

FROM EXPLOITATIVE TO REGENERATIVE TOURISM

Tino rangatiratanga and tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand

*Helen Matunga**

Hirini Matunga†

Stephen Urlich‡

Abstract

Aotearoa New Zealand's environmental management has long been considered short-sighted and focused on economic development over environmental, cultural or social imperatives. Tourism contributes to those pressures on our environments and communities. While Māori have always been involved in tourism, there is a concerted movement by many Māori towards engagement with tourism as a means of reconnecting with cultural traditions, protecting natural resources and providing employment for whānau. However, a definitive framework is lacking for establishing the limits of acceptable environmental change for different taonga from the effects of tourism. Such a framework is essential for bridging the implementation gap between the goals of national tourism and environmental strategies, and the actual outcomes on the ground. Here, we advance the Mauriora Systems Framework (MSF) (Matunga, 1993) as a conceptually robust and generic framework that is unique to Aotearoa New Zealand and provides a language and process centred on mauri for mana whenua to come together with management agencies in setting outcomes for places and taonga. We suggest the MSF is consistent with the aspiration for the emerging notion of regenerative tourism and that it can also contribute to a greater understanding and valuing of mātauranga and tikanga Māori within the tourism industry and its host communities.

Keywords

environmental management, rangatiratanga, regenerative tourism, tikanga Māori

Introduction

Environment Aotearoa 2019 (Ministry for the Environment [MfE] & Stats NZ, 2019) presented a sobering picture of widespread biodiversity

decline and ecosystem degradation in Aotearoa New Zealand. An environmental assessment is required every three years by the Environmental Reporting Act 2015, and the 2019 report identified

* Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongowhakaata, Ngāti Porou. Researcher, Lincoln University, Canterbury, New Zealand.
Email: Helen.Matunga@ngaitahu.iwi.nz

† Ngāi Tahu, Ngāti Kahungunu, Rongowhakaata, Ngāti Porou. Professor of Māori and Indigenous Development, Lincoln University, Canterbury, New Zealand.

‡ Ngāti Tararā. Lecturer in Environmental Management, Lincoln University, Canterbury, New Zealand.

that our collective economic dependence on extractive, overly exploitative and resource-intensive industries is harming the life-supporting capacity of land, freshwater and marine ecosystems.

The need for transformative change in the way we manage and conceptualise our relationships with nature has been recently recognised both locally (Department of Conservation [DoC], 2020) and internationally by the Intergovernmental Panel on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services (Diaz et al., 2019). Indigenous worldviews are essential for reconceptualising our human–environment relationships, due to the richness and diversity of the accumulated ecological knowledge inherent within them (Berkes, 1999), as is an ecosystem approach underpinned by ecological science (Diaz et al., 2019). Both are necessary for helping to address the impending environmental and social complications from climate change (Benson & Craig, 2017; Timoti et al., 2017).

The need for inclusivity in environmental management more broadly is also increasingly recognised, such as within *Te Mana o Te Taiao: Aotearoa New Zealand Biodiversity Strategy 2020* (DoC, 2020). This strategy seeks to help bring about a change in society’s relationship with nature in Aotearoa over time by combining mātauranga Māori and contemporary scientific knowledge. The discourse is one of restoration and regeneration, where the mauri of nature and people is revitalised, in part by empowering kaitiaki to express their responsibilities within a te ao Māori frame.

The restorative theme is also part of current tourism narrative, such as set out in the recent government and tourism industry strategies (Ministry of Business, Innovation & Employment [MBIE] & DoC, 2019; Tourism Industry Aotearoa [TIA], 2019). Tourism is an industry that has both a global and a local footprint, and thereby contributes towards climate change as well as to place-based environmental pressures (Higham et al., 2019; Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment [PCE], 1997, 2019). Tourism is an important part of the national economy and an increasingly important part of the Māori economy (MBIE & DoC, 2019). It grew rapidly as inbound tourism increased significantly in the 2010s, with 3.89 million annual arrivals by 2019 (Stats NZ, 2020), although numbers have crashed in 2020 due to inbound and domestic travel restrictions to slow down the spread of the Covid-19 virus.

Prior to the pandemic, tourism development had become an increasingly important, and contentious, component of environmental management

in Aotearoa (PCE, 1997, 2019; Potter, 2018; Ward et al., 2002). Irrespective of an eventual “recovery” of tourism numbers, tourism risks being embedded as an extractive and transactional activity on the environment (PCE, 2019), albeit with notable exceptions, even though the industry had promoted visitor experience within nature as a point of difference to prospective tourists (TIA, 2019).

As tourism-strong communities look forward to easing of border restrictions, issues of social licence, visitor behaviour and environmental protection are likely to re-emerge as needing more research, monitoring and management, particularly in the regions (MBIE, 2018; PCE, 2019). Similar concerns expressed in the late 1990s led to the government funding Lincoln University to investigate the environmental and social effects of tourism (see, e.g., Johnson et al., 2001; Urlich et al., 2001). For example, models of visitor numbers and environmental effects were tested for caves, wildlife and scenic sites (Urlich et al., 2001), which led to the development of a tourism asset classification along with generic and site-specific monitoring indicators (Ward et al., 2002). This work on carrying capacity and limits of acceptable environmental change has largely been forgotten (e.g., Higham et al., 2019), despite the PCE (2019) calling for more development of these concepts for tourism.

The limits of acceptable environmental change is a functional managerial approach and process (Stankey et al., 1985) which has its place, but it is not a framework developed by Māori for Māori to reflect te ao Māori. For Māori, the imperative for more effective management of tourism impacts has been a long-standing concern inextricably linked to broader concerns regarding the general health of the natural environment, Te Tiriti o Waitangi/Treaty of Waitangi grievances and settlements, and tino rangatiratanga.

There is a substantial body of literature regarding Māori-led and -centred tourism (Barnett, 1997; Carr, 2007; Hinch et al., 1999; Taylor, 1998; Wilson et al., 2006; Zeppel, 1997), but there has been less research conducted on Māori responses to tourism impacts at a broader scale. An exception is a series of studies from the late 1990s to early 2000s, in which the impacts of tourism on Māori communities were explored, along with the involvement of Māori in managing tourism impacts (Dolheguy, 1999; Hinch et al., 1999; Poharama et al., 1998; Tahana et al., 2000; Zygadlo et al., 2001; Zygadlo et al., 2003b). These studies provided insight into the

ambivalence of some Māori attitudes towards tourism development, and the cultural disjunction between iwi/hapū/whānau tikanga and the tourism industry. Recent literature regarding the broader involvement of Māori in tourism has explored the interactions between different components of a Māori worldview and the tourism industry (Amoamo et al., 2018; Potter, 2018; Puriri & McIntosh, 2019; Ringham et al., 2016). The connection between Māori, tourism and environmental management is often included within these discussions, to varying degrees, but is rarely the focus of the research (but see Potter, 2018).

Noticeably, many of the recent examples of iwi/hapū/whānau engagement in the management of tourism-related environmental impacts have been covered in the media. Online and print newspapers, TV news segments, radio interviews and online forums track how Māori have been involved in various ways with tourism-related impacts. For example:

- Local iwi Te Kawerau ā Māki placed a rāhui over the Waitākere Ranges in a bid to prevent the spread of kauri (*Agathis australis*) dieback disease (Russell, 2019).
- Ngāti Kahungunu forced an independent review of the Te Mata Peak track due to inadequate consultation processes (Chumko, 2019).
- The Supreme Court case *Ngai Tai ki Tamaki Tribal Trust v Minister of Conservation* (2018) established DOC's failure to give proper effect to section 4 of the Conservation Act 1987 in its processes of issuing concessions for tours to Motutapu Islands (Owen, 2018).
- A review of the management plan of Te Oneroa-ā-Tōhe/Ninety Mile Beach by the Te Oneroa-ā-Tōhe Board led to the prevention of cars doing “doughnuts” on the beach and negatively impacting the area (Piper, 2019).

These examples demonstrate that, while not necessarily covered in the academic literature, iwi, hapū and whānau have been engaging in the broader environmental management of tourism resources in various ways. Concurrently, the PCE (2019) identified ~180 media articles related to Māori rights and interests in a 12-month media scan for its 2019 report. How and why Māori are engaging with these issues is important for understanding how the tourism industry may contribute to transformative change towards addressing the complex cultural, environmental, social and economic issues it causes and faces (PCE, 2019; Potter, 2018).

The key concepts of kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga, and tino rangatiratanga underpinned Māori concerns (PCE, 2019), which emerged from 28 interviews carried out for the PCE with Māori environmental managers, kaitiaki, tourism providers and elected iwi representatives (Potter, 2018). However, only two of these values were expressed in the recent national tourism strategies (MBIE & DoC, 2019; TIA, 2019); there is no mention of tino rangatiratanga, although whanaungatanga is included. There was specific mention in the government's tourism strategy of strengthening engagement, along with developing and implementing effective partnerships with Māori tourism enterprises, iwi/hapū/whānau and tangata whenua, as well as promoting Māori culture and values through tourism. How this is to occur in the absence of acknowledging tino rangatiratanga is not set out, which is pertinent given the Supreme Court's 2018 ruling on DOC's shortcomings in partnership and engagement with Māori noted above. Instead, the government's implementation measures are designed to enable and support Māori to tell their stories and share their place, as well as increase awareness of the opportunities to deliver authentic experiences that reflect tikanga.

In this article, we address a key gap in the implementation of both the government's and TIA's tourism strategies by setting out a process for Māori to express tino rangatiratanga and kaitiakitanga in tourism management. To do this, we advance the Mauriora Systems Framework (MSF) (Blackford & Matunga, 1993) as a process that can be adapted by tangata whenua and Māori entities to identify what is important to them. The MSF is a planning, management and decision-making process that places mauri at its centre. It is also a method which enables iwi to articulate what the Treaty partnership should be delivering for them in the management of taonga that attract tourists. Without this, we suggest it will be difficult for the government to achieve its long-term goal of placing “Māori culture at the heart of Aotearoa NZ's tourism offering” (MBIE & DoC, 2019, p. 4). It will also be problematic for the regeneration of both the tourism industry and the communities it serves and helps to sustain, especially as the situation evolves in a post-Covid world.

To explore these challenges, we first outline key impacts of tourism on Māori. We then explore the importance of Māori worldviews in responding to visitor effects. This leads to an analysis of the importance of mātauranga Māori in understanding how to protect and regenerate taonga. Tino rangatiratanga and a Māori approach to

effective tourism and environmental management are intertwined, and we demonstrate how the MSF addresses an important gap in bringing about tikanga-based and regenerative tourism.

Key impacts of tourism on Māori communities

Perhaps surprisingly, there appears to be a relatively small body of literature and research concerning Māori concerns and responses to the impacts of tourism generally. This gap in the knowledge may have been somewhat obscured by the tourism discourse as a means of Māori development, as opposed to a more integrative approach of addressing environmental issues. However, this is not to say there was no discussion regarding these aspects. A body of literature published in the 1990s and early 2000s explored the various ways in which Māori communities were impacted and involved in regions considered tourism-focused or tourism-dependent. These studies were focused on Māori perceptions of tourism and environmental effects (Dolheguy, 1999; Poharama et al., 1998; Tahana et al., 2000; Zygadlo et al., 2001; Zygadlo et al., 2003b).

By focusing on both Māori-led tourism and Māori involvement with tourism on a broader scale, these researchers highlighted an ambivalence regarding tourism for many Māori within these communities (see, e.g., Tahana et al., 2000). Many of the potential benefits of tourism discussed by respondents were also identified as being potentially negative impacts, depending on external factors outside of the control of iwi and hapū. These negative impacts of tourism were consistent across the regions studied and could be grouped into key themes:

- The misappropriation of Māori culture and cultural authenticity
- Barriers to Māori tourism development
- A lack of effective partnership in managing the natural environment
- Minimal/restricted recognition and fulfilment of tikanga

While these studies were conducted nearly two decades ago, the concerns highlighted remain relevant today: a general lack of understanding and valuing of Māori values and concepts, and a lack of control and recognition for Māori regarding the environmental management of tourism impacts (Potter, 2018). An interesting component that came through clearly in these studies was that of the cultural disjunction between Māori and

tourists, highlighting a key concern for Māori of respect, or lack thereof, by visitors regarding the relationship between Māori and the natural environment (Poharama et al., 1998; Zygadlo et al., 2001). While this perception was seen to impact Māori fulfilment of cultural practices, it was not considered detrimental to the inherent relationship between Māori and the natural environment, which remained consistent regardless of the tourism venture or activity (Poharama et al., 1998). However, it did highlight the importance of both recognising and valuing Māori interests in environmental management within a tourism context.

The relationship between Māori and the natural environment is a central component of a Māori worldview, meaning that it is critical for understanding Māori approaches and responses to tourism development and impacts (Poharama et al., 1998; Tahana et al., 2000; Zygadlo et al., 2001; Zygadlo et al., 2003a, 2003b). An aspect of this relationship was consistently mentioned throughout the studies, regarding Māori as *kaitiaki* and the importance of being able to protect their *taonga* and *waahi tapu* (Zygadlo et al., 2003a, 2003b). These concerns are detailed in more depth in research on Māori and environmental management broadly, but arguably there has been relatively little recognition of these aspects in relation to tourism impacts.

The other main theme highlighted was that of concerns regarding the lack of effective partnership in managing the natural environment (e.g., Potter, 2018). Issues of ownership and consultation processes with Māori were identified, despite requirements within the Resource Management Act 1991 (RMA) to “take into account the principles of the Treaty of Waitangi” and within the Conservation Act 1987 to “give effect to the principles”. This issue is a critical one, and one that similarly extends across Māori interests and development. *Tino rangatiratanga* and control over decision-making processes was emphasised throughout the literature as critical to ensure that the integrity of the culture is maintained, and where *rūnanga*-owned and operated was not possible: “*Rūnanga* must have control over decision-making that ensures the integrity of the culture” (Zygadlo et al., 2001, p. 23). Additionally, regardless of the level Māori are working at within tourism, the holistic worldview and relationship between Māori and the natural environment stays the same. For this reason, an understanding of this worldview is critical for anyone engaging with Māori.

Te ao Māori—a Māori worldview

A Māori approach to tourism and the tourism industry is markedly different to the typical Western approach, and this can be considered an example of differing conceptualisations of the world and the human–environment relationship. Since European settlement, Aotearoa has been dominated by an anthropocentric or utilitarian approach to environmental management, whereby the natural environment is seen primarily as a resource for human development (Gunn, 2007). In contrast, many Māori hold a worldview that is more ecocentric and based around holistic principles, where nature holds intrinsic value beyond that of human development (Mead, 2016). Understanding this difference in worldview is critical for understanding Māori values and principles within Aotearoa, let alone at the interface of our country and international tourists. It should be acknowledged that Western philosophy has a vivid ecocentric preservationist strand, which is also centred on connection to nature.

Te ao Māori is based upon holistic principles and interconnectedness, whereby all living things have intrinsic value and are better understood or defined by their relationships to other components within the natural system (Duncan & Rewi, 2018). This resonates with an ecological ethos as encapsulated by Aldo Leopold's (1949) "land ethic", with land as a community to which we belong and are not separate from. Intrinsic values of ecosystems are recognised in section 7 of the RMA as a matter of national importance.

A core component of the Māori worldview is the concept of whakapapa. Although often translated to mean "genealogy", it is critical to understand that whakapapa extends beyond that of human relations by bridging the spiritual and the secular (Marsden, 2003). It is whakapapa that connects people, other living entities, the natural environment and the spiritual realm because everything in the Māori holistic universe (animate or inanimate) has a whakapapa (Jackson et al., 2018; Mead, 2016; Roberts et al., 1995). Many Māori will refer to maunga and awa as tūpuna when introducing themselves: it locates them in their place, details their whakapapa and provides a foundation for relationship-building.

Whakapapa must be understood then as both a kinship system and the organisational principle of te ao Māori, providing a means of understanding the interconnectedness of the world and establishing a platform for mātauranga Māori and tikanga Māori (Barlow, 1991). Although te ao Māori is more ecocentric than the current utilitarian

paradigm, there is still an important hierarchy to be recognised and respected. This hierarchy positions human beings below the natural environment and is both informed by and informs tikanga and mātauranga Māori (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013). These concepts provide the basis for understanding the responsibilities of Māori towards the natural environment, and how these obligations can be realised and fulfilled.

Tikanga is often translated to mean "cultural/customary practice" or "the right way of doing things"; however, there are numerous ways of defining the concept, which can refer to cultural practices, customs and traditions, rituals, protocols, etiquette/appropriate behaviour and obligations (Benton et al., 2013; Duncan & Rewi, 2018; Mead, 2016). To understand how tikanga informs actions and processes, it is important to recognise that tikanga operates at three different levels: the conceptual, the practical and the informative (Mead, 2016). Some tikanga may operate more as an "ideal" which establishes guidelines for behaviour within a particular context while acknowledging that the fulfilment of that tikanga may be influenced by circumstances and outside influences (Mead, 2016). The dynamic nature of these concepts is important, not only for non-Māori engaging with iwi/hapū/whānau, but also for understanding how readily these concepts are realised in areas facing diverse and multi-faceted environmental, economic and social issues, such as tourism.

There are a number of fundamental principles underpinning tikanga, which include mauri, whanaungatanga, manaakitanga, mana, tapu, noa, utu and ea. These principles are critical for understanding the relationship between Māori and the natural environment, and how more effective environmental management may be addressed in a tourism context. We direct the reader to insightful discussions of these concepts in Mead (2016) and Duncan and Rewi (2018); here we focus most on mauri.

Mātauranga Māori—Māori ways of understanding

Operationalising these principles within a mainstream system is often a complex and fraught process due to cultural disjunction with varying degrees of understanding and valuing of tikanga and mātauranga Māori. Mātauranga Māori is often directly translated as "Māori cultural knowledge", but it also strongly emphasises the cultivation of knowledge and intergenerational forms of understanding the world (Benton et al.,

2013; Mead, 2016). Accumulated knowledge, derived from the observation of cause and effect and modified over generations of experience, is a core facet of mātauranga Māori and provides a way of understanding whakapapa, cultural histories, experiences, traditions, attitudes, values and practices (Harmsworth & Awatere, 2013; Mead, 2016). Different iwi/hapū/whānau knowledge passed down generationally will be informed by the social, economic and environmental circumstances of the respective iwi/hapū/whānau and their takiwā. For this reason, mātauranga must be understood to be both dynamic and highly contextual.

This way of knowing is critical for Māori, as mātauranga Māori can often be reduced to more generic forms in order to integrate Māori concepts more readily into mainstream regulatory and knowledge systems. Attempts by non-Māori to restrict the validity of mātauranga Māori to certain topics or contexts, such as indigenous species or cultural traditions, are considered by many as a means to limit Māori involvement in mainstream processes and a way to continue a colonial agenda (Duncan & Rewi, 2018; Ruru, 2018). The importance of this point is highlighted by the Waitangi Tribunal (2011) inquiry into a Treaty claim of customary rights regarding mātauranga Māori, the recommendations of which have yet to be acted upon (Ruru, 2018). By recognising that mātauranga Māori is a taonga that has been, and still is, at risk due to the prioritisation of a utilitarian, reductionist and mechanistic approach, we can also recognise that mātauranga Māori is less of an “archive” and more a way of actively engaging with Māori ways of understanding and organising knowledge (Mead, 2016; Stewart, 2020).

Te Tiriti and tourism management

One of the key difficulties with recognition of Māori values and interests within mainstream systems and processes is the fact that concepts may be acknowledged at a conceptual level, but the practical and informative aspects of tikanga can often be ignored. In many ways, this signifies why rangatiratanga is so critical for Māori, as it means that cultural values and knowledge will be utilised alongside the cultural practices and processes that help define them. Therefore, having developed an understanding of the core components of te ao Māori, it is then critical to understand the legislative and political context of Māori involvement in environmental management generally. While it is outside of the scope of this article to cover the history of Treaty grievances and settlements

in Aotearoa, the alienation of Māori from their whenua after the signing of Te Tiriti forms the political context of this discussion. While land ownership has continued to be a critical issue for Māori and is arguably the most publicly recognised component of cultural redress for broken Treaty promises of collaborative partnership, the inextricably connected issue is that of rangatiratanga and decision-making authority (Matunga, 2000). Since the 1970s, this struggle has taken on a steady determination by Māori to assert Māori rights and interests through Treaty claims and settlements, Māori involvement in national and local government, Māori organisations and businesses, and iwi/hapū/whānau engagement in local government processes defined in the RMA (Forster, 2014).

As the primary legislation for environmental management in Aotearoa, the RMA includes various means of recognising Māori environmental rights and interests. Section 6(e) of the Act states that all persons exercising functions and powers “shall recognise and provide for . . . the relationship of Māori and their culture and traditions with their ancestral lands, water, sites, waahi tapu, and other taonga”. Section 7(a), meanwhile, states that those exercising functions and powers under the Act “must have particular regard to . . . kaitiakitanga”. The recognition of Māori values and concepts is important for protecting Māori interests; however, it is significant that rangatiratanga is not mentioned, and that kaitiakitanga is the tikanga referenced, as the more explicitly “environmentally focused” tikanga.

The wording of these RMA sections has led to a wealth of literature exploring the misrepresentation and/or misinterpretation of kaitiakitanga as being falsely aligned with a conservation ethic, whereby Māori as kaitiaki are portrayed (or expected to be) simply protectors of the environment. As discussed in depth by Roberts et al. (1995) and Kawharu (2000), kaitiakitanga exists within a holistic framework and is concerned with the wise use of natural resources. In this sense, wise use sits at one end of a continuum and over-exploitation and serial depletion at the other. This is one of the key differences to an ecological perspective, where permanent biodiversity “banks” subjected to little or no human activity allow natural processes to be studied and therefore the impacts of human use to be understood. Moreover, these banks allow replenishment of utilised environments from spill-over effects, as has been unequivocally demonstrated in marine reserves (Willis, 2013).

Misrepresentation of this tikanga of “kaitiaki as protectors”, as with misrepresentation of any tikanga, has the capacity to seriously hinder Māori development by imposing cultural identities and meanings that are incorrect and inappropriate. This is readily apparent within the tourism context as the Māori economy continues to diversify, building upon past and ongoing interactions between iwi/hapū/whānau, DoC and the general public over Treaty settlements and conservation-administered areas. The Conservation Act 1987 is therefore another critical component of Māori customary interest. The Treaty is recognised in section 4 of the Act, which states that the Act shall “give effect” to its principles.

As noted above, the Supreme Court in 2018 ruled that the wording “give effect to” is a strong directive (stronger than that of the RMA), requiring a much more in-depth analysis by DoC regarding the interests of Māori (Baker-Galloway, 2019). The “Fullers decision”, as the case is often referred to, upheld the claim by Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki Tribal Trust that they had rangatiratanga over Motutapu and Rangitoto Islands, and that DoC’s decision to grant concessions to other tour providers conflicted with section 4 of the Act. The decision is important for both Māori and DoC. With the RMA providing a weaker directive with regard to the Treaty of Waitangi, there is a disjunction between the two Acts, which were formerly considered to overlap (Baker-Galloway, 2019). Not only does this bring together the two seemingly discrete discourses of Māori involvement in tourism and Māori involvement in environmental management within legislation, but it also requires DoC to show more insight in its partnerships and collaborations with Māori in the future. Interestingly, this dynamic is highlighted often in the media and public discourse (Owen, 2018).

A Māori approach to tourism

Tourism has been an important component of the Māori world for a long time, from Māori guides leading tourists to the Pink and White Terraces in Rotorua in the 19th century to the Ngāi Tahu-owned Shotover Jet in Queenstown today. Māori engagement with tourism has provided more than simply economic benefits for Māori and is embedded in strong Māori discourses regarding tino rangatiratanga, cultural identity and authenticity, and cultural revitalisation (Amoamo & Thompson, 2010; Carr, 2007; Higgins-Desboilles et al., 2017; Zygadlo et al., 2001). This broader context must be recognised and understood to explore Māori involvement in

tourism. However, it is also important to recognise that Māori involvement in tourism is on several levels, and this article focuses on Māori-led and -centred tourism and Māori engagement with the management of tourism impacts. While the previous literature has focused on Māori-centred tourism as an alternative to mainstream tourism, in the context of greater environmental awareness an emphasis on Māori engagement in environmental management of tourism resources generally is now emerging. While this article is primarily focusing on the latter discourse, understanding the former is also critical for recognising the broader context within which this topic sits, and to avoid treating Māori interests, concerns and responses to these issues as isolated or discrete.

While Māori have been involved in Aotearoa tourism for well over a century, there has been a concerted drive behind this involvement since the 1980s as a means of revitalising Māori identity, culture and practices, and establishing greater control over Māori futures. The drivers behind Māori development are broad and inextricably connect cultural, social, environmental and economic imperatives, and this is reflected in Māori tourism (Higgins-Desboilles et al., 2017). This holistic perspective determines Māori involvement in the industry and, through Māori-led and Māori-centred tourism developments and ventures, it is possible to identify how this balancing act is realised within a Māori context.

From the literature, there are several key components to Māori-led tourism, with many aspects strongly overlapping with Māori development generally:

- centring Māori values and principles (regardless of the tourism product)
- holistic benefits (cultural, social, environmental and economic)
- rangatiratanga and Māori control over cultural representation and authenticity
- Treaty settlements and Māori empowerment. (Carr, 2017; McIntosh et al., 1999)

It is also important to note that Māori-led does not necessarily mean that the Māori culture is explicitly displayed within the tourism venture. In fact, there are instances where iwi/hapū/whānau-run tourism ventures do not have a cultural focus but are still grounded in Māori values and practices (Carr, 2017). This diversification is also interesting, particularly regarding how Māori have navigated the incorporation of Māori values into tourism ventures like hotels, transport businesses and adventure tourism.

It was difficult to find evidence of explicit cultural frameworks utilised by iwi/hapū/whānau in developing tourism ventures (culturally focused or otherwise); however, entities such as Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu (2016) have provided insight into how cultural values laid a foundation for development. The Manawa Kāi Tahu project is a way for Ngāi Tahu to demonstrate how the commercial branch of the iwi incorporates Ngāi Tahu values within its operations, and provides a framework consisting of:

- Manaakitanga: Respecting and caring for others and ourselves
- Rangatiratanga: Upholding the mana of the people in all we do, empowering ourselves and those around us and leading by example
- Tikanga: Upholding our customs, cultural practices and doing what is right
- Kaitiakitanga: Protecting and enhancing our natural world and our resources
- Tohungatanga: Supporting and growing our whānau to enable them to be their best
- Whanaungatanga: Maintaining and nurturing positive relationships. (Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu, 2016, p. 5)

Within the mainstream system there is a tendency to treat each of these principles as singular or discrete, and their integration into that system often reduces their meanings to a simple translation, at the expense of the accompanying tikanga that surrounds each holistic concept. For this reason, especially in the context of tourism and environmental management, it is important to consider

how the realisation of these values and concepts is centred on rangatiratanga as the critical link between mātauranga, tikanga and desired outcomes for Māori, particularly regarding tourism and its effects.

Adopting a broad cultural framework could also be helpful for those working in partnership with Māori, such as local territorial authorities and DoC, as a way of communicating and engaging with, not only Māori values, but also the tikanga that informs and realises those values within a contemporary context. In doing so, using a generic cultural framework could help navigate the cultural nexus between differing holistic worldviews (Māori and ecological) and exploitative utilisation in a way that is desperately needed in the wake of climate change and the degradation of our natural resources (Diaz et al., 2019).

Mauriora Systems Framework

One way of conceptualising these values and tikanga within a contemporary decision-making context is to adopt a conceptual framework like the one proposed by Matunga (in Blackford & Matunga, 1993) and used in tourism and Māori development research in Westland by Zygadlo et al. (2001). The MSF was developed as a means of supporting culturally responsible environmental decision-making by identifying four fundamental components around which environmental assessments and decisions can be made: Taonga, Tikanga, Kaitiaki and Mauri (see Figure 1).

The MSF was initially developed in the early 1990s for assessing potential effects of hazardous substances and new organisms on taonga Māori.

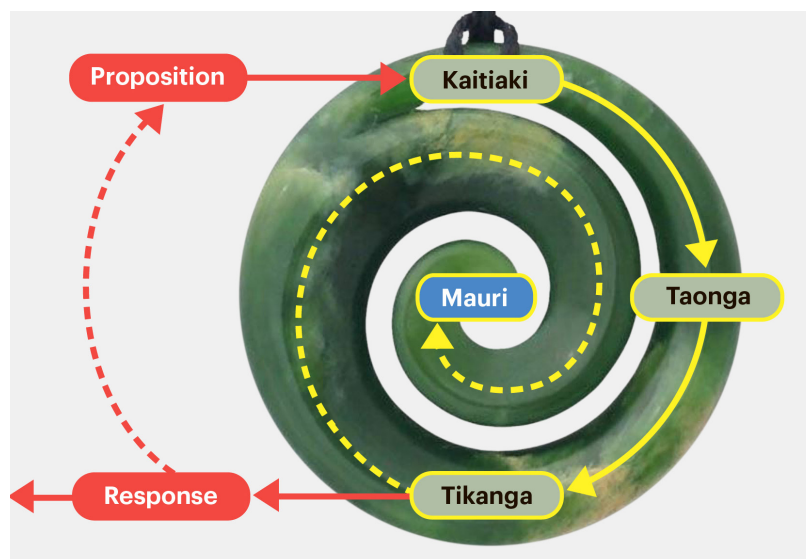


FIGURE 1 The Mauriora Systems Framework (redrawn from Matunga, 1993)

The aim of the framework was to ensure Māori cultural and spiritual values were recognised in any assessment process, but with an assurance that the appropriate Māori community of interest (i.e., iwi/hapū/whānau), whether positively or negatively affected, was involved or at least had their interests represented in assessments and decisions. The framework has since been applied across a range of contexts (see Durie, 1998, pp. 23–24).

Irrespective of the context or activity to which it is applied, the focus of the MSF is tangata whenua control over the decision-making or management process—as kaitiaki—and location of this process within a Māori ontology or te ao Māori worldview. This ontology is framed according to critical Māori cultural “ways of being”, constructs and concepts that collectively shape te ao Māori as an ongoing iterative process. This process connects with the past, comprehends the present and anticipates or projects into the future. Put another way, it is about Māori control over Māori processes, using Māori cultural constructs to make decisions—management, planning, policy or otherwise. The MSF is a framework for activating te tino rangatiratanga, expressing kaitiakitanga (as an ethical responsibility) and applying tikanga Māori, such as manaakitanga, whanaungatanga and so on, in a Māori-specific people, place and resource context.

The MSF uses the concept of mauri, which is the life force that is inherent in all living things and which bonds all living elements within the holistic world, creating unity (Marsden, 2003). The mauri is a signifier of regenerative capacity and the ability to be in balance not only within itself but also within a system (Duncan & Rewi, 2018). As a framework, its aim is protection, maintenance and enhancement of te mauri o ngā taonga, in a manner consistent with ngā tikanga, as defined and determined by ngā kaitiaki, to pursue and achieve a state of mauriora—wellness, good health and wellbeing (see below for a fuller description of key concepts). The inextricable link between the MSF’s various components is a way of ensuring discrete elements are not misappropriated or redefined out of their te ao Māori context. As a decision-making method it is predicated on tangata whenua (iwi/hapū/whānau) control and management of the process through their kaitiaki.

As a self-contained system, the process is activated by an external proposition (i.e., draft policy, plan, development proposal, management initiative, resource consent, etc.). The spatial/geographic scope of the proposition helps define who the affected tangata whenua, iwi/hapū/whānau or

Māori collective might be. *Their* kaitiaki can then assess the proposition against *their* tikanga, and make a determination about any potential effects on the mauri of *their* taonga. The assessment of effects then forms the basis for *their* response to the proposition.

As a generic policy, planning and decision-making framework, the MSF is able to be modified by iwi/hapū/whānau kaitiaki to suit the context, whether it is environmental, social, cultural, economic or various combinations of these. Irrespective of context, the operating principle remains the same—namely, enhancement of the mauri of the taonga as defined by kaitiaki.

MSF and tourism—a regenerative kaupapa?

The relevance of mauri to tourism is obvious, particularly as much of the literature regarding Māori and environmental management discusses the importance of mauri in understanding both the health of the natural environment/natural resource and a conceptualisation of an ideal state (Duncan & Rewi, 2018). The regenerative aspect of mauri is critical as it moves beyond one component of health to encompass an intrinsic measure of wellbeing for a living thing (Spiller et al., 2011). In this sense, regenerative tourism cannot be separated from the health of people and/or place. It is therefore “additive” as opposed to “extractive”, albeit in reality the reciprocity may be mutually beneficial. Te Ātiawa Manawhenua ki Te Tau Ihu Trust, which represents Te Ātiawa people who whakapapa to Te Tau Ihu (the top of the South Island) terms this a “net, enduring restorative outcome” (Ian “Shappy” Shapcott, personal communication, September 9, 2020).

Although mauri is commonly used in literature concerning Māori and environmental management, there is relatively little mention of the term within Māori tourism research. It is not mentioned in the recent national tourism strategies (MBIE & DoC, 2019; TIA, 2019), nor explored in any depth within the PCE’s (2019) report. This is a significant gap as *Environment Aotearoa 2019* shows that current environmental management systems are not serving Aotearoa as a whole, and certainly not the cultural imperatives expressed by Māori.

This is not about simply treating the natural environment better so we can continue to exploit it; it is about reassessing what it is that we value and, simultaneously, what kind of tourism we would like to encourage so that further degradation is stemmed and regeneration can occur. In this sense, while mauri may provide a more

environmentally focused understanding of this human–nature relationship, the concepts of mana and manaakitanga provide an interpretation of the social interactions, expectations and obligations concerning tourism. This echoes scholarship from Australia, where Higgins-Desbiolles and Akbar (2018) suggest that only when Indigenous communities can express their knowledge in ways appropriate to their values will tourism be consistent with cultural responsibilities and therefore be able to thrive. Berkes et al. (2000) emphasised the importance of Indigenous communities applying traditional knowledge to manage ecosystem pressures in an adaptive and flexible way. This ethnic knowledge system has deep roots in history that pre-dates colonisation by Europeans.

Manaakitanga has often been associated with hospitality and respecting the visitor or tourist. However, this respect is mutual and closely tied to the concept of mana, with the capacity to either enhance or degrade that mana depending on each party's actions (Higgins-Desbiolles et al., 2017). Notions of sharing and reciprocity are important to manaakitanga, and sharing knowledge and experiences is just as important as sharing resources. Tourism that provides opportunity for mutual learning, genuine interest and meaningful exchange is regenerative.

At a Māori-led, Māori-centred level, there are numerous examples of manaakitanga extending beyond simply hospitality and recognising the holistic nature of the tikanga, particularly in reference to mana. As discussed by Amoamo et al. (2018), the Blue Penguins Purekura tourist attraction in Dunedin includes a programme based upon tikanga and sharing Māori knowledge alongside ecological knowledge. Critical to the venture are the self-imposed limitations on the growth of the business, due to the prioritisation of remaining within its acceptable ecological limits. The notion of ecological limits is directly linked to the role of kaitiaki and the exercise of mana. However, this imperative required support from the territorial local authority in order to enforce these limits, whereby the area, which had once been freely available to the public, would be closed an hour prior to the tours (Amoamo et al., 2018). Public support for this slowly increased as the evidence of improved breeding rates and land restoration was made apparent. An interesting component of this is the mana-enhancing capacity of the venture. Locals, once angered by the restricted access, appear to have recognised how the restrictions have improved their natural environments, and improved their mana. Although not developed

under the MSF framework, the elements are consistent and recognisable.

Centring Māori values like mauri and manaakitanga in a place may provide further insight into how the tourism industry can transform from an environmentally exploitative industry, towards a more regenerative one. In this sense, it would be instructive for researchers to revisit the tourism studies conducted in the 1990s and early 2000s. For example, it would be useful to re-adopt the MSF in the Westland Māori community to see whether there are significant changes in the responses of Māori communities regarding tourism impacts. It would also be insightful to see whether the same tikanga are emphasised, or whether aspects like mauri have been brought further forward in the cultural discourse.

Operating at a larger scale, as part of a collaborative exercise between Māori and non-Māori, the MSF may be able to identify where similarities lie within communities and offer insights into collective action moving forward. In this sense, Māori concepts like mauri, kaitiakitanga, manaakitanga and rangatiratanga can be more than simply buzzwords in government documents and instead become the foundation for a concerted effort to engage in long-term strategic planning. As a generic framework, the MSF offers a conceptually robust way to facilitate this development because the mātauranga and tikanga are addressed alongside one another rather than separately.

Te ao Māori frames and considers environmental issues in a different way to an anthropocentric approach, in accordance with intergenerational mātauranga and tikanga. As Marsden (2003) discusses, Māori are able to avoid “the disjunction between the secular and the spiritual, the compartmentalisation and isolation of one institution from another, and the piecemeal approach to problem and conflict resolution” p. 33. While the ability to silo issues and treat problems as discrete may make for a more straightforward process of considering environmental management responses, it can often lead to the misrepresentation of an issue, rendering any actions taken to address it inadequate or brief in impact. A holistic approach has the aim of addressing each element of a problem or situation in an integrative and reconciliatory way (Marsden, 2003).

Not only does this provide a way forward for Treaty partnerships, but it also provides a uniquely Aotearoa approach to managing a natural environment that embodies our shared heritage and, hopefully, values. When that natural environment also provides the backbone of our economy,

the potential to see a regenerative and culturally affirmative approach to industries like tourism should be adopted, studied and learnt from in different contexts.

Final thoughts

Environment Aotearoa 2019 (MfE & Stats NZ, 2019) highlighted that the widespread impacts of human activities on nature are causing degradation of ecosystems and biodiversity decline. Tourism contributes to those pressures on our environments and communities. However, as the PCE (2019) identified, a definitive framework is lacking for establishing the limits of acceptable environmental change and ascertaining the carrying capacity for different taonga. Such a framework is essential for bridging the implementation gap between the goals of national strategies and the actual outcomes on the ground.

The MSF is a conceptually robust and generic framework that is unique to Aotearoa. It provides a language and process centred on mauri for mana whenua to come together with management agencies in setting outcomes for places and taonga. Its inherent flexibility enables it to be adapted at a range of scales and in different contexts. It empowers mana whenua as the kōrero, and decisions are guided by their tikanga in exercising tino rangatiratanga. The MSF provides a much-needed and consistent mechanism that will enable tailored solutions to different issues and greater participation of mana whenua in tourism and environmental management generally.

The picture painted *Environment Aotearoa 2019* highlights the urgency for us to reassess how we value and use the natural environment. The notion of regeneration can be understood in the context of safeguarding and improving the mauri of taonga that attract visitors to places. The MSF provides a mechanism to operationalise and implement regenerative actions. We suggest it could also form, alongside ecological science and Leopold's (1949) land ethic, an essential part of environmental strategies to manage human interactions and activities with the natural environments of Aotearoa. It can also contribute to a greater understanding and valuing of mātauranga and tikanga Māori within the tourism industry and its host communities, which could help regenerate and sustain each other.

Ngā mihi—Acknowledgements

The original contribution of Caroline Blackford to this work is gratefully acknowledged. The authors would also like to thank two anonymous reviewers

and the editors for helpful comments, which greatly improved this article. We thank Diane Calvert for preparing the figure, and Duncan Stirling for his support. Funding for this work came from Lincoln University's Centre of Excellence for Tourism Research.

Glossary

Aotearoa	Māori name for New Zealand
awa	river, stream, water body
ea	satisfaction
hapū	subtribe
iwi	tribe
kaitiaki	environmental guardian(s)
kaitiakitanga	environmental guardianship
kauri	<i>Agathis australis</i> ; largest forest tree in New Zealand
kōrero	conversation, discourse, statement, narrative
Māori	person/people Indigenous to Aotearoa
mana	prestige, spiritual authority, integrity
mana whenua	power and authority over land; those with power and authority over land
manaakitanga	hospitality, care, respect for visitors
mātauranga	cultural knowledge
maunga	mountain
mauri	life force, regenerative capacity
mauriora	wellness, good health and wellbeing
Ngāi Tahu	principal tribe of the South Island
Ngāi Tai ki Tāmaki	tribe based around Clevedon in the Auckland region
Ngāti Kahungunu	tribe located along the eastern coast of the North Island
noa	balance, neutrality
Pākehā	New Zealanders of European descent
rāhui	temporary ritual prohibition
rangatiratanga	chieftainship, chiefly authority
rūnanga	committee of senior decision-makers of an iwi or hapū
takiwā	territory
tangata whenua	people of the land
taonga	valued resources and/or objects
tapu	state of being separate/sacred

te ao Māori	the Māori world, a Māori worldview
Te Kawerau ā Māki tikanga	tribe of the Auckland region cultural practices
tino rangatiratanga	authority
tohungatanga	expertise, competence, proficiency
tūpuna	ancestors
utu	compensation, reciprocity; avenge
waahi tapu	sacred sites
whakapapa	genealogy; connections between people, other living entities, the natural environment and the spiritual realm
whānau	extended family
whanaungatanga	relationships, kinship
whenua	lands

References

- Amoamo, M., Ruckstuhl, K., & Ruwhiu, D. (2018). Balancing Indigenous values through diverse economies: A case study of Māori ecotourism. *Tourism Planning & Development*, 15(5), 478–495. <https://doi.org/fgcc>
- Amoamo, M., & Thompson, A. (2010). (Re)imaging Māori tourism: Representation and cultural hybridity in postcolonial New Zealand. *Tourist Studies*, 10(1), 35–55. <https://doi.org/fm7p2v>
- Baker-Galloway, M. (2019, November). *The Resource Management Act 1991—its interface and interplay with other legislation* [Paper presentation]. Meeting of the New Zealand Law Society, Intensive Environmental Law Proceedings, Auckland, New Zealand.
- Barlow, C. (1991). *Tikanga whakaaro: Key concepts in Māori culture*. Oxford University Press.
- Barnett, S. (1997). Maori tourism. *Tourism Management*, 18(7), 471–473. <https://doi.org/d9s87d>
- Benson, M. H., & Craig, R. K. (2017). *The end of sustainability: resilience and the future of environmental governance in the Anthropocene*. University Press of Kansas. <https://doi.org/fjvjp>
- Benton, R., Frame, A., & Meredith, P. (2013). *Te mātāpunenga: A compendium of references to the concepts and institutions of Māori customary law*. Victoria University Press.
- Berkes, F. (1999). *Sacred ecology: Traditional ecological knowledge and resource management*. Taylor & Francis.
- Berkes, F., Colding, J., & Folke, C. 2000. Rediscovery of traditional ecological knowledge as adaptive management. *Ecological Applications*, 10(5), 1251–1262. <https://doi.org/dssnb2>
- Blackford, C., & Matunga, H. P. (1993). *Social, cultural and spiritual effects of hazardous substances and new organisms* [Unpublished incomplete report]. Ministry for the Environment.
- Carr, A. (2007). Māori nature tourism businesses: Connecting with the land. In R. Butler & T. Hinch (Eds.), *Tourism and indigenous peoples: Issues and implications* (pp. 114–127). Butterworth-Heinemann. <https://doi.org/ch75cb>
- Carr, A. (2017). Māori tourism in New Zealand. In M. Whitford, L. Ruhanen, & A. Carr (Eds.), *Indigenous tourism: Case studies from Australia and New Zealand* (pp. 145–162). Goodfellow Publishers.
- Chumko, A. (2019, February 4). Visitors have trashed one of New Zealand's most scenic lakes, Waikaremoana. *Stuff*. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/environment/110297191/calls-for-tougher-restrictions-at-lake-waikaremoana-after-vandalism-and-rubbish-dumped-by-visitors?rm=a>
- Conservation Act 1987. <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1987/0065/latest/DLM103610.html>
- Department of Conservation. (2020). *Te Mana o Te Taiao: Aotearoa New Zealand Biodiversity Strategy 2020*. New Zealand Government.
- Diaz, S., Settele, J., Brondizio, E. S., Ngo, H. T., Agard, J., Arneth, A., Balvanera, P., Brauman, K. A., Butchart, S. H. M., Chan, K. M. A., Garibaldi, L. A., Ichii, K., Liu, J., Subramanian, S. M., Midgley, G. F., Miloslavich, P., Molnár, Z., Obura, D., Pfaff, A., ... Zayas, C. N. (2019). Pervasive human-driven decline of life on Earth points to the need for transformative change. *Science*, 366, Article eaax3100. <https://doi.org/ggfg6n>
- Dolheguy, A. (1999). *Maori involvement in managing the environmental effects associated with the tourism industry* [Master's thesis, Lincoln University]. Research@Lincoln. <https://researcharchive.lincoln.ac.nz/handle/10182/2949>
- Duncan, S., & Rewi, P. (2018). Tikanga: How not to get told off. In M. Reilly, S. Duncan, G. Leoni, L. Paterson, L. Carter, M. Rātima & P. Rewi (Eds.), *Te kōparapara: An introduction to the Māori world* (pp. 30–47). Auckland University Press.
- Durie, M. (1998). *Te mana, te kāwanatanga: The politics of Māori self-determination*. Oxford University Press.
- Environmental Reporting Act 2015. <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2015/0087/latest/DLM5941105.html>
- Forster, M. (2014). Indigeneity and trends in recognizing Māori environmental interests in Aotearoa New Zealand. *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 20(1), 63–78. <https://doi.org/fgcj>
- Gunn, A. (2007). Environmental ethics in a New Zealand context. *NZ Journal of Forestry*, 51(4), 7–12. <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/29196118.pdf>
- Harmsworth, G., & Awatere, S. (2013). Indigenous Māori knowledge and perspective of ecosystems. In J. R. Dymond (Ed.), *Ecosystem services in New Zealand: Conditions and trends* (pp. 274–286). Manaaki Whenua Press.
- Higgins-Desbiolles, F., & Akbar, S. (2018). We will present ourselves in our ways: Indigenous Australian tourism. In B. Grimwood, K. Caton, & L. Cooke

- (Eds.), *New moral natures in tourism* (pp. 13–28). Routledge. <https://doi.org/fjvq>
- Higgins-Desboilles, F., Howison, S., & Sun, Z. (2017). Understanding tourism through an Indigenous lens of New Zealand and Aboriginal Australian cultures. In M. Whitford, L. Ruhanen, & A. Carr (Eds.), *Indigenous tourism: Cases from Australia and New Zealand* (pp. 125–144). Goodfellow Publishers.
- Higham, J., Espiner, S., & Parry, S. (2019). *The environmental impacts of tourism in Aotearoa New Zealand: A spatial-temporal analysis*. Prepared for the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment. Otago University.
- Hinch, T. D., McIntosh, A. J., & Ingram, T. (1999). Managing Māori tourist attractions in Aotearoa. *World Leisure & Recreation*, 41(2), 21–24. <https://doi.org/ftpp7s>
- Jackson, A., Baxter, J., & Hoakopa, H. (2018). Hauora Māori—He timatanga: Māori health—An introduction. In M. Reilly, S. Duncan, G. Leoni, L. Paterson, L. Carter, M. Rātima, & P. Rewi (Eds.), *Te kōparapara: An introduction to the Māori world* (pp. 324–342). Auckland University Press.
- Johnson, V., Ward, J., & Hughey, K. (2001). *Issues and indicators of acceptable change: A study of visitors' and stakeholders' concerns about three natural attractions in the Paparoa area, West Coast, South Island, New Zealand*. (Tourism Recreation Research Education Centre Report No. 40). Lincoln University. <https://researcharchive.lincoln.ac.nz/handle/10182/564>
- Kawharu, M. (2000). Kaitiakitanga: A Māori anthropological perspective of the Māori socio-environmental ethic of resource management. *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 109(4), 349–370.
- Leopold, A. (1949). *A Sand County almanac with essays on conservation from Round River*. Sierra Club.
- Marsden, M. (2003). *The woven universe: Selected writings of Rev. Māori Marsden* (T. A. C. Royal, Ed.). The Estate of Rev. Māori Marsden.
- Matunga, H. (1993). Generic framework for Maori cultural and spiritual values. In C. Blackford & H. Matunga, *Social, cultural and spiritual effects of hazardous substances and new organisms* [Unpublished incomplete report] (pp. 12–20). Ministry for the Environment.
- Matunga, H. (2000). Decolonising planning: The Treaty of Waitangi, the environment and a dual planning tradition. In P. A. Memon & H. Perkins (Eds.), *Environmental planning and management in New Zealand* (pp. 36–47). Dunmore Press.
- McIntosh, A., Hinch, T., & Ingram T. (1999). *Māori attractions in Aotearoa, New Zealand: setting a context for sustainable tourism*. Centre for Tourism, University of Otago.
- Mead, H. M. (2016). *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori values* (Rev. ed.). Huia.
- Ministry for the Environment & Stats NZ. (2019). *Environment Aotearoa 2019*. <https://www.mfe.govt.nz/environment-aotearoa-2019>
- Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment. (2018). *2018 Tourism Data Domain Plan*. <https://www.mbie.govt.nz/immigration-and-tourism/tourism-research-and-data/tourism-data-overview/2018-tourism-data-domain-plan/>
- Ministry of Business, Innovation and Employment. (2019). *2019 New Zealand-Aotearoa Government Tourism Strategy*. <https://www.mbie.govt.nz/immigration-and-tourism/tourism/new-zealand-aotearoa-government-tourism-strategy/>
- Ngai Tai Ki Tamaki Tribal Trust v Minister of Conservation, NZSC 122 (2018).
- Owen, C. (2018, December 14). Iwi wins court case allowing it to reapply for exclusive tour rights on Hauraki Gulf islands. *Stuff*. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/auckland/local-news/central-leader/109367564/iwi-wins-court-case-allowing-it-to-reapply-for-exclusive-tour-rights-on-hauraki-gulf-islands>
- Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment. (1997). *Management of the environmental effects associated with the tourism sector*. Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment.
- Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment. (2019). *Pristine, popular . . . imperilled? The environmental consequences of projected tourism growth*.
- Piper, D. (2019, December 16). Ninety Mile Beach: Protection set to increase. *Stuff*. <https://www.stuff.co.nz/environment/118230361/ninety-mile-beach-protection-set-to-increase>
- Poharama, A., Henley, M., Smith, A., Fairweather, J., & Simmons, D. (1998). *The impact of tourism on the Māori community in Kaikoura*. Tourism Research and Education Centre, Lincoln University.
- Potter, H. (2018). *Report for the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment on Māori perspectives on the impacts of tourism*. Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment.
- Puriri, A., & McIntosh, A. (2019). A cultural framework for Maori tourism: Values and processes of a whānau tourism business development. *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, 49(Suppl. 1), 89–103. <https://doi.org/fgfw>
- Resource Management Act 1991. <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1991/0069/latest/DLM230265.html>
- Ringham, S., Simmonds, N., & Johnston, L. (2016). Māori tourism geographies: Values, morals and diverse economies. *MAI Journal*, 5(2), 99–112. <https://doi.org/fgfx>
- Roberts, M., Norman, W., Minhinnick, N., Wihongi, D., & Kirkwood, C. (1995). Kaitiakitanga: Māori perspectives on conservation. *Pacific Conservation Biology*, 2(1), 7–20. <https://doi.org/fgfz>
- Ruru, J. (2018). Te Tiriti me ōna whakataua: The Waitangi Tribunal and Treaty settlements. In M. Reilly, S. Duncan, G. Leoni, L. Paterson, L. Carter, M. Rātima, & P. Rewi (Eds.), *Te kōparapara: An introduction to the Māori world* (pp. 288–303). Auckland University Press.
- Russell, A. (2019, March 6). Increasing anger over Waitakere track closures. *Newsroom*. <https://www.newsroom.co.nz/2019/03/06/473510/increasing-anger-over-waitakere-track-closures>
- Spiller, C., Erakovic, L., Henare, M., & Pio, E. (2011). Relational well-being and wealth: Māori businesses

- and an ethic of care. *Journal of Business Ethics*, 98(1), 153–169. <https://doi.org/dvph46>
- Stankey, G. H., Cole, D. N., Lucas, R. C., Petersen, M. E., & Frissell, S. S. (1985). *The Limits of Acceptable Change (LAC) System for Wilderness Planning*. USDA Forest Service General Technical Report INT-176.
- Stats NZ. (2020). *Tourism Statistics*. <https://www.stats.govt.nz/topics/tourism>
- Stewart, G. (2020). Mātauranga Māori: A philosophy from Aotearoa. *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand*. <https://doi.org/fkps>
- Tahana, N., Grant, K. T. O. K., Simmons, D. G., & Fairweather, J. R. (2000). *Tourism and Maori development in Rotorua*. Tourism Research and Education Centre, Lincoln University.
- Taylor, J. P. (1998). *Consuming identity: Modernity and tourism in New Zealand*. Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland.
- Te Awa Tupua Act (Whanganui River Claims Settlement) Act 2017. <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2017/0007/latest/whole.html>
- Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Tahu. (2016). *Manawa Kāi Tahu*. <https://ngaitahu.iwi.nz/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Manawa-Kai-Tahu-web.pdf>
- Te Urewera Act 2014. <http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/2014/0051/latest/whole.html>
- Timoti, P., Lyver, P. O'B., Matamua, R., Jones, C. J., & Tahī, B. L. (2017). A representation of a *Tuawhenua* worldview guides environmental conservation. *Ecology and Society*, 22(4). Article 20. <https://doi.org/gcvgn2>
- Tourism Industry Aotearoa. (2019). *Tourism 2025 & Beyond: A sustainable growth framework Kaupapa Whakapakari Tāpoi*. Tourism Industry Aotearoa.
- Urlich, S., Ward, J., & Hughey, K. (2001). *Environmental indicators of tourism impacts on natural West Coast assets, Aotearoa New Zealand*. (Tourism Recreation Research and Education Centre Report 42). Lincoln University. <https://researcharchive.lincoln.ac.nz/handle/10182/450>
- Waitangi Tribunal. (2011). *Ko Aotearoa tēnei: A report into claims concerning New Zealand law and policy affecting Māori culture and identity* (WAI 262). https://forms.justice.govt.nz/search/Documents/WT/wt_DOC_68356054/KoAotearoaTeneiTT1W.pdf
- Ward, J., Hughey, K., & Urlich, S. (2002). A framework for managing the biophysical effects of tourism on the natural environment in New Zealand. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 10(3), 239–259. <https://doi.org/fcfprw>
- Whaanga, H., & Wehi, P. (2017). Rāhui and conservation? Māori voices in the nineteenth century niupepa Māori. *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand*, 47(1), 100–106. <https://doi.org/fgf3>
- Willis, T. (2013). *Scientific and biodiversity values of marine reserves*. (DoC Research and Development Series 340). Department of Conservation.
- Wilson, J., Horn, C., Sampson, K., Doherty, J., Becken, S., & Hart, P. (2006). *Demand for Māori eco-cultural tourism*. Manaaki Whenua Press.
- Zeppel, H. (1997). Maori tourism in New Zealand. *Tourism Management*, 18(7), 475–478. <https://doi.org/b6hsc2>
- Zygodlo, F. K., Matunga, H. P., Simmons, D. G., & Fairweather, J. R. (2001). *Tourism and Maori development in Westland*. Tourism Recreation Research and Education Centre, Lincoln University.
- Zygodlo, F. K., McIntosh, A. J., Matunga, H. P., Fairweather, J. R., & Simmons, D. G. (2003b). *The values associated with Maori-centred tourism in Canterbury*. Tourism Recreation Research and Education Centre, Lincoln University.
- Zygodlo, F. K., McIntosh, A. J., Matunga, H. P., Fairweather, J. R., & Simmons, D. G. (2003a). *Maori tourism: Concepts, characteristics and definition*. Tourism Recreation Research and Education Centre, Lincoln University.