

“Experience the real New Zealand - Maori culture as it is today”:

Representations of New Zealand and Maoris

in Maori tourism websites

Master’s thesis

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract <p>Matkailu on maailmanlaajuisesti merkittävä ja kasvava ala. Uudessa-Seelannissa matkailulla on ollut jo pitkään merkittävä vaikutus talouteen ja koko yhteiskuntaan. Maorit ovat Uuden-Seelannin alkuperäiskansa ja vähemmistökulttuuri, sillä heitä on noin 15 prosenttia maan väestöstä. Tähän vähemmistöasemaan liittyen onkin mielenkiintoista tutkia minkälaisia representaatioita he luovat itse omasta kulttuuristaan. Matkailuun liittyy vahvasti mielikuvien luominen, sillä useimmat kulttuureihin liittyvistä matkailutuotteista perustuvat elämysten tarjoamiseen konkreettisten tuotteiden sijaan. Nämä mielikuvat ja representaatiot ovatkin tutkielman keskiössä.</p> <p>Tämän tutkielman tavoitteena on selvittää, minkälaisia representaatioita Uudesta-Seelannista ja Maoreista luodaan Maori-matkailuyritysten Internet-sivuilla. Tätä aihetta lähestytään hyödyntäen diskurssianalyysia, korpuslingvistiikkaa sekä multimodaalisuutta aineiston tarkastelussa. Diskurssianalyysi on tutkimuksen teoreettisen viitekehyksen pohjana, johon liittyy sekä matkailudiskurssien että representaatioiden tarkastelu.</p> <p>Aineiston analyysin apuna ovat diskurssianalyysin lisäksi myös korpuslingvistiikka, joka tuo tutkimukseen kvantitatiivista näkökulmaa, sekä multimodaalisuus, jonka kautta tarkastellaan aineiston kannalta olennaista visuaalista puolta. Aineisto koostuu viidentoista Maori matkailuyrityksen Internet-sivusta. Niiden sisältöä ja representaatioita tutkitaan erityisesti sanojen kontekstien, useimmiten esiintyvien sanojen sekä kuvien kautta.</p> <p>Analyysi paljastaa, että Uusi-Seelanti on enimmäkseen esillä Maorikulttuurin historiallisena ja maantieteellisenä kontekstina. Maorit esitetään useimmiten stereotyyppisesti, vaikka samalla painotetaan matkailuyritysten ja niiden tarjoamien elämysten aitoutta ja ainutlaatuisuutta. Samalla rakennetaan myös Maorien kulttuurin perinteikkyyttä ja toiseutta suhteessa länsimaisiin turisteihin ja valtaväestöön. Nämä matkailun kautta syntyvät representaatiot voivat myös vaikuttaa yleisiin mielikuviin Maoreista yhteiskunnallisella tasolla.</p>	
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1. INTRODUCTION

According to the World Tourism Organization (2012) there were 940 million international tourist arrivals in 2010 with estimated 693 billion euros of receipts. Tourism is one of the largest industries in the world that keeps on growing even though the global climate of economy is unstable. Tourism can have a great impact on how people perceive the world and discourse analysis sheds light on the ways in which people describe the world through language and images. Therefore, in this study I will be looking at tourism from the point of view of discourse analysis and see how New Zealand and Maoris are represented through the language and images used in Maori tourism websites. I will briefly introduce the contexts of this study, which are based mostly around these themes of discourse, tourism, and New Zealand.

Discourse is described by Jaworski and Pritchard (2005: 5) as something that both expresses and modifies social reality, the identities and relationships of people to each other and includes “patterns of power, dominance and control”. They state that this means that “our social lives are constructed in and through language/discourse” and this can be seen in the everyday talk and interaction of people as well as on a deeper level in the beliefs and principles that people live by. From this perspective, all communicative events are discourse and construct it in different ways. This includes spoken and written language as well as the use of signs, symbols and images, for example. In this study the discourse in focus is the one created by and through Maori tourism websites and particularly the representations that this discourse creates.

As an industry, tourism has also great significance for the economy and thus the political issues of each country. In relation to minorities and aboriginal cultures its impact can be both positive and negative. One positive effect could be that the

communities have a possibility for the construction of identities and viable economies, which also draws positive attention from the government (Morgan, Pritchard and Piggott, 2003: 296) and can benefit the communities. The possible negative impacts include the danger of the culture and people being stereotyped or commoditized, and being viewed through the stereotypical images by the majority of the people in the country.

Tourism is the main framework under which the Maori tourism websites also work in. As a genre, tourism discourse and language use has certain strong traditions and traits, relating especially to marketing language. Tourism is created through the creation and promotion of images, as it tries to sell the different destinations and attractions to potential tourists by creating an idea or ideal of the place and the experience. Many tourism products, like the Maori culture tourism products, are not tangible but based solely on the subjective experience of the tourist. Therefore the creation of images is crucial to these kinds of products as they create expectations and ideas in the tourist's mind and can be considered to be a part of the whole experience and hence the whole tourism product. Doolin, Burgess and Cooper (2002: 557) also argue that tourism destination websites and their content have a significant role as they have a direct impact on how the image of the destination is perceived and it "creates a virtual experience for the consumer".

New Zealand has a long history with tourism and as the biggest industry in the country (Morgan, Pritchard and Pride, 2004: 211) it is very important to the economy. In 1901, it was the first country to establish a national tourism organisation. Tourism employs a lot of people and also gives Maoris the opportunity for self-employment and to represent their culture in their own way. However, in providing a performance or a guided tour for the tourists they are still making a tourism product of their culture and thus risk creating and confirming the stereotypes that people may have. Thus the research question is what kinds of

representations of New Zealand and Maoris are created through Maori tourism websites.

This thesis is constructed in the way that the theoretical background will be discussed first, introducing the central underlying concepts such as discourse analysis, representation, tourism discourse and multimodality. The third chapter presents the data collection procedure and methods that were used in this study. In the fourth chapter the data analysis is presented according to the word contexts, textual and visual information and the final chapter discusses some of the findings and their implications and ends with some conclusions on this study.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

In this section the main concepts, key sources, studies and theories related to the study will be discussed. Discourse analysis is the basic, underlying framework which most of the concepts used in this study are related to. Therefore it will be presented first. Secondly, representation specifically in relation to a tourism destination will be studied, followed by a discussion of tourism discourse and the relation of Maori culture to tourism in the light of previous studies. New Zealand as a tourism destination will be looked at briefly in order to better understand the country context of this study. Then the discussion will move on to examine internet and tourism as well as multimodal discourse analysis.

2.1 Discourse analysis

Discourse analysis has been defined as a theoretical framework, explaining how language functions in everyday life and a collection of methods for studying the construction of social life through language (Thurlow and Jaworski, 2010: 10). It has been used in many different fields of research from linguistics and communication, to sociology and psychology. This multidisciplinary use of discourse analysis results in various theories, approaches and methods. Combined with the multidisciplinary nature of tourism, this study uses various perspectives and methods, including corpus linguistic and multimodal approaches in processing and analysing the data.

In relation to linguistics, discourse analysis has been widely applied in different ways. Discourse as such has been defined as a specific way of representing a part of the world, whether it is the physical, social or psychological world (Fairclough 2003: 17). The discourse differs according to the people using it and the situations it is used in; what is included and excluded, how the relations, people, time, place

and events are represented (ibid). Discourse analysis studies how language is used in real situations by real people and is interested in what the language user does to the language, and vice versa, and how language functions in different situations (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen, 2009: 14).

Historically, scholars who have contributed greatly to the development of discourse analysis in various ways include Foucault, Hymes, Halliday and Fairclough, among others. They have each brought forward ideas, theories and methods, which have then been used widely and explored further by other scholars. Dell Hymes emphasized the meaning of context in language use and Michel Foucault's ideas on discourses, power and subject and how language variation is organized and influences the social reality, have been very influential. M. A. K. Halliday developed a systemic-functional approach to analysing discourses and one essential principle is that language has several functions at the same time: communication, representing the world and creating identities and relationships. Norman Fairclough is considered to be the founder of critical discourse analysis and he developed a widely used three dimensional model of studying language use on a textual level, and on the discursive and social levels related to it. (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen, 2009: 12-28.)

As mentioned above, discourse analysis is the broad framework within which this study is conducted. Discourse analysis provides a way of looking at the cultural texts and how they influence our views of the social world (Pritchard and Morgan, 2001: 172). The texts are always written by someone and usually for someone, with a specific purpose in mind. Therefore they are not neutral, but carry different meanings which create certain perspectives of the world. In this study, the focus is on the content of Maori tourism websites and how they construct different representations and how these influence the way Maoris and New Zealand are seen. As such discourse analysis is a very broad framework that can be applied to many different fields of study in different ways. In the following sections those

subcategories of discourse analysis which are the key areas of this study, will be examined: representation, tourism discourse and multimodal discourse.

2.2 Representation

One of the main concepts of this study is representation. Hall (1997: 28) defines it as “the production of meaning through language”. Another way of saying this is that language represents the world (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen, 2009: 56). What is meant here is that the way we see the world and the way we describe it is done most often through language, in various ways. Thus, the choices we make in language use directly affect the ways in which we represent the world around us. This means that representation can help to examine how reality is presented, what kinds of methods are used to do that and what perspective it is done from (ibid).

Although both Hall (1997: 28) and Pietikäinen and Mäntynen (2009: 56) emphasize language as the resource of representation, the meanings studied in this study are the ones that are created through both textual and visual information used in the tourism websites. Representation is realised here by what specific choices the tourism companies have made in what information to include and exclude when promoting and marketing their products through their own websites. Therefore these representations - what is described, by whom, how and what is left out - are also questions of power and its use (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen, 2009: 56; Pritchard and Morgan, 2001: 172; Mellinger, 1994: 776). The authors have complete control over their website and what they present and what they do not and therefore they have the ability to guide the direction in which they want the reader to go in forming the image of the product. This is important especially when talking of a cultural tourism product which is based on a subjective experience and as such is an intangible product. The product needs to be described in such a way that it creates positive and alluring images in the mind of the reader so that they are

convinced into booking and buying the product.

Hunter (2011: 336) talks about representation in relation to tourism as bringing out the best features of places and people. The aim of tourism is to attract visitors to a certain destination or certain activities and services provided by tourism operators. Therefore the representations that are created in tourism materials are very positive, highlighting good features and sometimes even undermining or ignoring certain issues. An example of the latter is given by Ateljevic and Doorne (2002: 662), who state that the relationship between the Maori and other New Zealanders is presented in tourism context to be harmonious and not accounting any of the social issues that Maoris face. The representations created by tourism seem very real to the tourists, but they are deceptive (Hunter: 2011: 336) because they are thoughtfully created portrayals of the destinations by the tourism operators for the tourists. This creation of representations provides an interesting opportunity for research to see what are the things brought forward by the tourism companies and how, as well as what they do not mention to the website visitors and potential customers.

When looking at representations from the tourist's point of view, the key issue is the information they gather from various sources. The descriptions and images of a destination that a tourist sees and hears, prior to and during the journey, build up certain expectations and representations of the destination. They also have an effect on what the tourists look for while in the destination as they seek the same landscapes and experiences to fulfil their expectations of an authentic experience of the destination (Mellinger, 1994: 758). These expectations are built by accounts from friends, family and fellow travellers but importantly also by different tourism operators and organisations which the tourist encounters. Mellinger (1994: 758) also mentions how well-known photographs that have spread through mass media influence what the tourists look for, how they see it, and how they interpret what they see. All these different factors have a significant influence on how the tourist

sees the destination and what they look for there. Through their expectations they build their own experience of the destination and reproduce and record what they perceive as original, authentic and exotic (ibid).

The primary way of gathering information of the destination prior to the journey is nowadays through the internet. Hence, tourism websites are of particular interest in examining the images that are portrayed to tourists and what representations of the destinations they create. These images, which are created by the websites in the tourist's mind, can be considered to be actually a part of the product as they set the expectations for the customer of the actual product before consuming it and the websites provide a place for the customers to return to if they want to remember what their experience was like. Jenkins (1999: 2) notes the importance of these images both in making the decision to purchase the product as well as comparing the actual experience with the image that they had of it beforehand.

Pritchard and Morgan (2001: 177) state that the representation of a destination through tourism marketing materials is also an expression of the cultural and political identities of the destination. They continue by noting that these touristic representations can change according to who constructs them. In this study, one of the points of interest will be exactly this: the representations created by different types of tourism websites and what kinds of similarities and differences can be found in them. When looking at representations on a global marketing level, especially the official national tourism organisations carefully construct the image they want to convey of the country. Tourism and its promotion are some of the ways of representing the whole country on an international level.

2.3 Tourism discourse

“Tourism discourse, not least because of its scale, is a discourse with material, global consequences” (Thurlow and Jaworski, 2010: 8), and therefore it is certainly

worth investigating. Tourism discourse gives a more specific context for the study of representations. As noted by Jaworski and Pritchard (2005: 2) there are not many previous studies or theories in this area, especially from the point of view of discourse analysis, focusing on language. Discourse analysis can provide a good tool for examining positions and patterns of dominance in tourism as well as how identities, otherness and communities are created (ibid, 2005: 3). These things can be studied by examining real life contexts and situations related to tourism, where language is used in various ways. This daily use of language, how the world and our views of it are described and represented, is at the core of discourse analysis.

Thurlow and Jaworski (2010: 8) say that the contexts of tourism discourse are organized and given meaning in spoken and written language. They see this semiotic context of the tourism product as a vital part of what is actually produced by the companies and consumed by the tourists. What the tourists purchase in a tourism product is not simply the service encounters but also images, lifestyles and memories as well as the fantasy and performance of the people that they meet, the adventures that they have and the exotic cultures and places that they visit (ibid). Thurlow and Jaworski (2010: 10) also argue that language is everywhere in tourism as it is connected to the representation and realization of the tourist experience. This is realised for instance in the prominence of language in tourism marketing and promotion materials.

Fox (2008: 15) says that the materials produced by the destination for tourism purposes, such as brochures and websites, reveal the objectives and ideas that the management has: what is the destination's public discourse and its influence. This can be considered in a large or small scale, either thinking of national tourism agencies and their global marketing or single companies who create their own tourism destinations with their tourism products. Therefore it is crucial to also investigate the materials created by the different companies' within the destination. The materials are the tourism companies' websites in this study. When

looking at the language used in the tourism discourse of a destination, the materials often have adjectives and nouns as their keywords as they refer to the destination's attributes and make promises in order to appeal to the desires of the tourist and create new ones (ibid, 2008: 16). Dann (1996: 1) notes that appealing words, photos and video clips are essential parts of what we understand as tourism discourse and that without this kind of public tourism discourse "there would be little tourism at all".

Fox (2008: 17) also points out that communicative events of the tourist destination "both reflect and engage social context which at the same time is created by a destination, represents a destination and shapes its behaviour". All the materials that a tourist destination produces of the tourist activities and experiences, from brochures to websites, create and enforce a certain discourse. This discourse reflects the destination, society and culture by the features of the culture and destination that are chosen to be displayed in a certain way. These choices, in turn, will have an impact on the destination's behaviour and define its characteristics and focus points in relation to tourism in the future.

When creating a specific image for a destination it may become a self-fulfilling prophecy in the way that the image tends to be repeated and emphasized, ignoring other features that the destination may have. For example, Queenstown in New Zealand is titled as the "adventure capital of the world". Queenstown is indisputably known for the variety of different adventure tourism products, but there are also other types of tourism products available that are left out when emphasizing the adventure activities, for example boat cruises and wine tours. Overall, the choices of images and words have a clear and substantial impact on the image of the destination and they have also been the focus of analyses in critical studies on tourism (Jaworski and Pritchard, 2005: 6).

Dann (1996) continues along the same lines as Fox (2008). He talks about tourism

discourse as a unique one and that tourism altogether is dependent on the publicity of this discourse (1996: 1). Often with the use of language, tourism tries to attract visitors to destinations, i.e. transform people from potential into actual customers. Although this type of discourse in the promotion of tourism goes to great lengths at making the destinations attractive, Dann (1996: 2) notes that tourists can and do influence tourism discourse as well. They gather and interpret the information they receive from their point of view, creating their images out of the pool of knowledge and experiences they have. Overall, tourism discourse is developed through many different voices, each with their own objectives and points of view. The tourism companies and organisations have usually a significant role in creating this discourse but tourists themselves have an input, too.

2.4 New Zealand as a tourism destination

This is an area closely related to representation and it is included here in order to introduce the broader country context of the data used in this study. As a tourism destination, New Zealand has been discovered by Europeans in the latter half of the 1800's, as the first settlers arrived. Because of its geographical location, New Zealand has been difficult to reach, but it also owes its natural wonders and uniqueness of nature to its remoteness. Nature has been a very important pull factor for tourism from very early on. The first visitors were drawn to the centre of the North Island, particularly Rotorua with its thermal areas and unique silica terraces (Barnett, 2001: 85). At this time many Maoris, and notably also female Maoris, established themselves as guides to the tourists. New Zealand was also the first country to establish a national tourism organisation in 1901. From very early on tourism was realised as an important activity and contributor to the economy. It has grown and increased its significance in accordance to the rising visitor numbers ever since New Zealand became accessible by air. (TNZ, 2011)

The main organisation behind the tourism industry and importantly the tourism image of New Zealand is Tourism New Zealand (TNZ). It is the official, national, government funded tourism organisation of New Zealand. For a little over a decade they have been building a campaign called “100% Pure New Zealand” as a part of their “New Pacific Freedom” brand positioning (Morgan, Pritchard and Pride, 2004: 212). The long-term branding “conveyed adventure, spirit and freedom, emotive expressions which combined against the backdrop of New Zealand’s landscape” and the award-winning “100%” campaign has been based on this, emphasizing the authenticity of experiences and scenery (ibid.). Purity is a central theme in the marketing materials of the campaign which focus largely on the scenery but also on the people, wines and food and experiences (Morgan, Pritchard and Piggott, 2003: 293).

At the beginning of 2011, TNZ launched a revised version of their ‘100%’ campaign called “New Zealand 100% Pure You”. According to their website, the aim is to bring out more than just the scenery of the country by personalising the message and putting focus on “authentic and memorable experiences”, while the scenery will continue to play an important role as the backdrop for these experiences (TNZ, 2011). A strong presence on the internet has been a crucial part of TNZ’s marketing strategy, as it is directed towards “interactive travellers” who are seeking new experiences and destinations and who are often active web users (Morgan et al, 2003:294; Morgan, et al, 2004: 215). It is therefore interesting to study tourism websites and the representations created through them, as their role in tourism marketing is very significant nowadays.

The Maori tourism websites used in this study are a part of this context and thus influenced by it. As can be seen from these different sources, the major draw card of New Zealand as a tourism destination has traditionally been its nature and landscapes. What Morgan et al. (2003: 296) suggested is that in order to stand out

from other destinations New Zealand could promote “Maori culture and their spiritual connection with the land” more, as it is unique to New Zealand. Barnett (1997: 472, 2001: 83) also says that Maori culture attracts international tourists and that it should be more recognised. Therefore, I will now move on to Maori tourism and the theme of authenticity in relation to it.

2.5 Maori tourism and authenticity

This study examines the representations created by Maori tourism websites. In this section, I will examine the concept of Maori tourism and discuss the theme of authenticity as it is closely connected to indigenous culture tourism. It is important to take a look at the general issues and ways of approaching Maori and indigenous tourism in order to better understand the background for this study, and later also conclude how the results of this study relate to it.

Historically, Maoris have been a part of tourism in New Zealand since its beginning. As already mentioned, the first tourists visited the region of Rotorua in particular, which has a strong Maori presence. As the locals who had most experience and knowledge of the area, Maoris became the guides to the visitors. During the development of the tourism industry in New Zealand in the 20th century, the Maori and the images of them were also used and stereotyped by the tourism industry and presented as entertainers, carvers and guides (Barnett, 1997: 471). The way in which Maoris are presented and present themselves gives rise to the discussion about authenticity.

Authenticity relates to Maori tourism, and indigenous tourism in general, in the way which the indigenous culture and people are presented in. Indigenous cultures are often seen as traditional and as such given the face value of being authentic in that they are perceived as maintaining customs and lifestyles that have

remained relatively unchanged for a long period of time. In the case of Maori tourism, the most common tourism products seem to be a guided tour, a performance of traditional songs and dances and a *hangi*, a traditionally prepared meal. Many companies combine some of these elements together to make their tourism product. As all of these activities are always planned and rehearsed they lack authenticity in the situation itself. On the other hand, some scholars view the discussion of authentic performance of a culture as pointless as according to them there is no original, real and authentic culture as any culture changes with time (Bruner, 2001: 898). Authenticity in tourism can be viewed from many different perspectives and is very complex in that sense. It is always negotiated in various tourism discourse environments. From the tourist's point of view what is important is the authenticity of the experience, i.e. how genuine do they perceive the presentation of the culture to be.

There seems to be a call for these kinds of "authentic experiences" in tourism. The contemporary tourist looks for authentic, exciting and exotic experiences as well as contact with local cultures (Morgan et al, 2004: 212; Mellinger, 1994: 757). They do not find it in their own living environments, so they seek it elsewhere (Mellinger, 1994: 758). This way they may also discover a "lost authentic and primitive self" (Taylor, 2001: 10). Tourists do not want to be simply spectators but wish to be immersed in the culture, and experience Maori culture in the real environment instead of a performance arranged at the hotel (Taylor, 2001: 22), hence making the experience "authentic". Although the culture would be presented in a built environment and sold as a tourism product, it seems to fulfil the tourists' need to experience the culture "authentically".

As mentioned earlier, in the turn of the millennium there were suggestions by scholars that while seeking to give authentic experiences to the tourists, the strong Maori culture and its connection to the land could be brought out more as a unique cultural feature of New Zealand (Morgan et al, 2003: 296; Barnett, 2001: 91).

According to Taylor (2001: 22), the New Zealand Tourism Board is positioning Maori culture as one of the main selling points, as interest towards cultural experiences seems to be increasing overall in the field of tourism. It has also been pointed out that while utilising Maori culture more in tourism, there should be consideration from the industry in order for it “to understand and adapt to the cultural environment in which it is located” (Hall, Mitchell and Keelan, 1993: 322). As Barnett notes (2001: 85), indigenous tourism has the risk of destroying the cultural resource it is based on. Therefore, it is important to consider the cultural environment and the effects tourism has on it, just as it is important to be aware of the impacts on the physical environment.

When considering the cultural environment and the authenticity of Maori culture in tourism, it is worth noting that traditionally, hospitality has always been an important part of Maori culture (Barnett, 2001: 84). Maoris have certain ceremonies of receiving guests, for example *powhiri*, which is often performed to the tourists taking part in a cultural Maori performance, and also guidelines according to which the hosts and the guests should act. The talisman of hospitality is placed on an ancestral house to remind that the hosts should be charitable and kind to visitors (*ibid*). These practices are already inherit in Maori culture and therefore their application to the context of tourism, where they welcome the tourists as guests, is not necessarily all that far from what the original purposes of these rituals, practices and principles are.

Although there are these features which relate Maori culture to tourism, there is also criticism towards it. Maori tourism in general is criticised for giving a polished view of Maoris and their situation in society. The fact remains that there are clear socio-economic differences between them and the rest of the population, including higher unemployment rates, which are not expressed in tourism discourse (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2002: 662; Horn and Simmons, 2002: 136). These kinds of negative issues are the ones that tourism discourse avoids, especially when

marketing tourism products. Another point of critique is that brochures, postcards and tourism operators give a standardized and generalised image of Maoris. They present them in one way, claiming that all Maoris throughout all time have had a certain lifestyle, ignoring the regional and tribal differences (Taylor, 2001: 20).

Ryan (2002: 966) reminds us that tourism exists within the context of the whole society, also reflecting back to it the issues that exist. He also points out the perspective of presenting the Maori domestically (Ryan (2002: 956). He wonders whether the images of Maoris given by tourism influence society and how other New Zealanders view the Maori. Therefore, representations of them may have a larger effect that can become also a political matter in regard to land rights, political and economic recognition (ibid; Ryan and Crotts, 1997: 900). Interestingly, Ryan links stereotyping, misrepresentation and simplification issues that Maoris have complained about to the New Zealand Tourism Board, with the need to modernise the image of Maori and to make it more appealing to domestic tourists as well (2002: 966).

The situation does seem to be taking a turn as local Maori communities and operators are becoming more involved with these tourism ventures and providing their view of the authentic Maori life and traditions (Taylor 2001: 16; Ryan and Crotts, 1997: 902). Some good examples of this can be found in Rotorua and Kaikoura. In Rotorua, sub-tribes of Te Arawa have been a part of the hospitality business and cultural performances since the very early days of tourism in Rotorua (Horn and Simmons, 2002: 136) and elsewhere in New Zealand in the late 1800's. Another type of a tourism product can be found in Kaikoura, where Kai Tahu and its sub-tribe Kati Kuri own a whale watch company, which is the largest tourism operator in the small town of Kaikoura (ibid). Although it is not directly presenting Maori tourism, it is still a good example of the way that Maoris live and work in the contemporary world. The cultural heritage of the operators of the whale watch company can be seen, for example, in how they have given Maori names to their

four vessels.

MacIntosh (2004) studied the perceptions that visitors had of Maori culture. He claims that although it had not been a motivation for their visit and they had traditional views of Maori culture, the experiences of it during the visit enhanced the visitors' cultural understanding (2004: 5). He lists five central dimensions of Maori culture experiences which are gazing, lifestyle, authenticity, personal interaction and informal learning (ibid). These dimensions can be found to some extent also in the data analysis section of this study.

As seen, there are many different points of view when studying Maori tourism and authenticity. In the results section it can be seen what kinds of perspectives this study can add to the discussion and how the results relate to previous studies.

2.6 Internet and tourism

Although the focus in analysing tourism discourses has traditionally been on tourism brochures of destinations, the use of internet in tourism marketing has overthrown the traditional use of brochures in decision-making. The internet enables the use and continuous updating of moving images, videos and sound and has limitless opportunities for images and text in different forms. Therefore it not only reaches a world-wide audience but also offers easier access to tourism companies to market their products directly to potential customers. This also means that the tourism companies have the opportunity to define themselves how they want to promote and sell their product, as well as what kind of images they want to create to the potential customers.

During the past decade, the internet has been a growing marketing and selling tool for different tourism operators as its use has become more widespread. This was

noted already in 2001 by Morgan, Pritchard and Abbott (112). The same study noted some of the negative points of internet use at the time, including the costs for both the consumer and tourism businesses and also the lack of efficiency in searching for particular kinds of websites. Today we see how those obstacles have been overcome as the internet connections have become faster with the use of broadband and also the costs are lower for the individuals and the companies. There has also been a huge shift from people just looking up travel information online but not buying (ibid. p.114) to a lot of purchases and bookings being made online. Thus, the internet has a huge influence on how people see tourism destinations and what they expect of them.

So far there has been little research on the area of the Internet as an image formation agent (Choi, Lehto and Morrison, 2007: 118). Although its influence is indisputable also in tourism, especially the way it has changed the methods of marketing and selling tourism products, there are also many ways in which it affects image formation. The internet provides an endless amount of information of different destinations. Websites visualise and produce images of a location and people can imagine what a visit there might be like (Han and Mills, 2006: 415). As said by Doolin et al. (2002: 557): "The content of tourism destination Web sites is particularly important because it directly influences the perceived image of the destination and creates a virtual experience for the consumer". This virtual experience is important as it forms an important part of the tourist's whole experience. The website visitors are able to visualise their trip beforehand and while in the destination and also relive it afterwards.

Especially the visual features of a website are enticing to the online travellers. The technology enables the use of logos, photographs, moving images and video clips (Han and Mills, 2006: 414). In relation to the traditional brochures, websites have provided a new, faster and easier medium, which allows the use of images and videos in a new way. The creation of images is important in tourism, as much of

the product is created through the experience of the customer before, during and after the trip. Many tourism websites use different visual elements on their websites in order to create a versatile image of the destination or tourism product and present it in an alluring way. Also the Maori tourism websites used in this study make use of a lot of photographs as well as video clips and logos or symbols.

New Zealand has been utilising the web for building its brand in tourism and they have succeeded well as Tourism New Zealand's website has won several awards (Morgan et al, 2004: 219). It is clear that this national tourism organisation is emphasizing their online presence in marketing and selling New Zealand to international tourists and is one of the best in the world in doing it. Since they invest in their website so much, it would be interesting to examine if this affects different tourism companies' own websites in New Zealand and whether they are also keen on building and promoting their company, brand and product online. When visiting the national tourism website of New Zealand it is clear that they also invest in the visual look of the website, and that will be also in focus when analysing the Maori tourism websites in this study.

2.7 Multimodal discourse analysis

As stated previously, internet provides nowadays endless opportunities to use texts with still and moving images and the combinations of these. The approach to studying all of these can be found through the use of multimodal discourse analysis. Multimodality is concerned with the study of different semiotic resources including language, images, signs, gestures, sounds and music (O'Halloran, 2011: 121; O'Halloran and Smith, 2011: 2). Aiello and Thurlow (2006) claim that language is made meaningful and understandable only through nonverbal codes and that many times written and spoken language actually make up the contextual background. This means that besides language different kinds of visual codes are

very important in interpreting and analysing discourses.

Multimodality is generally described as arising from the background of Michael Halliday and his work with a social semiotic approach and has been developed further by Kress and van Leeuwen, as well as O'Toole (O'Halloran, 2011: 122). Kress and van Leeuwen combine critical discourse analysis and social semiotics in their work, whereas O'Toole focuses on a systemic-functional approach (O'Halloran and Smith, 2011: 4). O'Halloran and Smith (*ibid.*) present the main traits of multimodal discourse analysis through these two different approaches and their pioneers. According to them, Kress and van Leeuwen apply a theory-based strategy, where the theories are first explored and then tested and illustrated through analysing texts (*ibid.*). On the other hand, O'Toole approaches multimodality with a different strategy, by first exploring actual texts and then working the analyses into generalizations (O'Halloran and Smith, 2011: 3).

Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 1) present the idea of a visual grammar, where the attempt is to study visual signs and their structures as systematically as words and clauses can be studied through their grammar. The basic idea is that instead of looking only at individual visual signs, the focus is on how these signs can be combined to create meaning (Machin, 2007: 2). These visual signs include for example objects, actors, icons, colours, composition and typography in images. Therefore, a certain sign or image does not have a fixed meaning but it changes according to the other signs it is used in combination with (*ibid.*). Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 8) point out that their focus is on "sign-making": who creates a certain kind of sign, how and what they want to express with that.

Besides these traditions, also scholars such as Aiello, Thurlow and Jaworski have been studying multimodality. Thurlow and Jaworski are significant authors in relation to this study as they have used multimodal analysis in the study of various tourism discourses (see Thurlow and Jaworski, 2010: 12; Jaworski and Pritchard,

2005). They are at the forefront of multimodal tourism discourse analysis and thus worth mentioning here, although the approaches, methods and objects of this study do not correspond directly to their studies.

As observed by O'Halloran and Smith (2011: 1) multimodality can be used in many ways. Although in itself it is not a certain theory, it provides a specific field of investigation for several theories, descriptions and methodologies. In this study multimodality will be utilised in the data analysis of the websites. The study is not based on an application of a certain theory or a methodology, but of the overall principles of looking at several different semiotic resources. The main focus will be on the analysis of textual and visual information. The visual part includes looking at the imagery found on the websites, and examining the meanings and representations created by them. The reason for including this multimodal approach is because on the websites the visual information has an equal role, if not larger, in relation to the textual information. Therefore it is important to look at both of these in order to get a more holistic view of the websites and the information and representations conveyed and created by them.

3. DATA AND METHODS

This chapter introduces the data collection and the different methods used in analysing the data. The aim is to examine the data in relation to the research question: What kinds of representations of New Zealand and Maoris are created through Maori tourism websites? I will divide the analysis of the data into different sections. Firstly, I will examine the specific word contexts of three words in order to find out representations of New Zealand. Secondly, I will look at the websites in general and study the representations of the Maori created through both textual and visual information. The methods of data collection, categorisation and analysis were for the most part similar to the ones used in a previous study (Lähteenmäki, 2009).

This previous study focused on the representations of New Zealand created by different kinds of adventure tourism companies' websites. The relevant textual data were gathered from the websites and categorised and analysed with the help of AntConc. corpus concordance programme. This constituted the part of explicit representation; looking at the specific word contexts. The visual information was taken into account when analysing the websites as a whole in the part of implicit representation. These procedures will be explained in more detail in sections 3.1 and 3.2.

3.1 Data collection

I looked for the websites of different Maori tourism operators through the listings of cultural attractions provided by newzealand.com, the website of Tourism New Zealand, the official tourism organisation of New Zealand. I gathered the data from fifteen different companies' websites (see Appendix 2 for a list of the websites) which provided Maori tourism products in the form of cultural shows,

experiences or guided tours. This meant excluding companies that were, for example, making and selling Maori arts and crafts products but not presenting other parts of Maori culture in any way.

All of the textual information on the websites was saved into text-documents. I also saved some pages from each website as I collected the written texts so that later on I could notice if the websites had been updated or changed as I would return to them to analyse the whole contents of the websites, and more specifically the visual information. This textual information forms the purpose-built corpus that allows the use of a quantitative corpus method, a concordancing programme, in grouping and examining the data.

Table 1. A list of the tourism companies and their products

Maori tourism company	Tourism products
Maori Tours Kaikoura	guided tours
Te Puia	cultural performances, weaving and carving schools, geothermal valley
Mokoia Island Wai Ora experiences	guided tours, events, bird watching
Ko Tane	cultural performances, wildlife reserve
Taiamai Tours	cultural waka (canoe) tours
Mitai Maori village	cultural performances, hangi meal, guided walks
Tamaki Maori village	cultural performances, hangi meal
Tamaki Hikoi	guided walks
Culture North	cultural performances, guided tours
Maori experiences Rotorua	guided tours, events
Waitangi treaty grounds	guided tours, cultural performances, treaty house, dining, events
Motuti marae	cultural performances, guided tours, marae stays
Tribal Lights Maori Theatre	theatre, comedy shows
Waimarama Maori Tours	guided tours, cultural performances
NZ Haka	cultural performances

The Maori tourism companies and their products are shown in Table 1. The most common tourism products provided by the companies are cultural performances and guided tours.

3.2 Methods

For the first part of the data analysis, in order to examine the specific word contexts created by the websites, I applied the same procedure as in my previous study (Lähteenmäki, 2009). With the help of a concordancing programme,

AntConc., it is easy to find the frequencies of all the words occurring in the chosen texts as well as the contexts in which the words appear in (see Appendix 1 for a screen shot of the programme). The reason for choosing this method was to find out the general frequencies of different words but more importantly how often and in which contexts the key words (New Zealand, NZ, country) were used. This helped in analysing what exactly is said about New Zealand. This method of examining specific word contexts is related to discourse analysis in that it enables the study of the direct representations of New Zealand, and what kind of discourse these word contexts and representation create in relation to New Zealand and its tourism.

3.2.1 Use of corpus linguistics in discourse analysis

Although the use of a corpus programme is not a very common approach in discourse analysis, it is useful in combining a quantitative method into making qualitative analysis as it gives another perspective into the data. As mentioned by Fairclough (2003: 6) and Mautner (2009: 122), the use of corpus linguistics together with discourse analysis can be very beneficial. A corpus is usually defined as a large collection of authentic texts, meaning texts that occur naturally, in a real life context (Gray and Biber, 2011: 139). In this study the corpus consists of fifteen different Maori tourism companies' websites.

The corpus-based approach to discourse analysis enables the use of a large set of data and can help with both quantitative and qualitative analysis of textual data (Mautner, 2009: 123). The programmes do not make the analysis but help by performing different actions on the texts so that it is easier to analyse them (Mautner, 2009: 125). It is also argued that the use of corpus linguistic methods and programmes helps reduce researcher bias and increase objectivity (Mautner, 2009: 123; Baker et al, 2008: 277). The concordance programmes provide easy and fast methods, for example, to finding word frequencies, collocations and word

contexts.

Using the concordance programme AntConc. I searched for three key words: “New Zealand”, “NZ” and “country”. These words were chosen as they all refer to New Zealand as a country and the idea is to examine what is said explicitly about New Zealand. There were altogether 546 mentions of these words. It also needs to be noted that on some occasions the websites would repeat certain parts of their texts in different subpages and each separate entry is included in the data, as it also reveals what information the companies want to emphasize to the website visitors.

All the entries where these key words were found were then examined in the light of their immediate context. These contexts were then divided into eight categories. The first four categories were divided according to where there is description or reference to the tourism company, the environment in which the tourism product is placed in, the tourism product itself and finally a reference to Maori people. The last four categories include items where the key words relate to a physical location within New Zealand or to the whole country as a destination, where the key words relate to the country in general, where they are mentioned in the name of a company and finally all the rest of the results are in category “other”.

Content analysis of the words and their contexts in each of the categories was performed in order to examine the general patterns, word choices and common themes, both inside each category and also the similarities between these categories. The first four categories are most relevant to the study and thus the findings presented in chapter 4 focus on those categories.

3.2.2 Word frequencies and multimodality

The second part of analysis approached the websites as a whole, looking both at the textual and visual information of the websites. This was done in order to see

the representations created through both textual and visual information on the websites. The focus was moved from particular words and their contexts to a broader perspective, looking at the whole text, word frequencies and including also the images on the website. Here the aim was to see what kind of things are told about Maoris and what kinds of images are portrayed of them and their culture, based on the choice of texts, pictures and images.

The methods used were the corpus linguistic approach and multimodal discourse analysis. The corpus linguistic approach in this section means that the concordance programme AntConc. was used to find out the word frequencies. Mautner (2009: 123) claims that the way in which different labels, or words, are used reflects social attitudes, perspectives and categorizations and that the labels shape how social structures and relationships are viewed. In this study, the label could be the word Maori, and thus the focus is on the words and images that are used to describe the culture and the people. These words then influence the way Maoris and their culture are perceived.

Multimodal discourse analysis was used as a basis for the examination of the visual information, which is a very important part of tourism websites. The websites included mainly photographs and also some videos, which were all examined. All the images and videos found on the websites were examined and notes were made on their contents on factors like who were in the image (Maori, visitors, male, female), how were they dressed (traditional or modern clothing) and what did they appear like (young or old, friendly, fierce). On this basis I looked at what kinds of images and themes occurred frequently as well as the similarities and differences that they had with each other.

4. RESULTS

The data was analysed in two different ways and the findings are presented here. The first section looks at the specific word contexts and the second one examines the representations created through textual and visual information.

4.1 Specific word contexts

The specific word contexts means that the contexts in which the words “New Zealand”, or the commonly used abbreviation “NZ” and “country”, appear in are examined here. These contexts were divided into different categories. The most interesting ones of these categories in terms of the representation of New Zealand were analysed and these findings will be looked at in this section. This will show what kinds of things are said about New Zealand and what kinds of representations are created.

Table 2. Context categories and the frequencies of the key words

Context categories	New Zealand	NZ	country	Total
1) Company	11	4	1	16
2) Environment	28	0	2	30
3) Tourism product	95	20	0	115
4) Maori people	25	0	1	26
5) Geographical location	78	8	21	107
6) New Zealand as a country	104	7	2	113
7) Name	60	19	0	79
8) Other	2	58	0	60
Altogether	403	116	27	546

In Table 2 above, all the context categories and the frequencies of each of the key words in those categories are listed.

4.1.1 Tourism company

In the first category the key words are related to the tourism company, its owners or staff members. There were only 16 occasions where they came up. They often highlighted the awards and recognition given to the company or its owners: *finalist status in the NZ Tourism Awards on three occasions and recognized as one of New Zealand's leading tourism businesses*. These kinds of mentions can be seen as an attempt to create images of prestige, credibility and quality in the minds of the potential customers visiting the company's website. The company desires to be perceived as one of the best companies nationwide in order to stand out from its competitors.

Another type of reference was made to the Maori heritage of the company's owners and operators: *Our family are the indigenous people of New Zealand or 'Tangata*

Whenua' (people of the land). They bring out that this company is owned and operated by a family and that they are themselves Maori. This is brought up as a point to prove that they can provide an authentic and credible account of how modern day Maoris live as well as share their traditions and stories with the tourists. The product of all of the companies is essentially Maori culture and therefore there is a need for the validation of authenticity. The fact that the companies show they are owned and operated by Maoris themselves is an important factor, as it also means that they are taking control over the tourism products that their culture is made into (Ryan and Crotts, 1997: 902; Taylor, 2001: 16; Horn and Simmons, 2002: 136) and certainly affects the credibility and authenticity for both Maoris and tourists.

A third reference type in this first category is directly related to the authenticity and quality of experience given by the company. They emphasize the company as giving *a truly New Zealand and cultural perspective* and *Genuine New Zealand Maori hospitality*. Here the emphasis is on the authenticity of experience, of New Zealand and Maori culture, which is also what Morgan, Pritchard and Pride (2004: 212) claim that the contemporary consumer is looking for. In a way the three factors are also made equal: to experience authentic New Zealand you need to experience it the Maori way. In the latter example the company claims that they can provide "genuine hospitality" and at the same time insinuates that some other tourism operators might not be able to give that. Waatara Black (as quoted by Taylor, 2001: 14) from the Maori Tourism Heritage Board said that Maori culture should be presented with dignity and criticised some tour companies wanting more of a show business version of Maori culture. On these bases, it seems clear that authenticity is an important attribute of a Maori tourism product, and probably any indigenous tourism product.

4.1.2 Environment

In the second category the contexts of the key words describe or relate to the environment or town in which the tourism company operates and offers its products. There were altogether 30 mentions like this. Most of these bring out the good features of the town or area where the company is based in, for example *Located here in Rotorua the cultural heart of New Zealand and home to the Maori people.* In this example, the metaphor “cultural heart” describes the town of Rotorua as the culturally most significant place in New Zealand and it is also closely tied to the Maoris, which is the main focus of the cultural tourism product offered by the company. It creates an image of Rotorua as an important or even essential place to visit when travelling in New Zealand. Rotorua has also been titled as the “Maori capital of New Zealand” (Taylor, 2001: 16) and mentioning its status is understandable as it also has a great significance in the history of tourism in New Zealand (Ryan and Crofts, 1997: 902).

The companies seem to bring out many different kinds of features of their environment. For example, Waitangi is a historically significant place in northern New Zealand and the tourism company operating there underlines that by saying that it is *New Zealand's pre-eminent historic site.* They make the historical and political aspects known and wish to attract tourists, as well as locals, to visit the place because of them. A different type of example is Mokoia Island. The one company that operates tours on this island refers many times to the bird life on the island, *a wildlife refuge for endangered New Zealand birds.* Here this company brings out the nature and birds in particular in its attempt to attract customers. Overall, all of the references made by the companies seem to be bringing out different aspects of the locations they operate in, wanting to highlight what makes that place different from others or even unique. They utilise these points of difference or uniqueness in building an attractive tourism product.

4.1.3 Tourism product

The references in the third category link the key words to the tourism product of the company. Significantly, this category has the highest amount of references out of all the categories, altogether 115 of them. Clearly, most of the meaningful references made using the key words relate to the tourism products and their features. Similarly to the previous two categories, also in this one the references emphasize the difference and uniqueness of the product in order to stand out from other companies and make the product attractive, e.g. *it is indeed an experience unlike any other in New Zealand.*

As seen with the first category of references to the company and its owners, also in this category many references are made to the awards that the tourism product has been given, such as: *the most award-winning Maori culture attraction in New Zealand* and *ranked BEST Cultural Experience in New Zealand 2009 & 2010*. This shows the visitor that the company and its product has been recognised and awarded for its good quality and has been chosen over other companies and their similar tourism products. The aim is to present the product as trustworthy and the best choice although most of these kinds of references do not include more details of the awards, such as when they were given, by whom and what kind of criteria was used.

Some of the websites used testimonials from previous customers as recommendations of the product. These tourists and travel agents often refer to the experience in relation to their view of whole New Zealand's tourism companies and products. The testimonials selected to be displayed on the websites all see the company and their product, i.e. cultural experience, as very good and authentic. Some typical statements include: *you offer one of the few really authentic Maori experiences in NZ* and *one of the best Cultural Shows in NZ*. It remains unknown as to what extent these people writing the testimonials have actually been to other

cultural shows or experiences and what kind of products they are comparing this one to. The goal seems to be to convince the visitor on the website that previous visitors have enjoyed the experience so much that they want to recommend it.

Many of the references highlight authenticity: *experience the real New Zealand – Maori culture as it is today*. This example also indicates that Maori culture is a central part of this authentic New Zealand. Another important factor to notice here in this example is the use of the word “experience”. This is a typical feature of the whole tourism industry, where some of the products sold are not physical or tangible artefacts but instead the products themselves are experiences and therefore their promotion and sales is also based on the images created of them. In the end, the experience itself exists in each tourist’s mind (Jenkins, 1999: 2). However, what kind of images the company creates of it to the tourist prior and during the experience have an important effect on it.

4.1.4 Maori people

The fourth category consists of the references made to Maoris. There were 26 of these references made and the most common ones were related to providing factual information of the Maoris in New Zealand, for example *Maori people make up about 15 percent of the New Zealand population* or relating to the position of the tribe within New Zealand: *New Zealand’s largest tribal Maori group*. The latter example is interesting as it is mentioned a few times in the data and also another similar statement is given: *the largest tribe in the South Island of New Zealand*.

Being the largest tribe is something that they are proud of and these companies see it as an important fact to mention on their website to their prospective customers. Although from the point of view of the actual tourism product this fact seems irrelevant, it may be another way to try and differentiate themselves from the other tribes and Maori tourism companies in New Zealand. To the eyes of a foreign

tourist they might seem to be all the same (Taylor, 2001: 20), and this is an attempt to persuade the customer into choosing the product offered by this particular company. As will be seen in the next section on the representations through textual information, *unique* is one of the words that occur often in the websites and this can be seen as another representation of the same theme of differentiation.

4.1.5 Conclusion on word contexts

Overall, the specific word contexts in the light of these categories use the reference to New Zealand as a way to promote the company, the environment and the tourism product. These are achieved commonly by emphasizing the qualities of each as being authentic, unique, reliable and of good quality. The fourth category with its mentions related directly to Maori people showed how some of the references are also used as a marketing tool to emphasize uniqueness and make the company stand out from the rest of them. All in all the references made in these categories do not describe what New Zealand is like as such, its nature or culture, apart from the Maori culture.

4.2 Representations through textual and visual information

In this second part I will present the examination of the websites as a whole, which includes looking at all the textual and visual information found on the websites. As the websites do not contain any gestures, sounds or music, the focus is on the texts, words, pictures and images. The textual information was studied first by looking at the overall features but more specifically focusing on the frequently occurring words, examined with the help of the corpus linguistic programme. This was followed by the study of the visual information of the websites which was done in order to combine multimodal discourse analysis into the overall analysis of the websites. Besides looking at the images and photographs present, the few video

clips found on the websites were also analysed. Combining the findings of the textual and visual information sections, a brief summary of the common themes and patterns of the websites will be presented last.

4.2.1 Textual information

Firstly, I will look at the general features of the textual information found on the websites. While the websites represent a broad variety of Maori tourism companies, most of them have many similar features. The features discussed here are the texts found on the websites and frequently occurring words. The frequency of words is considered to be an indicator of significance in corpus linguistics (Mautner, 2009: 130), therefore it is also included in this analysis.

Many of the websites have some information about the history of the tribe or the history of the Maori and New Zealand in general. Several websites also include some stories and legends related to Maoris, some specifically to their own tribes or ancestors. This gives emphasis to the Maori as being a vital part of the whole history and culture of New Zealand as the indigenous people. It also highlights the history and traditions of the Maori and as such also brings out an important feature of their tourism product, as many of them state that it involves seeing, hearing and learning more about the traditional customs, songs, dances and crafts. One of the questions that this raises is that whether the experience offered showcasing Maori culture reflects Maori traditions and customs of the past or of the present as well, an issue pondered also by Taylor (2001: 9).

With the help of the AntConc. programme, it is possible to examine the frequency of different words in the texts. The words derived from the same root were grouped together, to see which words and themes were used most often. Excluding the most common and less meaningful words such as *the, and, of*, the words that have significance and occur most often are: *cultural, experience,*

traditional, carving and *history*. The ten words that occurred most often and are considered meaningful and relevant are listed in Table 3 below.

Table 3. Significant words in order of frequency

Words	Frequency
cultural, culture	458
experience, experiences	440
traditional, traditions, tradition	296
carving, carvings, carved, carvers	241
history, historical, historic	187
guided, guides, guide, guiding	178
tribe, tribal, tribes	145
stories, story	140
family	128
marae	128

By looking at Table 3 we can see that many of the words are connected and relate to each other. *Cultural* and *experience* are the words that are used most often and they are also linked together in describing the actual tourism product. Maori culture is at the core of the tourism product, since the companies all offer the opportunity for visitors to take part themselves either actively or passively in the culture. Use of the word *experience* puts the emphasis on the abstract and intangible nature of the product. Each visitor will have a personal and subjective experience of what the product is like and how it matches their own views and expectations towards it.

Tradition, history and *stories* all refer to the past as well as the continuity of culture. With the frequent use of these words the websites want to bring out an image of

how the culture has prevailed and the old customs and legends are being passed on from one generation to another. In this context it also shows how these features are what the companies want to portray and share with their visitors. The frequent use of these words seems natural, as they are a part of the image usually displayed in indigenous cultural tourism (Bruner, 2001: 886).

Carving and *marae* (a meeting house) are specific features and items of Maori culture. They are both important parts of the culture. Carving, with its specific styles and patterns, creates meaningful items and it is both an art form as well as a basic handicraft. The Maori have used carving and weaving, alongside oral tradition, as a way of passing on information (Ryan and Crofts, 1997: 903). The *marae* is a central and significant place for each Maori tribe, where their heritage and ancestors are also presented and honoured. Maoris, those especially in the tourism industry themselves, have said that *marae* is the most appropriate place where to welcome tourists (Taylor, 2001: 24).

Tribe and *family* are also mentioned often, which indicate their importance to Maoris. While the value of family is a common factor to all Maori, they are also divided into more specific groups by the indication of different tribes (Ryan and Crofts, 1997: 903). On many of the websites, there are specific mentions of which tribes and sub-tribes the Maoris of the tourism company belong to. In addition, some of the companies are family owned and operated and this is usually mentioned. A few mention that they have gotten approval from their tribe to operate their tourism business and share their culture, customs and important places with visitors. As mentioned in the previous section in relation to the tourism companies, these kinds of mentions relate to the authenticity, credibility and sincerity of the company and their product.

The use of Maori vocabulary was also very common throughout the websites, as seen with the frequent occurrence of *marae*, for example. Although all the

information was in English, the usage of Maori language relates to specific objects or customs that may not have a direct equivalent in English due to the cultural differences. Examples include *haka* (a war dance), *manaakitanga* (special hospitality) and *waka* (a war canoe). Besides being used due to lack of an English equivalent, Maori vocabulary also affirms the culture's uniqueness by referring to their language and in comparison to the western English language it also sounds exotic. Certainly in comparison to the majority of New Zealand culture, which is of European descent and very westernized and modern, Maori culture seems very exotic and different (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2002: 662).

For many of the Maori culture tourism products, guides and guided tours are an essential part of it. That may explain the frequent appearance of those words. In perspective of the history of tourism in New Zealand, Maoris were some of the first guides in the late 1800's, especially in the Rotorua area. Thus Maoris themselves have a long history with tourism and acting as guides (Barnett, 1997: 471), and it is already a tradition for them to present their environment, natural wonders and their culture to visitors.

Looking at other commonly used words, out of all the different adjectives used in the websites, *unique* is the one that is most often referred to, altogether 108 times. This tells us that it is a characteristic of the culture or the tourism product that the companies wish to emphasize, a need identified also by Morgan, Pritchard and Piggott (2003: 286). In the Western world, where many cultural features are nowadays globally shared by people all over the world, the quest seems to be to find something different and special, hence, unique (Barnett, 2001: 91). This is a factor that Maoris, and indeed aboriginals of different countries, can use in marketing their cultural tourism products. It has also helped in improving the status of Maoris and their culture as tourism is an important part of New Zealand's economy (Morgan, Pritchard and Pride, 2004: 211).

The adjectives *authentic*, *genuine* and *real* were mentioned altogether 69 times. In comparison to the occurrences of the words in Table 3, this seems to be quite a small number, although overall it is still quite significant. In the use of words, the websites use different kinds of adjectives, but although the theme of authenticity is strongly connected to any indigenous tourism, these websites do not seem to emphasize it using these words that refer to it directly. Instead, they are used as much as other descriptive words, for example the words *special* (88 times), *natural* (77 times) and *ancient* (67 times). Authenticity is brought out more implicitly by giving emphasis to words and themes that express authenticity in a concrete way: tradition, history, stories and family.

Overall, the textual information and word choices on the websites clearly bring forward the ideas of heritage, ancestors, history and traditions in their texts. These seem to be common themes for most of them. As mentioned earlier, they are a part of the tourism product that the companies offer. Clearly, they are also essential parts of the culture itself, not merely something to be shown and told to the tourists. Next, we will look at the visual side of the websites to see what ideas are brought forward there and whether they relate to these themes and how.

4.2.2 Visual information

There are plenty of images on the websites and some have even their own image galleries and videos on a subpage. Therefore it is clear that the images have an important role on these websites and those that have been chosen to be displayed there will reveal what kind of images the companies are attempting to create. In most of these images there are Maori people, guides and performers in their traditional Maori clothing. Several pictures also include the visitors at the attraction as spectators or partakers in an activity (e.g. paddling in the *waka*, war canoe).

The images of the Maori men are often Maori warriors. They are always young men, as the older men tend to have a different role. In the images the warriors have their spears or spades with them. Their body language looks intimidating or threatening as they have opened their eyes wide and stick their tongues out. This is often done as a part of the performance, in particular during the welcoming ceremony, where at the beginning *te wero* (the challenge) is given by the Maori warrior approaching the group of visitors to see whether they have come in peace. Also during the *haka*, a war dance usually presented by men, their role is that of a fierce warrior.

For those website visitors who are not familiar with these cultural customs beforehand, including these kinds of pictures on the websites might seem unusual, as at the same time the emphasis is on the friendliness and hospitality of Maoris. Visiting any tourism company's website the expectation would be to find friendly, welcoming and alluring images. In this case, these images might be interpreted as signs of significant cultural differences and therefore it would not necessarily frighten off the visitor but enhance the feeling of encountering a different, exotic and traditional culture. The exotic and primitive seems to be what the contemporary tourists are looking for, since they do not find it in their own world (Mellinger, 1994: 758).

Another type presented is an older Maori man, and these images often refer to a guide, where they are presented as kind, friendly and approachable as they are smiling or talking to the visitors in the pictures. The image created here is that of an experienced, wise and friendly leader. Since they are older, the image of them is that they are in the position to share the culture and traditions to others, as they have learned and practised them for years, having followed their parents and the line of ancestors and taught them forward to their children and grandchildren. Some companies mention being family-owned and operated, which is also a sign of this.

Photographs of Maori women have been used in New Zealand tourism since the early 1900's (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2002: 655). In the images of Maori women, they are most often presented as smiling, singing or dancing. At times they dance with the *poi* (white and round tethered weights at the end of a string) and in a few pictures they are shown weaving. The women are always smiling and they look friendly and welcoming, in contrast to some of the images of the men. There are both young and old women presented in the pictures, although young women seem to be present a bit more often. The portrayal of women of different ages gives different meanings. The young women present the "typical" adult female in the same way that the Maori warriors are "typical" adult males. They show that the culture is still active and living in the modern days, whereas the older women represent experience, wisdom and maintaining traditions. They provide the link between the past and the present and play a key role in the continuance of culture. A few companies offering guided tours portray older women alongside the older men, where they have a similar role of a wise and experienced Maori as the older men.

Amongst most of the companies showing images of traditionally clothed Maoris, a few companies show these guides in everyday, Western clothing, a company uniform or a mixture of these and traditional Maori clothing. The use of this modern clothing gives the company a more contemporary aspect. With the combination of modern and traditional clothing they are giving a message of maintaining their culture while living in modern society. This may be a way to make the company, its staff and the whole cultural tourism product seem more approachable and authentic, as they are there as themselves, sharing their culture with visitors.

Even with these images of modern day Maoris, all the images together seem to be linked to the theme of a 'traditional culture'. In the Cambridge Advanced Learner's

Dictionary (2003), traditional is defined as “following or belonging to the customs or ways of behaving that have continued in a group of people or society for a long time without changing”. All the companies showcase different aspects of the traditions in Maori culture: songs, dances, carving, weaving, *waka* boats, *hangi* dinner, stories, legends and important places. Interestingly the Maori have been stereotyped by non-Maoris as guides, entertainers and carvers in the early days of tourism in New Zealand (Barnett, 1997: 471) and it could be argued by looking at these websites that to some extent that seems to be continued by Maoris themselves through their own tourism products.

The gender roles in this context include presenting the men and women in their different roles, men as the strong leaders and warriors and women as friendly and welcoming who perform the more feminine tasks of singing, dancing and weaving, as noted also by Taylor (2001: 20) and Ryan (2002: 957). The websites clearly aim to confirm these roles and traditions with how they present Maoris in the images. They are a part of their tourism product, which presents the culture as it has been in the past and how it is reflected today.

Maoris are always shown as active in the photos, performing, dancing, singing or acting as guides. This display of activeness proves to the website visitors that the culture is still living, although its history and traditions are emphasized in many ways, as seen above. This is echoed by Taylor (2001: 17), who states that Maoris tend to be shown as performers tied to tradition. In the pictures of the visitors, they are usually passive in their role as spectators but in relation to certain companies, e.g. one offering *waka* tours, they are also actively taking part themselves. Some images portray *hangi* (a Maori greeting of pressing noses together) between an older Maori and a Maori child or between a Maori and a visitor. The latter example is interesting as Jaworski and Thurlow (2010: 271) have noted that besides the context of a performance, it is nearly impossible for a tourist to perform a *hangi* with a Maori. Nevertheless, this image shows that the visitors are clearly invited by

the active side, the Maoris, to experience the culture either by maintaining their passive role and viewing or then becoming active themselves and taking part in the culture by paddling in a *waka* or helping with the *hangi* preparations among other things. In this way the lines between the performers and visitors, activeness and passiveness are blurred.

The video clips on the websites continue the same imagery and themes of experience, authenticity and traditions as seen through the other images. They portray still and moving images of the people, both Maoris and visitors, the cultural tourism products and the environment where the product is placed in. The people in the videos have the same roles as were seen before, with the mainly passive visitors and active performers and guides. What is shown of the environment is also carefully chosen; often it serves as the background for the experience, rather than being the interesting thing in itself. The main focus seems to be on the culture and performances although the environment often supports the authenticity of them, for example with purpose-built but authentic looking huts and *maraes* located in or surrounded by nature, instead of performing in a modern, Western environment such as a theatre.

Often those companies that have cultural performances show a part of this performance, where Maoris are singing and dancing. Many companies have the *powhiri*, the welcoming ceremony, in their product and that or a small part of it, *te wero* (the challenge) is often included in the video clip. Some videos show the visitors and how they are interacting with the Maoris, whereas some include clips where the Maoris are looking directly into the camera and thus making it seem like they are interacting with the person watching the video and already giving them an experience. These are some examples of how experience is also given an emphasis here. It is the same theme that was seen in the previous section on textual information, where *experience* was the second most frequently occurring word. The videos show some things that the visitor will experience when they buy that

cultural tourism product. In the case of these kinds of products, videos are a helpful way of giving an idea what the product is like, as it is not a tangible item as such, but based more on giving the customers information as well as emotional and physical experiences.

On two of the websites, the videos show the narrators, who are the leaders of the companies. Some videos also feature comments from the visitors and how they have perceived their visit and Maori culture. Featuring comments from the Maori company owners and the visitors bring a more personal touch into the videos making a direct appeal to the person viewing the video. It also aims to bring out again the authenticity of the tourism product from the point of view of the staff as well as the customer.

Some use only background music, whereas others also include the music from the performance that is shown on the video or have turned that into the background music which runs throughout the other images and video shown. In most of the videos, the music is also Maori, either traditional or more modern music. This, along with the portrayal of Maori clothing and crafts, brings out again the theme of traditions.

4.2.3 Common themes and patterns

The websites share many similar features as seen with the frequently occurring words and similar visual images. Through the word choices in particular we can see that the common themes of the websites include traditions, culture, experience, cultural uniqueness and authenticity. These came through strongly in the representations created through both textual and visual information.

The importance of traditions in the Maori culture is emphasized throughout the websites. As seen above, this is indicated through the choice of words, images and

videos. Most companies show images of Maoris in their traditional clothing and also state that what the visitors will experience will be the traditions and culture of the Maoris. Culture is the main tourism product of all the companies, in various forms. Hence it is not surprising that it is the most often mentioned word on the websites and that most of the other words and themes relate to it as well. *Experience* is the second most frequent word and closely linked to the first two themes of traditions and culture. It is seen most clearly through the use of the word in itself but also through the visual images. The images and videos show that the companies are conveying the experience of the culture to the visitors.

The theme of cultural uniqueness is presented especially through the use of the words such as *unique* and all the different Maori words (such as *marae*, *haka* and *hangi*). It is also visible in the images where the Maoris are shown with the visitors. They contrast the modern, most often Western, visitors with the Maoris. These images bring out the cultural difference and also the cultural uniqueness of the Maoris, as the visitor could be from any Western culture, whereas the Maoris have a distinct, different, and hence unique, culture.

This is also linked to the theme of authenticity. It is seen implicitly through the frequent use of the words tradition and history as well as the use of the words *authentic*, *real* and *genuine*. Authenticity can also be seen in the way some of the videos have been constructed, showing the Maoris who own and operate the companies and the visitors commenting on their experience. All these aim to confirm that although it is a tourism product, the experience of the culture will still be authentic.

Providing an authentic experience seems to be very important in Maori tourism and in aboriginal culture tourism altogether. If the visitors do not trust the product's authenticity, it loses its value. Taylor (2001: 10) argues that the tourists want to find their own, primitive self, through an authentic experience of the

Maori culture. McIntosh (2004: 10) asked how tourists' perceived Maori culture in New Zealand and in relation to authenticity they recognised its importance but thought that the Maori culture tourism products they had experienced were lacking in authenticity. This shows that although the Maori tourism companies want to provide an authentic experience of Maori culture it may be hard to achieve in the tourism context (McIntosh, 2004: 12), as the encounter is brief and the tourists have individual expectations and thus experiences.

There is also a link to tradition, as with these native and aboriginal cultures, authentic seems to equal traditional, and therefore both are very relevant to the creation and marketing of these cultural tourism products. Taylor explains that the authenticity of the present moment must be a reproduction of the origins and the practices of the past. Thus, all the elements in tourism products, sites, objects, images and even people, are considered as signifiers of the ways of life in the past. This is often interpreted as the time before the Europeans arrived in New Zealand, with their influences. (Taylor, 2001: 9)

In relation to authenticity, it needs to be noted that many companies offer a show or a performance and how these are indeed planned and staged activities. On the other hand, their customs that seem different and exotic to the visitors from their own cultural point of view can be in fact very common and normal and practices for the Maori performers themselves. Ryan and Crotts (1997: 904) mention that *powhiri* is also performed to welcome family members to the *marae*. In this way it could be seen as an authentic representation of Maori culture although the situation itself would be artificial. In the end, the issue of authenticity is very complex and depends on which perspective it is defined from and by whom.

It is interesting how certain features are chosen to be the parts that are presented to tourists and visitors as Maori culture and how then other things are left out. The situation of the Maori in the New Zealand society is a factor completely absent in

the information on the websites, perhaps as it is a delicate matter for Maoris themselves as well. Ateljevic and Doorne (2002: 662) and Horn and Simmons (2002: 136) note that Maoris still have higher rates of unemployment and poverty in relation to the rest of the population and that this issue is avoided in the contemporary tourism discourse.

Importantly, many of the websites mention that hospitality is an important part of Maori culture. Barnett (2001: 84) agrees by stating that “hospitality has always been an important aspect of Maori society” as they have a talisman of hospitality placed on the ancestral house reminding the hosts to be kind to visitors. Therefore welcoming visitors comes naturally to them, as a welcoming ceremony, *powhiri*, has been traditionally performed for visitors and now it is transferred into the tourism context. This could be one of the reasons why Maoris have been involved in New Zealand’s tourism industry since the early days (Horn and Simmons, 2002: 136).

Besides these themes, another interesting feature that was common to many of the websites was a section usually titled as “testimonials” where there are reviews written by the visitors. In some websites, quotations of these short testimonials are used throughout the website in between other information. The use of these reviews shows how important it is to the companies to prove that their visitors have enjoyed the product and recommend it to others as well. The aim of these is to convince the website visitor to actually book and buy that tourism product, with that particular company. In a way, besides simply marketing the product, these testimonials are also an example of creating interactivity between the visitors and the hosts. Interaction is a crucial part of these kinds of cultural tourism products. “Interactive” was also found altogether 64 times on the websites, which indicates the same thing.

Overall, through the representations created through textual and visual

information, New Zealand is portrayed as having a living, traditional and unique Maori culture, which also indicates a long history of the country. The information also insinuates the continuity of the traditions as unchanged through time. Both the textual and visual information seem to strengthen the importance of Maori traditions and history in New Zealand, underlining also the authenticity of the experiences and performances of Maori culture offered by the companies. However, this raises the question of how much of the showcasing is really just a show and how much the traditions still show in and affect the lives of the contemporary Maori people. The line between the past and the present is blurred.

5. CONCLUSION

This study has examined the representations of New Zealand and Maoris created by Maori tourism websites. The aim was to find out what kind of representations are created and how. This was done by looking at the textual and visual information in different ways, using methods from corpus linguistics, discourse analysis and multimodal discourse analysis. The results have revealed that the websites represent New Zealand and Maoris in various, but similar ways. I will discuss these findings in relation to earlier theories and studies, including a comparison with the representations created by adventure tourism websites (Lähteenmäki, 2009).

The representations of New Zealand can be seen through the examination of the specific word contexts that were studied in relation to the tourism company, the environment, the tourism product, and Maori people. The examination of these contexts showed that the companies wish to create the image of a unique, authentic tourism product, given by a reliable Maori-owned company in an environment different from other locations. The representations of New Zealand are not explicit but rather created through the representation of these different contexts. The Maori tourism websites build an image of the Maori culture and its history which in itself is a part of New Zealand's history and culture, and thus a representation of New Zealand. The focus is clearly on persuading the website visitor into purchasing that particular Maori tourism product over others. New Zealand is mentioned always in relation to the company, environment, product or Maori people emphasizing their good and unique features which separate them from other companies and their products. New Zealand is represented as the broad country context, which Maori culture is a part of, both historically and geographically.

The Maori are represented in various ways as they themselves and their culture make up the essential part of each of the tourism products. One argument that this gives rise to is that the people are objectified in the process of describing and selling the product and stereotyped and categorised into certain roles, ignoring their individual and tribal differences, as argued also by Taylor (2001: 20). Their culture is also simplified around certain customs and items, such as clothes, songs, dances, handicrafts and food preparation by presenting these in the images and texts. On the other hand, it is worth noting that these companies are owned by Maoris themselves and they choose what kinds of images they portray of themselves and their culture through their product and website, even though these images seem to create and confirm stereotypes. Interestingly, in contrast to stereotypes, the companies gave a lot of emphasis to uniqueness and authenticity, which were mentioned several times in different ways. These issues are relevant for the cultural tourism product as the consumers are looking for both in their experience of an exotic culture, although the tourism context in itself is not necessarily unique or authentic.

Another theme and theoretical perspective created is the “othering” of Maoris in relation to non-Maoris, meaning the tourists and other New Zealanders. They are contrasted against the more modern, Western cultures by emphasizing the idea of an indigenous and traditional culture that has remained unchanged throughout time. In this line of thinking, Maori culture, symbolising the importance of traditions, is contrasted with the Western world, which symbolises the importance of progress. As mentioned before, the contemporary tourist seeks an authentic experience of an exotic and primitive culture as these elements are missing from their own life (Mellinger, 1994: 758; Taylor, 2001: 10), and Maori culture is seen as exotic in relation to the Western culture of New Zealand (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2002: 660). Importantly, this othering relates to contrasting Maoris and non-Maoris in New Zealand, separating Maoris as a different culture and people in comparison to the rest of the population. The Maori represent the original culture and people

of New Zealand, whereas the majority of other people are descendants of European immigrants and represent the modern and westernized culture.

This separation of Maori culture as distinct and different from the rest of New Zealand also relates to the representations of Maori and their authenticity. Clearly, this does not concern only tourism but also society in general in New Zealand. As Ryan (2002: 96) says "Tourism does not exist isolated from society: it reflects back to society the concerns and languages of its own tensions." Ryan questions how the majority of people in New Zealand view the Maori minority, and voices the concern that their thoughts are influenced by the way that Maoris are presented through tourism discourse (2002: 956). As seen, these images can be stereotypical and often ignore the situation of Maoris outside the tourism discourse and environment. On the other hand, Ryan and Crofts (1997: 900) argue that for Maoris tourism is a way of achieving "legitimacy in the struggle for political and economic recognition". Maoris themselves present their culture in the form of a tourism product and thus get recognized by the official tourism organization (*ibid*). While creating their own tourism companies and products, they not only offer themselves and other Maoris employment but also decide what they want to share and show of their own culture and traditions.

Next, I will compare the representations created by Maori tourism and adventure tourism websites. In a previous study (Lähteenmäki, 2009) I studied different kinds of adventure tourism companies' websites and analysed their contents in the same way as I now did with Maori tourism websites. As these forms of tourism within the same country and same regions differ greatly from each other it will be interesting to see what differences and similarities they may have in the overarching themes and representations that they create.

Firstly, the most obvious difference is in the description of the surroundings. Maori tourism websites describe the area and town they operate in, whereas this is nearly

completely lacking in adventure tourism websites. However, the adventure tourism websites focus a lot on the nature and describe it in many ways, in contrast to the lack of nature in Maori tourism websites. It seems that the tourism companies highlight and emphasize the environment which is most relevant to their tourism product, for Maori companies it is the town and area and for adventure companies it is the nature. Secondly, it needs to be noted that the essence of the product is either culture or adventure and their respective implications in the websites seem to be to the past or the present. This is reflected in the way that Maori tourism companies emphasize history and adventure tourism companies focus on being modern and contemporary. Importantly, the common feature for all these websites is the emphasis on experience, which is the core of both Maori and adventure tourism products. The descriptions and representations build the expectations for and underline the actual tourism product: the experience.

The limitations of this study relate to the lack of appropriate theories and methods. There has been little research on the textual and visual contents of websites in tourism discourse, especially from the point of view of linguistics. Therefore there has been a need to adapt several different theories and methods from different fields of research in order to explore this area and the research question of this study. On the other hand, the nature of tourism studies is multidisciplinary and thus drawing from a broad theoretical background and using different methods together is a natural continuance to the field of tourism research in general.

This study offers several different options and ideas for further research. It would be interesting to expand by looking into other kinds of New Zealand tourism websites, in order to find other kinds of representations of the country and to see how those compare to the findings of this study. On the other hand, there are also many other kinds of Maori websites, which would provide an interesting comparison point to these tourism websites in their representations of Maoris and

their culture. Above all, it would be interesting to see similar studies focusing on language use and tourism discourse in tourism websites, as this is an area that has not been researched much yet.

The aim of this thesis was to examine the representations created of New Zealand and Maoris and it succeeded in shedding some light on this subject. This thesis explored an area that has not received much attention from researchers: tourism websites and the discourse created by them through language and images. In addition it combined different methods in order to look at the data from various perspectives. The study revealed many interesting features and representations that the websites all portrayed through their choices of words and images.

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Appendix 1. A screen shot view of AntConc, concordancing programme

The screenshot shows the AntConc 3.2.1w (Windows) 2007 interface. The main window displays a concordance search for the term "new zealand". The search results are shown in a table with columns for Line Number (Ln), KWIC (Key Word In Context), and File. The search term is "new zealand", and there are 344 concordance hits. The search window size is set to 50. The interface includes a menu bar (File, Global Settings, Tool Preferences, About), a toolbar, and a status bar.

Ln	KWIC	File
41	and themed dinner, with a guided tour of the Wild New Zealand section of the Willowbank Wildlife Reserve, i	kotane.co.nz
42	dusk every day. Guided tours only through Natural New Zealand area from 5.30 p.m. daily. Closed: Christmas	kotane.co.nz
43	ed: Christmas Day and New Year's Eve. A Taste of New Zealand Dinner - dining times: Daily from 6.30pm. Ple	kotane.co.nz
44	dents (with ID) 15 years and over. Prices are in New Zealand Dollars, inclusive of GST and valid from 01 O	kotane.co.nz
45	TAMAKI MAORI VILLAGE Rotorua New Zealand's most awarded Cultural Tourism Attraction A	maoriculture
46	he most award-winning Maori culture attraction in New Zealand ... Journey with us to the outskirts of Rotor	maoriculture
47	that is simply like no other in Rotorua or indeed New Zealand . Click here to read - in detail - what you wi	maoriculture
48	for yourself why Tamaki Maori Village Rotorua is New Zealand's most Award-Winning Maori Culture experience	maoriculture
49	ving directions to our door! Discover Rotorua, New Zealand Tamaki Maori Village is located the superb ci	maoriculture
50	y of Rotorua, in the heart of the North Island of New Zealand . For hundreds of years, visitors to New Zeala	maoriculture
51	# New Zealand . For hundreds of years, visitors to New Zealand have been attracted to the Rotoruas excitemen	maoriculture
52	xury lodges and inexpensive motels. Rotorua is a New Zealand destination like no other an awesome array o	maoriculture
53	across the vast ocean in massive Waka (canoes) to New Zealand . You'll also enjoy some fascinating Maori lege	maoriculture
54	this method in detail with you. Enjoy succulent New Zealand meats with a lovely, slightly-smoked flavour	maoriculture
55	lude: * 3.5 hour Maori Cultural Experience - New Zealand's best and most award-winning! * Buffet di	maoriculture
56	of hours, ready for your arrival! Enjoy succulent New Zealand meats with a lovely, slightly-smoked flavour	maoriculture
57	al: Traditional Hangi Hangi cooked meats Prime New Zealand Lamb & Chicken Hangi cooked vegetables - pot	maoriculture
58	ing cultural tourism attraction in Rotorua and in New Zealand ... Book online now Tamaki Maori Village Rot	maoriculture
59	ri culture experience in Rotorua and the whole of New Zealand ! Step into a traditional Maori village, deep	maoriculture
60	he stone forever yearns for its source: Aotearoa, New Zealand a promise that those who leave us will one d	maoriculture
61	es 30 minutes 1.5 hours 30 minutes 3.5 hours New Zealand Curriculum Links: Curriculum Link Activity	maoriculture
62	would have been before the arrival of European to New Zealand . Programme Rua The Realm of Tane Standard	maoriculture

Search Term: Words Case Regex
 Concurrence Hits: 344
 Search Window Size: 50

Total No. 12
 Files Processed: Level 1 Level 2 Level 3

Buttons: Start, Stop, Sort, Save Window, Exit

Appendix 2. A list of the Maori tourism websites used in the study

Maori tourism website:	Data retrieved on:
www.maoritours.co.nz/main/home/	21.1.2011
www.tepuia.com/	21.1.2011
www.mokoiaisland.co.nz/	21.1.2011
www.taiamaitours.co.nz	23.1.2011
www.mitai.co.nz	19.2.2011
www.kotane.co.nz	19.2.2011
www.maoriculture.co.nz	21.1.2011
www.tamakihikoi.co.nz	21.2.2011
www.culturenorth.co.nz	21.2.2011
www.waitangi.net.nz	21.2.2011
www.maoriexperience.co.nz	21.2.2011
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