicities) on a commercial basis, at least whilst in the confines of the venue, tacitly supported by mutual gaze on the part of non-Pacific respondents. Anecdotally, the informal economy was also active (non-commercial exchange and gifting) at the close of the day as well as during the festival within ethnic communities. The Festival did however create competitive environments between stallholders within and between ethnicities as well as and between Island nations and New Zealand-Pacific, although noted earlier as not well differentiated. Re-definement of Sameness at a 'higher' order or pan-cultural set of values to operate as an organising interface with external environments occurred in terms of external non-Pacific perception that the products available were all 'Pacific'. It also appeared in the International/Domestic tourist study where 'Pacific' was thought of as 'one culture, one style' for non-Pacific, except those who were connected to Pacific communities.

The Pasifika Event was a complicit expression of cultural identity that both isolates the Pacific communities from the mainstream culture but also affirms pan-Pacific identity, and thus positionality at the margins. The event was reportedly successful in affirming identity, attracting large numbers of people and creating a sense of energy and excitement, a liminal experience. This implies that collective endeavour may be beneficial in terms of the thesis that competitive edge could well be established successfully at the margins, based on cultural knowledge and resources. However, were these the kinds of success that create 'competitive edge' in mainstream economic terms? If competitive edge means financial survival, then perhaps not. Was the Pasifika Festival a commercial success? For Auckland City Council's cost-recovery through stall rentals, the answer is yes. Anecdotally, some stallholders did make a substantial sum on that day. Some of these issues and dynamics were identified in the research at Otara Market (de Bruin & Dupuis, 2000) and Manukau (Manukau Institute of Technology, 2004). But it remains to be explored at a future time just how much money is made and whether ingredients, materials, transportation, site rental, stall equipment and labour were subsidised by the communities.

If competitive edge means an identifiably 'Othered' position, through a sense of being part of something bigger than oneself or one's ethnic community and from which economic benefit may be leveraged if not on the day then as downstream relationships, then yes. However, establishing whether this is the case has not been done. Nor has it been established whether the evident enthusiasm of the day could be maintained year-round at one or multiple venues.

Further, as noted in the Pasifika Festival attendees and the International/Domestic tourist studies, the connected communities (either by geographic or cultural proximity) at Pasifika interact with Pacific Other, and that without such connections ambivalence remains in terms of interest levels. Pacific cultural products are purchased in mainstream markets in New Zealand by residents of Auckland and the upper half of the North Island because Pacific music, art, fashion design, accessories and foodstuffs are seen as an integral part of everyday contemporary New Zealand life. However, they are 'othered' by non-Pacific (New Zealand European and New Zealand Asian) who use descriptors such as 'cheaper', 'exotic and different' or 'culinary adventure'. Further, the cultures contribute to the cultural landscapes of design, art, music and performance as well as sport in the cities of Auckland and are being celebrated within that city's mosaic of experience for tourism and citizenship.

New Zealand Maori reported purchasing Pacific cultural products to acknowledge and support other indigenous peoples, but this too is an 'Othering' objectification. International visitors bought Pacific cultural goods in the Islands and could not readily accept the notion of Island Pacific located in New Zealand as a logical, although not unreasonable idea. All of these groups looked forward however to greater influence and presence of Pacific culture within the future social, cultural, economic and entrepreneurial landscape of New Zealand. Regardless of possible response bias, there is nonetheless a strongly expressed positive association of 'Pacific Island style' with motivation to purchase.

By far the most powerful non-Pacific market trigger is Connectedness. That is, the participation in Pacific cultural enterprise transactions of non-Pacific people who are connected in some way - by family or life experience - to the Pacific diaspora. All of the market studies demonstrated this. Frequency of travel to the Islands, family members married to Pacific community members, connections through the work place as colleagues and endeavour were significant motivators of interest and engagement with Pacific people and thus purchase of Pacific products. Thus, a market niche was identified. The remainder of the non-Pacific populations were largely ambivalent and perhaps could be seen as secondary potential markets.

This suggests that non-Pacific markets do want to engage with Pacific cultural enterprises, but that cultural values do not always align, and preference was expressed for controlled encounters with the exotic Other. There are therefore two non-Pacific markets. One, an 'educated' market which is connected to and engages with Pacific culture through everyday workplaces, tourism and family life and another, distanced from Pacific cultural life and interacts with Pacific through aesthetic, visual and performing arts. This group is willing to engage appreciatively if the quality of cultural product is high, but is arguably 'uneducated' in terms of

awareness of Pacific culture. Although at the other end there are people for whom Pacific products hold no value or relevance, so is not a 'market' *per se*.

Transactions

In terms of financial transactions and expectations of potential revenue streams for Pacific enterprises, two price points were evident, both relating to quality. High quality, higher price low quality, low price but the caveat is perception of value. Non-Pacific did not ascribe value to authenticity of cultural product in the same way as Pacific peoples. The sights, sounds and smells of themed venues, ethnic apparel and 'Pacific-looking' people both behind the service counter and in the crowd perceived cultural safety (a mix of both 'white' and 'brown faces') were enormously influential triggers for ascribed 'value' and therefore, presumably, price. But this has to be tested more rigorously.

Nonetheless, expenditures on Pacific cultural items were not reported as being high, suggesting caution and conservatism to a potential entrepreneur. The other issue is expectation of where Pacific products might be obtained, at market stalls and car boot sales were mentioned, suggest low quality goods, casual encounters, low expectation of value and low prices. This set of assumptions may be a problem for Pacific entrepreneurs who might wish to locate in high profile areas such as airports, retail malls. It may however work in their favour, if unsophisticated presentation and customer service is expected to be low, it is an easy matter to exceed expectations and 'surprise and delight'.

Another feature of the marketplace studies that relates to both value and authenticity was the high degree of interest from non-Pacific peoples in contemporary forms of 'Pacific' design and use of materials, compared to traditional product. Traditional product made of natural materials was seen as 'all one culture', 'all looks the same', regardless of quality. Non-Pacific were incapable of distinguishing between Melanesian, Polynesian or Micronesian products or specific Island nations – unless they had prior knowledge and experience, forming part of the Connected group. This may present a difficult challenge to ethnic groups who may wish to create an ethnic-specific brand. An uphill battle for differentiation might result. However, such a pan-Pacific perception may in fact support the concept of iconic cultural attraction or events that bring all Pacific together under one roof, metaphorically speaking. Nevertheless, the differentiation issue may remain.

Organising interface

However, the Pasifika Festival successfully created self-managed villages within one venue. Thus, producing an environment of collective leverage, but on terms defined by each community for themselves without imposed 'pan-Pacific' image making. Such a process also can be seen in the terms of reference for the Waitakere Pacific Board. One could argue that this represents a post-colonial view of minorities where

Europeans organise a 'single' point of contact to cope with ethnic plurality and, in effect, subdue voice to an ineffective murmur of generality. On the other hand, collective action on the part of Pacific communities may in fact leverage resources ('greater good for greatest number') that might not otherwise be available for any group if nine separate ethnic groups attempted to create Memoranda of Understanding. The Waitakere Pacific residents were clear that neither the respective ethnic nor collective pan-Pacific communities can move forward without an iconic *fale(s)* as a metaphysical and practical organising interface.

These are evidence for self-referent, self-defining systems of thought made about and in reference to perceptions and relationships with external and internal worlds, or *autopoiesis*. *Autopoiesis* is allied to *habitus* and is an important process in terms of understanding the transactions that occur between cultures occurring in the Zone of Interaction. Transactions that occur in an *autopoietic* environment can be both open and closed, depending upon the context, and the structural relationship of each internal system, to the external environment. That is, they depend upon Otherness, Sameness and transactional efficacy. Obligations and Connectedness are two of the mechanisms by which *autopoiesis* is achieved in the Waitakere context although aspirations and developments over time may lead in a direction of more external contact. It might be possible that a resurgence of effort in preservation of culture could develop into more tightly defined (and increasingly closed) protection activities.

Positionality

Positionality in this research setting has two meanings, one derived from Pacific world view, relating to process of triangulating one's position as a Pacific person within the homeland diaspora, innately oriented by the zenith star of the Island, no matter where you are located in the world. The other, European in origin, implies a situation, point of views and attributes that are particular and appropriate to an actor, located at a site that is specific to time, place and circumstance. Thus positionality of say, an NGO, may change over the course of a partnered relationship with a local government agency, depending upon the extent and nature of funding and support.

The positionality of Waitakere's Pacific communities vis-à-vis the proposition that societal marginality can be a positive position from which to leverage enterprises that can compete for markets (Pacific and non-Pacific) in the mainstream economic context might be assessed by a re-examination of their cultural enterprise position in the light of new information and the *emic* conceptualisations of this research.

It was suggested in Chapter 2 that research might show that nascent diasporan Pacific entrepreneurship is a *heterotopic* hybrid that adopts western values and integrates with Pacific *habitus*. Or, perhaps Pacific enterprises operate outside the western

frame altogether and look only to internal cultural forces for direction. Alternatively, Pacific entrepreneurs may reject cultural influences as too difficult to adhere to in the dominant mainstream marketplace.

The data collected about the aspirations outlined by Pacific Leaders and Waitakere Pacific Residents in Chapter 5 seemed to suggest that a positive position from which marginality might be leveraged for nascent Pacific migrant entrepreneurs might be located in the centre of the Interaction Zone. That is, where social/community *habitus* co-exists alongside for profit activities, underpinned by commercial values at a *heterotopic* nexus. However, a final and fuller analysis did not support this supposition.

Figure 7-2 revises the actual position of Waitakere's Pacific communities to the left-hand side of the Interaction Zone. But this diagram does not adequately describe the nuancing of experience and the parameters which inhibit and enable cultural enterprise, theorised and framed from the world view of migrant Pacific communities (Figures 5-6, 7-3 and 7-4). When this is done, a different set of emphases on the dimensions of that position is revealed.

New concepts - Model 2 – Framing Pacific interactions

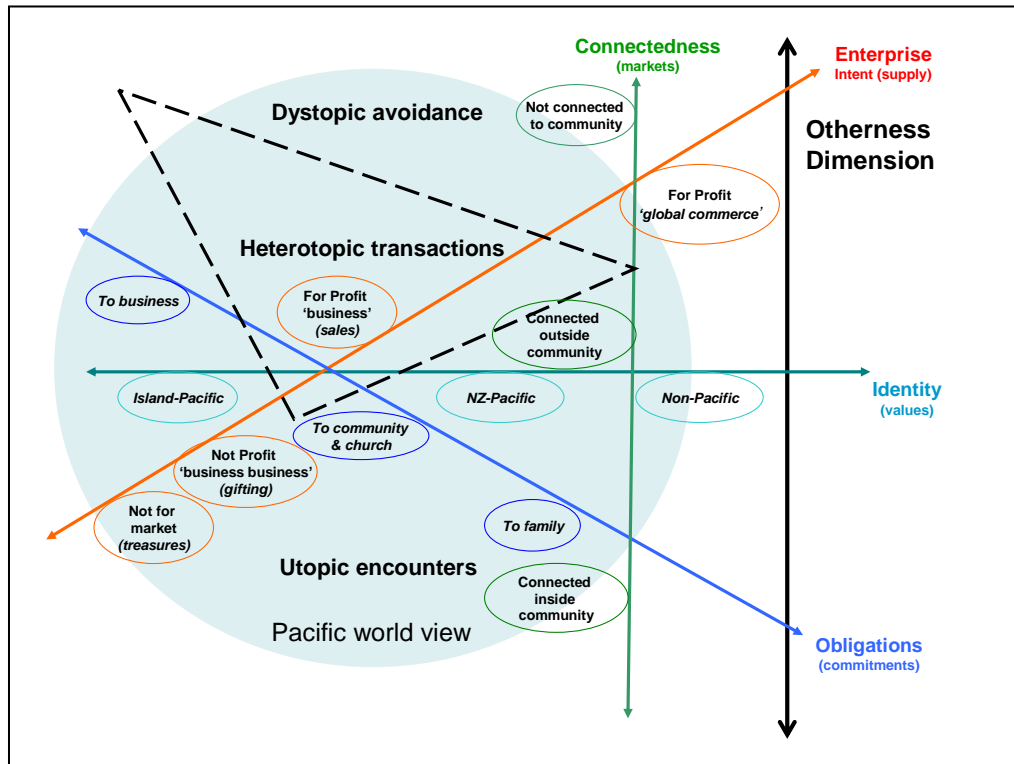
Figure 7-5 assembles all of the dimensions of Pacific cultural enterprise at the interface of community with the mainstream market economy, as seen from the Pacific communities of Waitakere point of view. Otherness theorisations are also added, as discussed earlier in this chapter, since the data confirms its importance to understanding the research.

As a consequence, in terms of Pacific world view, the Zone of Interaction is redrawn.

The four parameters of Pacific cultural enterprise, Identity, Connectedness, Enterprise Intent and Obligation appear in the diagram as before (Figure 5-6), but this time encircled by a shaded disc to represent 'Pacific world view'. The Otherness dimension also appears, to the right-hand side of the image, because the research continued to show the power of this theorisation in the context of diasporan social worlds but this time specified as *utopic* encounters, *heterotopic* transactions and *dystopic* avoidance.

The zone of *heterotopic* transactions (financial encounters with 'difference' such as with Non-Pacific or Other-Pacific, cash-based) expressed in the research findings conceptually, extend from the upper range of the Otherness Dimension, in a triangular shape, with its apex mid-way between the For Profit and Not Profit categories on the Enterprise Intent Dimension. The upper two points of the triangle

Figure 7-5 Framing Pacific Enterprise Interactions – Model 2



extend, leftwards, into the business side of the Interaction Zone, and right, beyond the ‘global commerce’ category to mid-way between Connected-Outside and Connected-Inside on the Community Dimension. The *heterotopic* zone barely crosses into the community side of the framework because of the emphasis of Pacific communities on internal rather than external connections and markets.

Primarily cashless *utopic* encounters, within trans-local family and trans-national diaspora linkages are conceived of as positioned in the lower half of the diagram, on the community side. The most *utopic* of the transactions may be part of the ceremonial economy and the remainder part of the informal economy (‘business-business’). Each cultural community would have their own diasporan world view and variant.

The *utopic* encounters (and some *heterotopic* transactions) create social, cultural, symbolic and economic capital (Chapter 2) and are important for both the current and future positions of each of the Pacific ethnicities in Waitakere. Without symbolic and cultural capital, cultural knowledge and resources cannot be transmitted, perfected and created. Nor could economic capital be developed in the form of nascent enterprise operating and trialling innovations in the informal economy, or if so desired, lead towards becoming formally constituted as tourism industries. The underlying challenge is for convertibility of those capitals into other forms, especially converting rich social and cultural capital into entrepreneurial capital in the

heterotopic transaction realm. It is also important to note that Pacific communities identified areas of *dystopic* avoidance. For some, such as Tuvalu, whose preference is for in-community interaction, the *dystopic* realm (to be avoided) might commence at the connected outside community positions. On the other hand, Tongan and Samoan communities do not avoid external connections and so the *dystopic* 'border' would locate further into the business side.

In the original model (Figure 7-1), it was assumed that both visitor and host interacted to create liminal, third space experiences. The research findings described above suggest that actual interest in, or capacity for engagement in transactions outside Pacific communities seem at this point in time, to be primarily focused internally, and upon retention of core values and identity or Sameness. Also, that ethnic communities look to combine with other Pacific via a pan-Pacific organisational interface as a platform from which to encounter the Other.

Interactions with Other appear to be occurring at complicity-constructed contexts such as low-level income markets, cultural festivals or performances. It was clear that non-governmental organisations such as PBT and WPB have pivotal roles to play in facilitating achievement of community aspirations – whether those aspirations are for preservation of culture and no business, both preservation and business, or only business without a cultural base.

This softens the boundary with Other as mediated encounter. The diagram however is not meant to imply that the transitional zone is pan-Pacific, this diagram is a synthesis of syntheses that it applies as much to each ethnicity in terms of diasporan indigeneity as it does to the complicit pan-Pacific. This may imply that pan-Pacific will disappear with ethnic-specific success in establishing touristic cultural centres. In fact, some ethnic groups could outgrow the *utopic* zone of encounters more quickly than others so that some groups still operate in the hybrid pan-Pacific space. Thus tensions might arise between those who require the critical mass of 'several together', those outgrowing the need to work with others, those who require control of the complicit zone as a source of status, power or need for simplification such as local governments or Pacific leaders and those who control the cultural, fiscal and human resources for its support.

This research was initiated from a standpoint that societal marginality can be a positive position from which to develop and manage community-initiated tourism enterprise and product. The work has confirmed that Pacific communities are in a 'marginal' position, both in terms of market interest levels and from the community side, but that each community is located in a different position, at least in this sample.

Some communities do not wish to engage in mainstream business environs, others are already active, others are frustrated and do not know where or how to begin. So, that if communities do want to engage in the development of cultural enterprise, that they would do so from different starting points.

What is more, several of those communities (Tonga, Samoa) want to achieve intentional marginality to have the best of both worlds. Yet a new version of cultural enterprise is emerging in each of those communities, successful New Zealand-Pacific strategies (Chapter 5). Comments were also made to the effect that in-family and cultural community-based (in Maori terms, the equivalent of marae-based) education was needed to assist entrepreneurs, because of their embeddedness in cultures and familial obligation (trans-local and diasporan) and cultural *épistèmes*. Thus whilst Figure 7-5 shows one version, an overall view of Waitakere's Pacific communities, in fact five different diagrams could have been drawn, one for each cultural community.

How then, as nascent Pacific entrepreneurs, engaged as many are in informal touristic activities, might positionality be altered? The next section proposes a Pacific metaphor that might be used to undertake that task.

Landfall - Destinations

The aspirations for Waitakere's Pacific communities can be summarised as 'by Pacific, for Pacific, of Pacific'. This may appear to deny what non-Pacific structures can offer Pacific-based groups but talks more of a desire for hegemony in the face of frustrations with mainstream interactions. These are already, to some extent being addressed by 'between world view' solutions developed by New Zealand-Pacific to bridge both Pacific and business cultures. New attitudes behaviours and structures are being developed that adopt and adapt non-Pacific business practices to Pacific milieu.

Pacific Leaders from Church, Community Boards and the business community talked about the need to preserve culture, seek social equity and retain the competitive edge that is the 'Pacific Way' of doing business, underpinned by cultural values, power dynamics and organising interfaces that are both pan-Pacific and yet ethnic-specific. It showed consensus regarding both values and goal between the two groups, namely to preserve cultures, provide social equity (social and cultural outcomes), to achieve enterprise outcomes, work as a business in the Pacific Island Way, and to retain diverse ethnic identities, and that the separate communities could achieve more if they work together in a pan-Pacific manner.

To be 'pan-Pacific' (for the Leaders) seemed to mean adopting common values and goals that typify and strengthen the position of Pacific in mainstream society and enhance Pacific prosperity and wellbeing. Common values expressed were to preserve and transmit culture, firstly to youth, connect youth to their elders, express culture through action and outcomes, offer a sense of belonging to work in business in the 'Pacific Way' embedded in culture, community and families, as well as to develop employment for Pacific peoples and preserve the ties of the diaspora networks.

Vesting ownership and control in Pacific communities not individuals was important, thus envisaged interactions, as seen from a leadership point of view were to span all Pacific and non-Pacific target markets. A self-attributed 'Othered' position from which these interactions were envisaged, was seen as a positive feature of Pacific identity vis-à-vis tourist Others and an implicitly 'Othered' mainstream New Zealand consumer. Enterprise goals and values were strongly articulated and thought to be common across the leadership. Cultural priorities outweighed commercialism. These ideas indicated strongly self-referent (internally organising), cohesive communities and Sameness amongst all the Pacific communities which spanned tourism and other socially constructed enterprises but revealed an unexpected emphasis on pan-Pacific identity.

The Pacific respondents living in Waitakere as potential consumers of Pacific cultural products (looking towards a tourism attraction) dreamt of a locale that could be uniquely branded as 'Pacific'. They saw this as located on the water, easy to reach, developed, operated and peopled by Pacific people for the educational, social, cultural and economic benefit of those communities. In other words, capable of redressing social marginality and establishing plural, trans-local connected communities of all Pacific peoples beneath one roof. This locale would, it was thought, eventually evolve to become the focal point for transactions with external consumers of cultural product and provide an opportunity for a 'Pacific' competitive niche in the wider mainstream market economy environment.

They also sought buffer zones between mainstream and Pacific identities. Ideally these would be several *fales*, one for each ethnicity. The *fale* is a metaphor for community cohesion, and is peopled by mentors and spirit guides (mostly Pacific), a place at which values, basics and proficiencies of language, traditions, culture and life skills and rules relevant to both worlds are learned (the informal ethnic-specific cultural economies on one side, and mainstream non-Pacific market economy on the other). These were places at which each community could assess its positionality vis-a-vis enterprise and other 'destinations' and consider the extent to which the parameters of Connectedness, Identity, Enterprise Intent and Obligation enable and inhibit their aspirations. Yet these locale would be linked to a central, liminal,

inclusive and evolving space, this would be where the ‘dilemmas’ (Chapter 5) are revealed, addressed and put aside or acted upon, and hybridity was enacted.

Thus a conscious desire to remain ‘outside’ mainstream New Zealand was expressed, but in the main as intentional marginality, because of the benefits of being with like-minded people, who understand you but yet, aware that such a position contributes to stereotypes on both sides. In spite of that, there was also awareness that Pacific communities, individually and collectively, are already making an impact on the socio-cultural landscape of Auckland and could do more.

The self-image of Pacific peoples was tied up in this sense of unreasonable inequality as well as the knowledge that enterprise capacity embedded in culture, community and the diasporan mobilities, constantly renewed by spiritual, natural, cultural and familial linkages to the home island, and would likely be the way forward for Pacific communities. This implies a dynamic sense of conscious marginality with a highly permeable boundary for exchange, but with inbuilt tensions about how achievement of the destination of ‘cultural enterprise’ should take place.

New horizons

This research has traced the development of a collaborative action research effort that had hoped to make a difference to Pacific communities in Waitakere and to the field of tourism theory.

It has shown that marginality can indeed be a positive position from which to develop competitive cultural enterprises, including tourism – accommodation, amenities, activities, attractions, events, food and retail, access to homeland Islands such as travel agencies or conceivably transportation to the Islands or within and around New Zealand. It has also analysed the dimensions of marginality, and the intrinsic nature of those dimensions in terms of Sameness and Otherness.

Implications for Waitakere’s Pacific communities

Waitakere’s Pacific communities are in a state of flux rather than readiness regarding engagement in cultural enterprise. Each is at a different stage of development, confidence, assuredness and organisation due to their respective histories of migration, prior education, population numbers, proportions of New Zealand-born to Island-born and access to wealth. Wealth is defined culturally, in terms of ceremonial, spiritual, reciprocity, respect, hierarchy, exchange and participation in community activities. It is also ascribed to the ability to gift, strengthen relationships, enable future ‘credit’, strengthen familial ties and maintain closeness to the homeland *etak* Island, as well as to retain identity in diasporan social worlds. However, wealth and knowledge of how to survive in the mainstream welfare and

cash economy does affect an ability to participate in the informal and ceremonial systems.

All of the ethnic community groups wished to build their confidence in cultural knowledge, community cohesiveness and to strengthen ethnic identities. Several of the groups wished to think more on the issues raised and consider how to progress towards sustaining diasporan identity. Challenges were however how to retain close ties with New Zealand-Pacific youth and enable increasing numbers of New Zealand-born and Island-born Pacific to walk with excellence in both worlds. More inter-ethnic marriages are occurring, creating challenges for Pacific identity. Many New Zealand-born Pacific travel to the homeland Island to resettle for extended periods, contributing skills and knowledge to the homeland Islands. The cycles of return of Island-born youth as well as older people are producing highly motile, fluid communities situated in the diasporan spheres of influence. Further, Pacific knowledge, designs and material culture are becoming more diffused, borrowed and appropriated, in all directions (inwards as well as outward). The traditions are being re-made in the local New Zealand context through innovation and practical responses to a lack of access to authentic materials.

Marketplace ambivalences towards Pacific cultural products and enterprise were evident in the research and the degree of connectedness to external and internal markets, contained encounters within the respective communities (Same or Othered Selves) avoiding external Others. Some however, turned encounters into transactions, purchases and uptake of Pacific products, goods and enhanced social dynamics. And it was noted that cultural and geographic proximity were key differentiators of consumption and potential enterprise.

From non-Pacific marketplace perspectives, Pacific ethnicities were not easily differentiated from each other, partly because of assumptions made by ethnic community suppliers about what consumers might want (touristic souvenirs) which produced many 'similar-looking' products to the uneducated eye, and partly because of the strong tourism, place and lifestyle imagery of waving palms and white beach atolls, associated with 'Pacific'. As noted in Chapter 2, this is an image which does not correspond to the large majority of Pacific geographies and is influenced by the post-colonial 'service' culture. These perceptions are by no means insurmountable, as evidenced by lively discussions at the entrepreneurial and community meetings about the deepening of perceived authenticity by enhanced contextualisation such as levels of cultural thematics, degree of interaction with the consumer, involvement in the story produced by the seller, as well as calls for product design, innovation and display assistance by the communities.

The role of WPB as a policy, funding and advocacy interface between governmental agencies and communities was affirmed by the research. However, the community information suggested that their developmental role could perhaps be rethought with regard to first, facilitation of community-specific '*fale*' projects (of different sizes, scale and scope). Or indeed in this world of new technology, embraced as a tool for community enhancement by many diasporan members, the *fale* may be virtual. Perhaps groups could work together to provide common services. The Waitakere City Council's Corbans development might provide some of the '*fale*' services. However, practical operational, management and governance issues were raised about perceived 'control' by one or other community, that a pan-Pacific governance view might be counter-productive to community intent and the challenges of nine communities 'managing their own space' within a wider cooperative. Some of the groups made it clear that their presence at the Corbans development precinct was not to support the WCC or WPACT, but to support their community and to be present so that the benefits that may arrive can translate into tangible opportunities for each group. Secondly, WPB could use the research to develop strategic directions, economic and wealth creation development projects and community education programmes that will benefit Pacific communities in both the short and long-term. And perhaps give consideration to a model of ethnic-specific in-family education that addresses the dilemmas and paradox faced by nascent and existing entrepreneurs. This could be developed to facilitate safe discussion of unspoken challenges and leads to their understanding, if not resolution, thus building the capacity and confidence of Pacific groups to participate in entrepreneurial activities.

Pacific families might together, be able to create ways to reduce the riskiness of entrepreneurship. This is, in fact, another way to care for community and if done carefully create employment, wealth redistribution and empower welfare supported families. The 'workable solutions' (Chapter 5) could be used as a base upon which to create family or community cooperatives to think through the ways that 'profit' and 'wealth' can be earned in the ceremonial, informal and formal economies – trans-local and trans-national diaspora. It might be possible to support the intangible portions of cultural production by income cross-subsidisation from outside sources. An example cited earlier was that of Tongan women who obtained loans from the World Bank in order to make fine-mats and then repaid the loans, not from their sale (because that was not the intent) but from other family sources. In this instance, the western economic system was leveraged to create symbolic capital, which preserved a Tongan world view and contributed to the cultural wealth of the families involved.

The research showed WPB as a leader in community and economic development as well as partner with the University and driver of new information. An issue however is the ability of WPB to continue to do such research and to produce up-to-date information resources for the communities who are eager to receive them. An

example from the research was an annual market intelligence monitor. This was requested by many of the community groups.

The outcomes that this collaborative action research has brought to Waitakere's Pacific communities are manifold. It has followed a research agenda driven by community and academic outcomes to answer questions and priorities established by first, the WPB and second, the ethnic communities of Waitakere represented at the WPB table. The research has explored the nature of cultural enterprise and the dimensions of Pacific entrepreneurship, articulated from within all of the nine ethnicities, examined in depth by entrepreneurs from five cultural communities and affirmed by their respective elders and wider familial networks, across the generations of each community.

This research addressed issues of enterprise development at the cultural grassroots and considered the implications of market data for current practices by communities, family and entrepreneurs. It engaged Pacific ethnic communities in considerations of the dilemma of preserving culture and concurrently earning income based in cultural knowledge and illuminated the cultural interface issue of new migrants with communities already resident in this country. Additionally it may have facilitated the processes of entrepreneurial development by allowing entrepreneurs direct access to results about actual markets (Pacific and non-Pacific Auckland residents, domestic and international tourists) and to a team of researchers who were expert in management, enterprise development and cultural tourism.

The research not only looked at markets and product potentials, but also investigated the parameters of supply - identity, values, cultural uniqueness, obligations, protections and non-western views of business - as well as attitudinal, social and cultural hindrances and facilitators, plus practical considerations such as cost, distance, and availability. New types of enterprise and entrepreneurship might be developed from this framework and information. Many suggestions were provided but most importantly, the research has developed a process and framework that Pacific families, individuals and communities can use to uncover the underlying issues, dilemmas, workable solutions, as well as the inhibitors and enablers of Pacific cultural enterprise.

The Mutuality process and cultural enterprise framework could be used to assess where a cultural community group is situated right now, and to chart a direction for the future. This research tells the communities that they do not have to push to compete with one another. Each one is at a different stage on the enterprise journey. Identity and values, Obligation, Connectedness, Difference (seeking *utopia* amongst Selves, seeking to interact with Others like Us, but avoiding Others not like Us) are of critical importance. Further, it tells us that enterprise intent and *épistème* are

foundational to each community, and that a positive action would be to identify the issues (dilemmas) for each community and to work out ways to manage them. The dimension of Obligation and commitments to family, culture, community, church and to business is especially important for embedded Pacific peoples and, thus, important to successful engagement in business outcomes in a diasporan context.

In terms of process, this research placed ownership of the process, the information and all of its outcomes in the hands of the cultural communities, and did not take it away. The Mutuality Research process reflects and embodies empowerment – for respondents and researchers, western and Pacific, or other cultures. It has also built research capacity in the social sciences for several new Pacific researchers engaged in the programme, who were mentored within the process. Empowerment is both the capacity of individuals or groups to determine their own affairs as well as a process that helps them to exert control over factors that affect their lives (Cole, 2007), enabling a shift to occur between the powered and the powerless, the dominant and dependant (Sofield, 2003). According to Scheyvens (2003), empowerment has political, psychological (self esteem), social (social cohesion) and economic effects and in fact commodification is empowerment when pride, renewed identity, self-esteem and political resources are leveraged. This research looks towards tomorrow and to tomorrow's Pacific generations. The author hopes that it will provide tools, questions, processes and information that can be used by others in these, and possibly other, cultural communities to empower the creation of sustainable cultures, confident communities, viable futures, peace and prosperity.

Implications for tourism

This research examined the 'pre-tourism' end of the community development cycle and some elements of the informal economy as they contribute touristic products to non-Pacific markets in the Auckland context via festivals, market stalls and cultural industries such as art galleries and the contemporary music industry. It looked at a phase prior to engagement in the formal tourism industry, where aspirations are clear but the means of achieving them are not and the continued position of societal marginality (affected by education, etc.) weighs against entry into mainstream society and enterprise. Yet the desire to enter the formal industry is affected by many unexpected factors, including the strength and importance of the ceremonial and informal economies in the Pacific community, the challenge of maintaining waged employment and establishing or running a business alongside cultural commitments and obligations, connectedness to community perceived and self-attributed identity as well as conceptions of 'business' and the nature of enterprise activities different to a western view. Thus, tourism research should extend its scope beyond the economic and social lenses into cultural conceptions of tourism, looking back critically at the nature of tourism, enterprise and the specificities of community dynamics.

One could argue that this research is more community ‘development’ than tourism or entrepreneurship. However its origination stems from the desire of an NGO to work on behalf of its communities of interest to manage change in order to achieve tourism capacity. Further, its focus is upon whether marginality is a positive position from which to develop cultural enterprise.

Few researchers have examined this issue and the means to do so as a platform for enterprise development. The preservation of culture and identity have been researched from within the industry, but few have looked behind that veil to the conscious choices that some communities make **not** to engage in tourism because of the erosions and adaptations that touristic consumption brings and the challenges it brings to cultural values and obligations.

This work looks at the internal dynamics of cultural communities, where communities and individuals do take part in intermittent informal, low-income earning cultural activities, operating outside the mainstream economy. It examines the dilemmas, decisions and capacity building and cultural preservation issues that arise when communities or individuals aspire to progress towards creation of financially viable cultural tourism enterprises, based upon the unique selling proposition of control and access to distinctive cultural knowledge and resources, that compete for market share amongst other cultural industries.

The research also questioned an assumption made by diasporan migrant participants in the research that enterprise models, such as tourism, which are successful in the homeland nations (where tourism is a core element of the indigenous economy), should transfer readily to the new context of New Zealand as a means of income and contributor to social and economic well-being. Some of the flaws in this assumption are revealed in terms of brand dissonance and consumer ambivalence, some community reluctance to engage in these activities and lack of confidence, knowledge and skill. Community embeddedness and the continued strength of the diasporan sphere of influence were also factors that both enabled and inhibited enterprise.

The research brings to tourism a new cultural methodology Mutuality Research approach (Chapter 3) which is grounded in both Pacific and western research theory, underpinned by quality and academic protocols negotiated within equally rigorous Pacific cultural protocols to sustain credibility, processes that provide critique and challenge. It empowers cultural communities to define research effort on their own terms and to control the process as owners of the methods, data and outcomes. While this has similarities to the *Kaupapa Maori* approach in its inclusiveness and emphasis on protocols, the Mutuality Research process differs in the explicitly ‘between world views’ ontology that creates space in which to reflect upon the content of another

culture(s) with new eyes, perhaps develops hybridity between them but reveals difference where it occurs. The approach was designed to work across several distinct nations but could be used in many settings, such as by two or more cultures as a way to bridge difference, create mutual understanding and also illuminate difference via new understandings. The team composition, timeframes and resource needs are complex and require patience, time, flexibility and financial resources to achieve. The author has often said that the reason for the success of this work is that she refused to go away.

The research has shown the importance of conceptual triggers to promote discussion and to shift thought processes away from the commonplace to the deep and rich territory of questions that are ever asked – revealing *habitus*, dilemmas and attitudes that even people who knew each other well did not know about each other. These conceptual triggers were adherence to cultural protocols, hospitality, multilingual meeting facilitators and notetakers decolonised research (western academic taking a back seat), young Pacific researchers to the fore, questions written from within the *habitus* of each community, and use of visual stimuli and minimal text, plus images of each homeland Island to support their own words, followed by gifting of petrol or other vouchers to thank the community. They also included the inclusion of the most recent Pacific market research studies in order to focus the discussion or prompt new ideas.

This thesis has drawn a link between tourism, community development and migration. It has theorised that tourism is about interactions with difference, different peoples, places and experiences, so, interactions in tourism are based in cultural perceptions and assumptions that we make about each other, as visitor/host, host/visitor, visitor/visitor and host/host. The cultural perceptions and assumptions, as well as the types of enterprise values and goals, make a difference to the interactions that occur during tourism, at the level of encounter (between distinctly different cultures) and transactions (where money changes hands).

World view was found to be at the heart of interactions in tourism. There is a disconnect between the assumption of tourism that all parts of culture can become part of the tourism industry, whether these are informal encounters, or formal cash transactions in exchange for goods or services and the realities of Pacific communities. Only a small proportion of Pacific culture can enter the ‘business room’ because the majority is made to be shared (gifts and exchange) or are treasures, carefully guarded for sacred or ceremonial purposes, and so only a small amount is made to be sold. Hence, it is not true that ‘everything’ (cultural) can be commodified. In these studies we saw limits imposed about what cannot and should not be shared in enterprise or tourism, inside the communities, as well as outside and that ‘profit’ takes many forms in a non-western cultural context. The research

identified the roles of ceremonial, informal and cash economies within the scope of cultural enterprise, and that these provide a barrier to tourism in the short-term from a market economy perspective. Yet the creation of tourism development strategies that sustain the non-cash economy and support the ceremonial may in the long-run provide sustainable relationships and strategies that enhance community wellbeing and the tourism and hospitality industry in the long-term. This is a new area of consideration and a future research interest for the author.

There is also disparity between the *habitus*, values and structures of the informal exchange economy of the Pacific nations who took part in this study and the formal market economy in the mainstream environment of New Zealand. These affect the capacity and capability of nascent entrepreneurs to become engaged in touristic (informal) and tourism (formal) enterprises. Further, enterprise concepts of the market economy (such as profit) and entrepreneurial knowledge and skills are at odds with Pacific notions. However in-family, in-culture education and mentoring by New-Zealand-Pacific entrepreneurs who have found workable solutions can overcome these disparities by creating understandings of the actions and priorities that a 'business person' must face.

All of the ethnic communities in the research revealed that the embeddedness of nascent tourism entrepreneurs in specific cultures creates tension at the interface of entrepreneurs with markets, internal to their communities and outside them. They all operate in the cultural economy of their diasporan spheres of influence, beyond local groupings. This is another assumption that tourism developers and researchers make, that the local community is the only focus, but migrant communities are 'glocal' and so cycles of return to island homelands, social cohesion and cultural hierarchies across wider geographic spreads need to be included in research and developmental designs.

All of the communities shared the same sets of challenges in terms of their aspirations for tourism, cultural enterprise and abilities and the means of achieving them. These internal parameters of interaction enable and/or inhibit successful community development. They include Connectedness, Identity, Enterprise Intent and Obligation. The combination of parameters, plus community attitudes, values, education levels and social cohesion serves to create a matrix, made up of a business and a community side for migrant community life that describes paradox central to this research – that marginality and embeddedness are essential to sustain culture as migrants, but that this also distances communities from the very contexts that they wish to enter in order to achieve their aspirations of poverty elimination through community initiated tourism.

The other important conclusion for Waitakere's Pacific Community is that they are all at a different stage of development in terms of human, cultural, social, political, fiscal and entrepreneurial capitals. These are due to factors internal to each community noted above, as well as external factors. External factors include the wealth (natural and human) or degradation of the small island tourism economies from which they have come, their education and skill levels on departure, the purpose of migration, the length of time spent in New Zealand, the remoteness of the island homelands and governmental border access agreements. The nature and scale of tourism enterprise in the homeland also affects attitudes and assumptions about its applicability to the New Zealand context. Localised external elements are the demographic profiles, education and skill levels, the critical mass of cultural communities and the proportion of New-Zealand-born people. The cycles of return and social cohesion are the most critical factors in sustaining cultural knowledge, some part of which that could become tourism products.

Further, the research suggests that for migrant communities the diasporan context must be included within the research formulation. In fact, given the current global mobilities and flows of social worlds (virtual, constructed and 'real'), arguably the connectedness of hosts to diaspora, host to trans-local communities, host to trans-national diaspora and the connections of hosts to visiting friends and relatives from elsewhere in the diaspora might bear future investigation, especially for cultural product where connectedness meant engagement. Lack of connection meant ambivalence or fleeting consumption of exotica.

We also saw an assumption articulated by the Pacific communities that tourism could be of economic benefit. This attitude was drawn from diasporan nations where tourism forms a large portion of the GDP. Further there exists an assumption that the informal economy could be the basis of much of this participation, as individuals and groups moved from family base, to micro-enterprise, to SME and perhaps beyond. Yet the difficulties of actual supply of raw material, finished product or created product because of import restrictions, distance, cost, etc., might make such participation difficult to achieve in the New Zealand context. As an alternate vision, WPB took on the challenge of trying to embody the tourism industry in community growth and created over time a smaller version of the spectacular vision of a *utopic* theme park, a 'Pacific Paradise', to brighten the grey, windy skies of Auckland.

The research has answered the question about societal marginality as a positive position from which to develop tourism product and cultural enterprise. In the process it has contributed to management practice in tourism and other cultural industries by articulating more clearly notions of *autopoiesis* and *habitus*, and Otherness as factors which influence the encounters and transactions that occur in zones of interaction – *dystopic* (to be avoided), *heterotopic* (to be managed because

of inherent tensions) and *utopic* (to be desired, although perhaps unattainable depending upon circumstance) and the importance of *épistème* to research (and researchers).

The framing of the first model (Figure 7-1) suggested that *heterotopias* were the stuff of tourism, where difference was encountered and to be managed. However, on reflection that view is potentially too narrow. *Dystopia* could also be seen as adventure or dark tourism – to be avoided or encountered? Used as an experiential lure or surreptitious control? *Heterotopias* are areas of tension and carry with them risks of misunderstanding, inappropriate behaviours and superficiality. *Utopias* are also tourism experiences whereby resorts, theme parks, cruise ships, etc. are all created to play out dreams of how life might be (have been) had one been richer, thinner, younger, older. The research has provided new insights into dynamics of complicit *utopian* cultures created for a day at cultural events and the importance of cultural and geographic proximities to them.

The research has also shown how western constructs are not the same as non-western. The initial view framed from Bourdieu, Foucault and others continued the tourism norm of framing research from western points of view. But the new model (Figure 7-5) ‘Creating Cultural Enterprise’ tells us that as tourism researchers it is essential to take a step into cultural context, as a minority player, to learn humility and see first hand the role of western imperialism - in so doing, balancing one’s view of the world with others to understand social, place, cultural and *epistemic* lens.

The thesis has also shown the importance (and impotence) of power. Impotence in that cultural communities resisted engagement in the WPB-led initiatives surrounding this research - seeing WPB as a filter until the ethnic representatives led it forward into their own communities on their own terms. Nevertheless this empowered perspective took the team further below the ‘tourism and business’ veil than it might otherwise have penetrated, presenting an *emic* view of the limits of tourism and of enterprise. The question of control in research collaborations was also answered. The collaboration was controllable within the limits for resources, consistent personnel and timeframes. Methodologically, the approach was sound with in-built checks and balances, but its consistency was variable. Urban young were heard from in the Waitakere residents’ study (2001) and to some extent in the Pasifika market research and the community studies but were not the majority participants in the discussion. In part they were silenced by the structures where elders speak, but also by the nature of those meetings which were attended, in the main by older persons and those who were involved in WPB activities.

But was the sample representative? Were the groups who took part in these discussions truly representative of the range of opinion and issues in each (and all) of

the Pacific communities? If the work had ceased at the entrepreneurial discussions and not progressed into the community, then one might say no, they are representative only of those who were encouraged to attend by elders, or who have social or political roles to uphold. Further, youth were on the whole not represented, and when present tended to concur with their elders. Also, there appeared to be middle-class representation which may have had vested interests in attendance. The researchers were not privy to the selection criteria, but the cultural researchers were confident that those who should attend were encouraged to do so and that the entrepreneurial groups contained a range of viewpoints, if not a census, of all who could attend. For example, at the Tuvalu entrepreneurial sessions each of the eight islands was represented at the discussions, plus elders, ministers and youth and people in business. Similar patterns were observed at the other discussions. The Tongan groups added nuancing of separate men's and women's groups because of their respective cultural knowledge. Additionally, the Ethnic-specific Community Affirmation discussions ensured greater representativeness of the wider community, adding wider age ranges and types of people. So, the discussions were representative of the island-based power structures.

The sample is probably an artefact of the research approach. If it had been initiated at the grassroots level, without the WPB, through the churches, it is possible that a wider representation might have occurred earlier, but the Mutuality Research approach ensured that the second step was taken and so increased the representativeness of the sample. The agendas of the meetings were set in advance and may not have been the expectations of those who took part, but the questions and formats were pre-tested with several elders and other community members, and taken to the wider WPB ethnic representatives forum for review. Yet it is correct that the agendas agreed to were done so within the framework of the research collaboration, represented the interests of the WPB and may not concord with those of each ethnic community were they consulted outside of the WPB. This would be tested if the work continues in the future.

The collaborative action research effort has made some difference to Waitakere's Pacific cultural communities. As collaborative action research, its initial work fed into the early conceptualisation of the PBCC. A smaller version is underway at the cultural precinct of the Corbans Estate development, and the Mayor of Waitakere made a funding announcement at one of our community focus group meetings. Perhaps the process of multiple cultural meetings and the questioning of the role of cultural enterprise in the city may have been a factor. The information has been fed into WPB policy and has been included in the Church and Community section of the WPB/WCC strategic community consultation documents, although it remains to be seen what policies will be implemented and how.

The author's own social science research capacity, depth of cultural understanding and scope of research methodologies were profoundly enhanced through this experience.

Future research

This researcher would like to continue this research into the implementation phase of action research - to test the metaphors in each of the five Pacific communities, and to mentor Pacific researchers from those communities to mine the transcripts from a cultural point of view (with permission) and establish ways to use the results obtained so far tracking reactions and actions annually to monitor each stage, changes, etc. In the process, this could explore assumptions regarding tourism as seen from the diasporan Pacific and the role of the informal and ceremonial economies in tourism product.

Additionally, the author would like to progress the notion of communities (and families) learning, building on the New Zealand-Pacific interactions framework, but perhaps this is better done by multilingual Pacific researchers. It would be fascinating to explore the notions of Pacific diaspora more fully – for example to investigate the dynamics inherent in a cultural diaspora such as the return of migrant children 'home' with accumulated wealth or education after an extended period 'away'. As well, to ask, are today's migrants tomorrow's tourists established also as a longitudinal comparative study crossing countries and cultures. The author would also like to explore the notions of *dystopic*, *heterotopic* and *utopic* tourism further, in western contexts and in contexts such as India, China and Brazil which are growing economic powers and likely to be larger tourist consumers in the future. It would be very interesting to take the Mutuality Research method into other cultural contexts, elsewhere in the world or locally into New Zealand European, Scottish, etc., diasporan contexts and ask the same questions, thus building a longitudinal and culturally comparative analysis. This would also allow further exploration of the notion of *épistème* and knowledge creation *habitus* and the mechanisms of *autopoiesis* in terms of values, organising interfaces and tourism management strategies in comparative cultural contexts – from the pre-tourism perspective.

Concluding position

A shift in perspective is required for tourism researchers, to acknowledge that *épistème*, beliefs and values underpin the way we see the world and to step back to look at the reasons why communities and individuals do not engage in the industry, and to see these choices as ways to learn about what can sustain and enrich people's lives – for the long-term.

We could as researchers continue to work in our western economic and social niche, unaware that our *épistème* is only one of thousands, and to be unaware of other ways to see the world and that ways that we can make a difference through our research. Or, we could look into non-western conceptions of tourism, and then look back critically at the nature of tourism, enterprise and community dynamics, and, ourselves. Since paradoxically those things which define a culture are explicated and shown internally to each other most clearly when juxtaposed with cultures that are not their own (Said, 1978).

We should also ask, what is the 'good' that tourism research achieves, if we do not investigate the beliefs that we as researchers hold about its need (Bourdieu & Chartier, 1993), the behavioural and research artefacts that we create by our endeavours, and the efficacy of the relationships within which they are undertaken. The fact that one is not of the culture should not pose a barrier to this type of research. Academic research is too often centrist, individualistic and supports monocultural analysis, whether from inside a culture or outside. Thus it does often not support collective approaches and in so doing continues to silence collective cultures and their academics, for whom Voice is never individual.

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Appendices

Appendix 1 Kiribati: Community Summaries

A) Visual summary

The poster features a blue header with the text "Kiribati Community Feedback Meeting" and a Kiribati flag on the right. Below is a light blue section with the title "Creating Pacific Enterprise from Cultural Resources". The main body is orange and contains the Kiribati motto: "Kia Orana, Ni sa bula vinaka, Fakaalofa lahi atu, Mauri, Talofa lava, Malo e lelei, la Orana, Talofa koutou, Taloha ni." It includes the Kiribati coat of arms, a postage stamp, and logos for the Pacific Island Advisory Board (PIAB) and Waikato Management School (WMS). A yellow banner at the bottom reads "WMS and PIAB Research Collaboration," and the University of Waikato logo is in the bottom right corner.

The slide has a pink header with the title "Kiribati Community". The main content is on an orange background with a list of bullet points:

- How do we protect what is uniquely ours?
 - Start the item at home, but finish making it in the market
 - Keep traditional knowledge of the designs and styles within the family networks of each island of Kiribati
 - Do not share specific designs with outsiders
 - Materials cannot be artificial
 - Make sure older people teach the younger generations and pass on the special designs
 - Intellectual property and copyright
 - Amongst the most treasured items to be protected are the Kiribati canoe, fishing items, and the wedding mat.

Two images are included: a modern Kiribati canoe on the left and a historical black and white photograph of people on a beach on the right.



Kiribati Community

□ How do we earn income...right now? (What helps us, what holds us back?)

- Greatest need - someone always looking at the market so that ethnic groups know what product demands are
- Perhaps Kiribati could join together with other Pacific groups to have the advantage of working in a bigger group
- Need to increase individual knowledge about how to develop businesses, especially how to remain profitable
- Need access to finance to start up business, and to keep going
- Cultural custom of giving for free can hold pacific communities back - thinking first of the family and second about the business
- May fail. Conscious of community member's opinions



Kiribati Community Summary

□ Which networks support us? (Which ones help us, hold us back?)

- Most important is the support of the Kiribati community.
- If we want to start a business then we go and see our family and friends for advice
- As well as to the Reverend Ministers, the local Members of Parliament.
- Jan Brown for community funding
- Go to already successful Pacific business people for advice

Kiribati Community Summary

❑ Can we be both.... Pacific and business people?

- Right frame of mind and how to develop the business
- Need to keep the business view at the front, also cultural issues
- Have vision, be a problem solver, able to take action, achieve goals
- Have faith and belief in yourself
- A great accountant
- Access money to begin with and the knowledge to remain profitable
- Positive support from your team as well as from you for your team
- Don't let other people tell you that you can't do it.



Kiribati Community Summary

❑ What should be done in the future? How can PIAB help the best?

- "PIAB supports the community. But the community makes it happen".
- Participants were not clear what PIAB's role is in preserving culture and earning income
- Would like assistance from PIAB
 - ❑ to obtain start-up capital
 - ❑ provide a place for all the Pacific communities to work together
- Perhaps also:
 - ❑ Market intelligence
 - ❑ Profitability
 - ❑ Operations mentors



B. Kiribati - Edited Voice

Kiribati

Tina Tataro

*Te Atua ae Tamara ti karabuwako ibulkin am tangira ma am akoi nakoira
ngaira ni kabane, aika ti roko nte bong aei.*

*Ti butiko ba kona buokira n anganira te rabakau ni kateimatoa katein abara
ae Kiribati ibukia ara botanaomata ni kabaneia iaon New Zealand.*

*Ti butiko anne iroun Iesu Kristo ae ara
Uea Amen*

Lord, thank you for your guidance, love and kindness in our time of gathering.

We ask that you give us the strength and determination to maintain our cultural identity and hold on to our values throughout our stay in this foreign land. That we may forever maintain peace amongst our people through our uniqueness as one culture. Through Jesus Christ we pray, Amen.

Gifted to introduce Kiribati by Kinaitio Rabangaki
Kiribati Community, Waitakere City, Auckland

The Kiribati community was the first of the groups to request a follow-up affirmation discussion. When asked why the smallest of the islands group was the first to request the follow-up session, the community leader replied 'because there is so much to learn and understand, we need to take every opportunity available'. The results from both the Cultural Enterprise and Community Affirmation discussions are presented below as an integrated whole. Interpretation of the results is minimal because of the richly evocative comments made by this community. Initial discussions with the Kiribati community took place with two members on the 13th of October, 2005. The Community Affirmation discussion occurred a month later at the Waitakere City Council rooms, 15 people in attendance, a total then of 17.

Unique Kiribati – our point of difference

The uniqueness of Kiribati is seen in our handicrafts:

'Special traditional handicrafts. We have heaps. Amongst the most treasured items to be protected are the Kiribati canoe, fishing items, and special mat. They use it for weddings' (F1, Kiribati) 27/07/05

But Kiribati is in a different situation than the other Pacific migrant communities:

'In reality, we don't worry about preserving our culture because we are all very new to New Zealand (less than four years). We know our culture very well' (M2, F1, Kiribati) 30/11/05

Preserve Kiribati Culture

Kiribati community members stressed that, for them, the most important way to protect cultural knowledge is to retain that knowledge within each family:

‘In each island, there is own style of what you do. Depends what island you are from. Only we know the designs. Some have special patterns. Every island has different design. So I cannot tell you about specific designs’ (M1, Kiribati) 27/07/05

‘Keeping traditional knowledge in the family. It is one of the ways to protect. Designs are kept in the family. Have our own designs. E.g. weaving, mats from each island. Need to pass on the knowledge of the designs otherwise it will be lost. Protect the knowledge within the family’ (F1, Kiribati) 27/07/05.

‘The old people pass on the knowledge. We need to make sure older people teach the younger generations and pass on the special designs’ (M1, Kiribati) 27/07/05.

‘Make sure the material is not plastic’ (M1, Kiribati) 27/07/05

Kiribati is aware of the need to protect this uniqueness:

‘Making it obvious, so they can know this is Kiribati. is a legal issue, like intellectual property and copyright’ (F1, Kiribati) 27/07/05

‘If I want to protect a fan that I was taking to the market, I will probably make the first part at home then take it to the market then finish it off’ (M1, Kiribati) 27/07/05

‘Some of the ways we can encourage to keep it perfect is regular meeting of the community gatherings in our language, the churches act as a maneaba (hall) for us. That is where we go. Those are some of the easy ways to keep our culture going’ (M1, Kiribati) 30/11/05

Yet, life here in New Zealand is not the same as in the homeland:

‘But there are differences here in New Zealand that makes it hard for us. In the Island we tend to get together and share everything, but here in New Zealand you have to be looking after yourself’ (M1, Kiribati) 30/11/05

‘It is knowing what is ours that is hard’ (M1, Kiribati) 30/11/05

Earn income from Kiribati cultural resources

Waitakere’s Kiribati community is energetic and proactive, quickly establishing a new way of life:

‘We have achieved some things. Like for marketing we have a web sitewe have joined in under the WPB...did marketing of our community at the Prosperity Conference’ (M3, Kiribati) 30/11/05

‘Just promote it, say this is for sale. We need to know what the demand is for our things. Need to have someone always looking at the market for us. We need to have market knowledge. You have to know what your product is’ (M1, Kiribati) 27/07/05

‘We would love to know more about business. We are looking for opportunities, to open up opportunities, find ways to go’ (M1, Kiribati) 30/11/05

Yet Kiribati is aware of limitations in enterprise capacity, in finance and knowledge:

‘Need to have money for the set up cost. Maybe from the community or a loan? Finance to start up business and to keep going’ (M1, Kiribati) 27/07/05

‘What holds us back? Limited knowledge. Need to increase individual knowledge about how to develop businesses, especially how to remain profitable’ (M1, Kiribati) 27/07/05

Networks of Support

The good opinion and support of the Kiribati cultural community is crucial for cultural enterprise development.

‘Most important for us is the support of the Kiribati community (M1, Kiribati) 27/07/05

‘We work with friends, and then we get a referral. We go to that referral and then get another one. Sometimes we go to the websites and search them out’ (M3, Kiribati) 30/11/05

‘If we want to start a business then we go and see our family and friends for advice. To the Reverend Ministers, the local Members of Parliament - because they are from here [Waitakere]. To Jan Brown for community funding (Waitakere City Council) and the WPB. Or perhaps we would go to established business people, for instance Arthur ‘Anae, Michael Jones, because they own businesses already’ (M1, Kiribati) 27/07/05

But the fact that the Kiribati group is not a large group of people in Auckland is an inhibitor:

‘Kiribati could work with other, larger Pacific groups’ (F1, Kiribati) 27/07/05

Kiribati wants to have a focal gathering place:

‘Need to have a place (of our own) to deal with the issues. So we can accommodate all the community. Like now, we have lots of expectations’ (M1, Kiribati) 27/07/05

Kiribati comments about the role of WPB within the Pacific community were:

‘WPB actually supports the community. But the community makes it happen. What about funding? Are WPB funding the community?’ (M1, Kiribati) 27/07/05

Thus, the Kiribati cultural hierarchy and network of families is an essential base from which to work towards cultural enterprise. Kiribati appears to be up-to-date, politicised and business-ready, well able to use mainstream techniques and the existing network of local and central government agencies.

Both....Pacific and business people?

Skills and confidence are essential to business:

‘Have vision, be a problem solver, be able to take action, be able to achieve goals. Have faith and belief in yourself. A great accountant. But you must have money, ah? to start up (business) with and keep making money to stay profitable. Take the risk’ (M1, Kiribati) 27/07/05

‘Don’t let other people tell you that you can’t do it’ (M1, Kiribati) 27/07/05

Another constraint is our fear of failure:

‘We are afraid of failure. Uncertainty too. May fail. Conscious of community member’s opinions’ (M1, Kiribati) 27/07/05

‘Knowing what is different [as a business]. Different in all sorts of ways. We can try but are afraid that we may fail. To be sure we don’t fail we need money, knowledge, we need the basic understanding’ (M3, Kiribati) 30/11/05

But cultural custom and practice are very real issues for us:

‘Giving for free can hold pacific communities back. Yeah always think of your family first, business second. Think first of the family and second about the business. Yes that cultural thing is true. That holds us back. Yes yes that is true that is in our culture tradition – holds us back – it is hard to not think of the family first’ (M1, Kiribati) 30/11/05

In many ways, the notions of mainstream enterprise are alien to this community:

‘The idea of having the business drive is confusing to our people. We come from a country where we don’t see business. We lived a simple life. A natural life. We do not normally operate business... we are coming to this world where business drive is important. But we do not know what it is and if we even want to do it’ (M3, Kiribati) 30/11/05

‘Some people think that the Palangi way is the right way of doing it may not be the right way for Kiribati.right now they are using all our prints and all our designs, but it’s not right. Why can’t our own people use what is theirs? (Wichman-To’u, 2005c)

And this is the same for other Islands:

‘Back in the [Cook] islands we don’t compete. I’d make something and because it’s for my papa I don’t charge. Just give it. You don’t charge your papa. But that type of business does not work in New Zealand’ (Wichman-To’u, 2005c)

We heard that there are contradictions between cultural values and the values of other Pacific ethnicities, as well as with mainstream European. But bridges between them can be found. For instance a conversation took place about the Market Survey results which said that Island-style swimwear is a popular purchase:

‘Kiribati cannot make swimsuits. Our culture says to cover up, not show our bodies. Other Pacific like Cook Islands show their bodies, but not Kiribati’ (F1, Kiribati) 30/11/05

‘One possible way to connect that cultural value of covering up to a business idea might be the big problem New Zealand has with skin cancer. There is a sun-safe campaign running right now that tries to get New Zealanders to cover up. You might be able to make beautiful cover-up for summertime. To go over swimwear, that is Kiribati. Helps with a current health issue, is beautiful, fits with Kiribati values and we know from the survey it would sell’ (Wichman-To’u, 2005b)

‘Yes. I could do that! We could do that’ (F4 and F5 Kiribati) 30/11/05.

Pathways to Action

There are several projects specific to Kiribati that the community is actively developing on its own. These include: a Kiribati preschool, running language programmes in their church, and marketing the community amongst other Pacific communities. However Kiribati thought that it would benefit from strategic alliances with larger ethnic group(s) to assist them as mentors and perhaps to access training. In their opinion, WPB has a big role to play on behalf of the newly arrived Kiribati community as advocate, facilitator for ethnic-specific needs. But also to leverage funding, obtain annual market intelligence, and act as broker for training and mentoring for dual excellence in cultural knowledge and business practice.

Kiribati: Context, time & place

In general terms, the discussions with the Kiribati entrepreneurs and their community reveal five issues specific to the cultural and enterprise contexts in which they live and operate their business, in this case: culture (Kiribati), time (2005/2006) and place (Waitakere). They are:

Pass on traditions to younger generations: preservation of culture and traditions is critical because of the distinctness of each island and family tradition. This is best done in each family by the elders. If an object is made for market then it should be started at home so that the beginning is protected. It may be finished however in public. It is important to continue to teach the younger ones, using authentic materials not artificial ones and teach within the church to retain the perfection of Kiribati language. Further an understanding of how to protect cultural intellectual property and copyright is desired. At present, Kiribati culture is strong.

Retain identity: Kiribati are confident of their knowledge and uniqueness, but are also aware of the challenges of retaining cultural knowledge as a minority amongst minorities. Further, prior to migrating to New Zealand Kiribati lived in an economy without competitiveness, but now find themselves immersed in a confusing, contradictory and competitive market economy. The community anticipates that retaining identity is likely to be a problem for the future.

Build business competence: at present income is earned by employment in the mainstream economy, but there is a desire amongst Kiribati to understand and learn how to create and run businesses that increase the economic and social capability of its community. To achieve this, several things are required, including access to current market information and training about how to develop businesses and remain profitable, and how to access start-up and operational finance.

Learn how to bridge business and cultural values: The Kiribati values of giving for free, putting family first and business second, accompanied by a fear of failure – both personal and in front of their community - are inhibitors to business competence. Discussions with mentors who understand mainstream business as well as how to marry mainstream and Kiribati values would be immensely useful to Kiribati. It would also be advantageous to link with a bigger cultural community that has already learned these skills.

Ensure support from within the community: Kiribati believes that their future success depends upon putting business in front and culture alongside but supported by adequate resources and the Kiribati community, family, friends and the Church. This group is already politically active and entrepreneurial in attitude and innovative.

To summarise: the key issues for the Kiribati community are to pass on traditions to younger generations, retain identity, build business competence, learn how to bridge cultural and business values, and build support from within the community.

Te Mauri te Raoi te Tabomoa

Health, Peace and Prosperity

Kiribati

Appendix 2 Samoa Community summaries

A) Visual summary

Samoan Potopoto: Research Feedback

Creating Pacific Enterprise from Cultural Resources



Talofa lava, Kia Orana, Ni sa bula vinaka, Fakaalofa lahi atu,
 Mauri, Malo e lelei, la Orana, Talofa koutou, Taloha ni.





WMS and PIAB Research Collaboration

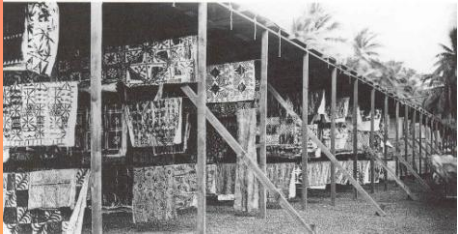
June 29 , 2006




How do we protect what is uniquely ours?

- **Protecting the taonga preserves and protects the elders**
 - so must protect the design and not devalue the items
- **Traditional items must be authentic.**
 - Every item is unique, reflects village come from and how taught from the elders – e.g. old ladies that weave mats have own unique style
- **No assumptions** should be made on what items are saleable or not, but permission and consensus must be sought
- **The context of cultural items** be passed on with the sale of the item - very important
- **Quality** and high standards very important
- **Samoa youth** are losing their culture.
 - Not being passed down or being taught to them
- **Exploitation**
 - By the media - for example – media using the image of an All Black wearing a Samoan tattoo
 - By a non-Samoan copying the design - public would want too, but neither the heritage or the meaning behind the tattoo would be passed on

Samoa



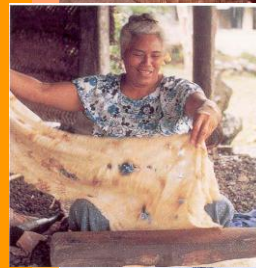
Ways to protect?

- **Use legislation** to protect by copyright and patent Samoan designs, plants - e.g. IP of Mamala plant for medicine
- **Preserve the strength of the Samoan community.** Community must come together to do this
- **Sell only to Samoa people** who understand the value
- **Keep making for sale** so that the elders must pass the knowledge down to young people

Samoa

□ What is uniquely ours?

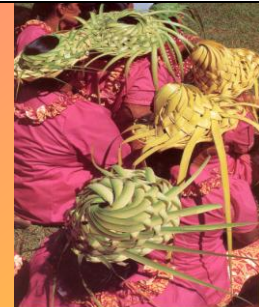
- What should never be sold?
 - The Matai titles, Chief names, Land
 - Men's and women's tatoos
 - Fala Lii (mats), Tapa cloth
 - Kava making and drinking ceremonies.
 - Head wear for the virgin in traditional dances
- What can be sold?
 - Foods, hair brushes, jewellery
 - Copies of tapa cloth
 - Sapelu (knives),
 - Fans, clothes, handicrafts
 - Boat, fishing equipment, house building techniques
 - Medicinal roots and plants



□ How do we earn income...right now?

(What helps us, what holds us back?)

- Can show fine mats, our food is unique, we have talent like dancing, 100% fa'a Samoa
- We will have a special day to show all the Samoan foods, another day – all the treasures of Samoa - whatever is uniquely part of the culture
- Needs to be well planned so that attracts people, showcase and earns income
- In the old days it felt very bad to sell. But even today if people come without enough money we give with love and meet them halfway
- That's often been criticised as our downfall - the koha half – we look in both directions as Pacific businessmen. It is a fine line, where culture ends and where professional business begins



□ Which networks support us?

(Which ones help us, hold us back?)

- Start from the family first, then go out into the community for support
- Samoan people always work together
- Ideas of giving, gifting and loving are the cornerstone of what makes the Samoan way
- Also can build networks through the supply of goods to customers

❑ **Can we be both.... Pacific and business people?**

- **Yes we can be both Polynesian people and business people**
 - ❑ The main reason is to be able to help our families
- **It's very hard for an individual to be in business**
 - ❑ need a strong family base
 - ❑ need to be strong in family values to both drive a business and keep the culture strong too
- **Viability in business depends on collective effort** from the community

■ **Want help**

- ❑ To be empowered.
- ❑ To understand how to go into an arts and culture business and is it viable.
- ❑ Show where we can get the support and facilities so that then we can have power, be in control and make income.



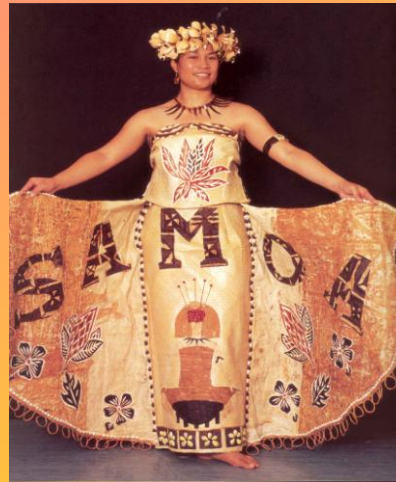
❑ **What holds us back? - Resources**

- **Time**
 - ❑ Takes time to weave the mats, to make the proper authentic fala lii's it can take up to 2 years, some take 2months.
 - ❑ Would take up to much time to start a business alongside the time already invested in jobs and family life
- **Training**
 - ❑ A huge need to train the younger generation in the skills needed to make products to sell
 - Instruct them in their traditions, heritage and the value of their culture as well as the story's behind the products
 - ❑ The elders needed training on how to start and run a business
 - ❑ Knowledge about how to attract people to your business
- **Facilities**
 - ❑ Need a place to sell the products, make the products, store the products.
 - Eg. Youth meeting planning to set up a trial village to sell food, performance, protect the culture

Samoa

❑ **What should be done in the future?**

- Raise support for alternative health treatments – massage, traditional medicines
- Contribute to the WCC strategic plan for Pacific peoples
- Align the projects: Corbans and Samoan Youth Village
- Be seen in force at the Corban's Festivals
- If each community – Samoa, Fiji, Tonga, etc – all reach into our unique cultures, stick to our values and protect our cultures then we are all strong and equal and over time can come together and leverage off each other



Samoan Community Summary

□ Key issues for Samoan community

- Preserving cultural knowledge in the face of modern times
- Training:
 - Viability of business
 - Forward planning
 - Keeping going in business
 - Cultural knowledge for the young ones
- Being Unique
 - Amongst other Pacific peoples in mainstream NZ
- Retaining Reputation, Status, Authenticity and Quality



23 January 2009

PIAB and WMS Research Team

Pathways to Future Action

1. Hear ALL the Market Data from Waikato Management School
 - Auckland resident's survey (2001)
 - Pasifika Festival
 - International/domestic visitors and residents' survey (2005)
 - Pan-Pacific community survey when ready (2006)
2. Focus groups
 - to explore business readiness in the wider Samoan community
3. Identify gaps between market preferences and where the Samoan community is right now
 - Work out what needs to be done to fill those gaps
 - What the priorities are for the Samoan community
 - Identify who can act on these needs
4. Next steps
 - Prepare a short-term and medium term plan for cultural preservation and enterprise development
 - Prepare project outlines and proposals for
 - Alternative Health based on Samoan knowledge
 - Contribute to the WCC strategic plan for Pacific peoples
 - Align the projects: Corbans and Samoan Youth Village
 - Be seen in force supporting the Corban's Festival and Markets
5. Obtain support and resources to achieve the proposals

23 January 2009

PIAB and WMS Research Team

B. Samoa - Edited Voice

Samoa

We Are Samoa
Composer: Jerome Grey

Our Samoa the greatest place of all.
She is green and blue lushed with beauty and hearts are pure as gold
Someone with tears of joy
Someone with smiles of love
Oh what happy feelings from such happy people.

Chorus:
We are Samoa
People from the Sun
We are Samoa
And our heritage lives on
Teach the World humanity and hospitality
We are Samoa
In God we trust in thee

Samoa e pele oe isi ou fatu
O le a ea se mea e ao ona fai
E tautua ai mo oe
O sasae ma sisifo e tasi
O le viiga lea i le lagi
Aiga ma nu'u taitasi
Tu'u mai lou aao
Ta pepese fa'atasi
Uso Samoa fanau mai le la
Uso Samoa manu manu i le upega
A o'o i nu'u ese e loto alofa
Samoa mo oe
Samoa mo le Atua

Chorus:

Gifted to introduce Samoa by Faletasi Leaupepe and Cheryl Talamaivao
Samoan Community, Waitakere, Auckland

Three concurrent Samoan Cultural Enterprise discussion groups were held in October 2005 and attended by 23 Samoan community leaders. Multilingual Samoan speakers are available for all sessions so that the discussions were bilingual throughout. As noted by the facilitators:

‘Everyone in the focus group participated and had input, the mood of the group is at first focused. This gave way to a more warm, and laid back feeling as the meeting progressed and then eventually it became jovial and very relaxed’

(MacArthur & Wichman-To'u, 2005)

Unfortunately, due to the very busy agenda of the Samoan Potopoto and the absence overseas of key Potopoto personnel the follow-up Samoan Community Affirmation meeting did not take place for nine months. A bilingual team was also available for that visit, consisting of a WMS Samoan student, his father (Samoan Church Elder, South Auckland) the WPB and WMS Research Convenor (Samoan) and the author. Seventeen men and women were present at this session, aged from the mid-30's upward. While the discussion was not lengthy, the Samoan Community Affirmation did however confirm the enterprise sessions outcomes. Altogether then, by the end of the project, the team had heard from 40 members of the Samoan community. Culturally interpreted insights and commentaries from the WMS cultural team lead the results presented below, synthesised from all four sessions.

Unique Samoa: Our point of difference

Every item is unique. This should be recognised and protected.

‘This uniqueness and emphasis on authenticity of products to sell reflects the Status, Reputation, Class, Prestige, Self-worth and Respect of the Person creating the handicraft which reflects back onto the village and community the person is from’ (M5, Samoa) 13/06/05

‘Is what we want to be (unique)? An old lady when she is weaving has her own style. But there are massed produce products that we can mass produce too’ (M5, Samoa) 13/10/05

‘The *tanoa* (kava bowl) as an example: why do we have to protect it and what is its significance, why do we protect the design? Why? It is it uniquely Samoan’ (M1, Samoa) 13/10/05

‘The Fiji *tanoa* has only four legs, Samoa has many’ (M1, Samoa) 13/10/05

‘[In this discussion we are] talking more on products that are found in New Zealand and not so much in Samoa’ (M6, Samoa) 29/06/06

‘How do we handle that: Samoan *tanoa*. How do we protect that? Are we going to have a special design? (M3, Samoa) 13/10/05

‘Tattoos, *falalili*’i (mats), *siapo* (tapa cloth), ‘*ava* (kava) making and drinking’ (M5, Samoa) 13/06/05

‘It is part of our identity because of its cultural significance. We should protect the design’ (M1, Samoa) 13/10/05

‘Our own *tufuga* (tattooist) had the tradition of the tattoo. Initially the tattoo is aimed for women. The queen gave the song to the women but they made a mistake in its singing and so the tattoo went to the men (M1, Samoa) 13/10/05

Preserve Samoan culture

The group saw the protection of their cultural identity and things Samoan as highly important. Everyone agreed that some cultural items should not be sold especially in the context of New Zealand:

‘Why do we protect that? It preserves our elders. It tells the visitors from outside how important this *measina* (treasure) is – to serve our elders – not tell just the youth. It is unique to us. It is important for them to see what it means to us. It is so important to me! Even we see the real Samoa. When we serve ‘ava in the house, no kid is inside. No women around., except there is a *taupou* (daughter of eh highest chief) who is mixing the ‘ava to be served. There might be some women *matai* receiving the ‘ava. Unless we do this it is forgotten. I would hate to see other people make money from it. That is my point. This point comes from here inside me, from my heart and not from my head’ (F1, Samoa) 13/10/05

‘Not to be sold are *Matai* Titles, Chief Names, Land in the Islands’ (M5, Samoa) 13/06/05

‘More and more *matai* (chief) titles are being given away by villages to the *Papalagi* (Caucasian), this results in that particular village’s *matai* title losing its integrity and its importance, land is not so much sold, it is rather taken away’ (M8, Samoa) 29/06/06

Some of the items that are currently being sold or that people are making money from but the elders did not think that it is proper to sell these things due to customs and cultural protocols:

‘*Falalili’i* (mats) already sold in the markets, all of the items that are mentioned here are already on sale’ (M7, Samoa) 29/06/06

‘Most of the traditional items are never sold. Traditional exchange is used based on principles of reciprocity. You can give away the *falalili’i* and a week later that family will bring in loads of food’ (M2, Samoa) 13/10/05

‘Some things in our culture that are being sold that should not be: *Tatau* (tattoos), *falalili’i* (mats), *Saipo* tapa, ‘ava making and drinking. Meaning is important behind tattoos as well. Tattoo is used as an example of exploitation. Very protective of our Samoan culture!!! Some things are that sold but shouldn’t really be sold are tattoos – *malu* (women’s tattoos)’ (M5, Samoa) 13/06/05

One of the general concerns voiced by the group is the fear of exploitation:

‘Today in the Herald I saw an article about Pakeha (Caucasian) wearing the Samoan tattoo. But it is tapu to some of the villages, to some of the tribes. Tattoos the European people have today are ancient and are not theirs’ (M1, Samoa) 13/10/05

‘Now has happened to our modern *tufuga* (tattooist). The traditions belong to some families. But even the *tufuga* are giving the tattoo to Europeans. One European lady got a named tattoo, that is not right’ (M3, Samoa) 13/10/05

They also feared that the history or heritage or the meaning behind the tattoo would not be passed on. This is important to the group that cultural items have a context and this should be passed on with the sale of the item:

‘It is also important that the history and background, the contextual story of the piece or handicraft is also passed on as well as selling the product, the heritage of the piece is important and should be acknowledged in the transaction. This is important to the old people’. (M5, Samoa) 13/06/05

‘Publicity in advertising. Elders are concerned that meaning is lost even though advertising presents our culture to the world’ (M5, Samoa) 13/10/05

Intellectual property rights could be a means to protect cultural knowledge and resources:

‘If there are things that we feel are dear to our hearts then there is an issue around intellectual property rights’ (younger M4, Samoa) 13/10/05

‘I am concerned what legislations or protection there can be. Can we identify a law in New Zealand that would be copyright? But even these laws are not enough’ (older M3, Samoa) 13/10/05

The elders feared that their youth is losing their culture or that it is not being passed down or being taught to them (MacArthur and Wichman-To’u, 2005)

‘Train our young. Teach our young in a top down format. Integration into the school system of our ‘cultural knowledge’. Teach this: ‘Value our culture’ is what they want to teach. Not just knowledge but also Wisdom and Self-value in their culture’ (M5, Samoa) 13/10/05

‘Through socialisation cultures are getting mixed (M3, Samoa), 13/10/05

‘Add to the information that some of the Samoan youth are losing their sense of culture due to the changing of society and ideologies’ (M6, Samoa) 29/06/06

‘It is only viewed by some that this is happening though’ (F4, Samoa) 29/06/06

‘Add to the information that views are different in different sectors of society’ (F5, Samoa) 29/06/06

‘The Samoan church are strongly emphasising the fact that the youth should still have a strong sense of their Samoan culture, and to never forget their roots’ (M8, Samoa) 29/06/06

Earn Income from Samoan cultural resources

Yet sales can be a way of preserving culture:

‘At the youth meeting last week we talked about a trial basis village where we can all come together and be selling our products – food, performance and protect our culture’ (younger M4, Samoa) 13/10/05

‘We are slowly selling away our culture, but that is the only way for us Samoans to earn something’ (M8, Samoa) 29/06/06

And despite the strongly expressed desire to protect and preserve, some items are deemed all right to sell. An important theme in the area of what is considered saleable is quality. The entire group all mentioned that regardless of what is to be sold they wanted it to be of a high standard (MacArthur & Wichman-To’u, 2005)

‘It is important to the *matua* (elders) that all goods and products should be of high quality, should be authentic and traditional items. Example: Some old women who have their own style and technique unique to them and where they (come) from in the island – this style reflects their location, how they we taught from their elders to weave and their own personal weaving styles that they taught themselves’ (M5, Samoa) 13/06/05

The groups also agreed that items should be authentic:

‘Traditional and Authentic items are important when they want to sell. Polynesian cultural values. Whatever we sell we want them to know the history. But is this a handicap or handicraft?’ (M5, Samoa) 13/06/05

Yet, no assumptions should be made on what items are saleable and not saleable. Permission and a consensus on what is sold is an important theme to the group (MacArthur & Wichman-To'u, 2005):

'If the Samoan community groups come together with our matua and from these groups in the community we can sell with them, giving the full meaning, then it's not like an Indian man who knows nothing about its real value. If we organise something like this we can build trust. It would be meaningless if our goods are mocked. From a group like this in the community we can sell with the true essence. It is good to have you come to us (WMS team) but it is the community that must do that' (younger M4, Samoa) 13/10/05

'When selling to the Samoan public, the Samoan people can limit what can or can not be sold to the public, the Samoan community needs to decide what can be shared, what is special to them' (F1, Cook Island) 29/06/06

However, unique enterprise opportunities are identified, such as:

'We could raise support for alternative treatments like massage, traditional medicines, herbs, foods. That is something we could do. The Chinese do this. They use the playing cards with a glass of water, borrow magic and witchcraft, mix it together (M2, Samoa) 13/10/05

'Auckland University is looking at how to make diesel fuel out of coconut oil. But the only problem is that copra grows naturally and takes 20 years for a coconut tree to reach maturity. Not sustainable. Need some research done about how to make the trees mature in 5 years' (M1, Samoa) 13/10/05

'We've all heard of the Mamala plant for medicine. We have been using it for ages but now we have a patent for it' (M2, Samoa) 13/10/05

'The Mamala plant is used in Samoa to counter cancer' (F4, Samoa) 29/06/06

'What to show at a Samoan village as part of a cultural centre? Plenty. We have fine mats, food is unique, we have talent like dancing, 100% *fa'asamoa*. We will have a special day when we will show all the Samoan foods. Another day it will basically be the treasures of Samoa. Whatever products are uniquely part of the culture. Needs planning to showcase to earn, to attract people to come and pay to see it' (F5, Samoa) 13/10/05

Samoa's Networks of Support

Community strength, built from shared leadership then extending into community networks is essential to preserving Samoan culture and development of enterprise:

'The first and the second questions are related - how to make an income from culture but how to preserve it. We are talking really about the strength of the community. This is only possible to protect if the Samoan community comes together. We can come together and sell to each other rather than to someone from the outside who does not understand the value. We all have that sacred feeling. But our fear is the lack of resources, the knowledge rests with the older people. If we come together with the old ones then we can sell with more meaning to other people. One way to protect actually is to make things for sale' (younger M4, Samoa) 13/10/05

Success in Samoan business reflects successful Samoan networks:

'We need to position ourselves well as a community in order to become viable in business. This is where income versus community makes a difference, comes out as a collective effort. As an individual, he won't be surviving on his own, his community is crucial' (M2, Samoa) 13/10/05

'It's very hard for an individual to be in business. He needs a strong family base. Needs to be strong in family values himself to drive business and keep the culture strong too. Family values driving collective family business, in Samoa in particular. Also in other Pacific communities' (M1, Samoa) 13/10/05

'Start from the family and then go into the community. They always work together. [Long discussion in Samoan]. Samoan people always work together no matter what. There is always something around Samoan culture. Ideas of giving, gifting and loving seems to be the cornerstone of what makes the Samoan way' (F5, Samoa) 13/10/05

'[Networks] this is an easy one - use our own families. They are lawyers, Sales reps, Accountants. The Church networks. Word of mouth. Bottom up networks' (M5, Samoa) 13/10/05

'Samoan people will never get rich alone, we need each other' (M9, Samoa) 29/06/06

'Add to the information that Samoan people need to tap into resources that are available such as the Pacific Business Trust that offer training and guidance for those Samoan people who are interested in entering a business venture' (F5, Samoa) 29/06/06

Align the separate community aspirations for a Samoan cultural village:

'La'ai (the Polynesian village in Honolulu) is the 'model' for the theme park [wanted by the Samoan community]' (M5, Samoa) 13/06/05

'If we look to reinforce the family, the Samoan community can focus on the Samoan village in the cultural project and we can all be helping out (M2, Samoa) 13/10/05

'From within the Samoan community we are working on a strategic plan. Now the youth are starting on the Samoan village. We need to align them and we need networks to support us. That is why this research is so important' (M2, Samoa) 13/10/05

'Link the Youth village into Corbans which is part of the Waitakere Pacific Arts and Cultural Trust' (younger M4, Samoa) 13/10/05

'We can be seen in force at the Pacific Arts Trust Festival that is coming up at Corbans. To decide about which aspects of Samoa we need for there is up to us. We are the largest [Pacific group in Auckland] - the Potopoto should be driving this' (M2, Samoa) 13/10/05

Samoa - Both...Pacific and business people?

The entire group agreed that Yes, we can be both Polynesian people and business people, the main reason being to be able to help our families. Each cultural group should build its distinctive strengths to contribute to the wider pan-Pacific context:

'We can be both taking the best of both worlds. Pacific identity is core. Pan-pacific is reaching for the sky. But at the same time if we reach into our unique measina (treasures) and can stick to our values then we protect our culture as a part of and within a bigger Pacific context. If we build up the Samoan content and if Tonga is doing the same, and Fiji is doing the same, then when we all come together we are each strong and equal and can all leverage off each other' (younger M4, Samoa) 13/10/05

Yet there are tensions between business values and culture for Samoa:

'Traditions can hold us back from being business. Cultural protocols. Compromise in what we want to sell. But through compromise they will sell anything (M5, Samoa) 13/10/05

'That's often been criticised as our downfall - the *mealofa* (gifting) half - we look in both directions as Pacific businessmen. Where culture ends and where professional business begins is a fine line' (M2, Samoa) 13/10/05

'That is the question. How to attract people? How to attract business? In the old days it felt very bad to sell. Even now if people come without enough money we give with love and meet them halfway' (younger M4, Samoa) 13/10/05

'We always look at the money side of things. Are we finding that we are compromising our culture for money? We make our cultural things to earn income. [But] are we adequately protecting our values? is there a shift towards money and away from the culture? That is where Fatu and Jenny comes in' (M2, Samoa) 13/10/05

'Jenny and Fatu need to help us here. This is where we can be empowered. Should be in a position to help us understand is it viable to go into an arts and culture business. And how, if it is? To show us where we can get the support and facilities so that then we can be in power and make income' (younger M4, Samoa) 13/10/05

Become more active as cultural entrepreneurs:

'We are usually underselling our products, but I believe that in order to counter this Samoans should sell more at huge gatherings, like the Pasifika festival in Western Springs: we should advertise and promote more of our products on the internet, resulting in tourists overseas taking an interest in our products' (M9, Samoa) 29/06/06

'Is there a market? Where is the market? Otara Flea Market, Airport, Rotorua are tourist attractions. Samoan faces should be there too' (M5, Samoa) 13/10/05

'Put up a Pacific Island centre, where tourists can visit the Pacific in the first place, perhaps in Mangere' (M8, Samoa) 29/06/06

Resources are the first answer to what holds us back from being both Pacific and business people (MacArthur & Wichman-To'u, 2005):

'Resources such as Time – takes 3 months, 6 months, 2 years to make authentic *falalil'i's*, *siapo* [Authentic Island] (M5, Samoa) 13/06/05

'Another lady said it will take up too much time to initially start any business venture outside of the time they currently invest in their jobs and family life' (MacArthur & Wichman-To'u, 2005)

'Resources such as facilities - need a place to sell the products, make the products, and store the products. The Vision for the Samoan Community is the theme park idea' (MacArthur & Wichman-To'u, 2005)

'Resources such as money - Government funding' (M5, Samoa) 13/06/05

'Resources such as training – in selling, in starting the business, the market, who the market is, Business knowledge, at same time in Cultural Protocols, Traditions, Motivation, Wisdom' (M5, Samoa) 13/06/05

'The future: important for elders that the youth are trained, educated and informed about their culture, traditions, Value of the skills and talents of the handicrafts' (M5, Samoa) 13/10/05

'High quality should mean high price. Need pricing knowledge for this business' (M5, Samoa) 13/10/05

The Samoan group agreed that there is a huge need to train the younger generation in the skills needed to make products to sell, instruct them in their traditions, heritage and the value of their culture as well as the stories behind the products. The elders needed training on how to start and run a business (MacArthur & Wichman-To'u, 2005).

But several successful business strategies are in place already in the Samoan community:

'I have a home-baked meat business. I make a list of who I give it to, and who pays right away. I have another list for others who don't pay quickly. Right down to the ones who say I'll pay next week. That's how I build my network. Sometimes I advertise. If an old Samoan lady or old man says please can I pay you next week? I'll say don't worry about it.

I sell to the people who pay me first. This is my business side. Then if any left over I go to the Minister and the old lady (younger M4, Samoa)

'Must maintain the quality of goods (M2, Samoa) 13/10/05

'Use the Internet - web sites to advertise' (M5, Samoa) 13/10/05

Samoa - Pathways to Action

Actions proposed by the Samoan community groups to implement cultural enterprise strategies would begin in the community with meetings called to hear all of the findings of all of the Waikato Management School studies, communicated in Samoan with translated summaries of each to extend understanding and increase usefulness at the grassroots. The market studies are considered to be particularly important. Following on from, or at these sessions, WMS should facilitate meetings to identify gaps between market preferences from the surveys and where the Samoan community is right now: work out what needs to be done to fill those gaps, what the priorities are for the Samoan community, identify who can/should act on these needs. Then the Samoan communities would prepare short-term and medium term plans for cultural preservation and education leading to enterprise development, as well as project outlines and proposals, obtain support from the Samoan community and funding resources for projects specific to Samoa, alternative health products based on Samoan knowledge, alignment of the Corbans and the Samoan Youth Village development, Samoa to be seen in force supporting the Corbans annual Pacific festival and monthly markets, Samoa to contribute to the WCC strategic plan for Pacific peoples.

A range of very different views were heard in the Samoan community: that cultural knowledge, traditional meanings and spiritual significance are best kept within the cultural communities, others could see how the need to produce for a business purpose would encourage families (plus youth and elders) to come together regularly to make cultural products and that in so doing, the language, songs, manufacture techniques and deeper cultural leanings would also be passed on. Others however felt more comfortable at a distance from cultural obligations and activities. Yet all were in accord about: the collective strength of Samoa, the need for entrepreneurs to be embedded in families here and in Samoa, as well as in culture, to protect the elders, plan and act to preserve Samoan culture for the future. And that if something is permitted to be sold, that it should not be unaccompanied - the meaning should attach. However, they would like some guidance as to how to go about developing viable enterprise based on cultural knowledge, factoring in the need to preserve traditions in order to remain unique but to be assisted with successful ways to bridge cultural obligations and values whilst, planning and organising to build successful enterprises.

In general terms, the discussions with the Samoan entrepreneurs and their community reveal eight issues specific to the cultural and enterprise contexts in which they live

and operate their businesses. In terms of contexts the issues are culture (Samoa), time (2005/2006) and place (Waitakere) dependent. These are summarised as:

100% *fa'asamoa* in New Zealand: identify and enhance the uniqueness of Samoan culture in New Zealand by protecting cultural knowledge and resources. The Samoan community must decide collectively what should and should not be made available to the marketplace, guided by the elders. The dilemma is what to keep as special to Samoa, what to keep making for sale outside the community and what to sell only to Samoan people who understand its inherent value.

Preserve cultural values in product development: principles essential for cultural enterprise success are quality, authenticity and cultural meaning. The stories and background must accompany each item, and these are essential to product saleability. The meanings which attach to both the treasures and the Samoan people are being lost today as treasures are given away to non-Samoans, sold or appropriated and when Samoan youth adopt the ways of other cultures. Economic development preserves cultural values. Success in business and cultural enterprise is already a point of difference for Samoa amongst Pacific peoples.

Protect the elders and cultural knowledge: protection of the *measina* (treasures) protects the *matua* (elders). Intellectual property is important to protect individuals and cultural knowledge and resources. The Church is active in preservation of culture and tradition.

Access markets beyond the Samoan community: At present cultural enterprise income is earned mainly from market stalls. The income is small and goods are undervalued, partly because goods are sold within the community. The community wants to know about how to access and attract non-Samoan markets. Options: build a Samoan tourist attraction in an easily accessible place at which to make, store and sell cultural products, sell at large events and create an annual day to showcase unique Samoa.

Samoan business must be embedded in Samoan culture: A Samoan entrepreneur cannot be successful on his/her own but embedded in a strong family base, cohesive community structures (Church and cultural hierarchies), supported by collective community effort and integrated into the Samoan diaspora (New Zealand, the Islands). Success in one means success in the other. However, separate aspirations for cultural projects within the Samoan community can cause conflict. Community cohesion should develop bottom-upwards - founded upon reciprocity, giving away, loving and collective action - the Samoan Way.

Culture and business are inextricable: Business cannot be separated from social and cultural responsibility. There is tension for viability between giving away versus retaining goods for sale but there is also a lack of basic business acumen: business skills, entrepreneurial attitudes, concepts of supply and demand, education (in all areas, not just business), market information and financial resources.

Assist Samoa to achieve viability: Invest and develop successful business strategies that work for Samoa. Ask for help from *Palagi* (Caucasian) to work with the Samoan community to understand how to plan and operate viable cultural enterprise and to develop wealth for the whole family and the community, not just the individual.

Hindrances to business: Time and training inhibits business success. Time and skill are needed to produce high quality authentic goods. Individuals in New Zealand do not have the time to set up a business when they already have heavy demands from family, community and paid jobs. Training is needed for youth to learn to produce cultural goods, elders need training on how to start and run a business. Facilities and access to resources (knowledge and money) are also required.

To summarise: the key issues identified in the Samoan community discussions are: 100 % *fa'asamoa* in New Zealand, success in cultural product development, protect cultural intellectual property, access markets beyond the Samoan community, Samoan business must be embedded in Samoan culture, culture and business are inextricable, assistance to achieve viability, hindrances to business.

Appendix 3 Tokelau: Community summaries

A. Visual summary

Tokelau Community: Research Feedback Meeting



Creating Pacific Enterprise from Cultural Resources

*T aloha ni, Kia Orana, Ni sa bula vinaka, Fakaalofa lahi atu,
Mauri, Talofa lava, Malo e lelei, la Orana, Talofa koutou.*



WMS and PIAB Research Collaboration, 2005



20 December 2005



**THE UNIVERSITY OF
WAIKATO**
Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato

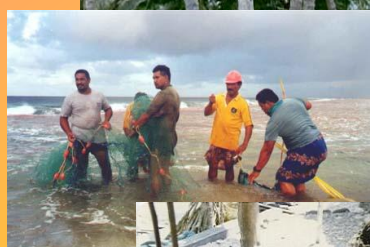
Tokelau Community

- How do we protect what is uniquely ours?
 - Start the item at home, finish off in public
 - Don't show the beginning because people copy
 - Elders teach the young ones
 - Middle aged more interested than the young
 - NZ-born know the finishing but not the beginning
 - What is uniquely Tokelau?
 - Ba – white, yellow brown. White is special, earned. Brown can be sold. Necklaces.
 - Coconut shell jewellery
 - Paddles, canoes (men), carved walking sticks with fish designs
 - Fakatokelau- everything is different from other islands -
 - Respect for our cultural resources
 - Must be taught what is sacred or might sell it - e.g. the Ba
 - Need more elders here in NZ to teach us the background meaning
 - Elders know who made items and from which village
 - Children learn our culture from performance:
 - They know the songs and dances, but not Tokelau language
 - Don't like the slow beat of the dances
 - Brought up differently, spend lots of time on TV
 - Speak in Tokelau, they answer in NZ accents or in English

□ How do we earn income...right now?

- To make money
 - Show our performances
 - anything for money
 - except our treasures
 - even if it looks like the treasure
 - Must be real
- Don't know what to make here in NZ
 - What does the market want?
 - But not sure how to make it here – know what to do in Tokelau
 - Could use new methods - screen-printing
- Cannot get materials easily
 - Hard to find in NZ
 - Costs a lot to bring here
- Loss of cultural knowledge
 - Culture must be everyday
 - People think culture is a stage thing
 - Tokelau culture on show for a day
 - Called out only for an event
 - Borrow dances from other islands
 - Costumes that show the body – a “no no”
 - Language
 - Spoken correctly? Which words to use? Spell?



□ Which networks support us?

- People in Tokelau
 - Need the older people who are in Tokelau
 - To tell us which materials to use
 - Which leaves, colours, sizes?
- People in NZ
 - Do not seem to want to learn to create cultural items
 - When visit Tokelau
 - Given many materials and gifts
 - Put them on the wall, not used in NZ
 - Language and respect for values
 - Our kids don't speak Tokelauan well
 - Our respect for each other is slowly going
 - Brothers and sisters sit and drink together
 - Children less respectful to parents
- At Church
 - The mamas (older people) show us the way make things - we can learn at Church
 - Middle age women interested in hats
 - Young women are interested if costumes to be made for dancing
 - Young mothers interested in baskets



Tokelau Community

Can we be both... Pacific and business people?

- Agree can be both but don't know much about business
- Not in our nature to want to sell
 - Palangi model does not suit us
 - There should be a cultural part to business, another kind of profit
 - But leave certain parts out of the business room - like the Ba
 - Giving gifts to others is normal
 - Typical and important for our people to give
 - e.g. exchange student - made our food, gifts for him and his family, significance of how we live. Felt proud
 - Need a Pacific business model



Tokelau Community

What should be done for the future?

Preserve and protect cultural knowledge

- Language
- Dance, songs
- Paddles, canoes, carved walking sticks
- Ba, coconut shell
- People with the knowledge (treasures)
- Danger that loss of respect will mean people do not know what, who or how to protect

Strengthen Relationships

- Elders – living treasures
 - in the islands and NZ
 - here in NZ
- Role of the Church
- Role of the Schools
- Develop where the interest is already
 - Older women - hats
 - Younger women - costumes

Protect uniqueness

- More than culture for a day, a dance
- Every Day

Develop in business

- Respect for cultural resources prevents bringing them into a mainstream economy
- Need a Pacific (Tokelau?) business model that values profit that comes from giving
- Need business training



Te Vaka, Tokelau Is



Tokelauan-born Wellington artist Samuel Sakaria.

Creative NZ, 2002 - \$3500 to Tokelau West-Tugaki of Waitakere City



Lakei Tokelau Design Trophy, Porirua

B. Tokelau - Edited Voice

Tokelau

‘We don’t make combs [like Samoa]. We do the coconut shell. Necklaces too, from *ba* (pendant made from mother of pearl, relief design of fish).

We make paddles from pine tree back home (The Men).

We also make walking sticks, carved liked the Maori ones. The walking sticks have designs on it like fish. One is given to David Lange. Only certain people can make them in Tokelau. There are special carvers in Tokelau who are asked to make them, e.g. one is made for Kelly Tarlton’.

(F2,Tokelau) 12/09/05

Two Tokelauan meetings took place. The Cultural Enterprise discussion was quite small (3 people), held at the Waitakere City Council rooms on September 12, 2005. The second occurred 3 months later in a family home on December 20th 2005. In that setting we met upwards of 20 people including young children, teenagers, young adults, adults and elders. Several people came and went during the meeting which was conducted in both Tokelauan and English, with translations in both directions provided by the host, the WPB ethnic representative. Some people listened from the next room and made occasional comment. This meeting was invaluable. It confirmed the accuracy of the information from the entrepreneurs, expanded the range of opinion on issues and corrected misunderstandings. All members consented to the addition of their community’s information to a report for WPB and inclusion in this dissertation. The research scope and some findings had been broadcast to a New Zealand-wide Pacific audience on Tokelau radio in an interview by the author on Radio 531 PI in November, so the issues and information had been widely disseminated, although we could not know exactly how many people had heard the live interview. At the end of the evening, the researchers were given finely woven Tokelauan hats. In total, direct discussions took place with 20 members of the Tokelauan community.

Unique Tokelau: Our point of difference

The group provided key artefacts that are uniquely Tokelauan and this helped differentiate themselves from other Pacific groups. The discussion on this subject seemed to raise their interests even more so. Although the group is small, their contributions are clear and precise (Wichman-To’u, 2005a).

‘The *Ba* is uniquely Tokelauan Mother of Pearl. It is one of the things that are given. Given to the bride by the mothers’ brothers. Line up and give it’ (F1, Samoa) 12/09/05.

‘Some are white, some brown, and yellow, black. They have different names. The white one is special. It is earned’ (F2,Tokelau) 12/09/05

‘But no-one else shapes it the way that Tokelau does. We have flowers, when made particular shape then you know it is Tokelauan’ (older F4, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘If see someone wearing the *Ba* then we know they are Tokelau’ (M2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘It is uniquely ours. So when I wear it, everyone knows it is mine’ (F1, Tokelau) 12/09/05

‘Maro the mother of pearl belt’ (older F4, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘But lots of islands have the equivalent of *Ba*, made of the same materials. Why is ours so different? Its probably the way we cut our jewellery. It is worn as an ornament mainly by Tokelau. In the old days *Ba* is special but not anymore. Now we see it in many forms’ (Older M1, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘I never heard said that we’re not supposed to share our *Ba*. How can we do that? We are meant to share it. It’s true that the *Ba* is something special but you can give it’ (older M4, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘I work for the Island market and you display what is unique in your place - Samoan, Fijian, etc. My brother and I we hung ours up the fish hook of the *Ba* as well. We went around and we realised that no-one else had what we had’ (F2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘Fishing hooks made of *Ba* from a special beach’ (Older M1 Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘The main fisherman will have the special lure. A kind of short lure. Usually they’ll hold on to the main catch give it to that person that’s most dear to them, married to them.’ (Older M1 Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘The ladies, the weavers have their fine mats’ (M5, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘Language, the grannies speak it at home so the preschool ages know it’ (F3, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘We also make little boats (canoes) that are different from others, like the walking sticks. The elders know who made it and from what village’ (F2, Tokelau) 12/09/05

‘Can see the different designs in the canoe. Tokelau has its own design’ (M5 Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘Our pork, different from other islands and our village is different too’ (older M1, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘The *toluma* (coconut box), that is uniquely Tokelauan’ (older F4, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘We don’t make combs [like Samoa]. We do the coconut shell. Necklaces too, from *Ba* (pendant made from mother of pearl, relief design of fish). We make paddles from pine tree back home (the men). We also make walking sticks, carved liked the Maori ones. The walking sticks have designs on it like fish. One is given to David Lange. Only certain people can make them in Tokelau. There are special carvers in Tokelau who are asked to make them, e.g. one is made for Kelly Tarlton’ (F2, Tokelau) 12/09/05

‘Everything is different. I mean, I find our culture different from Samoan and other Pacific. Our culture is not as strict as Samoan’ (F1, Tokelau) 12/09/05

But is one thing we must not sell:

‘*Ba* shouldn’t be sold. Like *moko - ba* is earned and is of high value. (F2, Tokelau) 12/09/05

‘It is a *kowa*, it is given to you by someone who loves you, given for special reasons. .I think brown one can be sold but not my special white one. (F1, Tokelau) 12/09/05

Protect Tokelau Culture

As one of the participants said:

‘The idea [of this research] is that protecting the thing we know really well, what is special about us can be a thing that we can build a business from. Selling is not the only way at all. There may be many other ways of sharing, sharing with other cultures, sharing with your own culture, sharing with your children and it doesn’t mean enterprise is selling. Many ways of preserving the uniqueness of Tokelauan. (M3, Tokelau) 20/12/05

'I think I'm the only New Zealand born here. These people here grew up there [in Tokelau]. I respect what these people tell me' (M3 Tokelau) 20/12/05

There are many more migrants now living in Auckland than are living in Tokelau:

'1500 people live Tokelau but in New Zealand there are 6000' (M2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

'Only 6000 Tokelauan amongst 2 million New Zealanders - that makes you unique. Why be part of majority when you can take advantage of the minority – switch it around, be stronger – that makes you more unique' (F1, Cook Is) 20/12/05

Protect cultural knowledge by being with the elders:

‘I show people how to make the canoe – I want to show the young ones in fact, all the next generation about the canoe. The canoe belongs to Tokelau’ (Older M4, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘I have this idea, I want to learn how to carve - but to do that I need to go home and learn how to do it from the people I know are really good at carving over there and about the raw materials. My mother is old. I want to be there, to learn before she goes. But it is far to go back to Tokelau - 24 hrs, sometimes 36 hrs from Samoa. The islands are spread far apart – 40 minutes, 60, 90 minutes between them. Children have to take boats to get to school’ (M5, Tokelau) 20/12/05

Protect by not disclosing the beginning:

‘The elders make the Island fan at home because we don’t want to share either the design or the special way of making that belongs just to us. We do the finishing part outside, to different venues or places where we share them like the Pasifika Festival. We don’t disclose the beginning or the tactics of making from the beginning because there is wide fear of people copying it’ (F1, Tokelau) 12/09/05

‘Another example is the fine mats which are made at home and the final finishing is displayed in the expos etc. Especially in Auckland. This is a clever way of the ways of protecting our Tokelau. The elders say we really have to protect our things. Make at home and then take out. Even at Nopoa conferences because people copy what we do all the time’ (F1, Tokelau) 12/09/05

‘There is always an opening to teach the younger ones, but there are so few people to teach. My mother-in-law does it and asks me to finish it. We know the finishing of the product and not the starting of it’ (F1, Tokelau) 12/09/05

Protect by keeping within the family:

‘Fishermen don’t give away how they tie their lines, make their fishhooks. They might give a fishhook away to their son as a special gift’ (M2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘Like the fish snare. Ladies that are really good at it kind of like to pass it on to their children (older M4, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘Myself, now I start to show the kids how to do that.... I like to show all my young ones, the next generation - because they will not know how to make Tokelau and not to make Samoan or Tuvalu. Each one is different. Another thing is I like - the main thing now for me - I’ve started to do *haka*. I already start to show the next generation how to do *haka*, anything Tokelau. Should I stop or try to carry on?’ (older M6, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘A man, a fisherman has his tools and lures. The ladies, the weavers have their fine mats. Keep the ways of doing things for the children’ (M5, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘But if we don’t share with each other, then how are we going to find out about Tokelau? Because I want to find out. When we are at school - when you have to get up and say what nationality, I get up, say Tokelau and they say where is that? So I just say its part of Samoa. I want Tokelau to be known just as much as people know Samoa. I think that should be part of what we do, making ourselves known as well as Samoa is. We tend to hold things and it’s only amongst ourselves. It’s like our dances’ (F2 Tokelau) 20/12/05

Interest in your culture comes at different life stages:

‘Have seen some videos [mat making] but only little clips. Do not really look like real. The younger people are not interested anyway. We advertise to come to learn but very few do. In terms of age group, the middle aged people are interested. I was interested after I had a family. We don’t realize what we need to know until it is gone’ (F1, Tokelau) 12/09/05

‘But then again, it depends on what is being made. For example, if the hats are made, then the elder people from the church are heavily involved. When the mamas are doing the hats,

then we see the older people making things and we can learn. If there are costumes like *titi* to be made for dancing then the younger groups are interested and involved. When making baskets then there are mothers with the younger ones around. Different cultural items appeal to different groups at different times of lives' (F2,Tokelau) 12/09/05

At school:

'Its hard for the schools because there is never enough Tokelau language resources to use. We are always relying on ourselves. I don't know how to change this. They cannot have their own part of their own language – most of the young ones they speak [Tokelau] at home, but the older ones when they go to school, then they start to lose it. That has been my own experience. I grew up here' (M3, Tokelau) 20/12/05

Culture is being lost in New Zealand, distant from Tokelau and among other Pacific peoples:

'Canoes and things like that. I was never taught how to make a canoe. I saw how they are being made, the big canoes. But I don't know my own canoe. But what's the big deal anyway, make it any way you can ...I mean you look at the shape – why worry about the shape — use what you've got at hand' (M5, Tokelau) 20/12/05

'I'm from another generation. It's done in a certain way. When I was a kid, mum did things in a different way to raise the kids, she had 8 kids. My kid's upbringing are different from ours, their opinions are different from ours. Now its all the television and they tell mum this is how to do it' (F1,Tokelau) 12/09/05

Frustration with the lack of interest from youth:

'There is always an opening to teach the younger ones, but there are so few people to do it. My mother-in-law does it and asks me to finish it. We know the finishing of the product and not the starting of it' (F1,Tokelau) 12/09/05.

'In New Zealand the generation here is interested when it's finished, but there's not a lot of passion from the people to learn when it comes to creating cultural items' (F2,Tokelau) 12/09/05.

'I have noticed the cultural items are being given as gifts. They are treated as decorations as any other material in the house. The younger generation they love the cultural items but they don't take much interest in reproducing it. The art is learnt in most cases but not continued and practised on a regular basis' (F1,Tokelau) 12/09/05

Our ability to speak the language is disappearing:

'I'm Tokelau born. When I went to school I could not speak a word of English but a couple of years after that I couldn't speak my own language. When my Tokelauan community have conversations they are all laughing. I want to be hearing what they are talking about' (M5, Tokelau) 20/12/05

'Our language is dying. Our kids don't know how to speak any more. They know more Maori than Tokelau. Kids go to school here and are taught Maori but not our own mother tongue' (F2,Tokelau) 12/09/05

'Whatever you do over there you just can't do here – like fishing' (F1,Tokelau) 12/09/05

In New Zealand, Tokelau is influenced by other Pacific cultures

'You know one of things about our culture here, like dancing. Dancing has brought in a lot of actions from other Islands, plus adding their costumes. We are wearing costumes here that are a no-no to our culture. Like we are not allowed to show skin. We are to wear clothes which cover our body. Now have costumes that show one shoulder or have a split in

the skirt. We lose a bit of our culture when we add things from outside' (F1,Tokelau) 12/09/05.

'Same as the modern dance moves. Now do moves that are not ours and there is a concern about what we pass on. We see something we like and just put it in. Just because it looks good, doesn't mean it is real culture, that's the danger. It is bringing in something which is not our culture but saying that it is' (F1,Tokelau) 12/09/05

'Tahitians have got their own [dances and costumes] but our people copy them. (F2, Tokelau) 12/09/05

Tokelau is put on show for a day, no longer part of everyday life:

'I speak to my kids in Tokelau but they answer back in English and when they do speak Tokelau they make lots of mistakes. They know Tokelau through dance, Te Vaka [rock band], songs, but they are using a lot of Kiwi accent and it sounds funny. They learn our cultural dance. But our beats don't go fast and they find it boring. Hear the new beats and my kids find it interesting' (F1,Tokelau) 12/09/05.

'From experience it seems that Tokelau culture seems to be on show for a day. It is on decoration for a day. Culture seems to be on show. Everytime it's called out its going to be for an event. Even dancing. People think that the culture is a stage thing and a one day thing. We don't practise our cultural stuff everyday but it should be that' (F1,Tokelau) 12/09/05.

'Culture is 'just a dance' these days' (F2,Tokelau) 12/09/05

'Who is teaching respect for the valuable cultural items, in terms of the meaning, history and purpose of the gift? Who will teach the background meaning within the gift? (F2,Tokelau) 12/09/05

Earn income from Tokelau cultural resources

Some people are earning income here in Auckland:

'Certainly there are people making things but we give away. We should charge for our activities. This [research] can tell other people what they can do. We can take them along and sell them. But we really are not earning income' (M2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

'Te Vaka earns money from our culture. But I can't think of anyone else. There are some serving food' (M2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

'Can make a little thing in the family then sell it' (M5, Tokelau) 20/12/05

'I know my mum, she sends stuff to the hotel over there [Tokelau]. But don't think she can do that here' (M5, Tokelau) 20/12/05

Some goods are exported from the Islands:

'We do the coconut shell, necklaces, paddles - we make it at home and sell it to the people in New Zealand. They make it from home and bring it here. We also make walking sticks, if my husband knew how to make these we would make a lot of money' (F2,Tokelau) 12/09/05

'I know some woman go to the States and sell their stuff. The people out there in Hawaii really go for it' (M2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

There is a perceived relationship between authenticity and price:

'Selling the crafts the real material of Tokelau it sells. The New Zealand materials hardly do sell. Higher price for the knowledge and the skill that goes in if made of Island materials. Lower price for things made of New Zealand materials income' (M2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

'Sometimes they mass produce them and don't get the quality and that ruins the things for everyone. Tokelauan women are very high quality but they are so very expensive' (M2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

'I tell you some [Tokelau] tourism operators, went to Samoa. We are invited to their celebrations there. We went along, we are a little team and there is supposed to be professional person with us to try and market the stuff we took. But we heard later from our local Tokelau community in Samoa that they thought they are too expensive [for them to buy] (M2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

'But I remember at Pasifika a few years ago, sponsored by the Tokelau government I actually requested to people [in Tokelau] to make some artefacts. They sent a whole lot of boxes of the things and they had them really cheap I thought it is under priced. But I tell you they bought everything. They are selling like hot cakes. People kept coming asking for more, at those little price. They buy a lot - make a lot of money. So I say we need to get together for the market and find out how to know what to put out for sale. Look at what will, and something that won't sell' (M2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

'Our people will always value it as being too expensive - that's why we should sell to other people - our people think you should be able to give you that for nothing' (F1, Cook Island) 20/12/05

Have tried to be in business but did not succeed:

'I think we set up the shops in Asian market some 10 years ago - down by the wharf there at the Viaduct Basin, but actually I stopped because I couldn't afford to pay the rent and weren't selling any product. I was struggling even to find people to volunteer to have a stall let alone trying to make money from what they sell' (M3, Tokelau) 20/12/05

'I had a couple of nephews they went into business but they didn't know how to sell so didn't do very well' (M2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

'Every radio advertises how to get money but no-one tells you how to pay it back. The answer is we'll go and fundraise, we're good at that but can't do it for ever.' (F1, Tokelau) 12/09/05

Cultural values prevent the development of business:

'Concept of selling is uncomfortable' (Older M1, Tokelau) 20/12/05

'The respect that we have for our cultural resources holds us back from bringing it in the mainstream economy. For example, the *Ba*, it is out of respect that we don't want to sell it. It is sacred to us. There is a danger of that happening. If you are not taught respect from the start, you'll just sell it' (F2, Tokelau) 12/09/05

We tend to sell to ourselves and don't go outside the community:

'It's just the way our culture is. The things that we do here in New Zealand (that is different than others in New Zealand) is just for the sake for catering of our own people. Never tend to do it outside. The people who are doing the fundraising for the thing are the same people who are doing payment for it instead of market it outside so that they pay for it and we come and enjoy it. We are slowly trying to come this distance. But is the way our people are. We tend to try everything by ourselves for ourselves instead of going outside the door to try and fund that. Like for a lot of things that we do are like that - trying to educate our people on how to get out there, still keeping it ours what are people are paying' (M3, Tokelau) 20/12/05

'But the European market loves it [cultural goods], they pay the high price for it. Often we fall into the trap of selling to ourselves so we make ourselves poorer. We can't charge *uncle* or *mama* or *papa* because it's not in our nature to charge our own family' (F1, Cook Island) 20/12/05

Authenticity should be accompanied by high prices:

‘Did it make any difference if you say – real Tokelau made in New Zealand? You say because I am Tokelau they will believe me. But how would they know if I am Tokelau or not? I could be Maori, how would they know? You really have to show the difference’ (M2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘You can charge \$200 for some Island experience and then you make them know what real is. I will tell you a story, our eldest son, had brought his exchange friend from England. We told him that we are from Tokelau. We showed him the map on the internet, of a very small Island. We said to him that we will cook our cultural food... for the two days that he stayed with us. He ate our food, and for the two days we felt like proud Tokelauan. Before he left us, we gifted him a canoe, worth \$400, an island shirt for his father, an island fan for his mother, plus a black *ba*. He cried when we told him about the significance of the gifts. We touched this teenage boy. The feeling that the boy gave us is good’ (F2, Tokelau) 12/09/05

‘You see people buying cheap replicas and not the real thing. Do people spend money for the real thing? Like at Pasifika? If you go out to Otara you see *palangis* come along wearing the \$5.00 version. Are they helping us by buying those things?’ (F1, Tokelau) 12/09/05

Not sure where to begin to earn income from cultural resources:

‘Definitely want to [earn income based on cultural resources]. Don’t know where to start’ (M2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘Don’t know what to make. Tell me what to make and I’ll do it. But I don’t even know how to make it’ (F1, Tokelau) 12/09/05

‘At home I would make baskets, hats, *kete*, but over here, cannot go and get the resources easily. Hard work to find [resources] and costs more money here’ (F1, Tokelau) 12/09/05

‘I know how to do screen printing. I could do screen printing with Tokelau sayings, and words. Would go and make it – if I knew how to spell it Tokelau language properly. I did some once and people asked me where did you get that? I tell them I made it’ (F1, Tokelau) 12/09/05

Tokelau - Networks of support

The structure of the Tokelauan community network is important for cohesion:

‘Back home the older generation support us in cultural resources. Is who we need to support us in cultural resources. We want to know how to make the things. They tell us which materials to use. Like tell us -this leaf is better when it is this colour and size. (F1, Tokelau) 12/09/05

‘Yeah, we always contact the people that are important in Tokelau to send goods for our community here. The people are importing from Tokelau and we send money back (F2, Tokelau) 12/09/05

‘Attract more people from our community to help. The big thing is for people to give their time. And for the older people to see that we appreciate what they gave—and the younger generation should see that they did it and that we can do it too’ (M2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘Our elders are not as hard as Samoan elders, for example we can wear long pants whereas it’s a no-no, in Samoan culture. But if we do it then we can go out, show the pants. If you are doing chores within the Samoan community you have to put on *lava-lava*. To wear long pants is not allowed in Samoa. If we do it, nobody says anything. Tokelauan are very laid back’ (F1, Tokelau) 12/09/05

‘Some radio competitions are asking - Tell me what day of the week it is the old language? You don’t want to be seen to make a mistake. Everyone knows everyone. They know everyone’s grandfather. We hear their voice and we know who it is. People are cracking up if they say thank you to *malo*’ (F1, Tokelau) 12/09/05

‘At school the kids go with all their friends and English is the main language but after they leave school it comes back. It comes down to association. I learned [Tokelauan] at 26. At school I stuck to my Samoan side, hung out with my cousins at school. But then after school I felt a pull to be with my Tokelauan side. And now I have kids I want to learn more. Until I decide who to be I won’t find out [about my language and culture]’ (M3, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘Tokelau is small minority. When our kids come and go out of our house they know a little Tokelauan but when they are out of your house they are out of your control. There are not many Tokelauan. But some born here in the early ‘60’s’ (M3, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘The child decides to be who he is to be by being in the language. It all has to start in the home so the child is not left on his own. That’s why we need to catch these fellas while they are still around at home, when they leave to live outside its too late’ (M5, Tokelau) 20/12/05

Community support and cultural continuity have been broken by migration to New Zealand:

‘In the old days, I is taught that the relationship between brother and sister is sacred and a brother, sister and sister-in-law would not ever be together. Would not sit and drink in the same place. But now at home I sit around with my family, my brothers and joke around, in the same room. The respect is slowly going away’ (F1, Tokelau) 12/09/05

‘When people go home they are given lots of stuff, materials and gifts. But when they get home [to New Zealand] they just put it on the wall and it’s left up there. Never used. (F1, Tokelau) 12/09/05

Support for Tokelau in the Church?

‘Church, help to preserve language? No, not here in the West. There used to be get here something like that. All of the NMS all used to worship here. Now we go other place’ (older M4, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘Only worship in the language, no don’t learn the language there. But hopefully we will do something in the next two years’ (M5, Tokelau) 20/12/05

Support for Tokelau at the Corbans site?

‘We go there every month, waiting to sell the artefacts. My wife is one of the *Mamas* [at Corbans]’ (older M4, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘I have a feeling that now there is a focal point they will start the culture centre’ (M5, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘How long until the centre is ready?’ (M3, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘We want to know how the Corbans is going. At the last month, how many people will come? Any counts done? How many at the last festival? No-one tells’ (M5, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘I thought as well there is going to be as well as going to be shops (older F3, Tokelau)

‘Now part of our heritage activities. The gym is now gone. Using it to set up for the community. The vineyard has been sold for development. Now the buildings are part of AUT, residential for student. The other part now belongs to Council’ (M5, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘They are talking about setting up a centre and market in South Auckland too’ (M2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

Tokelau - Both... Pacific and business people?

‘Yes why not, but we don’t know about business’ (F2, Tokelau) 12/09/05

‘Our people need to go to a proper training for studying’ (M2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘About 2 yrs ago. The government is going to put a lot of money into your business, do you remember that?’ (Older M1, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘Can’t do that anymore. But we are first to set up a computer thing in New Zealand’ (M3, Tokelau) 20/12/05

‘Our elders wanted to set up a university here. We tried to tell them can’t set up a university. Had a big argument’ (M2, Tokelau) 20/12/05

Tokelau prefers to separate the traditions and treasures from business:

‘Tokelauan business is fine, but certain parts should be left alone and not brought into the business room. In business it’s normal to give something to others. It’s another kind of profit. There should be a special cultural part to business. Certain things that are unique to Tokelau should be left alone, like the *ba*. We can show performances, earn money. Do anything for money except for sell the treasures - even if it looks like the treasures’ (F2, Tokelau) 12/09/05

‘I go with the second part. Certain things should be left and can’t be business like *ba* but there are other things that are fine for business. Anything for money but leave out certain things’ (F1, Tokelau) 12/09/05

Maybe there are different ways of doing business that embrace the giving part:

‘When we are at home as kids it is the culture that is taught - like sharing – at home the whole thing is to make sure you look after everyone. When you are a kid taught to share... all about sharing. Maybe when business comes over to our side this is still the way it should be’ (older M4, Tokelau) 20/12/05

Tokelau - Pathways to Action

The way forward that the Tokelau community envisaged for itself was to start at the grassroots. This means that the Tokelau community should first come together to hear and discuss the market and community results to identify gaps between market preferences, identify niche(s) that Tokelau could occupy and to map the capacity (or desire) for Tokelau to embark on enterprise based on cultural knowledge and resources as a community. Only then, make plans for the community to take responsibility to assist enterprise development amongst its members.

The highest priority for Tokelau was how to keep Tokelauan culture alive amongst larger and dominant Pacific groups, few language resources in schools, borrowing of ideas from other cultures and that when offers go out to teach, and very few people come. The urban lifestyle means that culture is now part-time alongside the need to work at a job. Tokelau is very distant and expensive to reach, so that diasporan links have been broken by migration. These are hard to regain because of dispersed local communities and the fact that traditions have to be passed down within the family.

In general terms, the discussions with this group of entrepreneurs revealed four issues specific to the cultural and enterprise contexts in which they live and operate their businesses. These comments are culture (Tokelau), time (2005/2006) and place – specific (Waitakere). The issues are summarised as:

Preserve Tokelau: It is hard to retain the uniqueness of Tokelauan culture in the face of cultural and geographic proximity to the Samoan Islands in the Pacific, more Tokelauan live in New Zealand than in the Islands, and are a minority Pacific group. This is compounded by the expense of reaching the Islands, the distance from the elders and natural resources, active borrowing from other cultures and the impact of the loss of language, disinterest in learning Tokelau traditions until parenthood as well as culture becoming a performed, not habitual activity. Ways to protect the culture are to build stronger links with the elders, not to share or disclose the beginning of an item with others and pass on cultural knowledge only within the family.

Break down barriers to income earning: While some Tokelau do earn a little income by importing goods from the islands, sales made are primarily non-commercial fundraising activities within the community to other community members, not to outside no-Pacific markets. Gifting predominates. The price of Tokelauan items made of authentic imported materials are seen by the community as too expensive, not surprising if such things can be obtained elsewhere at no cost, but that New Zealand made items are low quality and do not sell well. Business success is rarely experienced. Cultural values prevent the development of business for instance the concept of selling is uncomfortable to Island-born Tokelauan where sales to tourists are the norm. Ideally culture and business should be kept separate but would like to know how to earn income from cultural resources, however are not sure how to begin and need training.

Community cohesion: the structure of the community must retain strong links to the Islands to the older generations, be cohesive here in New Zealand and develop strategies to maintain language continuity and the everyday usage of Tokelauan material and cultural knowledge to minimise borrowing so that Tokelauan identity can be retained. This group does not feel as if it is part of the Corbans initiative and that the church could do more to assist in cultural preservation.

Business practice can be consistent with cultural values: find ways that ensure that you can look after everyone, have separate prices for different markets (higher if authentic and sold outside, lower prices if made of New Zealand materials, made by a young weaver or sold inside the community to make it accessible), be strong in cultural knowledge and business practice, sell outside the Pacific communities.

The key issues for Tokelau are: preserve the uniqueness of Tokelau, break down barriers to earning income, community cohesion, business practices consistent with cultural values.

Appendix 4 Tonga: Community summaries

A. Visual summary (bilingual)

<h1>Kainga Tonga: Fakataha Fakama'opo'opo e Okooko 'oe Fekumi:</h1>	
<p>Fokotu'utu'u Pisinisi kakai Pasifiki' meihe Koloa Fakafonua:</p>	
<p><i>Malo e lelei, Kia Orana, Ni sa bula vinaka, Fakaalofa lahi atu, Mauri, Talofa lava, la Orana, Talofa koutou, Taloha ni.</i></p>	
	<p>WMS and PIAB Research Collaboration March 12, 2006</p>
	

<h1>Tongan Community: Research Feedback Meeting</h1>	
<p>Creating Pacific Enterprise from Cultural Resources</p>	
<p><i>Malo e lelei, Kia Orana, Ni sa bula vinaka, Fakaalofa lahi atu, Mauri, Talofa lava, la Orana, Talofa koutou, Taloha ni.</i></p>	
	<p>WMS and PIAB Research Collaboration March 12, 2006</p>
	

❑ **E malu'i fefe 'etau koloa fakafonua?**

❑ **Koeha' 'etau koloa pelepelengesi?**

❑ **Anga fakafonua:**

- mea'akai fakafonua, ngaue fakamea'a, ta' fakata'ta', hiva, tau'olunga, Teunga fakafonua, lea fakafonua.

❑ **Fasi moe haka:**

- fakahoko e talanoa 'ehe haka 'ae nima', fofonga', anga 'oe lea', ongo 'oe hiva. Ongu faka'ofa 'oku tupu meihe lea 'oe hiva.

❑ **Faiva fakatonga:**

- fa'ahinga, hange' koe lakalaka, ma'ulu'ulu, tau'olunga.
- faiva 'o fakatatau kihe katoanga.
- hiva, fa'ahinga faiva 'oe motu moe kolo.

❑ **Teunga fakafonua:**

- ngaue'aki 'ihe ngaahi 'aho mahu'inga, tala hoto founa, mahu'inga ke ngaue'aki.

❑ **'Ulungaanga fakafonua, tui fakafonua:**

- anga faka'apa'apa, faifatongia, tauhivaha'a moe manava'ofa.

❑ **Ngaue fakamea'a 'a fafine (ngatu, fala).**

❑ **Ngaue fakamea'a 'a tangata (ta' tongitongi, fa'u kupesi).**

❑ **Sipinga moe kupesi 'oku fakatonga 'ata.**

Pehe 'e Tangata:



❑ **Koeha' e me'a tetau ala vahevahe mo 'ikai vahevahe:**

- Iikai lava 'o vahevahe 'ae fokotu'utu'u nofo 'ae sosaieti. Lea kehekehe kihe Tu'i, kau nopele moe kakai.
- 'Iikai lava ke vahevahe 'ae ngaahi fala 'a fafine' kiha toe taha kehe.
 - ❑ koloa fakatonga (fala, ngatu) tauhi ma'u koe malu'i pea 'ikai lava 'o vahevahe.
 - ❑ Iikai lava ke vahevahe 'ae ngatu lalahi – launima.

❑ **Lava pe' 'o ngaahi saisi iiki ke fakalato 'ae fiema'u 'ae maketi'.**

❑ **How do we protect what is uniquely ours?**

❑ **What is uniquely ours?**

❑ **Tongan culture**

- Traditional food, handicrafts, arts, songs and dance and costumes, language

❑ **Tune and haka**

- Story told in movements of hands, facial expressions, tone of song. Feelings, emotions linked to the words

❑ **Tongan dances**

- Types , such as *lakalaka*, *ma'ulu'ulu*, *tau'olunga* etc.
- Performance unique to occasions.
- Songs, type of dance specific to Island and villages

❑ **Dress code**

- Important occasions, status, significant of participation

❑ **Tongan cultural values**

- Respect, responsibility, reciprocity and compassion

- ❑ Crafts specific to women (tapa, mats etc)
- ❑ Crafts specific to men (carving, designs etc)
- ❑ Pattern and design are uniquely Tongans
- ❑ Handmade, from local/traditional materials

The Men said:



❑ **What should we share? Not share?**

- Cannot share hierarchy of our society
 - ❑ Languages are unique to the King to nobles and so to for commoners
- Women cannot share their very fine mats with others
 - ❑ Tongan *koloa* (mats, tapa etc) are kept as a form of security so cannot be shared
 - ❑ Cannot share the huge tapa - *launima*
- Can make smaller size one to meet the needs of the market

Pehe 'e Tangata

- Te tau ngaue'i fefe ha'atau ma'uanga mo'uni.....he taimini?
- Ngaahi founa ke ngaue'i ha vahe:
 - 'Talanoa' – Koe tefito 'oe talafakafonua 'a Tonga' 'oku ma'u 'ihe talanoa moe fananga.
 - E lava pe' ke fakatolonga 'ae ngaahi fananaga koeni', fa'u mei ai ha ngaahi tohi talanoa pea fakatau atu 'o ma'u mei ai ha mo'ui.
 - Ngaahi Hiva – Iahi e kau fa'u hiva he kuonga kuo hili:
 - 'E lava pe' eni ke lekooti pea fakatau atu.
 - Ngaahi Teunga Tau'olunga:
 - Lava ke ngaahi 'o fakatau atu.
 - Fanga ki'i fala tuku'anga peleti:
 - Lava ke ngaahi 'o fakatau atu.

- Koeha' 'e tokoni 'e fai mai?
- Feinga ke faingofua 'ae hu' mai 'ae koloa ngaue mei motu.
- Ngaahi 'ae me'a fakamea'a iiki ke faingofua 'ene fakalato 'ae fiema'u 'ae maketi.
- Fakafoki 'ae monu' kihe kakai 'i motu'.
- Ke 'iai ha 'api pau ke ui koe 'Kolo Tonga': Kolo fakafonua
 - 'ahi'ahi'i ai ha me'a
 - Feitu'u 'oku tau 'iloa ai.

- How do we earn income...right now?

The Men said:

- Ways to earn income?
 - 'Story telling' - most of Tongan culture are forms of oral tradition
 - these stories can be preserved and can make instant income from if it can be collated into a book and publish and sale
 - Songs - many old composers
 - need to be recorded, could be sold
 - Dancing costumes
 - can be made and sold
 - Smaller size table mats
 - can be made and sold too



- What will help us?
 - Allow supply of resource from the Islands to come through easily
 - Make smaller sized items to meet market demands
 - Return benefits to people back in the Islands
 - Have a physical location - known as 'Tongan Village' : A cultural center
 - trial some things
 - place where we are known

Pehe 'e Tangata

- ❑ **Koeha' 'ae ngaahi kautaha tenau poupou'i kitautolu?**
- ❑ **Koeha' 'oku ne ta'ofi kitautolu?**
 - Si'isi'i e koloa ngaue, tautaefito kihe koloa fakafonua:
 - ❑ 'Omai mei motu.
 - ❑ Ngaue'aki ha lou'akau kehe 'i Nu'usila ni, hange' koe flax.
- ❑ **Ngaahi Fetu'utaki:**
 - ❑ Fatongia Pule'anga moe lao.
 - ❑ Fakalelei'i e founa ngaue fetu'utaki.
- ❑ **Ngaue fakataha moe kakai totonu.**
- ❑ **Fiema'u ke kamata meiha feitu'u pau - 'Kolo Tonga'**
 - ❑ 'e 'iloa ai kitautolu
 - ❑ feitu'u ketau kamata mei ai
 - ❑ fakahoko ai 'ae faikava, 'umu, lalanga moe koka'anga
 - ❑ Mahu'inga malie 'ae totongi 'oe koloa' 'ihe mamata tonu 'ae kakai kihe faingata'a hono ngaahi'oe koloa', lahi 'oe taimi ke ngaahi ai' moe taukei 'oku fiema'u ke ngaahi 'aki'.
- ❑ **Kehekehe 'oe Mahu'inga'ia**
 - ❑ Mahu'inga ange ke vahevahe 'i hano fakatau.

- ❑ **Tetau lava 'o kakai Pasifikimo kakai pisinisi?**
- ❑ **Ikai ke 'atamai'i pisinisi kakai Tonga.**
 - fiema'u poupou he fakalele pisinisi
- ❑ **Mo'ui fakatonga ke ta'ota'ofi**
 - mahino fatongia tokotaha kotoa. (mehikitanga moe fa'etangata)
- ❑ **Kakai Tonga – manava 'ofa**
 - foaki ta'etotongi
 - fiema'u ke fakaivia ke 'atamai'i pisinisi.
- ❑ **Fiema'u ke liliu founa fakamahu'iga.**
 - mahu'inga pukepuke anga fakafonua kae fakakaukau hange' ha palangi.
- ❑ **Ako ke lea 'ikai.**
 - fakatokanga'i vaivai'anga
 - fa'u ha palani malu'i
 - Tauhi pa'anga ha palangi.
- ❑ **Mahu'inga ke ako pisinisi.**
 - ako makehe kihe mahu'inga Pasifiki moe pisinisi.

The Men said:

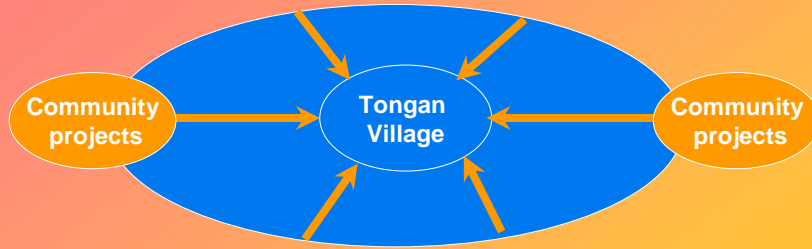
- ❑ **Which networks support us?**
- ❑ **What holds us back?**
- ❑ **Lack of resources, especially traditional resources**
 - Bring it over from the Islands
 - Alternative plants (flax) available here in NZ can be used
- ❑ **Communication networks**
 - government roles and regulations
 - process in place as to better inform the people
- ❑ **Need to work in partnership with the right people**
- ❑ **Need to start from a place - 'Tongan Village'**
 - where we can be identified
 - a place for us to start from
 - can demonstrate kava ceremony, 'umu and traditional weaving and tapa making
 - value in \$\$\$ will be appreciated when customers realize the time, commitment and skills required to creating the finish product
- ❑ **Different value systems**
 - We have tendency to share rather than keep for sale

Can we be both.... Pacific and business people?

- ❑ **Tongans are not business minded people**
 - need support in running a business
- ❑ **'Tongan way of life' hinders**
 - defined roles and responsibilities of individuals - Aunty (*mehikitanga*) versus Uncle (*fa'e tangata*)
- ❑ **Tonga people - 'big heart'**
 - Easily give for nothing
 - Need to 'empower' so that they can be business minded as well
- ❑ **Need to change our value system**
 - win-win - hold onto our culture but think like 'palangi' too
- ❑ **Must learn to say no**
 - Identify our weaknesses and address them
 - Create offset strategy
 - ❑ can employ a palangi as cashier
- ❑ **Business Training is very important**
 - special type of training - Pi values and business

Pehe 'e Tangata

Polokalama fakalalaka 'ae Kolo – fakahoko ia kiha maketi (lotomalie) 'i loto

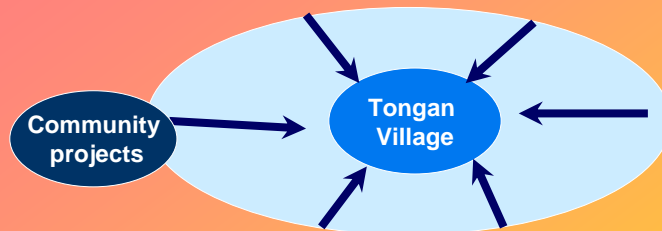


Polokalama Fakalalaka 'ae Kolo'

Ko 'Okalani 'ae Kolo lahi taha mo tokolahi taha ai 'ae kakai Polinisia 'I mamani – feitu'u kamata'anga lelei kihe fakamaketi 'ae koloa fakatonga.

The Men said:

- Allow community development projects – to feed into a market (Central Place) at the centre



- Auckland is the largest city with the highest Polynesian population in the world - good starting point to marketing Tongan products

□ How do we protect what is uniquely ours?

The Women said:

□ What is uniquely ours?

- *Tapa (ngatu)* specifically for Tongans – wealth and security especially for funerals, marriages, celebrations etc
- Tongan designs – story, identity, status, where you are from
- Tongan mats - valuable assets - wealth and security
- Designs and types vary with occasions and status
- Tongan handicrafts
 - Tongan style and design
 - Use traditional resources
 - Tongan language written on it



□ What should we share? Not share?

- Can't share *tapa* and mats specific to royalties and *hou'eiki*
- Knowledge can be shared through generation but not outside of Tongan - kept within the community
- Can share smaller types of *tapa*, mats - handcrafted for sale to tourist
- Can also share *tapa* made from western materials -not traditional
 - Tongans and PI communities and outside.
- Professionals reluctant to share knowledge of traditional arts and crafts
- Commercialism means
 - Loss of identity
 - Labels, designs and style changes as value of \$ overtakes what we want to preserve as our own, as unique to our culture

Pehe' 'e Fafine:

□ 'E malu'i fefe 'etau koloa fakafonua?

□ Koeha' 'etau koloa pelepelengesi?

□ Ngatu 'ae Tonga' – koloa moe malu'i kiha 'aho 'oe pekia, mali pe' katoanga.

□ Kupesi fakatonga – talanoa, faka'ilonga e tupu'anga, tu'unga, ha'u mei fe:

□ Fala fakatonga – koloa mahu'inga – koloa moe malu'i

□ Kehekehe 'ae kupesi 'o fakatatau kihe katoanga moe tu'unga fakafonua.

□ Ngaue fakamea'a fakatonga:

- Sipinga moe kupesi
- Ngaue'aki koloa fakafonua
- Tohi ai e lea fakatonga.

□ Koeha e me'a te tau ala vahevahe mo 'ikai vahevahe?

□ 'ikai lava ke ngaue'aki mo vahevahe 'ae ngatu moe fala 'oku taumu'a kihe fale 'oe Tu'i' mo hou'eiki.

□ Tukufakaholo 'ae'ilo' pea fevahevahe'aki 'ihe nofo fakakolo'ikai tukuange ki tu'a.

□ Lava 'o vahevahe 'ae ngaahi kongangatu pe fala iiki 'o fakatau kihe kau folau 'eve'eva.

□ 'E lava pe' ke vahevahe'ae ngatu ngaahi meihe tupenu' ka 'oku 'ikai ke lau 'ihe fakafonua.

□ 'ikai ke fie vahevahe 'ae 'ilo kihe ngaue fakamea'a fakafonua' 'ehe kau Taukei'.

□ 'UHINGA 'oe fefakatau'aki:

- Mole 'ae faka'ilonga hoto tupu'anga
- Liliu e faka'ilonga, kupesi moe sipinga' 'ehe mahu'inga 'oe pa'anga', mole ai moe koloa mahu'inga 'oku fakatolonga 'ehe anga fakafonua'.

The Women said:

- How do we earn income...right now?
- What holds us back?
 - Access to traditional resource
 - Grow them here?
 - Bring over from the Islands
 - Marketing hold us back
 - Market to the wrong people?
 - Our own people first
 - Access to internet to promote us
 - Very little advertising
 - Meet market demands
 - Improve the quality of the product
 - Improve design, size and quantity
 - But do we have the resources available??
 - People, time, money, knowledge, materials?



□ What will help us?

- To have a physical location - known as 'Tongan market'
- Need to target tourists
- Need the resources to do it, \$ and traditional

Pehe 'e Fafine

- Te tau ngaue'i fefe ha'a tau ma'u'anga mo'ui.....he taimini?
- Koeha' 'oku ne ta'ofi kitautolu?
 - 'Ikai ke ma'u 'ae fua 'oe fonua.
 - To' 'ihe fonua ni.
 - Fakafolau mai mei motu.
- Faingata'a ke ma'u ha maketi:
 - fakamaketi kihe kakai hal.
 - fika 'uluaki pe' hotau kakai.
- Tu'uaki he Internet.
 - si'isi'i 'aupito 'ae tu'uaki'
- Fakalato 'ae ngaahi fiema'u 'ae maketi.
 - 'Ai ke lelei 'ae koloa'
 - Fakalelei'i 'ae sipinga',saisi moe lahi e koloa
 - Ka 'oku tau ma'u nai 'ae mea'angaue' moe koloa: kakai, taimi, pa'anga, 'ilo, koloa fakanatula.

Koeha' e tokoni 'oku fiema'u?

- Ke 'iai ha 'api ngaue pau ke ui koe 'Maketi Tonga'
- Fiema'u ke taumu'a maketi kihe kau folau 'eve'eva
- Fiema'u e pa'anga moe koloa fakafonua ke fai 'aki e ngaue.

□ Which networks support us?

□ Island networks

- Exchange scheme to link communities in NZ with our communities back in the Islands to:
 - Access resource
 - Ensure stocks of resource are available
 - Come over to NZ to sell their products

□ MAF Quarantine and Customs

- Ensure we can access resource from the Islands
- We lack knowledge of the processes, procedures and charges



The Women said:

□ Can we be both.... Pacific and business people?

- Yes – if have support and buy-in from all Pi communities
- Need access to:
 - Government
 - Small business
 - Licenses etc - to allow us to sell and buy
- Need information
 - Legal requirements
 - Rules and regulations
 - Borders - what is not allowed to cross border?
- Need information from Council Pi staff
 - To find out how they support Pi businesses
- Wider network – communication with:
 - Pac Business Trusts, MPIA etc.

□ Koeha' 'ae ngaahi kautaha tenau poupu' i kitautolu?

- Kautaha 'ae kau motu?

□ Founga ngaue kene fakafehokotaki 'ae kainga motu 'i NZ moe kakai oku nofo 'i motu koe' uhi ke lava:

- ma'u 'ae ngaahi koloa kihe ngaue.
- fakapapau' i 'e hokohoko atu 'ae ma'u 'oe koloa ngaue' mei motu
- folau mai ki NZ ke fakatau atu 'enau koloa.

□ MAF Quarantine moe Customs:

- Fakapapau' i te tau lava 'o ma'u mei motu 'ae ngaahi koloa moe me'angaue 'oku fiema'u
- 'Oku si'isi' i 'etau 'ilo kihe founga ngaue moe ngaahi totongi.

Pehe 'e Fafine

□ Tetau lava nai 'o kakai Pasifiki.....mo kakai pisinisi?

□ 'Ilo – kapau tetau ma'u 'ae poupu meihe kakai 'oe Pasifiki.

□ Fiema'u ketau ngaue'aki 'ae:

- Pule'anga
- Ngaahi pisinisi iiki.
- Ngaahi laiseni kene faka'ata ketau fakatau mai mo fakatau atu

□ Fiema'u ketau 'ilo e ngaahi fakamatala fekau'aki moe:

- Fiema'u fakalao
- Tu'utu'uni moe lao fakalotongaue
- Fakangatangata e me'a 'oku ngofua ke fe'ave'aki.

□ Fiema'u fakahinohino meihe kau ngaue Pasifika 'ihe Council: kenau fai ha fakahinohino ke tokoni' i e pisinisi 'ae kakai meihe 'otu motu'.

□ Fakafalahi e fetu'utaki' ke kau ai e potungaue hange' koe PAC Business Trust moe MPIA.



Fakaikiiki - Komiuniti' Tonga:

Tongan Community Summary

- **Ngaahi Tefito'i Mo'oni:**
 - Fakatolonga ngaahi 'ilo fakafonua
 - Fetu'utaki:
 - N.Z. moe 'Otumotu'
 - Polokalama 'ae kainga Tonga' moe kau ta palani 'oe kolo Tonga'.
 - Makehe meihe ngaahi 'Otu motu'.
 - Ke fakalele pisinisi 'iha taimi loloa.

- **Key issues**
 - **Preserving Cultural Knowledge**
 - **Relationships**
 - **Between NZ and the Islands**
 - **Between Tongan community projects and future Village planners**
 - **Being Unique**
 - **Amongst other Island groups**
 - **Being in Business**
 - **For the long-term**

23 January 2009
PIAB and WMS Research Team

□ Pathways to Future Action

- **Develop and fund a five year cultural resource development strategy that aims to:**
 1. Establish an importing strategy with suppliers to bring traditional and contemporary raw materials and finished goods from Tonga
 2. Find or create source traditional materials here in NZ (grow paper mulberry, find suppliers)
 3. Develop a programme to preserve the cultural knowledge of both Tongan men and women
 4. Provide a central hub of professional services such as marketing, graphic design, etc
 5. Develop book, music and song proposals for publication and use in schools here and in Tonga
 6. Create concept, feasibility and business plan for **community development projects** and the development of a **central Tongan village** that helps people to learn business operation within cultural values such as **respect, responsibility, reciprocity and compassion**
 7. Explore interest in cultural product for 3 key niche markets: Auckland residents, frequent travellers to the Islands (especially Tonga) and visiting friends and relatives (from/to Tonga)
- **Ask PBT to:**
 - **Develop information sheet re. MAF rules, regulations and processes**
 - **Obtain seed funding from MPIA for ethnic-specific business start-up and core enterprise services**
- **Ask PIAB to:**
 - **Arrange for Council Staff to run seminars about the enterprise assistance and funding**
 - **Facilitate ethnic specific community action and remove competition between communities**

- ❑ **Ma'unga faingamalie kiha ngaue 'ihe kaha'u'.**
- ❑ **Fokotu'u pea fakapa'anga ha polokalama fakalalakaka fakatonga, ta'u 5, 'o palani ke lele loloa pea taumu'a ke:**
 - Fokotu'u ha palani kihe koloa 'hu mai' (import) moe kau ngaahi koloa' kenau hu' mai 'ae koloa fakafonua mo fakaonopooni mei Tonga.
 - Fokotu'u ha ma'u'anga koloa fakafonua 'i Nu'usilani (to' pe kumi e kau ngaahi koloa)
 - Fokotu'u ha polokalama ke fakatolonga 'ae 'ilo fakafonua 'ae tangata moe fefine Tonga.
 - Fokotu'u ha 'ofisi ngaue kene fakahoko 'ae ngaahi sevesi hange' koe fakamaketi pe' koe kupesi teuteu meihe ta' 'ihe kalafi'.
 - Fokotu'u ha fa'u tohi, moe hiva ke ngaue'aki he ngaahi 'apiako 'i N.Z. mo Tonga.
 - Fokotu'u ha palani pisinisi kiha polokalama fakalalakaka 'ae komiuniti' moe fokotu'u ha Kolo fakatonga ke tokoni'i 'ae kakai kenau ako kihe fakalele pisinisi 'o fakatatau kihe mahu'inga fakapolinisia' hange' koe faka'apa'apa, faifatongia, fetokoni'aki moe manava ofa.
 - Fekumi kihao ngaahi manako 'iha koloa fakafonua 'ihe maketi iiki 'e 3: nofo 'Okalani, kau folau ki Tonga moe kau 'a'ahi mei Tonga.
- ❑ **Kole kihe PBT kenau:**
 - Fa'u ha tohi fakahinohino fekau'aki moe lao moe founa ngaue 'a e MAF.
 - Feinga'i ha tokoni fakapa'anga meihe MPIA ke kamata 'aki ha pisinisi 'a e kakai mei he 'Otu motu.
- ❑ **Kole kihe PIAB kenau alea moe kau ngaue 'ae Council ke fakalele ha ngaahi ako fekau'aki moe kumi tokoni fakapa'anga ke tokoni'i ha pisinisi.**

B. Tonga - Edited Voice

Tonga

'E 'Otua 'oe 'ofa moe kelesi. Ko koe 'ae fauniteni 'o 'emau mo'ui
'I ho'o maama temau sio ai kiha maama ...'Emeni.

*'God of love and Grace. You are the fountain of our life.
In thy light we will see light..Amen'*

Gifted to introduce Tonga, by Mr. Malakia O'fano'a
Tongan Community, Ranui, Auckland

Representatives of the Waitakere Tongan Community met the research team at two Cultural Enterprise focus groups and two Community Affirmation sessions. The initial sessions, one for the women (June 27, 2005) and a second for the men (June 28, 2005) illustrated to researchers that unique feature of Tonga's society and allowed an insight into those different perspectives. Accordingly, the original summation of the sessions was prepared as separate documents, one for the men, the other the voice of the women. Community Affirmation of these discussions occurred in an extended discussion at a pre-school centre, but there the community chose to address both commentaries as a single unit rather than separately. That session was preceded by a presentation to the wider community at the Ranui Tongan Church. The WMS Team was able to provide bilingual facilitation, note taking, transcription and reporting for every phase of the Tongan community work. Summaries of the market studies and Community Enterprise meetings were produced bilingually and addressed in both languages by participants. This allowed for effective communication and understanding of the results by a wide range of community members. Approximately 40 people were present in the Church and more than 17 people attended (children, teenagers, young adults, parents with young babies and elders) at the childcare centre. Fourteen people attended the cultural enterprise sessions. Thus in total, we had had made contact with at least 70 members of the Tongan community throughout the process. The information presented below combines the thoughts expressed at all four discussions and separates the men's from the women's voices throughout.

Unique Tonga: Our point of difference

The uniqueness of Tonga is underpinned first and foremost by our way of life, our values and hierarchy:

'Culture means the language first, then arts and craft, then dancing, then our way of life that is Tongan. There are differences that are Tongan that are part of our way of life for example, reciprocity, respect, compassion and relationships. We are not able to display these. These things are unique as they are the underlying purpose of Tongan culture' (M1 Tonga)

'Tongan cultural values such as respect, responsibility, reciprocity and compassion' (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

These values and social hierarchies are expressed through stories, dance and song:

'*Tune* and *haka* - tells a story by movements of hands, facial expressions and tone of song. Feelings and emotions are linked to the words of the song' (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

'When we hear a song you know the story. Storytelling is really important' (older M3 Tonga) 28/06/05

'We consider our songs like love songs, unique' (older M3 Tonga) 28/06/05.

'Tongan dances are unique -different types such as *lakalaka*, *ma'ulu'ulu*, *tau'olunga* etc. Performance unique to occasions. Songs and type of dance are also specific to Island and village groups too' (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

'Songs, dance as well, the way dance is composed it's different for each group. The dance and the actions, the hands and eyes are linked together. The feelings and emotions you have when you dance. The story told is very deep. We are the song. The song is the dancer. Some *Palangi* learn it but can never know or express that depth' (M1 Tonga) 28/06/05

The women said, our unique values and hierarchies are expressed in physical and intangible form through stories, design, patterns and handicrafts:

'Tongan designs are unique as they tell a story or relay the identity of who you are, your status in the society and where you're from' (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

'Designs and types varies with occasions as well as status' (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

'*Tapa (ngatu)* is specifically for Tongans -is important because of the value of *tapa* to the Tongan culture - a form of wealth, basis for security especially for occasions such as funerals, marriages, celebrations etc' (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

'Tongan mats are also uniquely Tongans - similar to *tapa* - it's a valuable asset to own as a form of wealth and security too' (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

'Tongan word *pule* is used when referring to the style and design of a mat and the word *kupesi* when referred to style and design of a *tapa*' (Women, Tonga) 25/05/06

'Tongan handicrafts - style and design with use of traditional resources and Tongan language written on it' (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

The men said that our uniqueness is inherent in the structure of society, expressed in traditions specific to women and to men:

'Tongan culture means traditional food, handicrafts, arts, songs and dance and costumes, language' (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05.

'Dress code – implied in occasions, status and significance of participation' (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

'Pattern and design are uniquely Tongan' (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

'Our *tapa* is nearly as long as the rocky shore, really long' (older M3 Tonga)

'Crafts as specific to women (*tapa*, mats etc) and so as for men (ropes, tie ropes, carving the canoe, designs etc) (M1 Tonga) 28/06/05

'The tattoo, like the patterns on the *tapa* is different. Between Tonga and New Zealand too. It takes half a year's work for twenty women to make the big ones. Done by hand or manual work (older M4 Tonga)

'Most are handmade too and from local/traditional materials' (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

Preserve Tongan culture

Next the discussion moved to asking which of these things must remain within the Tongan community and not be shared with others. And on the other hand, are there things which can be shared outside the community, and in what form?

The women said:

‘Women cannot share their very fine mats with others except in very special occasions. Tongan *koloa* (mats, tapa etc) are kept as a form of security so cannot be shared’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Our stories are very important and we want these to be passed down to our own people in particular of our culture, so the generations will keep these alive and important with special meaning to the way we lived then and what we have now – our legacy’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

‘Professionals are reluctant to share knowledge of traditional arts and crafts’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

The men said:

‘We can't share hierarchy of our society. Languages are unique to the King and to Nobles and so as to Commoners’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

‘We can't share *tapa* and mats that are specific to royalties and *hou'eiki*. Knowledge can be shared through the generations but not outside of Tongan - hence must be kept within the community’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

‘We can share unique and valuable traditional resources only with family and relatives’ (Men, Tonga) 25/05/06

However, we make compromises out of necessity because of where we live:

‘Right now my wife is preparing things for our daughter when she gets married that are special. Here in New Zealand though the *tapa* is not the true thing but is those that they can give away. The issue is the resources involved. Can't get the same things here. So they're not as true. Maybe we could use the shells that are different here in New Zealand too’ (M1 Tonga) 28/06/05

‘The single action dance is a song slow dance. Very meaningful. *Lakalaka* is a longstanding dance. The same length as the big *tapa* but we don't do it here in New Zealand. We will only do it here if there is a *katoanga* (festival) (M1, Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Tongan medicine to help cure Tongans, used to get them freely from Tonga but now, import has been restricted by New Zealand Customs and Quarantine. Can the government allow us not only to import the Tongan medicine but also allow us to grow the plants here?’ (F1, Tonga) 25/05/06

We share our dances, songs and crafts outside the Tongan community, but with two conditions: that they look different from the authentic treasures and traditional materials are not used. The women said:

‘We can share smaller types of *tapa* and mats -handcrafted for sale to tourist’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

‘We can also share *tapa* made from western materials - not traditional - both amongst the Tongans and Pacific communities and also with those outside’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

‘The *tapa* made from paper in New Zealand is not authentic and therefore women have been using that kind of *tapa* nowadays for sharing’ (Women, Tonga) 25/05/06

Tonga - the men said:

‘We cannot share the huge *tapa* - *launima* but can make smaller size one to meet the need of the market’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

The women expressed concerns about the impact of commercialism:

‘Commercialism leads to loss of identity. The labels, designs and style changes as value of dollar overtakes what we want to preserve as our own, as being unique to our culture’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

‘We want to share our culture to everyone. We want to show more of our arts (craft and dancing) is well as our foods and songs. However the way in which everyone learns our culture and reproduces it in the future is very important.’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

The discussion facilitator noted that the group members understood the various processes required to create cultural artefacts, also the impact that external influences made to their artefacts e.g. the ‘cheaper Asian look-a-likes’ and careful articulation of processes of creating *tapa*, dancing, storytelling and succession is close to their hearts (Wichman-To’u, 2005e).

Earn income from Tongan cultural resources:

The Tongan community are actively engaged in plans for income earning strategies. Many of the focus group members used business terminology to explain where they needed support. However, they are open to suggestions of improving areas of weakness within the Tongan culture that they had experienced personally – such as giving profits away in an in-kind or cash manner (Wichman-To’u, 2005f).

The men talked about business:

‘Most of Tongan culture is in a form of oral tradition - these stories can be preserved and can make instant income from if it can be collated into a book and publish and sale’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Tell it. Put it in books, make an income’ (older M4 Tonga)

‘Dancing costumes can be made and sell’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Smaller size table mats can be made and sell too’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Make smaller size items of our *tapa* to meet market demands’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

But access to traditional materials and cultural knowledge from the Islands limits our ability to earn income, yet we improvise with what is at hand. The women said:

‘Access to traditional resource - can we grow them here? Can we bring it over from the Islands? We do not know’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

The men said:

‘Resources is the big one. What is uniquely ours is easy. They are the traditional things. If we sell at home in Tonga we can just make another one but here we can’t. The supply of goods is not easy here. If and when we do but I to bring here it is hard to bring it in. MAF and immigration make it hard. We don’t know what we need to know it in order to bring it in easily’ (M1 Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Here in New Zealand we don’t have the [real] resources. But we can improvise. We can make *tapa* from cloth and clothes paint that we use in the islands and then paint with a black. We can still sell it, it looks like *tapa* but its not the real *tapa*. Sell the small mats. May be in New Zealand there are some similar plants like *harakeke* (M1 Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Allow supply of resource from the Islands to come through to New Zealand easily’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

Also, while we know what to do, we lack key capacities needed to implement business strategies. The women said:

‘Marketing hold us back - may be we market to the wrong people. We should target our own people first’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

‘Need to target tourists, as well as our own people’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

‘Access to internet as a means of promotion and marketing - very little advertising done’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

‘Need improvement in the quality of the product to meet the needs of customers (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

‘We must improve design, size and quantity to be able to meet the demand of the market too - but do we have the resources available?’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

The men said:

‘Auckland is the largest city with the highest Polynesian population in the world - good starting point to marketing Tongan products’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Need to work in partnership with the right people’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Men should be taught and trained to become music composers, song writers. There should be provision in the programme which would educate and train men to carry out these trades’ (Men, Tonga) 25/05/06

‘Even with the songs. Many of our old people are composers but are not able to put the notes into the songs. They cannot be recorded, are not written down’ (M1 Tonga) 28/06/05

Yet there are several ways in which we could be supported and enable us to make advances. The women said:

‘Need financial resources’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

‘To have a physical location - known as the Tongan market (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

The men said:

‘We still beg for a Tongan *fale* and village. A small Tongan setup, a centre where all Tongans from West and North [Auckland] can come together, based on our way of life which is quite unique. We can have people sitting down, settled, drinking kava. Cooking food, weaving mats, teaching our young people, make Pentecost, *tapa* making, all of the things’ (M1 Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Need to start from a physical location, a Tonga Village, where we can be identified - as a place for us to start from - can demonstrate *kava* ceremony, ‘*umu* and traditional weaving and *tapa* making too (value in dollars spent on a project like this will be appreciated when customers realised the time, commitment and skills required to creating the finished product)’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

‘A place to trial something out’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

‘We do need support for the running of a centre, for the management’ (older M4 Tonga)

Community support for enterprise

Our cultural community is cohesive and strong but our lifestyle differs markedly from mainstream European values. The women said:

'[New Zealand] Officials lack of knowledge in relation to hierarchy procedures. This is because they do not take the time to learn how we communicate about our procedures and special protocols amongst our people' (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

The men said:

'Different values system than *Palangi*, we have a tendency to share' (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

'But we know what to do to make our community work. For instance the sister in the family is the most important. The brother does not get close to her. If she get's married the sister can take anything. These are our values. We live by those values. There would be no complaining or arguments. We admire the life in Tonga' (older M3 Tonga) 28/06/05

'We have a respect for hierarchy. Integrity is strong. Respect is strong. You find this in our society' (older M3 Tonga) 28/06/05

The links within our community both in New Zealand and Tonga could be improved.

The women said:

'Need a New Zealand to Island network - for communities in New Zealand to link with own communities back in the Islands -some kind of agreed exchange scheme. This will ensure access of resource and availability too. A good encouragement for people back in the Island to see value in ensuring stock of resource are available too' (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

'Tongans from the Island to come over to New Zealand - able to sell their products here in New Zealand' (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

The men said:

'Also need good links back home. If we had a good market here then we will need to have good links back home for the quality resource. (M1 Tonga) 28/06/05

'That would benefit us at home too and here as well' (older M3 Tonga) 28/06/05

'How do we keep the resources going through the networks? If the New Zealand government would open the doors we could bring it in here. We could just grow heaps in the Islands and then bring it over' (M1 Tonga) 28/06/05.

But the MAF systems hinder our enterprise development progress:

'Need support from MAF Quarantine and Customs to ensure access to natural and cultural resources from the Islands' (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

'Lack of knowledge of MAF processes and procedures and changes that are made to them hinders our access to resource from the Islands. It detracts from options and the variety of art we can produce and display' (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

Tonga - BothPacific and business people?

The women said, we are unsure about the right approach to business but eager to start:

'Yes we definitely can be Pacific and business people! The women are very positive and all agreed - although is hard to think of and identify the right approach' (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

'Yes, with support. If we have the support to back up our activities (ways to buy into our Pacific community)' (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

‘A big problem that holds us back is resources (there’d be a big demand). Need a place to start, traditional materials and partnership with the right people’ (Women, Tonga) 27/05/05

Information from and access to governmental procedures would assist us. The women said:

‘Yes with access to different kind of things - government, small business practices, licenses etc. to allow us to sell and buy’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

‘Legal requirements, rules and regulations. We want to know what is allowed and not allowed to cross borders’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

‘[Waitakere City] Council have Pacific staff. They should be given the task to find out and support Pacific businesses’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

‘Network - Pac Business Trusts, MPIA etc.’ (Women, Tonga) 27/06/05

The men said:

‘Communication - government roles and regulations - there should be a process in place as to better inform the people’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

We would like to develop a unique brand identity for Tongan cultural products. The women said:

‘Market shifts too are conflicting with what is ours. Our own people in Tonga are creating cheaper alternatives by allowing in the Chinese Mats. That is what is now sent to us as the genuine Tongan mat. They don’t even know. It is sent here as a substitute for the real thing to us’ (F1, Tonga) 28/06/05

The men said:

‘We need to keep things quality materials under a label that are still traditional and this will help distinguish between our products and give them unique identity and others (cheaper alternatives that Asian shops sell for example) already on the market’ (Men, Tonga) 27/05/05

‘Quality is very important. We want people to know what we do. What is quality? Ownership should remain with the Tongan people to say what should and what should not be shared’ (older M4 Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Setting up a business here is different here in New Zealand is different to how it would be done back at home’ (Men, Tonga) 27/05/05

The men said that Tongan values may not compatible with Western business practice:

‘Tongans are not business minded people hence need support in running business’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Tongan way of life hinders our desire to run business due to the defined roles and responsibilities of individuals in the Tonga society - Aunty (*mehikitanga*) versus Uncle (*fa'e tangata*), etc’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Tonga people – have the big heart - can easily give for nothing’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

‘We need to give people a reason to hold on to their things and not give them away’ (older M3 Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Need to change our value system -win-win situation - can hold on to our cultures but need to think like *Palangi* too’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

[‘But if don’t give to your community then they stay away from you. The issue is how to balance thinking *Palangi* and being cultural. One way is to not deal with money yourself. Put the *Palangi* in the shops to make the sales. You can still be Pacific but give the skill to somebody else who already knows’ (F1, Cook Island) 28/06/05]

‘We must learn to say no - create offset strategy - identifying our weaknesses and addressing them - can employ a *Palangi* as cashier’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

‘We could help bring in customers by having *Palangi* working with us at the tills (they handle the money and be the cashiers) and our Pacific people explaining tradition and cultural background of products. This would help us feel more comfortable in a business environment. Ensure their people are involved in the process and approved. (Although we would still be concerned about how we as individuals would be perceived by our community for selling traditional products)’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

‘But how can we work that together? They [the community] come to see you as the teacher, the giving end, the safe cultural side. If you put the *Palangi* at the door with the money, does it make any difference? You are dealing with a non Pacific market anyway. You still need business training. It’s very important’ (older M3 Tonga) 28/06/05

The men said that we want to work out ways to combine Pacific and business values in the New Zealand context:

‘Can we be both Pacific and business? Yes. Tongan people give away their things but it’s about time we empower them through building capacity to become business minded as well’ (M1 Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Look to the future. Tongan people are not from a business background. We need a business facilitator to teach us how to do business. It is very different here than running a business in Tonga. Here the market for Tongan goods is weak’ (older M3, Tonga) 28/05/06

‘Being in business here, there are so many things now that we need to change. Many things that small companies need to know – but how to do it all? So how can we have Pacific business values that are successful?’ (M1 Tonga) 28/06/05

‘If you don’t think like a *Palangi* here in New Zealand you are not successful. We don’t come from a business background’ (older M4 Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Somebody has to mastermind it. Don’t just teach people for six months then let them go. So often if you bring in a facilitator you create success but when he goes away it’s so easy to go back to giving all away again’ (older M3 Tonga) 28/06/05

‘It’s very important to have business training. Pacific Business Trust needs to do a lot of training for us’ (M1 Tonga) 28/06/05

‘But we need a very special type of training that holds onto Pacific values and adds business’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

The men want to advance enterprise development:

‘We should just try something out ourselves here. We know there is a culture centre back home but most people have not seen it. Start to exercise both the right brain and the left. Start something here, because the resources [from Tonga] are just not available’ (M1 Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Work smarter, that’s best for business. Good for business to improvise. We should have our own Tongan market, an attractive place for tourists to come to. People will hate it if it’s not special - they hate the mass produced stuff’ (M1 Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Allow community development projects to happen that links to a bigger central place’ (Men, Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Need to wait, plan, it takes time to prepare. It will be hard for us to hang on to our culture when we want to share it. There is a special force here’ (older M3 Tonga) 28/06/05

And the men are prepared to work together with other Pacific groups to achieve a critical mass, if we are supported with strength at the core:

‘We [as Pacific and as Tongans] are all small groups. We could work independently and then we all feed into the centre. Each one develop their own community project. Corbans can be the hub, where all the training takes place. Have a strong body at the centre. As long as each group is reliable and trustworthy and delivers what they promise then it will work. We need both security and the money’ (M1 Tonga) 28/06/05

‘As long as there’s a place Tongans can go where everything is available’ (M1 Tonga) 28/06/05

‘Just like Victoria market’ (older M4 Tonga) 28/06/05

Tonga - Pathways to Action

The Tongan community has a long-term view (5 year) for cultural resource development that extends throughout the Tongan diaspora from New Zealand to Tonga and elsewhere. This view starts with development of an import strategy with Tongan suppliers to bring traditional and contemporary raw materials and finished goods from Tonga, or to find or create source traditional materials here in New Zealand (grow paper mulberry locally, find local suppliers). Next, a programme to preserve the cultural knowledge of both Tongan men and women, record the oral histories and songs, etc and teach them to Tongan youth. Provide a central hub of professional services such as marketing, graphic design, etc to serve all Tongans interested in enterprise development. Develop book, music and song proposals for publication and use in schools both here in New Zealand and for Tonga. Create a concept, feasibility study and business plan for all community development projects and for the development of a central Tongan Village whose purpose is to help people to learn business operations within cultural values such as respect, responsibility, reciprocity and compassion. Explore interest in cultural product for three niche markets: Auckland residents, frequent travellers to the Islands (especially to Tonga) and visiting friends and relatives (from and to Tonga). Work out the best approach to develop business from and with our culture, but at the same time, make sure our people are happy with our plan and that we have their approval. Actions specific to this community were noted as:

Ask PBT to: develop an information sheet re. MAF rules, regulations and processes, obtain seed funding from MPIA for ethnic-specific business start-up and for core enterprise services at a central Tongan Village.

In summary, the Tongan entrepreneurs and community look first to values that define the Tongan Way of life such as, reciprocity, respect, compassion and relationships and to the cultural hierarchies. These are expressed through stories, dance, design patterns and handicrafts and the structure of society. Sharing of culture with others outside the cultural structures with others (from other parts of society or with non-Tongan) can happen if the items are made to look different from the authentic treasures and traditional materials are not used.

The Tongan community is actively engaged in planning community and economic development projects, are open to innovation and improvise with local materials because of limitations on imported materials from Tonga. However, they note that basic capacities were lacking in their communities to implement business strategies, yet use language that indicates depth of education, familiarity with business processes and ways to make improvements. The group appears confident, self-assured and politicised, aware of cultural change and able to articulate changes likely for the future. Yet there are barriers to effective cultural enterprise such as confidence in the steps to take, closer relationships with Tonga, import restrictions and legislative regulations and funding.

These discussions with this group of entrepreneurs and their communities identified 8 issues specific to the cultural (Tongan and mainstream) and enterprise environments in which they live, contextually in terms of culture (Tonga, Ranui Church community), time (2005/2006) and place (Waitakere):

Preserve the Tongan Way in New Zealand: at present values, identity and distinct hierarchies of Tongan society are well defined amongst other Pacific cultures. But there is concern that traditions are being lost, appropriated, and youth are losing their culture in New Zealand.

Make reproductions to protect the treasures: miniaturise and reproduce the original in traditional materials or make authentic designs in non-traditional materials. Items for sale must look, sound and feel different from the original.

Commercialism (highlighted by the women): commercialism is a threat to culture but an opportunity to earn income. Active control and management of knowledge is essential to ensure quality standards and retention of cultural meaning. The Tongan community is innovative but pragmatic.

Lack of knowledge of business processes: want to learn how to improve designs to appeal to new markets here in New Zealand, western business and management practices and markets.


Supply of cultural resources: further, there is concern about the capacity of the local Tongan community and the communities in the Islands to be able to provide sufficient quantities of supply of raw materials and finished cultural goods. But the biggest limit to supply and creation of cultural products locally are the barrier of border controls and bio-security restrictions on the import of seed, raw materials or created product from the Islands – this limits both the variety and options for art that can be produced.

Iconic centre for culture and business: A cultural centre should be built dedicated to preserving and maintaining the Tongan way of life in New Zealand as well as to be a place for business. Smaller community centres would supply products, people and cultural skills, gather to speak the Tongan language, try out new ideas in a safe environment, authorised and commented on by elders. Tongan Cultural Village is for the Tongan community but other cultures would be welcomed as paying customers appreciate the craftsmanship of Tongan cultural arts. Mentor/manager is needed to develop and operate the Village and its embryonic businesses. The village would have both social and commercial goals, cultural activities, teach western life skills and mentor business development helping to hold onto Tongan cultural values and adding western values alongside. Business should be separate from spiritual life.

Cultural networks include the Islands: local cultural networks are essential but direct links to Tonga are needed to exchange expertise, obtain traditional resources (materials, food, and knowledge), and ensure a supply of authentic high quality products. Government agencies such as MPIA, local government, NGOs like PBT and WPB can facilitate licensing, observation of rules and regulations, and border controls.

Integrate Pacific values and business practice (highlighted by the men): Tongan values make the Tongan community confident and cohesive. New Zealand officials do not know protocols. Business in New Zealand is very different to business in Tonga, hierarchies hinder business in New Zealand and we lack confidence. But despite this, the community wants to begin cultural enterprise and seek solutions that make sense in both worlds to be able to proceed and survive as migrants in the New Zealand context.

<p>How do we earn income.....right now?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❑ Older women <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ I don't have a full time job, am not working. I use my own time at home to weave/ to make baskets. That's what I do best ■ I tell my friends about it. They buy if they want to. This is how my business operates. ■ For me, money is not important. My business is not really a money making venture ❑ Younger women <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Have a main job for income. Culture is part-time extra business ■ Our current jobs are very time consuming and trying to get involved in another job/project would be too hard 	<p>What holds us back?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❑ Customers <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ We make handicrafts, not consumer goods. ■ Tourists go through Fiji. Understand what Fiji looks like, but people don't know Tuvalu. ❑ Financial backing, funds <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ How to access funding to establish business. ■ Not aware that PBT is there to offer some support. Can get assistance to start business. Mentors available to stay alongside. Have to be a NZ citizen. ❑ Confidence <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ We undervalue our products. ■ Are not competitive in our approach. ■ Not much background or experience of setting up a business. ■ Fear of failure. ■ Need to find out what support mechanisms there are behind us. ❑ Community Values <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Earning money does not fit with our cultural life. Other commitments like 21sts, funerals, church etc for our money and our time. ❑ Competition <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Threat to Pi distinctiveness if mass produced. ❑ Education / workshops for us <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Some people don't think Tuvalu goods are saleable. ■ How to be smart. ■ Time to market. How to respond to competition. ■ How to price our products. We are too giving, want to make affordable for our own people. ■ Not just how to start, but how to succeed in business. ■ How find out how to attract markets. Find out what they want. ■ How to display and market goods, in order to get customers.
<p>What would help us?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❑ Get Corbans going! <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Space there for all communities, able to do their own thing in their own culture, run their own space. That place will only work when we can get the people in. But it is a good start. ❑ Council support <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Council staff person provides contacts, networks, advertises for Mamas. Works well, our group is very popular 	<p style="text-align: right;">3.</p>

 <p>Which networks support us?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❑ Family <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Rely on family for support and encouragement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❑ Help us find networks for advice, sales, etc ❑ Depend on my children and their expertise. They keep you on the ground ❑ If they don't know, they reach out to the other cousins. ■ We all go to our children for business and our elders for culture ❑ Church <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Need to keep strong relationships with the church ■ 80% of Tuvalu community belong to the Church ❑ Community Organisations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Look to community organisations to foster networks that can help Pi business ■ To foster business education and networks ❑ Waitakere City Council <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Mamas have the advantage of Council staff person to provide contacts and networks ❑ Outside the community? <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Many Tuvaluan community members not aware of networks that can help with business <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❑ Need to be told and kept up to date with who are the key people to go to. ■ Advice from existing business owners 	<p>What holds us back?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❑ We don't know about other networks <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Which ones can help us? Where to get funds? ■ Who will tell us? Keep us up to date? ❑ PBT <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Is ready to help, but Tuvalu people are not taking advantage of services ❑ PIAB <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Not quite ready yet to help small businesses ■ Trying very hard ■ Recent signing of MOU with WCC means more resources for long-term so can move to achieve goals for economic development ❑ Family attitudes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ Don't have time to start something new, keep doing what we know <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❑ Afraid to begin ❑ Our own hardships make us fearful ❑ May bring shame to family if do not succeed ■ Conflicts between family and cultural commitments <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❑ Family think you have plenty (because in business) don't realise you are struggling to make ends meet ❑ Ask for free. Don't like to say you have to pay ❑ Community attitudes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ■ 9 islands. Each one is different. Potential conflict because cannot sell another island's crafts. ■ We have big dreams but little support for business within our community ■ A business mindset is not valued - "Not acting like a Pi if you are business person" ■ Most people go into business for reasons other than culture
<p style="text-align: right;">4</p>	

Can we be both.... Pacific and business people?

□ We can be business people...

- If we are clever enough
- If are kept informed
- Have workshops to learn
- Supporting networks available to our community are well advertised

□ How can we be both?

- So used to giving away for free or for very little and to then start charging for this?
- This is not the way our people think and do things in general.
- How will others from our community respond and judge us if we do consider it?



□ What will help us?

- Can "giving away" be part of business?
- Need leadership training and business skills
- Need a place for businesses to be located
- Want knowledge about whether a product is good enough for sale or not. Can it be produced in a way to make a profit?

Our vision for the future...

□ Provide leadership in our own community

- Assess balance of how to be in business and give money to others (family, church)
- Map the business and cultural resources and expertise in our own community
- Educate ourselves
 - About the business environment
 - How to survive in business

□ Need a place for business to happen

- A place for each cultural community
- Run our own space ourselves
- The dream that was shown in the slide in the beginning to have a big market is ideal. We need a building and a cultural center which is open to all, tourists etc. everyday, all year round

5.

Key Issues for the Tuvalu Community

■ Preserving Cultural Knowledge

- Elders can be active producers, but need financial support
- Younger people little time for culture/business because of jobs, etc
- Global warming in the Islands means that all Tuvalu cultures will be vulnerable in the future

■ Relationships

- Family first
- Community organisations
- Outside networks not well known
- Church strong focus for non-business

■ Being Unique

- Guard traditions within families
- Make sure are being passed on to younger generations
- Each of the islands is unique. Cannot share the knowledge or sell the culture of another island.

■ Being in Business

- Have a main job for income, culture is part-time extra business
- Support organizations like PBT & PIAB should do better
- Need advice
- Build confidence



PIAB and WMS Research Team

Pathways to Future Action

□ Tuvalu Community organisation develop a five-year strategy:

■ To build business confidence

- Make a plan to pass on the **Creating Pacific Enterprise and Cultural Resources** market research and focus group results to all Tuvalu in Auckland, and NZ
- Educate Tuvalu community (families, young people) about different kinds of business (not for market, not for profit and commercial), the business environment and how to survive; about markets, product design and display, etc
- Develop a partnership plan with PBT and PIAB that aims to build business confidence



To preserve culture

- Map community cultural resources and skills
- Write an outline for a project to help pass on knowledge in each Island community. Find funding.
- Develop a plan to bring elders and to preserve culture in New Zealand.

□ Ask PBT for:

■ Information resources

- Produce a brochure on key people - how they can help Tuvalu
- Seek mentors from Tuvalu people already in business to come to community meetings

■ Workshops

- In partnership with the Tuvalu Community Organisation - bring in advisors on business capacity building and how to keep going in business

□ Ask PIAB to:

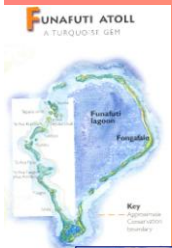
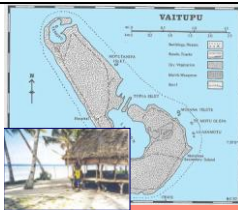
■ Find experts and do research on:

- How 'giving away' can be part of Pacific business
- How to balance business and cultural responsibilities (family, community, church, financial contributions)



■ In partnership with Tuvalu, run seminars on:

- How to use the **Creating Pacific Enterprise and Cultural Resources** research
- Funding sources for enterprise assistance and cultural preservation
- All community support networks (WCC and others)
- MOU with PIAB & WCC; Progress on Corbans – how will these both help Tuvalu?



Talofa, Malo e lelei, Kia Orana, Ni sa bula vinaka, Fakaalofa lahi atu,
Maui, Talofa lava, la Orana, Talofa koutou, Taloha ni.

**Fakafetai
Thankyou**



B. Tuvalu - Edited Voice

Tuvalu

'Tuvalu toku atufenua, e gali koe ite vasa
Tau amio alofa, ko toku fou tiale
Au e se sologa e, ma fano mao mai ia koe
Tuku iei au tia pele, Tuvalu fakavavau'.

'Tuvalu my country, you're exquisite across the ocean
Your caring demeanour, is my *tiale* garland
Oh how homesick I am, when I am far from you
Leave your dearest behind, Tuvalu is forever'

Gifted to introduce Tuvalu, by Mr Elia Tavita
Tuvalu Society, Waitekere, Auckland

Each of the Tuvaluan community sessions were represented by the eight islands, standing together. Representatives of each of the eight islands met the research team in the Cultural Enterprise discussion groups, in June 2005. The Community Affirmation took place in March 2006. Three non-Pacific researchers attended the evening, facilitated by the Tuvaluan Ethnic Representative for WPB. The discussion, stimulated by the summary of their earlier enterprise focus meetings was enthusiastic. Corrections to information errors were made and the scope of issues broadened. But unfortunately our lack of knowledge of the community and of Tuvalu prevented identification of representatives specific to each of the Tuvalu Island communities. In the second session, we met 12 people, men and women, whose ages ranged from early twenties upwards to sixty. Most were bilingual but often a side discussion would take place in Tuvaluan and then translated for the researchers. We obtained consent to disseminate the results. In total, we had heard from 20 members of this community, five of whom had attended both meetings and others are spouses of people who had attended the earlier session. Thus the research was extended further into the Tuvaluan community.

Unique Tuvalu: Our point of difference

We are confident that Tuvalu is unique amongst other Pacific peoples:

'Pasifika. is very good this year. Tuvalu my own group dancing. Was very well received. My first time. It was a lot of work. They really liked what we did. Lots of people came to watch us and we know this because they left when we finished. No problem with the rubbish this year (M1, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'At the festival last weekend we felt very proud about it because where the stage we were, there is big crowds you know sitting around watching, then the other people came on after and the people started dispersing. Mind you, our performance we are very colourful. We

are different. You know. I don't think many people saw that, they just came for the hour or so and are just going by' (M1, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'Colour is our tradition. There are like traditional skirts, colours in our skirts too' (F3 older, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'Fiji traditional arts is jumping up and down with spears, people are war, make coups. We advertise to tourists our culture. I always comment on that we emphasise our *puli* the costume for dancing. We don't like this white Tahiti skirt, this long skirt shaken vigorously, it looks kind of different among the Pacific island things. That's what I always hear people say, like that fella there say, oh, colourful, colourful Tuvalu' (M4, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

Yes, that's a good thing. I believe we really can make something well different, colourful. We can set up shop somewhere with our different things, like clothes and market that as traditional cultural and crafts and foods. Show songs, dances' (M1, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

Yet we are still Pacific:

'We do things The Pacific Way - laidback, relaxed, friendly' (F3 older, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'Around the Pacific you can distinguish differences even though they all do mats. You can see differences that are distinct' (F2 older) 27/06/05

The specific resources made in and by Tuvalu that are unique but are not for market:

'We have some things which are gifted during the weddings (F2 older) 28/06/05

'Tuvaluan necklace, 'Kasoa' must not be sold because it is especially made for the chiefs. Only the chiefs can wear it, and it is not given as a gift either. It is meant for the chiefs only. Together with the necklace, we have the crown as well, the '*Palei*' made out of shells and other traditional materials. The designs signify important things.... there is significance to the design. This is also meant for the chiefs' (F2 older, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'I will translate the list of goods that never should be sold for the other people here to get suggestions to add to the list' (M1, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'Here we've got Papa, he said what should never be sold – in the picture it's not a fine mat that is mentioned, it is a '*pa-kasoa*' a necklace made of pearl shell. Different islands have '*pa-kasoa*' as a different shell, other islands have this. This one should not be allowed to sell. It is ceremonial like the tambour. It's not a fine mat. The '*pa-kasoa*' is never sold. All Tuvaluans know that' (M1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

'What should take the place of that special fine mat [in the notes] is a skirt worn around the shoulders, looks like a grass skirt. But not for parliamentarians' (F5 older, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'*Takai* is worn as a waist thing. The tapa for it is made by beating the plain bark of a tree (M2 older, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'It's woven. Not colourful just a plain white. Woven for heads of families for particular Celebration Days. (F4 older, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'A type of wrap around. The knowledge of how to make it comes from the families themselves. Only elders, women have that knowledge. It's like pandanus. All the men wear these. Top half is a woven mat. Halfway down the strips are hanging down loose. They look almost like the Tongans' (F6 younger, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'A deep unique thing is only given to chiefs. They are never given out here in New Zealand. There also are others that are only worn on special occasions. Never sold. (M1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

'Parliamentarians is new to us. We have made a new kind for the parliamentarians. Although the tradition is to make them for chiefs (F5 older, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'The '*Tabua*' whale tooth should not be sold.' (M1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

But there are things unique to Tuvalu that can be used in business:

‘Hat, sitting mats are made for sale (M6 older, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

‘Model outrigger canoes, bags, baskets, fans’ (F4, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

‘More traditional materials sell. Tourists prefer the fans made with traditional material. Some buy those made with feathers but causes problems for them to take back into their country. Some people make the raffia ones but they don’t sell well. Artificial materials used in the shops do not sell well in the islands. The visitors do not buy’ (F4 younger, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

‘Other things that do sell are fishing equipment, bloke stuff. Anything to do with fishing can sell. Have you been to the islands? On Tuvalu there is a craft shop that is run by the women. You find fishing things there and also some coconut climbing things for climbing up a tree called *teke* A piece of wood, shaped wood, you use it to climb. Brooms. Also the de-husking stick. They sell them here too’ (F4 younger, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

‘Would Coconut syrup sell well? As a health product?’ (M2 older, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

Preserve Tuvalu culture

We preserve Tuvaluan culture by keeping the knowledge secret within our families:

‘We hardly show people (share the techniques). We normally keep it a secret. We don’t teach other people the way, or art of doing things. We keep the knowledge to ourselves, we share only with our children’ (F2 older) 28/06/05

‘We give gifts, but we never reveal the tactics. We pass it to our children but not to strangers. For example each family has the traditional colour, red, black and yellow. We have a special way of doing it, especial tactics. If other people try to make it, it’s not the same, because we use different things and styles to make it. We protect it by not giving or sharing it completely. We don’t share the knowledge’ (F2 older) 28/06/05

[Lots Tuvalu conversation] F4 Older Woman, M3 Older man, F4 Older Woman ‘What they have said: in Tuvalu because it’s a small community so don’t want to pass it on to other cultures or to other families – e.g., the art of fishing. Nobody wants to spread the knowledge. For example they would keep it secret. If I would be a skilful fisherman, catch a lot of fish, someone ask me where do you catch them and where do you learn that from, I would tell them the story but not the whole story. Keep some things to myself. There are some skills they will keep it there very close, to their children and the knowledge pass on through the family’ (M1, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

We are worried about the appropriation of our knowledge for commercial gain:

‘Yes the Chinese people are already doing it. The Pasifika items are sold in the \$2 stores now. They can figure out the techniques and mass-produce it. They don’t know the background and significance. How can we preserve it, people will copy it as they please. It is very hard to preserve, the only way to preserve it is, by not selling our products (F2 older) 28/06/05

New Zealand born Tuvaluan have lost cultural knowledge

‘Most of my life has been away from Tuvalu so I don’t know what is special and should not be shared’ (F1) 27/06/05

Earn Income from Tuvalu cultural resources

We do not earn a great deal from cultural resources:

‘It is mainly handicrafts that we do. It is not consumer stuff. That holds us back.’ (M1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

Older members of the community have more time to make cultural product:

'I don't have a full time job, am not working. I use my own time at home to weave/ to make baskets. I tell my friends, my networks if they want to buy. And this is how the business operates. I am old, can't do any other work, I use my free time to do weaving, that's what I do best. It will be good to see the younger generation build a business using the cultural resources' (F2 older, Tuvalu) 28/06/05

'For my weaving group, we have a Coordinator, who works for the Council and she provides the contacts and the networks. Our group is also popular in Waitakere area so it helps as well. Plus our family and friends help us as well' (F2 older, Tuvalu) 28/06/05

Perhaps it is easier for young people to be in business:

'It is easier for her (referring to another woman), a young and educated person. I give away my stuff. I am not focused with a business mind. For me, my business is not really the money making venture. Age is an issue with me with regards to my approach to the business' (F2, Tuvalu) 28/06/05

Young people now see culture as a part-time endeavour:

'Have a main job for income. Culture is part-time extra business. Our current jobs are very time consuming and trying to get involved in another job/project would be too hard' (F6 younger, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

There are barriers to earning income, such as the knowledge of Tuvalu:

'Earning income depends on your customers. You can't make money without customers. Tourists go through Fiji. They understand what Fiji looks like. Samoa and Fiji are on the tourist routes so that's why people know, but Tuvalu people don't know Tuvalu' (M1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

'There are a lot of people here who are ignorant – they know a lot about Fiji but nothing about Tuvalu, the Europeans, the Pakehas, even some Maoris they don't know us. I saw this Maori man (hahaha) he's as black as I am so he should know' (M1, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

There is a view within the community that Tuvalu culture has little value in the marketplace:

'But Tuvalu things are not marketable. My perception is that Tuvalu is not marketable. I don't believe people would want to buy. Nor do I want to have to make so many that it would be worthwhile selling them. I don't want to have a surplus that is not sold, I would want to make just enough. But who would want to buy a Tuvalu fan? I make them so easily, but who want them?' (F1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

A change in mindset may need to occur within the Tuvalu community for cultural enterprise to begin:

'Make more attractive to customers by display it, market it. Get the customers' (M1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

'Need to educate our people about how to promote our goods. Change the mindset that Tuvalu is not marketable' (M1, Tuvalu) 22/03/05

'There are some beautiful model outrigger canoes out there for sale. But they have not ever been marketed. No one knows about them. We need to have a dedicated place to show them, explain them and show why they are important to us' (M1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

'In terms of purchases - at the festival there is something that I saw - we have a shop. The canoe is sitting there for \$40 or 60 for so long that I took the price off. But at the festival is sold for \$150, quite a substantial sum. The small canoe is Kiribati design. I is wondering if that 80/20 thing (survey said 80% knew nothing about Pacific, but 20% do) would that push

up the price on special occasions like that? Can the price be boosted on special occasions for these items? Most fascinated by that' (M1, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

It seems too that only Pacific people buy Pacific goods:

'My mother she works in the Corbans. Tuvalu is popular there. But it seems to me that only the Tuvaluan buy the Tuvaluan things and the prices are not high' (M3, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

Perhaps there are incompatibilities between enterprise and cultural values:

'Earning money does not fit with our cultural life. Lots of other commitments like 21sts, funerals, church etc for our money and our time' (F1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

Tuvalu- Community support for enterprise

First and foremost it is our families that should help us in business:

'I make a lunch. I invite my family. I say (to them) this is what I am doing. I depend on my children and the expertise that they each have. My family is very honest with me. If they don't know, they reach out to the other cousins. They keep you on the ground' (F2 older, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

'We go to family first. Just more comfortable with my family. If I have connections, they will have another connections and so on . We all go to our children for business and our elders for culture' (M1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

'I always go to my parents for a culture thing' (F1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

And we need support from the Church and community as well:

'Need to keep strong relationships with the church. 80% of Tuvalu community belong to the Church' (M1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

'Look to community organisations to foster networks that can help Pacific business, foster business education and networks' (M1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

We are held back by not knowing which networks can actually help:

'Many Tuvaluan community members not aware of networks that can help with business. Need to be told and kept up to date with who are the key people to go to. Get advice from existing business owners' (M1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

'We don't think our people are approaching PBT. If they did they would get help. WPB is trying very hard but not quite ready yet to help. Partnership with the Council now – more effort being made to help Pacific Island communities. (M1, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

Tuvalu - Both... Pacific and business people?

We can be successful in business:

'Many people support business in Tuvalu, especially the women. We have a National Council of Women. Make hand crafts and sell at the airport. Not looked down upon. I have reservations, these comments sound rather strong to me' (F4 younger, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'...if we are clever enough' (F2 older, Tuvalu) 28/06/05

But the attitude of our families and ourselves can make business viability difficult:

'Attitudes in our family don't help. Don't have time to start something new so we keep doing what we know. Afraid to begin. Our own hardships make us fearful. May bring shame to family if do not succeed' (M5, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'In business no is no. I have a brother he thinks no is yes. He keeps ringing me. I say no so he rings up my son. No is no. Some say you are not acting like a Pacific if you are business person' (F1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

'A family member when they come is told this is business you have to pay for it. Personally they ask for free. But is you say it is a business then they do understand' (M1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

Cultural and business attitudes are not necessarily compatible:

'People go into business for other reasons and not for culture. (M1, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'So used to giving away for free or for very little, so how then can we start charging for this? This is not the way our people think and do things in general. How will others from our community respond and judge us if we do consider it?' (F4 younger, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'We lack confidence. Undervalue our products. Are not competitive in our approach. Not much background or experience of setting up a business. Fear of failure. We need to find out what support mechanisms there are behind us' (F4 younger, Tuvalu) 22/03/05

Lack of capital:

'It can be very difficult. There is a lack of help (through incompetence) from PBT. That holds you back. Other peoples have more dollars to start with. We always start with nothing. If you compare us to the Chinese, it is very different. They always have more resources, better network, and better customer base' (M1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

But there are several ways to increase our capabilities:

'[Tuvaluan conversation - translated] One way is running workshops, how to start business. How to get support. Mentors and build confidence to run our own businesses. How to access funding. Help them access funding. How to establish their businesses. How to anticipate the ups and downs. Not many of us aware that can get assistance (dollars) from PBT and get support while struggling to start businesses and get it running. But you have to be a New Zealand citizen for them to help you. The mentor, I don't know for how long' (F4, younger, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'We don't think Tuvaluan goods are saleable. We think that the kind of mass produced goods in the Warehouse are the kind that should be sold – need to be educated to the possibility of promoting our own goods' (M1, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

Solutions for development of business might be:

'Find ways for 'giving away' to be part of business. Need leadership training and business skills. Want knowledge about whether a product is good enough for sale or not. Can it be produced in a way to make a profit?' (F4 younger, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'A percentage of products can be given away or discounted, build it into business accounts – builds up goodwill – can put a financial value on goodwill. But thinking of taxation, what the IRD would think of it. May be some problems' (M1, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'How do we deal with Chinese competition? By being smart' (M6 older, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'Would be helpful to do an investigation as to how this could be achieved - by accountants - perhaps at the University' (M1, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'Provide leadership in our own community. Assess the balance of how to be in business and give money to others (family, church). Map the business and cultural resources and expertise in our own community' (M1, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'Get Corbans going. Make sure that there is space in there for all communities, able to do their own thing in their own culture, run their own space. That place will only work when

we can get the people in (from the community and the market). But it is a good start' (M2 older, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

Need a focal point to gather together for business development:

'The Church cannot be as an umbrella to allow people to talk about business. That is a 'no no' in our culture. It is separate. We separate those activities. That is why we have Boards and community groups, they look after the business side. Using the Church as place to talk about business is morally wrong. That is the attitude' (M1, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'PISR (Pacific Island Resource Centre) market is really good. That is a good place. It worked well. (M1, Tuvalu) 27/06/05

'We have a dream to fulfil but we need a place for business' (F2, Tuvalu) 28/06/05

'In Tuvalu there are 9 islands. Each island has a unique culture. So if you set up in business to sell another island's things – would get told off. Need a place for each island and cultural community to run the space ourselves (M1, Tuvalu) 22/03/06

'The dream that is shown in the slide in the beginning to have a big market is ideal. We need a building and a cultural centre which is open to all, tourists etc. everyday, all year round' (F3, Tuvalu) 22/03/05

Tuvalu - Pathways to Action

Actions proposed by the Tuvaluan community are focussed on a two-pronged strategy to build business confidence and preserve culture.

In order to business confidence: pass on all of the WMS market research and community results to all Tuvaluan people in Auckland and New Zealand, educate the Tuvalu community about the different kinds of business (not for market, not for profit and commercial) as well as the western business environment and how to survive in it, about markets, product design and display, etc. and develop a partnership plan with PBT and WPB around building business confidence for Tuvalu.

To preserve culture, map community cultural resources and skills: Write a project outline for strategies to pass on cultural knowledge in each Island community such as bringing elders to New Zealand. Obtain funding to implement it. In summary, Tuvalu's entrepreneurs and community confident are of their distinctiveness and are becoming more confident about their place as innovators and within the Auckland urban Pacific environment. Knowledge is passed down through the families. Quite knowledgeable about business and what is saleable too whom. There is a willingness to learn new things and to take part in the wider community of New Zealand yet at the same time caution about going too far and losing touch with family, culture, and values. Have had the bad experience of an appropriated innovation and so are more cautious. There should be clear separation between church and business

In general terms, the discussions with the Tuvalu entrepreneurs and their communities revealed six issues specific to the cultural and enterprise contexts in which they live and operate their businesses. However, these are context dependent,

on culture (Tuvalu), time (2005/2006) and place (Waitakere). These are summarised below:

Preserve cultural knowledge: At present Tuvaluan traditions are safeguarded within families specific to each island of Tuvalu and not passed on to other Tuvaluan families or outside the wider community. However, the Tuvalu community should ensure that knowledge is passed on to younger generations. There was already evidence that New Zealand-born Tuvaluan youth is losing awareness of what is precious to their culture. Each Tuvaluan Island is culturally distinct and in the light of rising sea levels and the consequent out-migration of all people from Tuvalu, it is conceivable that Tuvaluan culture may be lost within two generations. Thus, transmission of cultural knowledge within the small numbers of people in New Zealand becomes more critical. Another concern was that the attractive Tuvaluan crafts were copied, the designs appropriated and mass-produced in large numbers offshore for sale in discount stores, devaluing Tuvaluan culture. So, some felt that the only way to preserve the culture was not to share or sell with anyone outside the community and family, but this is probably impractical without registering a patent

Uniqueness of Tuvalu: Tuvalu was confident of cultural uniqueness amongst other Pacific cultures because of the use of many bright contrasting colours in traditional costumes, arts and crafts. Other cultures use mainly natural colours for traditional items and artificial dyes for modern items such as cloth, etc. Tuvaluan dance, music and performance styles too are very distinctive amongst the mainly Polynesian communities in Auckland. These could be the basis of an enterprise niche. Items that might be available include hats, sitting mats, model outrigger canoes, bags, baskets, fans, fishing equipment, coconut tree climbers, coconut de-husking sticks and brooms. Many treasures were not for market however.

Incompatibility of business and culture: there were tensions between family cultural obligations and business practices. Tuvaluan people looked first to their families for support and understanding, but there was a gulf in understanding business practice and cultural expectations of reciprocity. For some there was an attitude that if you are in business then you are not 'Pacific', and if your custom was give something away, how then can you start to charge for it? Nevertheless, some did understand the challenges of being in business.

Difficult to earn income: the elders in the Tuvaluan community were active producers of cultural products but they distribute to their networks or at Corbans and do not make money. Perhaps New Zealand born younger people trained in business could work cooperatively with the elders to operate sales outlets and research market preferences. Yet younger people found the challenge of establishing enterprise daunting because of the competing demands for their time and resources such as jobs,

church, school costs, etc. Cultural activities had become part time and ancillary - 'we keep doing what we know because we have no time to start something new'. The Pacific community is not wealthy, sources of funds are scarce and people should look outside the community for assistance. When sales did take place, often they were to other Pacific people and the prices were low. However, high quality crafts reached much larger amounts in the themed context of Pasifika.

Community-based solutions: in the home islands of Tuvalu, many people supported enterprise and ran businesses, especially the women, but here in New Zealand that confidence has slipped away and there is a fear of failure.

Mobilise community networks: The Tuvalu community thought that perhaps they could show leadership amongst Pacific communities and run workshops about where to get business advice and funds, how to acquire market intelligence, how to design for market appeal, or how to produce goods profitably. Tuvalu could map the expertise in its community, seek mentors for enterprise-ready people, helping them to learn, start and keep going. It could find a focal point where the communities can meet, come together and work out on its own how to mobilise the family and cultural networks of business-skilled children and cousins, elders with strong cultural knowledge, supported by community boards and organisations.

WPB and PBT should be able to help but they have limited capacity to be effective. Further, Tuvalu could set up a project to work out ways to incorporate 'giving away' into the balance sheet as goodwill or in the annual budget as discounts or free-of-charge items, perhaps with accountants at Waikato University. The Corbans Cultural Centre may provide a workable solution as a focal point for cultural enterprise, but the mechanics of how it is to function are unresolved.

Appendix 6 Community discussion introduction

Community Meetings

Creating Pacific Enterprise from Cultural Resources

*Kia Orana, Ni sa bula vinaka, Fakaalofa lahi atu,
Talofa lava, Malo e lelei, la Orana, Talofa koutou, Taloha ni.*

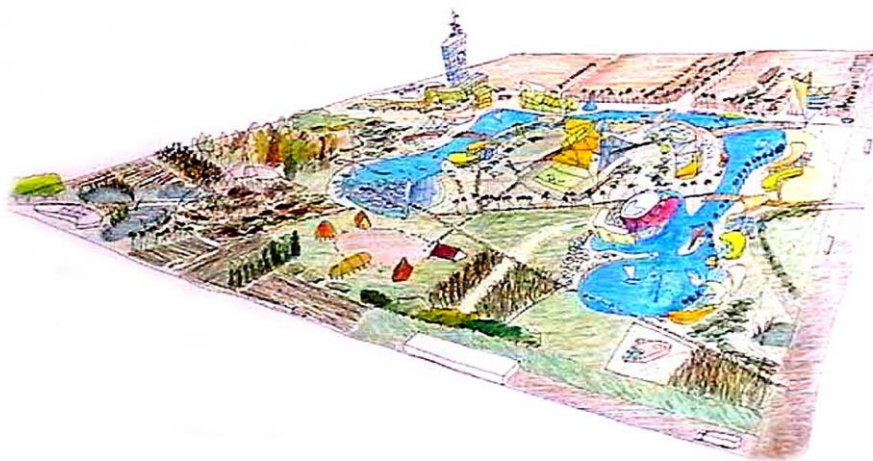


**WMS and PIAB Research Collaboration,
Focus groups, October 2005**

Waikato Management School
Te Raupapa



Vision:
PACIFIC ISLAND BUSINESS & CULTURAL CENTRE, Waitakere



How do we get from here....

Attracting local residents.....
Market stalls



... to here?

...attracting international & national tourists

Tourism Attractions

Tjapukai



Pacific ownership

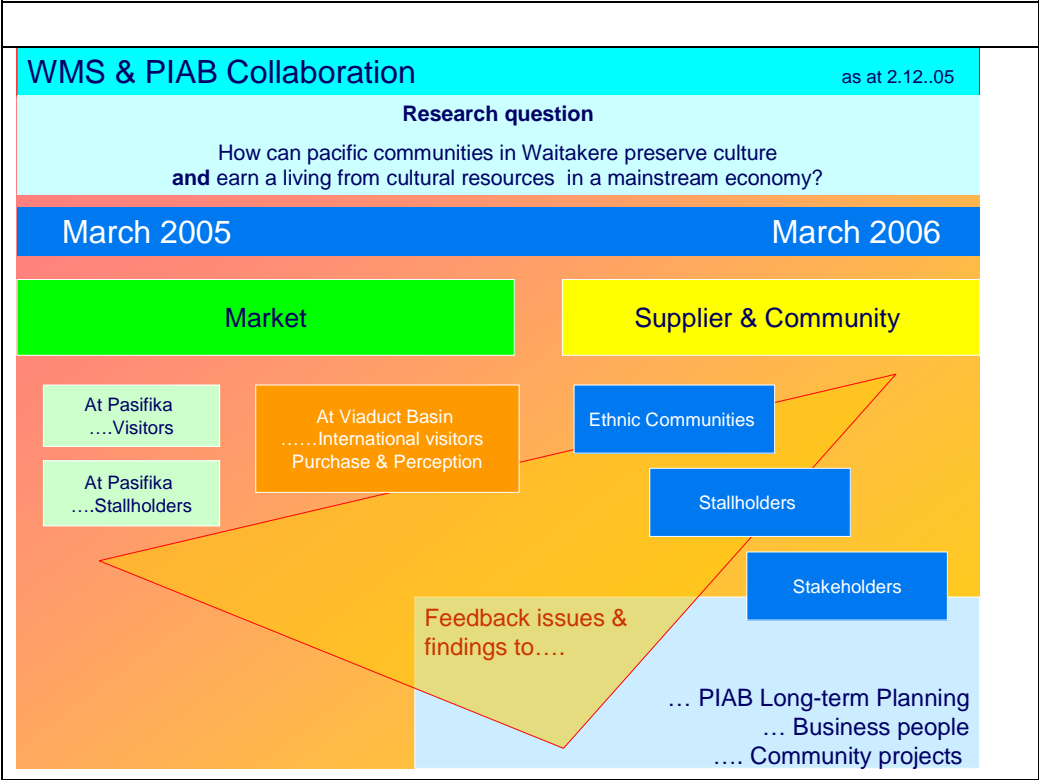
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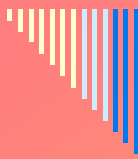


Retail









Results: Pasifika Festival March 12, 2005

- Visitor purchase and perceptions of cultural product

23 January 2009

PIAB and WMS Research Team



Results: Pasifika Festival Visitors Survey March 12, 2005

Purchase and perceptions
of cultural product





Pasifika Festival, March 12, 2005



Pasifika Festival, March 12, 2005



Pasifika Festival, March 12, 2005



Pasifika Festival, March 12, 2005

How do we preserve what is uniquely ours
and earn a living from our culture
 in a mainstream economy?

Key questions

- **How do we protect what is uniquely ours?**
 - What should we share? Not share?
- **How do we earn income...right now?**
 - What helps us? What holds us back?
- **Which networks support us?**
 - What helps us? What holds us back?
- **Can we be both.... Pacific and business people?**
 - Does anything hold us back?
 - What should be done in the future? How can PIAB help the best?

Appendix 8

Pasifika Stallholders' Observation Guide



Village _____
 Stall # _____
 Name of stall _____
 Expert Interviewer name _____

Introduce Self. Can I speak to the person responsible for this stall please?

I am from Waikato University (or) the Pacific Island Advisory Board. I am doing research in conjunction with the Pacific Island Advisory Board (or) Waikato University. We are working together to look at ways that Pacific peoples can preserve the special nature of Pacific Island culture and at the same time, run businesses (based on traditional products) that are competitive in the mainstream economy.

This survey is to assist with planning future cultural activities for the Pacific Island community as well as part of doctoral research in Tourism Management. If you have any questions about the research, or would like additional information, please contact either Jenny Cave, or Professor Chris Ryan (Supervisor) at Tourism Management, Waikato University on 07 858-5087. We are asking stallholders if they would be interested in taking part in some meetings that the Waikato University is going to do about how to develop Pacific Island products and businesses?

Would you be interested in taking part in one of these? They are likely to happen in May/June.

Yes _____ No _____

If no, could you tell me why you might not be interested? _____

If yes ? Could you please write your details below? The Waikato University will only use this personal data for contact purposes. It will be kept confidential, destroyed after 6 months and will not be used for commercial purposes.

Trading name at Festival
 (Company /group /family at stall) _____
 Contact Name _____
 Address _____
 Phone number (home) _____ (MOBILE) _____

- Type of company/group (at stall)
- a. entrepreneur,
 - b. family - fundraising,
 - c. family - in business,
 - d. private owner
 - e. family earning extra income,
 - f. enterprise-ready
 - g. church group

Stall set up by (organiser / group)if not the same as above _____
Do you mind if I look at what you have here at the stall and make a few notes about it?
Can I take a photo of you and your stall, with someone you know? Photo # _____
Would you like to have a copy? _____

Expert Observations of Stalls

Product categories
Produce (fresh or dried)
Craft
Artwork
Furniture
Clothing
Foodstuffs (jars, tins, sealed bags)
Other, please specify _____

Traditional materials used? Examples?
Traditional processes used? Examples?
Traditional products used? Examples?

Any new ideas?

Traditional materials used in new ways? Examples?
Traditional processes used in new ways? Examples?
Traditional products used in new ways? Examples?

Who is at the stall?

a. running the stall:
People _____
Age: mostly Under 19yrs __19 to 35 yrs__ 36 to 45__46 to 65__Over 65 __
Gender: mostly Male / Female)
Ethnicity: mostly NZ European / NZ Pacific Islander/ NZ Maori/ NZ Asian/ Other__

b. customer profile:
People _____
Age: mostly Under 19yrs __19 to 35 yrs__ 36 to 45__46 to 65__Over 65 __
Gender: mostly Male / Female)
Ethnicity: mostly NZ European / NZ Pacific Islander/ NZ Maori/ NZ Asian/ Other__

c. Stall set up by:
Business Owner/operator
Family business
Community, church group. Name _____
Advocacy Group. Name? _____
Other, please specify _____

Appendix 9

Pasifika Festival Attendee Interview Guide



Survey No. _____

Interviewer _____

Time of day _____

Survey of Pasifika attendees

Hello, My name is I am a student at Waikato University in Hamilton.

I am doing a survey for the University of Waikato and the Pacific Island advisory Board about the appeal of Pacific Island arts and crafts products to Hamilton residents. This survey is part of my degree in Tourism Management as well as to assist in planning future cultural activities for the Pacific Island community.

If you have any questions about the research, or would like additional information, please contact my supervisor, Jenny Cave of the Tourism Management Department, at the University on 07 858-5087.

Also, if you are interested in taking part in this interview, your name will go into a draw for a \$ 200 Westfield Mall shopping voucher.

It is likely to take 10 minutes of your time. Please be assured that your answers will remain confidential and that no information is collected that can identify you. Also, you can stop the interview at any time. Would you like to continue? [Note, if they say no here, then go to the demographic information section, and offer for them to go into the prize draw anyway]

- How long have you been at the Pasifika Festival today?
- Why did you come to the Pasifika Festival?
- How did you spend the day so far? What did you do, see or perhaps hear?
- Did anyone in your group spend money today at the Pasifika Festival? Do you remember what was bought? Roughly how much was spent?
- Are you able to say what appealed to you about those things that were bought?
- Amongst your group, who makes the suggestions about what to buy, and who actually spends the money?
- Would you call the items that you have bought as “genuinely traditional” to Pacific Island cultures? Why do you think that they are “genuinely traditional”
- Is there a difference, do you think, between something that is called “traditional”, and something that is “not traditional”. What do these two phrases describe for you? Can you think of, or show me some examples here today? Prompts: How about art or craft (like weaving)? or perhaps produce (like foods, or vegetables)? or entertainment (like dance performance)

- Sometimes you see things at other places that you think are better than you have seen today. Can you think of other places where you might have seen things of more appeal? If so, why were they better?
- Is there one particular stall here that you have seen that you think is of really high quality? Can you describe it for me? Why do you think it was of high quality?
- What were some of the really good experiences that you had here today at the festival?
- Were there any experiences that were not quite so good?
- What would be the stand out things that you would recommend for your friends to see?
- If you were to rate your experience of today on a scale of 1-10, how might you recommend the festival to your friends?
- Are there any other comments that you might like to make?

We are just about finished, could I ask you some information about yourself? [Card]

- Age Group
Under 19yrs _____ 19 to 35 yrs _____ 36 to 45 _____
46 to 65 yrs _____ Over 65 _____
- Ethnicity
NZ European / NZ Pacific Islander/ NZ Maori/ NZ Asian/ Other _____
- Did you come on your own, or with others? How many?
- Residence
Auckland (North Shore, Auckland, Waitakere, Manukau)
NZ Visitor (town where live)
Overseas visitor (country from)
- Male/ Female

Finally, would you be interested in taking part in a focus group or mail-back survey in April or May about Pacific Island arts and crafts?

- Yes _____ No _____

Would you like your name to go into a prize draw for \$200?

- Contact Details

Name _____

Address _____

Phone number (home) _____ (MOBILE) _____

Thank you for your help today. You will be contacted in 14 days if you have won the prize.

Appendix 10

Tourist and Residents Questionnaire

Purchase and perception of pacific cultural products

Hello, My name is I am a student at Waikato University in Hamilton. I am doing a survey about the purchase of Pacific Island products. This survey is part of my degree in Tourism Management at the Waikato University and will assist the Pacific Island Advisory Board to plan its future community activities. If you have any questions about the research, or would like more information, please contact my supervisor, Jenny Cave of the Tourism Management Department, at the University on 07 858-5087.

It is likely to take 10 minutes of your time. Please be assured that your answers will remain confidential and that no information is collected that can identify you. Also, you can stop the interview at any time. Would you like to continue?

SECTION ONE

The first section is about purchasing Pacific Island products:

Many of the people living in New Zealanders come from island nations in the Pacific. Can you think of three short phrases to describe a “distinctive Pacific Island” style of design that would represent any of these cultures?

If you were the person in charge of creating 3 “distinctive Pacific Island” items to either develop into a business or offer for sale, what do you think you might make? And why?

E.g Household item, food, clothing, boat, a building, a game, an event, an attraction?

In the last 12 months, have you spent money on any Pacific Island style products either here in New Zealand or in the Islands?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, when and where was that?

If no, go to Q 4.

a. What did you buy? b. How much do you think you spent?

	\$0	< 10	11- 20	21-40	41-60	61+	DK
Personal decoration e.g. jewelry							
Everyday items e.g. carry-bags							
Pacific Island foods							
Non-pacific island foods							
Pacific Island drinks							
Non-Pacific Island drinks							
Modern clothing of pacific island design							
Traditional pacific island clothing							
Other Clothing e.g. T-shirt, bathing suit							
Children's Toys							
Furniture							
Household furnishings, e.g. curtains, bed-linen							
Attend a sports game							
Sporting goods							
Music CD or instrument							
Attend a dance or cultural performance							
Produce grown in the islands - coconut, taro							
Decorative plants for my garden							
Art-work for display in my home							
Souvenirs							
A Ceremonial item							
Frozen food, like ice cream							
Parking							
Entry fee							
Accommodation							
Other, please specify							

Thinking now about buying 'distinctive Pacific Island' products, to what extent might the following reasons influence the decisions that you make?

Using a scale where 1 = not important 9 = very important 0 = don't know

Importance	Not	Very	DK							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
It reminds me of 'home'	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
If it is familiar to me. Hard to find in Auckland	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
Reminds me of the past (special people, a place)	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
To replace something I use everyday that was worn out	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
Something very old and part of my culture	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
Identifies me as part of my community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
Something used by others in my community	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
Unusual, but something that I use everyday	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
Something different, that expresses my individuality	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
Unfamiliar, but I know it is rare to purchase it	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
It is exotic, but authentic to a Pacific Island culture	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
Something exotic or different, I would put on my wall.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
Unusual item to add my collection from other cultures	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0

Importance	Not _____ Very									DK
The item was so cheap I couldn't resist	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
The item was good value for money	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
The item was expensive but I bought it anyway	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
I bought it as a gift for family or friend	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
I bought it because it interests friend /family member	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0
Other _____	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0

How might you know if arts and cultural items or performances are authentic to Pacific Island culture? Could you please say whether you agree or disagree with the following statements:

I believe an item is authentic ...	Strongly Disagree	Neutral			Strongly Agree	DK
On sale at a Pacific venue e.g. Pasifika Festival	1	2	3	4	5	0
Looks similar to the others on sale at a 'pacific' venue	1	2	3	4	5	0
Is made of natural materials	1	2	3	4	5	0
If it is only made of materials from Pacific Islands	1	2	3	4	5	0
Is made in the islands, not in NZ	1	2	3	4	5	0
Is made of modern-day materials	1	2	3	4	5	0
Is made by Island people living in NZ	1	2	3	4	5	0
Carries the official label of an island nation	1	2	3	4	5	0
Is sold by 'European-looking' people	1	2	3	4	5	0
Is sold by 'Island - looking' people	1	2	3	4	5	0
Sold by people in 'traditional' island clothes	1	2	3	4	5	0
Sold by people wearing 'modern' clothing	1	2	3	4	5	0
Island person tells you is traditional	1	2	3	4	5	0
Island person tells a story about use today	1	2	3	4	5	0
If someone tells you that it is from the Islands	1	2	3	4	5	0
It is handmade	1	2	3	4	5	0
If it is made in a factory	1	2	3	4	5	0
If it is old	1	2	3	4	5	0
If it is something not used today	1	2	3	4	5	0
If it costs a lot	1	2	3	4	5	0
Seen it before in Pacific venue or in the Islands	1	2	3	4	5	0
If it is treasured by Pacific Island people	1	2	3	4	5	0
Modern materials, but by Pacific people	1	2	3	4	5	0
Colour appropriate to 'pacific island' design	1	2	3	4	5	0
Distinctive 'pacific island' design or style	1	2	3	4	5	0
Sold to me by a friend or family member	1	2	3	4	5	0
If it is on sale in a boutique style mall	1	2	3	4	5	0
If it is something I have read about before	1	2	3	4	5	0
If it is of exceptionally high quality	1	2	3	4	5	0
If it is something made in a low quality way	1	2	3	4	5	0

Where do you think that one might be able obtain pacific products, crafts, or foods or find cultural activities in Auckland? Using a scale where 1 = Not likely, 3 = Maybe, 5 = Very likely, 0 = Don't Know

I can obtain Pacific Island arts, craft or foods...

	Not Likely	2	Maybe	3	4	Very Likely	5	DK
At the home of family or friends	1	2	3	4	5			0
At a church garage sale	1	2	3	4	5			0
At a community meeting	1	2	3	4	5			0
At an open-air market	1	2	3	4	5			0
Car-boot sale	1	2	3	4	5			0
At a bakery	1	2	3	4	5			0
In ethnic specialty shops	1	2	3	4	5			0
A cultural Festival	1	2	3	4	5			0
On an organized bus tour	1	2	3	4	5			0
At a tourist attraction	1	2	3	4	5			0
At a commercial theatre	1	2	3	4	5			0
At a shopping mall	1	2	3	4	5			0
At the supermarket	1	2	3	4	5			0
At local fruit/vegetable shop	1	2	3	4	5			0
At a corner shop	1	2	3	4	5			0
At a boutique-style store	1	2	3	4	5			0
At a museum	1	2	3	4	5			0
At an art gallery	1	2	3	4	5			0
At a tourist attraction	1	2	3	4	5			0

SECTION 3 This section asks you for some general information about yourself. We cannot identify you from these questions. Their purpose is only to understand the ways that different types of people answered the questions – for example, do younger people tend to have different views on a topic than older people? Please tick the space that refers to you.

- Are you Male _____ Female _____
- What is your age? Under 19 yrs _____ 19 to 35 yrs _____ 36 to 45 yrs _____
46 to 65 yrs _____ Over 65 yrs _____
- Have you ever traveled to the Pacific Islands? Yes _____ No _____
- If yes, how many times?
Never _____ Less than 3 times _____ 3-5times _____ 6-10 times _____
More than 10 _____
- Could you please tick with which cultural group you would identify?
NZ European _____ NZ Maori _____ NZ Asian _____
NZ-born Pacific Islander _____ Pacific Island-born Pacific Islander _____
Other? (Please name) _____
- Could you please indicate your annual HOUSEHOLD Income? _____
- Where do you live? Auckland City _____ North Shore City _____
Waitakere City _____ Manukau City _____
Other? (Please name) City _____ Country _____

Appendix 11

Pacific Brand and Style Attributes

Pacific brand was made up of three attributes – place, lifestyle and tourism. The attributes of Pacific style were suggested as ‘Simplicity, Flow and Natural’.

Attributes of Pacific ‘Place’

‘Place’ was made up of sub themes that seemed to be emotional responses to unspoiled environments, the raw materials drawn from nature for use in daily life, the building structures and products for sale, as well as to natural shapes, forms, patterns and colours that evoked the tropics.

Attributes of Pacific ‘Place’

Sub theme	Respondent descriptions
Tropical	<p>‘Hot weather, coconut trees. Full of atmosphere, singing, dancing’</p> <p>‘Tranquil, peaceful, beautiful scenery’</p> <p>‘Many different kinds of fish. Blue sky, blue water. Friendly people.’</p> <p>‘Sandy beaches, clear blue water, tropical lifestyle’</p>
Undeveloped	<p>‘A place where people grow agricultural crops. Quite undeveloped. Small and isolated area. Wild, beautiful, fresh’</p> <p>‘Natural, traditional way of living. At harmony - land, sea, animals’</p> <p>‘Small islands, very green, but very poor’</p> <p>‘Undeveloped, traditional, aboriginal’</p>
Colour contrasts	<p>‘I think of colour brown, I think the fuchsia flower, I think of sarongs’</p> <p>‘Pacific products have lots of flowers. Tropical themes, full of colour’</p> <p>‘Very bold colours. Crafts made from natural resources such as shells’</p> <p>‘Blues and greens. Flowing wave shapes. Leaf designs’</p> <p>‘Brown, cream and black patterns on art work. Marine life designs, beach landscapes’</p>
Natural Materials	<p>‘Woven from grass or flax, (e.g. bags). Ethnic designs printed on fabric. Local art and crafts carved in wood (e.g. a canoe)’</p> <p>‘Carved wood ornaments. Bright colours. Plant materials in the art’</p> <p>‘Colour, tapa, natural materials. Products are colourful and natural’</p> <p>‘Using nature's materials to build things. Creative art work’</p>

Attributes of Pacific ‘Lifestyle’

The ‘Lifestyle’ attribute was composed of the sub themes ‘tradition’, ‘personality’ and ‘look different’, ‘simple’ as well as ‘handmade’. Traditional cultural elements of design were also linked to ‘personality’ (friendly, laidback and links to dance, music and food). Personality and the different physical appearance of Pacific people also were thought to be key features of Island design. Lifestyle was also linked to a ‘handmade sub theme’. Thus ‘Lifestyle’ refers to life as lived in the past, preserved

and retained today, yet is ‘simple’ and undeveloped. Food and dance were almost always mentioned simultaneously.

Attributes of Pacific ‘Lifestyle’

Sub themes	Respondent descriptions
Tradition:	‘Traditional designs and customs. Authentic. Man made’ ‘Another world, timeless, authentic to their point of origin’ ‘Traditional designs and colours. Nature designs and natural materials. Authentic to each country’ ‘They are unique in their own way. Preserved well generation after generation. Islanders proud to show their culture well’
Unsophisticated	‘I think they are primitive, dynamic and passionate’ ‘I am not very interested in Pacific island's products, because I think their products are poor and low quality. They are not sophisticated and quite boring for me. Design is very simple’ ‘Primitive, like their dancing performances, fresh food and drink’
Personality	‘Natural material skirts, naked bodies, flower circle on heads’ ‘Bubbling with enthusiasm, unrestrained, with boundless joy’ ‘Lazy, fat, easygoing’ ‘They like to live together as one family, they don't care about saving money too much, They like to live in their culture or lifestyle as food, clothing, simple life’
Look different:	‘Welcoming, open people, special cultural things’ ‘Dark tanned skin, flowers and coral designs on clothing, larger roundness, big sizes’ ‘Feathers on their heads, pictures on their bodies, jewellery made of local island materials’ ‘Big, strong and relaxed’ ‘Beautiful ladies, healthy skin colour, kindness’

Attributes of Pacific ‘Tourism’

This perceptual attribute was composed of the sub themes ‘exotic’, ‘authentic’ and ‘purchase of handmade products’. As can be seen in and, ‘Tourism’ was conceptually inseparable from both ‘Lifestyle’ and ‘Place’.

The tourism sub themes were associated with descriptions of a relaxed, authentic, non commercial environment, supplemented by handmade products and multiple colours, but also with a perception of low quality goods. Such information tells us about the intangible images, sensory impressions, or emotions that might be linked to, or inextricably associated part of, a description of a Pacific Island style of design. Examples given by respondents might have been drawn from the context, place, time and space in which they actually experienced the Pacific Islands (met) Pacific Island people, or perhaps heard second-hand information retold by friends, relatives, the media or their own reading, etc, or even their imaginations. Useful to WPB and future entrepreneurs in understanding some of the factors in the wider population that might encourage or inhibit different groups of people to seek out Pacific Island products, decide to participate, buy and/or go back for more. Further, it provides information about the physical attributes of Pacific design (Table 16). Technical

terms used by the author were: ‘design’ meaning an idea as executed, the combination of elements in the finished work, an artistic device, a pattern (Oxford University, 2002). ‘Colour’ is self-explanatory, but ‘Form’ here means shape, arrangement of parts, the visual aspect, especially the shape or configuration of a thing. ‘Pattern’ means a (repeated) decorative design, a style or type of decoration. ‘Manufacture’ means an article or material produced by physical labour or machinery, and ‘Material’ means the matter of which a thing is or may be made (Oxford University, 2002).

Attributes of Pacific ‘Tourism’

Sub theme	Respondent descriptions
Authentic	<p>‘Authentic to culture, closely related to other cultures in area, hot’</p> <p>‘Traditional designs and colours. Nature designs and natural materials. Authentic to each country’</p> <p>‘I think Pacific island products are very colourful, their products are made by Pacific Islander people, so their products are native products’</p>
Handmade	<p>‘Many of Pacific island products such as wreaths have lots of flowers, but I also found that their products are not high quality. Some products such as clothes are rough and not well made’</p> <p>‘Souvenirs are made by hand, natural materials, old style’</p>
Relaxed	<p>‘Lying in the sun, laid-back, fun culture, pristine, untouched beaches’</p> <p>‘Basic, un-commercial, tranquil’</p> <p>‘Unknown, peaceful, mystic’</p> <p>‘Sailing and water activities, warm, sunny, beaches, exotic dancing’</p> <p>‘Another world, timeless, authentic to the point of origin’</p>
Exotic	<p>‘Different to my country's designs, ethnic, authenticity’</p> <p>‘Original, colourful, dynamic’</p> <p>‘Exotic, distinctive culture’</p> <p>‘There is something about their music, their clothing, and buildings - its all about the Islands’</p>

Information on these physical attributes allows an understanding of design elements believed by respondents to be identifiers of ‘Pacific Island style’. To some extent if they are present, then they are recognised by potential consumers as ‘Pacific’ although these physical attributes might represent stereotypical and inaccurate views.

Attributes of Pacific ‘style’

The intangible and tangible attributes of Pacific Island style can be summarised into three generic design principles for ‘Pacific Island style’. Such principles can be used by WPB or other Pacific entrepreneurs as tenets upon which to base activity, architectural, publicity materials, product design and organisational values for attractions, events and other tourism enterprises development, recognised by the respondents as features of ‘Pacific Product’. Respondents might have drawn examples from actual experiences in the Pacific Islands, or perhaps heard second-

hand information retold by friends, relatives, the media or their own reading, etc, or even their imaginations.

Simplicity: Means manufactured using simple techniques, in some cases perceived as low in quality. Respondents thought that Pacific Island products (seen, bought or gifted) were made by people who live an uncomplicated, almost childlike, way of life, unaffected by the complications of modern life, who live in a state of 'back to nature', un-sophisticated and perhaps naïve, in undeveloped economies, and who do not commercialise their lifestyle or tourism activities and souvenirs. Yet simplicity of line and form is also a very positive value that can mask sophisticated depths of thought, deft processes of manufacture and spirituality.

Flow: Means free-form, flowing, freely expressed emotions (such as welcome, friendship, anger, people who are themselves care-free and are not perceived as hard-working. Somewhat akin to the concept of flow described by Csikszentmihalyi (1990) but articulated as the experience of visitors on holiday, who relax on the beaches, watch the sunsets and swim under clear blue skies.

Natural: Refers to the features of nature: landscape, flora and fauna, seen in the designs of patterns on the products as well as in their shapes, to natural materials found on the Islands (leaves, shells, coconut, fishbone, wood), natural foods from clean, crystal clear unpolluted waters, gathered in the wild or cultivated in fresh open fields and presented fresh to visitors, referring too to products made and experienced in the Islands, not off shore, as well as to the close to nature lifestyle of the people and the natural attractions and scenic beauty of isolated lands.

Appendix 12

Enterprise Ideas

Enterprise Ideas	GENDER	AGE	ETHNICITY
Musical and dance concert. Beaded or shell accessories e.g. jewellery or belt. Flower patterned clothing	female	under19	NZ European
A coconut drink. Distinctively Pacifica, ceremonial meeting house for tourists to visit. Cultural heritage. Making Pacific Sport	male	19-25	NZ European
Book, movie, website. all to show their history	male	19-25	NZ European
Food, corned beef	male	19-25	NZ European
Sailing, it is exciting. Boat designs and models.	female	19-25	NZ European
Clothing, fashionable with a small single, easily recognisable symbol featured.	female	19-25	NZ European
Portable <i>umu</i> , good natural way of cooking	female	19-25	NZ European
Cooking vegetarian native food. tastings like they do for drinks	female	19-25	NZ European
Shirts, screen printed with tribal designs, photos and scenery of the Pacific, market with pacific style meals	female	19-25	NZ European
Coconut soap etc	female	19-25	NZ European
Household item, keep at home for memories.	female	19-25	NZ European
Jandals for beach weather. Hats, to keep out of the sun	female	19-25	NZ European
<i>Lavalavas</i> , make a game for primary school children	female	19-25	NZ European
Healthy food to reduce and care for their bodies, sports gym	male	19-25	NZ European
Concert, for all ages and all people - more business. Sell music/clothing/food	female	19-25	NZ European
Clothing: a Pacific style has not been developed yet. Artwork: the pacific islands have a distinctive style of art. Food: NZ hasn't been exposed to Pacific food yet for it to be popular	female	19-25	NZ European
Glass bottom kayaks	female	19-25	NZ European
Traditional wood sculptures. Dried and spicy fruits	female	19-25	NZ European
A seafood restaurant	male	26-35	NZ European
Stage show with pacific island singers and dancers and spread the word about the beautiful islands	female	26-35	NZ European
Make afro wigs (so white people blend in more). More coconut sales (not utilized). Sell machetes (for an ornament)	male	35- 46	NZ European
Carved boats. Clothing showing the flow of the waves in style and design. Music interlocking Pacific co-relationship of culture with wave and wind sounds	male	46-55	NZ European

Enterprise Ideas	GENDER	AGE	ETHNICITY
Scuba diving activity. An attraction about the underwater world. Clothing, traditional design or material to make it different	male	19-25	NZ Maori
Lavalavas could take off as a new fashion in summer time. A takeaway shop which just sells pacific island foods such as taro, raw fish etc. Island jewellery which is unique and affordable	male	19-25	NZ Maori
Kete, satchel, purse, jandals (clothing mostly) Polynesian clothing free and easy in style	male	19-25	NZ Maori
Perfume, an alcoholic beverage and cocktails	female	19-25	NZ Maori
3d picture, e.g. women with a big plastic flower behind her ear	female	19-25	NZ Maori
Three types of clothing, casual, formal and evening wear - all traditional	female	19-25	NZ Maori
Exhibition about boats. Provide medical facilities	male	19-25	NZ Maori
Traditional island dinners (etc) for takeaway and at restaurants.	male	19-25	NZ Maori
Drinks for tourists on the beaches	female	19-25	NZ Maori
Ceremony, dancing, crafts. Deck chairs for use on the beach	female	26-35	NZ Maori
Cultural event with art, food, performance, music, competitions etc. to get involved and more fun	male	26-35	NZ Maori
Water sports, good restaurant	male	26-35	NZ Maori
Sun cream, because sun is strong there	male	19-25	NZ Asia
Household item, decoration in the garden	male	19-25	NZ Asia
Food, island life is very attractive to people who live in big city. If you design some special Island food	male	19-25	NZ Asia
Set up a souvenir shop selling island craft	male	19-25	NZ Asia
Specific island style clothing. rugby game on PC	male	19-25	NZ Asia
Household item, everyone can use it. Jewellery, beautiful and both male and female will buy it	male	19-25	NZ Asia
Photography: pictures of the beaches, make them into cards and postcards	female	19-25	NZ Asia
Pacific island museum. Tattoo shop. Accessories shop for jewellery	female	19-25	NZ Asia
Boat, clothing, food is for basic necessities as well as for relaxing	female	19-25	NZ Asia
Coconut shampoo and soap. Pineapple wines. Mango punches or sparkling wine	female	19-25	NZ Asia
Cultural festival to show and sell cultural products with food, dance, stalls etc	male	26-35	NZ Asia
I would open a shop that sells distinctive Pacific island clothing in an area where there is a high population of pacific islanders	female	46-55	NZ Asia

Enterprise Ideas	GENDER	AGE	ETHNICITY
Boat, can be used by everyone, high visual impact	male	under19	NZ Pacific
Pacific Island furniture using PI motifs and patterns	female	under19	NZ Pacific
Food business. Sports people. Music, entertainment	male	19-25	NZ Pacific
Clothing sarongs. identities Islanders	female	19-25	NZ Pacific
Ethnic food stall or shop, Fiji-Indian food. Traditional jewellery	female	19-25	NZ Pacific
Handmade crafts, made of shells	female	19-25	NZ Pacific
Traditional cultural show, include music, dancing, food. Clothing, their own cultural presentation	female	under19	Island P
Traditional games, competitions, festivals	male	19-25	Island P
Cultural performance show different cultures	female	19-25	Island P
Buttons from coconut shells because coconuts are common in the islands. Other small coconut items. Use the rest of the coconut in some food. Herbal medicines is potent stuff with high demand.	Male	19-25	Island P
An attraction that encourages tourism to the Islands	male	19-25	Island P
Jewellery, (made out of coconut or sea shells), <i>pulevasi</i> (fashionable), a coconut husker or wringer to make homemade coconut milk/cream	female	19-25	Island P
PI attraction with tropical beaches, warm water, sand, fruit, etc. So that people can experience the Pacific Islands in NZ.	Male	26-35	Island P
Food because its so cheap, clothing, an event where can see all things once	male	under19	Europe
Health product, beauty product, up market food product, common exotic seafood, less common here. Pill form of <i>Taro</i> . Because it is good for you but tastes so bad. Drink such as <i>kava</i>	male	19-25	Europe
Clothes represent culture and country. Food if you are overseas increases your awareness of the people who live there. Niche market is jewellery, not extremely large market	female	19-25	Europe
Traditional building as a tourism attraction	male	19-25	Europe
Craft show to teach visitors about traditional methods.	male	26-35	Europe
An attraction for entertainment involving the Pacific lifestyle			
Cookbook of traditional recipes. Concert of Pacific island music. Book of scenic photography (souvenir book). they all remind me of the pacific islands and all the good things they have to offer	male	26-35	Europe
Boat, the reason they came to these islands. Music, Dancing, belongs to all cultures	female	36-45	Europe
Household item, food, clothing. Better for the buyer to be able to bring them back home, not expensive and have cultural value	male	46-55	Europe
Cookbook of traditional recipes. Concert of pacific island music. Book of scenic photography (souvenir book). they all remind me of the Pacific islands and all the good things they have to offer	male	26-35	Europe

Enterprise Ideas	GENDER	AGE	ETHNICITY
A piece of artwork. An authentic restaurant. a television program on the Pacific islands (to increase awareness)	female	36-45	Europe
Handmade furniture. Different coloured clothing. A boat with traditional fishing equipment	male	46-55	Europe
Easy open corned beef cans (so they don't have to use a knife), Dance/cultural centre (easy way to see great dances in one big show)	male	19-25	North America
Multi-cultural centred tourism, bottled <i>otai</i> stand, "do it yourself" <i>hangi</i> , instructional video	male	19-25	North America
I would like to make a tourism attraction such as a performance to show the special pacific island culture.	female	19-25	North America
Outdoor clothes, beauty products	female	19-25	North America
Authentic jewellery. bone, shells, beads etc	female	19-25	North America
Boat, for wakeboarding. Clothing, nobody back at home will have it. Event, bring in music groups	female	19-25	North America
Bright beach-themed pictures for decoration.	female	19-25	North America
A boating attraction is very Pacific. Health drink or anything promoting traditional fruit.	male	19-25	North America
24 hour sit down dinner	female	19-25	North America
Paragliding on the water, glass bottom boat	female	19-25	North America
Coconut perfumes, coconut oils, coconut soaps. Natural resources	female	19-25	North America
Pearl jewellery, good price. Swimsuits: sexy, pretty	male	26-35	North America
Flax carry bags. <i>Bures</i> or other Pacific island style homes. Recipes or cooking shows for pacific food	male	36-45	North America
A store selling island artist's works, including clothing, pictures, household items.	male	36-45	North America
Clothing like swimming things, sarongs, towels.	female	19-25	South America
Wooden items. Easy to export	male	26-35	South America
An attraction, such as a beautiful beach to relax. Scuba diving to explore underwater. A dance item with the traditional pacific island rhythmic beats	female	26-35	South America
Artwork: paintings of traditional landscapes, beaches etc. and sculptures, art made with natural materials	female	36-45	South America
Kava in a can because it would sell. Island style furniture	male	19-25	Australia
Clothing designs, youth especially students enjoy individual wearable items. Pacific island food retail outlet because everyone loves to eat food specific to a culture. Cultural arts because of colour, individuality etc.	female	19-25	Australia
Pacific island dance classes, shell necklaces, pacific designed picture frames.	Female	19-25	Australia
An attraction to attract more visitors to Auckland. Food is the basic of travel. Handicraft souvenirs	female	19-25	Australia

Enterprise Ideas	GENDER	AGE	ETHNICITY
Pictures made with sand and shells etc.	male	26-35	Australia
Woven mats: something different for modern homes. Pearl jewellery. Baskets are practical.	male	26-35	Australia
Dance show , does not cost much to set up	female	26-35	Australia
Tropical fruit. Traditional beautiful flower design clothing. Local Pacific events.	male	26-35	Australia
A game to differentiate one culture from another	female	26-35	Australia
Make a Pacific island food takeaway store because it would be good to add a new kind of takeaway food to the menu	male	36-45	Australia
Boat, organize game (rugby), some music	male	19-25	India
Jewellery and accessories (belt, ties, etc)	male	19-25	India
Household item like handmade photo frame. The specialty black pearl.	male	19-25	India
Gifts such as pearl necklaces	male	19-25	India
Hats (bamboo hats), t-shirt, cocktails (ready to drink)	male	19-25	India
A special light, an art work for my bedroom	female	under19	China
Household item, clothing. art works to display in my home or as a gift	male	19-25	China
Black pearl, jewellery. Unusual in the world	male	19-25	China
Clothing different from normal kiwi style.	female	19-25	China
Community activities.			
Local flower product (like similar products from Thailand) that are beautiful and attractive	female	19-25	China
Pearls, travel and seafood	female	19-25	China
Flowers. Boats, they like sailing. food	female	19-25	China
Natural attraction, an event, tropical fruit.	male	19-25	China
A kitchen item that the Pacific island people use to prepare their food.	female	26-35	Nth Asia
Clothing, because of the climate, I would create nice cool clothes. Beachside, enjoyable activity for visitor, Drink, because of hot place, many people would love to drink nice juice and alcohol	female	26-35	Nth Asia
Food because people like to eat something different. Clothing to show off to others. A household item that I can take anywhere	male	19-25	South East Asia
I would like to sell accommodation, because I think people who come to Pacific island need to find appropriate places to stay	female	19-25	South East Asia