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Māori tourism and a post-growth economy

Tatjana Thimm¹

Introduction

Māori tourism became a unique selling proposition of Aotearoa New Zealand when the tourism sector started promoting Māori culture with Māori as entrepreneurs in the tourism business from the very beginning² and Aotearoa New Zealand as a bicultural destination.³ Research on the topic is abundant,⁴ whereas the discourse on a post-growth economy is comparatively new, especially concerning tourism. In this article Māori tourism is understood as all forms of tourism that are owned and operated by Māori. Māori tourism cannot be reduced to a cultural attraction comprising *haka*, *hongi*, and *hāngī*.⁵ Instead, some Māori developed into tourism entrepreneurs and managers who included contemporary elements of Māori culture into their tourism model a long time ago.⁶ Māori tourism or Māori businesses in general are often

¹ This research was funded by Hochschule Konstanz - Technik, Wirtschaft und Gestaltung (Constance University of Applied Sciences, Germany). I am extremely grateful to the Editor-in-chief of the journal, Dr. Jatinder Mann, the two anonymous reviewers for their comments and feedback, and Jim Paul and Lisa Rehn for English proof reading.

² Maria Amoamo, and Anna Thompson, "(re) Imaging Māori tourism: Representation and cultural hybridity in postcolonial New Zealand," *Tourist Studies* 10, no.1 (2010): 35-55.

Shirley Barnett, "Manaakitanga: Māori hospitality—a case study of Māori accommodation providers," *Tourism Management* 22, no. 1 (2001): 83-92.

Tom D. Hinch, Alison J. McIntosh, and Travis Ingram, "Managing Māori tourist attractions in Aotearoa," *World Leisure & Recreation* 41, no. 2 (1999): 21-24.

De Bruin, Anna, and Daniela Angelina Jelinčić, "Toward extending creative tourism: participatory experience tourism," *Tourism Review* 71, no. 1 (2016): 57-66.

³ Susanne Becken, "Oil, the global economy and tourism," *Tourism Review* 66, no. 3 (2011): 65-72.

⁴ Anna Carr, "Māori tourism in New Zealand," in *Indigenous tourism: Cases from Australia & New Zealand*, eds. Michelle Whitford, Lisa Ruhanen, and Anna Carr (Oxford: Goodfellow Publishers Ltd, 2018), 145-162.

⁵ Translation of Māori terms, see glossaries: <https://teara.govt.nz/en/glossary>, <https://maoridictionary.co.nz/> and Jo-Ann Archibald (Q'um Q'um Xiiem), Jenny Bol Jun Lee-Morgan, and Jason De Santolo, *Decolonizing Research. Indigenous Storywork as Methodology* (London: Zed Books, 2019), 167-170.

⁶ Amoamo and Thompson, "(re) Imaging Māori tourism," 35-55.

Carr, "Māori tourism in New Zealand," 145-162.

connected to Māori values,⁷ which are in turn linked to sustainability.⁸ As a result, the Māori may have valuable ideas and knowledge to contribute to a post-growth tourism model, as the post-growth economy is one possible concretization of the sustainability concept.

Post-pandemic tourism in 2021 was predominantly about restarting the tourism business⁹ and less about sustainability. Yet, the effects of climate change have become more and more visible and have started to disturb the current economic model that is still dominated by the growth paradigm.¹⁰ The notion that infinite growth cannot take place in a finite world,¹¹ i.e., within planetary boundaries, is an old truism – humankind needs 1.6 planets to accommodate current resource consumption.¹² This article intends to show the commonalities and contrasts of Māori tourism and post-growth tourism, focusing on the questions of whether and how Māori tourism might contribute to a post-growth economy.

Literature Review

Māori tourism and Kaupapa research approach

⁷ Maria Amoamo, Katharina Ruckstuhl, and Diane Ruwhiu, “Balancing indigenous values through diverse economies: A case study of Māori ecotourism,” *Tourism Planning & Development* 15, no. 5 (2018): 478-495.

Alison J. McIntosh, Frania Kanara Zygadlo, and Hirini Matunga, “Rethinking Māori tourism,” *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research* 9, no. 4 (2004): 331-352.

Maria Bargh, “Rethinking and re-shaping indigenous economies: Māori geothermal energy enterprises,” *Journal of Enterprising Communities: People and Places in the Global Economy* 6, no. 3 (2012): 271-283.

⁸ Fulvio Mazzocchi, “A deeper meaning of sustainability: Insights from indigenous knowledge,” *The Anthropocene Review* 7, no. 1 (2020): 77-93.

⁹ UNWTO, “UNWTO World Tourism Barometer and Statistical Annex, January 2021,” <https://www.e-unwto.org/doi/abs/10.18111/wtobarometereng.2021.19.1.1> [Accessed 15 February 2022].

¹⁰ Niko Paech, “Vom grünen Feigenblatt zur Postwachstumsökonomie,” *Ökologisches Wirtschaften-Fachzeitschrift* 2, no. 4 (2012): 17.

¹¹ Lucas Chancel, Damien Demailly, Henri Waisman, and Céline Guivarch, “A post-growth society for the 21st century. Does prosperity have to wait for the return of economic growth?,” *Institut du Développement Durable et des Relations Internationales Studies* 8, no. 13 (2013).

¹² World Wildlife Fund (WWF), “Earth Overshoot Day,” <https://www.wwf.de/earth-overshoot-day> [Accessed 14 February 2022].

Since Māori tourism dates back as far as the 19th century,¹³ literature on this topic is comprehensive. Literature on Māori values and tourism is often, but not exclusively linked to the Kaupapa research approach: research by Māori for Māori and with Māori,¹⁴ in other words 'the Māori way of doing things'.¹⁵ Kaupapa research represents a paradigm that challenges Pākehā (non- Māori) positivistic research since it is based on Māori values and systems, follows Māori protocol, is thus culturally appropriate, and ensures Māori control¹⁶ over the entire research process.^{17,18} Kaupapa research is thus emancipatory and rejects western academic conventions and according to Tuhiwai Smith,¹⁹ it can only be carried out by Māori in a culturally safe way. The Kaupapa research approach is growing and an important contribution to elaborate the Indigenous perspective in research.²⁰ This article however does not follow a Kaupapa approach, but a Western qualitative method-mix, since I am not of Māori descent and have a Western educational background.

¹³ Maria Amoamo, "Māori tourism: Image and identity—a postcolonial perspective", *Annals of Leisure research* 10, no. 3-4 (2007): 454-74.

Heather Zeppel, "Māori tourism in New Zealand," *Tourism Management* 18 no. 7 (1997): 475-78. Chris Ryan, and John Crotts, "Carving and tourism: A Māori perspective," *Annals of Tourism Research* 24, no. 4 (1997): 898-918.

Carr, "Māori tourism in New Zealand," 145-162.

¹⁴ Shayne Walker, Anaru Eketone, and Anita Gibbs, "An exploration of kaupapa Māori research, its principles, processes and applications," *International journal of social research methodology* 9, no. 4 (2006): 331-344.

Frania Kanara Zygallo, Alison J. McIntosh, Hirini Paerangi Matunga, John R. Fairweather, and David G. Simmons. "Māori tourism: Concepts, characteristics and definition," *Tourism Recreation Research and Education Centre (TRREC)* 36, (2003).

Bargh, "Rethinking and re-shaping indigenous economies," 271-283.

¹⁵ Amoamo and Thompson, "(re) Imaging Māori tourism."

¹⁶ Shirley Barnett, "Māori tourism," *Tourism management* 18, no. 7 (1997): 471-473.

Chrys Horn, and David Simmons, "Community adaptation to tourism: comparisons between Rotorua and Kaikoura, New Zealand," *Tourism management* 23, no. 2 (2002): 133-143.

¹⁷ Walker, Eketone, and Gibbs, "An exploration of kaupapa Māori research," 331-344.

¹⁸ Russell Bishop, "Freeing ourselves from neo-colonial domination in research: a Māori approach to creating knowledge," *Qualitative Studies in Education* 11, no. 2 (2011): 199-219.

¹⁹ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies* (London et al.: ZED Books, 2021).

²⁰ *Ibid.*

Jo-ann Archibald (Q'um Q'um Xiiem), Jenny Bol Jun Lee-Morgan, and Jason De Santolo, *Decolonizing Research. Indigenous Storywork as Methodology* (London: Zed Books, 2019).

Whether articles on Māori values and tourism are based on Kaupapa research or not, many of them tend to use the concept of a hybrid tourism business model balancing Māori values and profit from tourism businesses,²¹ often identifying the Māori family as the decisive unit to implement these businesses.²² Prominent Māori values include *Ngā matatine Māori* (diversity), *kotahitanga* (unity, solidarity), *tino rangatiratanga* (self-determination, ownership, active control), *whanaungatanga* (relationship, kinship), *kaitiakitanga* (guardianship of natural resources), *wairuatanga* (spirituality), or *manaakitanga* (hospitality, generosity, care and giving).²³ *Tikanga* here can be understood in general as values, plan, method, custom, habit or simply ‘the Māori way’.²⁴ The relationship to environmental protection becomes especially obvious regarding *kaitiakitanga* and *manaakitanga*. The specific form of tourism based on Māori values can be defined as *Māori centred tourism*.²⁵ In general, the Māori have gained more and more control – in terms of ownership and participation – over Māori cultural tourism in recent years.²⁶

Māori values form part of the official Aotearoa New Zealand tourism strategy and thus have brought in a new perspective beyond ‘growth at all costs’,²⁷ or in the

²¹ Amoamo, Ruckstuhl, and Ruwhiu, “Balancing indigenous values,” 478-95. Adam Kirihimete Ransfield, and Ina Reichenberger, “Māori Indigenous values and tourism business sustainability,” *AlterNative* 17, no. 1 (2021): 49-60.

²² Ash Puriri, Alison McIntosh, “A cultural framework for Māori tourism: values and processes of a Whānau tourism business development,” *Journal of the Royal Society of New Zealand* 49, no. 1 (2019): 89-103.

²³ Zygadlo, McIntosh, Matunga, Fairweather, and Simmons, “Māori tourism: Concepts, characteristics and definition.”

²⁴ Hirini Moko Mead, *Tikanga Māori: Living by Māori values* (Wellington: Huia publishers, 2003), 24. The English translations of Māori terms do not always reflect the entire concept: e.g. *manaakitanga* is based on the increase of mana (spiritual power) and thus goes way beyond hospitality. For a more detailed conceptualisation of Māori values and their mana-enhancing aspect within the context of tourism businesses and economy of mana see: Ransfield, and Reichenberger, “Māori Indigenous values and tourism business sustainability,” 49-60.

²⁵ Zygadlo, McIntosh, Matunga, Fairweather, and Simmons, “Māori tourism: Concepts, characteristics and definition.”

McIntosh, Zygadlo, and Matunga, “Rethinking Māori tourism,” 331-52.

²⁶ Trisha Dwyer, “Sharing a living culture: The guide’s role in managing Māori tourism experiences,” *Future Times* 2, no. 3-5 (2012).

²⁷ Anna Carr, “COVID-19, indigenous peoples and tourism: A view from New Zealand,” *Tourism Geographies* 22, no. 3 (2020): 495.

words of Ringham et al.: 'The inclusion of a range of Māori values helps disrupt both colonialism and capitalism in these tourism spaces.'²⁸ However, using Māori values to guide business models in tourism may result in the loss of income. This might be acceptable if Māori culture and heritage survive instead,²⁹ especially when Māori use tourism to tell their story of Aotearoa New Zealand.³⁰ Moreover, as Amoamo et al. put it: 'Māori economy as a system that serves the people, rather than people serving the economy.'³¹

In summary, Māori centred tourism represents a deliberate turning away from purely market-based considerations towards a multidimensional, diverse economy approach,³² or an economy of wellbeing.³³ In addition, Indigenous knowledge and Indigenous principles in general, like reciprocity and caretaking, may lead to new perspectives on sustainability³⁴ and environmental ethics³⁵ via 'learning from and following nature'³⁶ and hence may even be key to a true sustainable development³⁷ or, even better, to a post-growth economy.

A post-growth economy

²⁸ Sandi Ringham, Naomi Simmonds, and Lynda T. Johnston, "Māori tourism geographies: Values, morals and diverse economies," *MAI Journal* 5, no. 2 (2016): 110.

²⁹ Dennis Foley, "What determines the bottom line for Māori tourism SMEs?," *Small Enterprise Research* 16, no. 1 (2008): 86-97.

³⁰ Hamish Bremner, and Keri-Anne Wikitera, "Using history for tourism or using tourism for history? Examples from Aotearoa/New Zealand," *Journal of Tourism History* 8, no. 3 (2016): 260-74.

³¹ Maria Amoamo, Diane Ruwhiu, and Lynette Carter, "Framing the Māori economy: The complex business of Māori business," *MAI Journal* 7, no. 1 (2018): 69.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Rachel Wolfgramm, Chellie Spiller, Ella Henry, and Robert Pouwhare, "A culturally derived framework of values-driven transformation in Māori economies of well-being (Ngā hono īhanga oranga)," *AlterNative: An International Journal of Indigenous Peoples* 16, no. 1 (2020): 18-28.

³⁴ Mazzocchi, "A deeper meaning of sustainability," 77-93.

³⁵ Meg Parsons, Johanna Nalau, and Karen Fisher, "Alternative perspectives on sustainability: indigenous knowledge and methodologies," *Challenges in Sustainability* 5, no. 1 (2011): 7-14.

³⁶ Maria Bargh, "A blue economy for Aotearoa New Zealand?," *Environment, development and sustainability* 16, no. 3 (2014): 459-470.

³⁷ S. G. J. N. Senanayake, "Indigenous knowledge as a key to sustainable development," *The Journal of Agricultural Sciences* 2, no. 1 (2006): 87-94.

Sustainability was and continues to be a relevant, well-researched field in tourism.³⁸ The concept is, however, sometimes regarded as too fuzzy or just serving as a fig leaf to justify *green growth*, a decoupling of growth and environmental contamination, which is a contradiction in itself.³⁹ Also, the belief in the promise of technological solutions to overcome the effects of climate change and to reach sustainability has turned out to be an illusion so far.⁴⁰ In other words, the sustainability paradigm seems to be exhausted with the sustainability narrative failing to deliver because it is simply not plausible.⁴¹ One such example of this failure is the contradictory nature of some of the United Nations' Sustainability Goals (SDGs),⁴² e.g. goal no. 8 *decent work and economic growth* contradicts goal 13 *climate action*, since economic growth is one of the main drivers of CO2 emissions.⁴³ With the 'end of sustainability', sustainability became more part of the problem than part of the solution.⁴⁴ Therefore, sustainability in its general, fuzzy, or contradictory form is of no help and it requires specification. A possible concretisation of the idea of

³⁸ Jiaying Lu and Sanjay K. Nepal, "Sustainable tourism research: An analysis of papers published in the Journal of Sustainable Tourism," *Journal of sustainable Tourism* 17, no. 1 (2009): 5-16. Albert Postma, Elena Cavagnaro, and Ernesto Spruyt, "Sustainable tourism 2040," *Journal of Tourism Futures* 3 no. 1 (2017): 13-22.

C. Michael Hall, Stefan Gössling, and Daniel Scott, "The evolution of sustainable development and sustainable tourism," in *The Routledge handbook of tourism and sustainability*, eds. C. Michael Hall, Stefan Gössling, and Daniel Scott (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), 15-36.

³⁹ Clive L. Spash, *Greenhouse economics: Value and ethics* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2020).

Niko Paech, "Vom grünen Wachstumsmythos zur Postwachstumsökonomie," in *Perspektiven einer nachhaltigen Entwicklung. Wie sieht die Welt im Jahr 2050 aus?*, eds. Harald Welzer and Klaus Wiegandt (Frankfurt am Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2011), 131-51.

⁴⁰ Niko Paech, and Christa Müller, "Suffizienz & Subsistenz. Wege in eine Postwachstumsökonomie am Beispiel von Urban Gardening," http://ttfreiburg.de/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/Mueller-Peach_Urban-Gardening-Postwachstumsoekonomie-Suffizienz-und-Subsistenz_2012.pdf [Accessed 20 January 2022].

⁴¹ Ingolfur Blühdorn, "Post-capitalism, post-growth, post-consumerism? Eco-political hopes beyond sustainability," *Global Discourse* 7, no. 1 (2017): 42-61.

Paech, "Vom grünen Feigenblatt zur Postwachstumsökonomie," 17.

⁴² Banerjee, S. B., Jermier, J. M., Peredo, A. M., Perey, R., & Reichel, A. (2021). Theoretical perspectives on organizations and organizing in a post-growth era," *Organization* 28, no. 3: 337-57. Raoul V. Bianchi, and Frans de Man, "Tourism, inclusive growth and decent work: A political economy critique," *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 29, no. 2-3 (2021): 353-371.

⁴³ Kangyin Dong, Gal Hochman, and Govinda R. Timilsina, "Do drivers of CO2 emission growth alter overtime and by the stage of economic development?," *Energy Policy* 140, (2020): 111420.

⁴⁴ Blühdorn, "Post-capitalism, post-growth, post-consumerism?," 46.

sustainability is the post-growth economy model. As the name indicates, this means an economy beyond growth, at least in regard to growth in the classical economic sense, i.e., growth exclusively of GDP or quarterly figures, which is now seen as less meaningful and somewhat outdated since the assumed correlation between this kind of growth and prosperity has proven to be weaker than expected.⁴⁵ The idea of a post-growth economy is not a new one, but it has gained momentum in recent years due to the increasing impacts of climate change that are being caused by the current form of mainstream economic activity driven by GDP growth.

Meadows first warned of *The Limits to Growth*.⁴⁶ Daly coined the phrase *steady-state economy* and ideas of *ecological economics*,⁴⁷ *greenhouse economics*,⁴⁸ or *common good economy*⁴⁹ all tend towards a value driven form of economic activity, liberated from the one-dimensional growth paradigm, with the aim of overcoming the devastating ecological and social effects of an exclusively greed-driven capitalism. Latouche introduced the term *décroissance* (degrowth),⁵⁰ but it was Paech who defined *post-growth economy* and thus put the concept back on the academic agenda.⁵¹ A post-growth economy does not mean a global economic downturn as observed during the Covid-19 pandemic. What is advocated for is

⁴⁵ Chancel, Demainly, Waisman, and Guiavarch, "A post-growth society for the 21st century."

⁴⁶ Dennis L. Meadows, Donella H. Meadows, Erich Zahn, Peter Milling, *Die Grenzen des Wachstums. Bericht des Club of Rome zur Lage der Menschheit*, (München: DVA, 1972).

⁴⁷ Herman E. Daly, "The economics of the steady state," *The American Economic Review* 64, no. 2 (1974): 15-21.

Hali Healy, Joan Martinez-Alier, Leah Temper, Mariana Walter, and Julien-François Gerber, *Ecological economics from the ground up*. (London and New York: Routledge, 2013).

⁴⁸ Spash, *Greenhouse economics: Value and ethics*.

⁴⁹ Christian Felber, *Gemeinwohl-Ökonomie* (München: Piper, 2018).

⁵⁰ Serge Latouche, "Degrowth economics," *Le Monde Diplomatique* 11, no. 1-5 (2004).

⁵¹ Niko Paech, "Die Postwachstumsökonomie – ein Vademeum," *Zeitschrift für Sozialökonomie* 46, no. 160-161 (2009): 28-31.

Jürgen Kopfmüller, Linda Nierling, André Reichel, and Marius Albiez, „Postwachstumsökonomie und nachhaltige Entwicklung – Zwei (un)vereinbare Ideen?“, *ZATuP-Zeitschrift für Technikfolgenabschätzung in Theorie und Praxis* 25, no. 2 (2016): 45-54.

selective degrowth, an intelligent mixture of sectors that grow and others that do not, saying goodbye to *growthmania*⁵² or the *growth fetish*.⁵³

One of the criteria of post-growth is the concept of sufficiency.⁵⁴ Sufficiency is especially relevant in terms of using fewer resources,⁵⁵ but can also lead to a more manageable and decelerated lifestyle as a result of the liberation from the excesses of a consumer-driven society. Although this is difficult to enforce politically, smaller groups that recognise the value of a post-growth lifestyle can lead the way.⁵⁶ The decisive questions here are: what has to degrow and to what extent and what continues to grow?⁵⁷ Here the idea of *folding* comes into the discussion: within the given planetary boundaries specific social innovations are necessary to enable a form of selective growth.⁵⁸ Folding is a way to actively shape a transformation and not just react to increasing global crises, or as Paech & Müller put it, society needs to design the change and not wait for disaster to force the change.⁵⁹

⁵² Subhabrata Bobby Banerjee, John M. Jermier, Ana Maria Peredo, Robert Perey, and André Reichel, "Theoretical perspectives on organizations and organizing in a post-growth era," *Organization* 28, no. 3 (2021): 337-57.

⁵³ Clive Hamilton, *Growth fetish* (London: Pluto Press, 2004).

Tim Jackson, "The post-growth challenge: secular stagnation, inequality and the limits to growth," *Ecological economics* 156, (2019): 236-46.

⁵⁴ Kopfmüller, Reichel, and Albiez, "Postwachstumsökonomie und nachhaltige Entwicklung," 45-54.

⁵⁵ Steffen Lange, "Rahmenbedingungen einer Postwachstumsökonomie," *Ökologisches Wirtschaften-Fachzeitschrift* 29, no. 3 (2014): 46-50.

⁵⁶ Paech, "Vom grünen Feigenblatt zur Postwachstumsökonomie," 17.

⁵⁷ Stefan Rostock, and Stephanie Welle, "Die große Transformation—Was soll wachsen und was nicht," *Wirtschaften und Leben innerhalb sozialer und ökologischer Leitplanken. Hintergrundpapier*, Germanwatch eV., December, 2016, <https://www.germanwatch.org/de/13222>.

⁵⁸ Levermann, Anders, "Begrenzen, was wir nicht mehr wollen," *Die Zeit* 25, no. 31 (2021).

Ulrich Petschow, Nils aus dem Moore, David Hofmann, Eugen Pissarskoi, and Steffen Lange, "Eckpunkte und Positionen einer Vorsorgeorientierten Postwachstumsökonomie," in *Postwachstumsgeographien*, eds. Bastian Lange, Martina Hülz, Benedikt Schmid, and Christian Schulz (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2020), 343-368.

Pascal Tschumi, Andrea Winiger, Samuel Wirth, Heike Mayer, and Irmgard Seidl, "Wachstumsunabhängigkeit durch Soziale Innovationen? Eine Analyse potenzieller Wachstumswirkungen von Sozialen Innovationen im Schweizer Berggebiet," in *Postwachstumsgeographien*, eds. Bastian Lange, Martina Hülz, Benedikt Schmid, and Christian Schulz (Bielefeld: transcript Verlag, 2020), 343-368.

⁵⁹ Paech and Müller, "Suffizienz & Subsistenz."

Putting post-growth into practise, the common good matrix is an example, working with a set of indicators to substantiate the idea of post growth.⁶⁰ In order to apply the concept of post-growth to tourism, an industry that predominantly continues to follow the path of the growth paradigm,⁶¹ all of the above-mentioned considerations must be kept in mind. Until now, academic debates on growth alternatives, especially degrowth, have been largely disconnected from tourism research.⁶² So far, only a few researchers took up the topic.⁶³ For the concept of a post-growth economy with regard to tourism the following criteria were chosen based on the literature:

- A) Sufficiency (according to Paech & Müller)⁶⁴
- B) Value orientation (according to Paech)⁶⁵
- C) Social innovations (according to Petschow et al.)⁶⁶
- D) A common good orientation (according to Felber)⁶⁷

⁶⁰ International Federation for the Economy for the Common Good e. V., “Economy of the common good,” <https://www.ecogood.org/apply-ecg/common-good-matrix> [Accessed 19 August 2022].

⁶¹ Freya Higgins-Desbiolles, Sandro Carnicelli, Chris Krolkowski, Gayathri Wijesinghe, and Karla Boluk, “Degrowing tourism: rethinking tourism,” *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 27, no. 12 (2019): 1926-44.

⁶² Robert Fletcher, Ivan Murray Mas, Asunción Blanco-Romero, and Macià Blázquez-Salom, “Tourism and degrowth: an emerging agenda for research and praxis,” *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 27, no. 12 (2019): 1745-63.

⁶³ Konstantinos Andriotis, “Tourism development and the degrowth paradigm,” *Turističko poslovanje* 13 (2014): 37-45.

Konstantinos Andriotis, *Degrowth in tourism: Conceptual, theoretical and philosophical issues* (CABI, 2018).

Brendan Canavan, “Sustainable tourism: development, decline and de-growth. Management issues from the Isle of Man,” *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 22, no. 1 (2014): 127-47.

C. Michael Hall, “Degrowing tourism: Décroissance, sustainable consumption and steady-state tourism,” *Anatolia* 20, no. 1 (2009): 46-61.

Higgins-Desbiolles, Carnicelli, Krolkowski, Wijesinghe, and Boluk, “Degrowing tourism,” 1926-44.

Claudio Milano, Marina Novelli, and Joseph M. Cheer, “Overtourism and degrowth: A social movements perspective,” *Journal of Sustainable Tourism* 27, no. 12 (2019): 1857-75.

Claudio Milano, and Ko Koens, “The paradox of tourism extremes. Excesses and restraints in times of COVID-19,” *Current Issues in Tourism* 25, no. 2 (2022): 219-31.

Fletcher, Murray Mas, Blanco-Romero, and Blázquez-Salom, “Tourism and degrowth,” 1745-63.

⁶⁴ Paech, and Müller, “Suffizienz & Subsistenz.”

⁶⁵ Paech, “Vom grünen Feigenblatt zur Postwachstumsökonomie,” 17.

⁶⁶ Petschow, aus dem Moore, Hofmann, Pisarskoi, and Lange, “Eckpunkte und Positionen einer Vorsorgeorientierten Postwachstumsökonomie,” 343-68.

⁶⁷ Felber, *Gemeinwohl-Ökonomie*.

Sufficiency is needed to keep the use of resources within the planetary boundaries, value orientation helps to leave an exclusively growth-oriented approach, social innovations bring in new ideas for a post-growth economy, and a common good orientation is key to make the economy serve the people and not the other way round. Drawing on this literature review, commonalities are already emerging between Māori tourism and post-growth economy: both represent a value-orientation approach that leave behind a purely market-oriented approach; both also stress the importance of small entities (families/groups) as main drivers of their concepts. While Māori tourism represents a specific, more sustainable approach to the tourism sector, post-growth economics can be a precise, operationalized model of what sustainability actually means. In summary, this leads to the following research questions: What are the commonalities and contrasts of Māori tourism and a post-growth economy? Can Māori tourism contribute to a post-growth economy?

Methodology

As to methodology I use a classical Western framework of a qualitative research approach: nineteen semi-structured in-depth-interviews were combined with twenty participant observations at Māori tourism sites or businesses and secondary analysis. I gathered the data during two field trips to Aotearoa New Zealand in 2017 and 2020. As a *tauwiwi* (foreigner) researcher I ensured culturally sensitive research:⁶⁸ room was given to the Māori interviewees to express views on Māori tourism they considered important unrestrained by the key topics of the questionnaire and thus embedding Māori viewpoints into the interviews. My status as a non-New Zealander

⁶⁸ Walker, Eketone, and Gibbs, "An exploration of kaupapa Māori research," 331-44.

allowed me to approach the research with the comparatively ‘neutral’⁶⁹ starting point of an outsider. Moreover, I applied the concept of *decentering*,⁷⁰ i.e., critically reflecting my own mindset, gaze, values, assumptions, beliefs, and norms in order to stay open to perspectives, worldviews, and ways of knowing that are not in line with my own Western cultural background.⁷¹ Additionally, a double loop research approach was used. This led to the questionnaire in 2020 being extended by questions regarding Indigenous knowledge for sustainability based on the interviewees’ feedback to the 2017 questionnaire. By doing so, I reassured in collaboration with the interviewees of 2017 (first loop) that the questions were still topically for the second loop of interviews in 2020.

Snowball and convenience sampling were applied to identify interviewees and the interviews were conducted until saturation was reached. The interviewees were selected according to their expertise on this article’s topic. The interviewees’ expertise on the article’s topic was determined during the process of snowball sampling: since every interviewee recommended the next one, he or she knew the requirements and was able to recommend another qualified interviewee. I could easily identify the expertise of interviewees from academia during convenience sampling via their lists of publications. The interviewees were from academia and industry, male and female alike, Māori and Pākehā in order to capture as many points of view as possible. Informed consent was given before each interview to its recording and all interviewees were anonymised. Each interview was assigned a

⁶⁹ I am aware of the fact that research can never be really neutral, but it tries to critically reflect the own gaze, values, assumptions, beliefs and norms as a Western researcher.

⁷⁰ Alissa Ruth, Katherine Woolard, Thurka Sangaramoorthy, Bryan McKinley Jones Brayboy, Melissa Beresford, Alexandra Brewis, H. Russell Bernard, Meskerem Z. Glegziabher, Jessic Hardin, Krista Harper, Pardis Mahdavi, Jeffrey G. Snodgrass, Cindi SturtzSreetharan, and Amber Wutich, “Teaching Ethnographic Methods for Cultural Anthropology: Current Practices and Needed Innovation,” *Teaching Anthropology* 11, no. 2 (2022): 59-72.

⁷¹ Tatjana Thimm, “Cultural sustainability – a framework for Aboriginal tourism in British Columbia,” *Journal of Heritage Tourism* 14, no. 3 (2019): 205-18.

letter and quoted accordingly (see list of references below). Key statements were then excerpted from the audio files and minuted according to their relevance in answering the research questions.

Furthermore, I observed as a participant twenty Māori tourism businesses, sites, and institutions related to Māori culture and tourism and minuted participant observations in a field journal. I invested in relationship building prior, during, and after the observations during field work: the background of the research was explained in advance, mostly via phone with additional information sent via email. During the participant observation I interacted openly e.g. with tour guides, giving time to questions and statements from their part. In case of interest I sent after the observation more information, e.g. former papers, information about the further research process. All participant observations were overt, that means I openly addressed my role as a researcher and gave a full background of the research. The observations were numbered and cited accordingly (see list after Select Bibliography). Secondary analysis, including websites, completed this mixed methods approach. The respective sources were selected according to their relevance to the research topic complementing the primary research.

The findings of this research will be made available to the interviewees after publication in order to give something back to the many interviewees who supported the research. I would also like to contribute to the reciprocity of the research by personally feeding back the research results to the interviewees during another future stay in Aotearoa New Zealand. If this is not possible, e.g. for financial reasons, at least an online meeting will be offered. In addition, the research results will be incorporated into my teaching in order to interest students in the topic. The entire

research process was in accordance with the ethical standards of my institution and national guidelines.

Results

The results are presented along the four key criteria developed via the literature review (sufficiency, value orientation, social innovations, and a common good orientation) that represent a post-growth economy.

Sufficiency

Many of the tourism businesses observed and analysed (interviews E, H, I, L, M, O, P, Q, S; observations 4, 10, 12-15, 17, 20) tend towards sufficiency: they keep the tourist groups small and focus on the sharing of stories and cultural heritage, and on providing an authentic experience for their visitors. *Authenticity* here means that the Māori guides and hosts are just themselves (interview B, C, G, H, K, L, P; observations 6, 10, 12-13, 15, 17-20) and that the information shared with the visitor is culturally appropriate (interview F; observations 1-5, 10, 12-15, 18-19) and that no *whitewashing* (meaning that Māori culture should be presented by Māori, not by Pākehā) takes place (interview N).

One community considered itself completely self-sufficient even in the face of the emerging pandemic situation (interview M). This is important since not every tourism business in Aotearoa New Zealand is sufficient, on the contrary, Waitomo Glowworm Cave is just one example of the threat of CO₂, in that case caused by too many visitors to the cave (interview O).⁷² And that, although Aotearoa New Zealand

⁷² Matthew J. Gillies, and Chris R. de Freitas, "Environmental Management of the Waitomo Glowworm Cave," *ACKMA Cave and Karst Management in Australasia* 20 (2013): 173-91.

claims to be '100% Pure'⁷³ or as the *New Zealand Herald* put it: 'the mismatch between New Zealand's environmental state and the "100% Pure" message, that is still delivered in our tourism advertising'.⁷⁴

Māori tourism businesses tending towards sufficiency is closely linked to their connection to the land:

'Mountains and rivers are living ancestors.' (interview E)

'We are learning like everybody else, we depend on mother earth, so we care.' (interview I)

'If you are good to the land, the land is good to you.' (interview J)

'We don't own the land, we are part of it.' (interview L)

'I am the land and the land is me (Māori saying).' (interview O)

'We are here to look after the land, then the land looks after you.' (interview O)

'We are guardians of the environment.' (interview P)

'The land has an identity and therefore you must treat the land like a person.'

(interview Q)

From this attitude, an economic approach can be derived that is not characterised by greed (interview M), but by mindfulness towards the environment. It is kind of a co-environment concept,⁷⁵ feeling part of the land, and therefore keeping economic activity to an appropriate level that does not disturb mother earth, or as

⁷³ Tourism New Zealand. "Kia Ora," <https://www.newzealand.com/> [Accessed 10 February 2022]. Susan Frohlick, and Lynda Johnston, "Naturalizing bodies and places: Tourism media campaigns and heterosexualities in Costa Rica and New Zealand," *Annals of Tourism Research* 38 no. 3 (2011): 1090-1109.

⁷⁴ Damien Venuto, "International media call BS on NZ's 100% pure claims," *New Zealand Herald*, 1 June 2018, <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/business/international-media-call-bs-on-nzs-100-pure-claims/VXQMZTHRLUTI3RG4DOR7MLBXVY>.

⁷⁵ Nils Boeing, "Lass uns aufbrechen – die Botschaft der Nomaden," *Zeit Online*, 11 October 2021, <https://www.zeit.de/zeit-wissen/2021/05/voelkerwanderung-nomaden-kultur-corona-mobilitaet>.

one of the interviewees in interview E put it 'we stop commercialising culture and start to culturize commerce'. The biggest sufficiency barrier to international Māori tourism is long-haul air travel from tourism source markets, which remains the largest CO₂ emitter.⁷⁶ Since the airlines' business is not part of the value chain controlled by Māori, it is difficult for Māori to influence it. Making guests aware of voluntary carbon offsetting options could be a way.

Value orientation

Māori values are usually intertwined with the tourism businesses that the Māori operate (interviews A, B, E, F, G, H, I, J, K, L, M, N, O, P, Q, R, S) because they form Māori identity:

'Knowing my culture – I feel complete.' (interview O)

'If we are not living our traditional values, there is no place for us in the contemporary world.' (interview S)

Manaakitanga was the most frequently mentioned value regarding Māori tourism (interviews E, F, H, I, L, M, P, Q, R, S) which is not surprising since it is translated into English as *hospitality*. Other values also especially mentioned were kaitiakitanga (guardianship) (interviews B, F, P, Q) and whanaungatanga (relationship, kinship) (interviews I, P), but also wairuatanga (spirituality), and tino rangatiratanga (self-determination, leadership) (both mentioned in interview P).

Conducting a tourism business according to Māori values may result in a loss of profit, but it is possible to act according to Māori values within a Western capitalist

⁷⁶ Célia Veiga, Margarida Custódio Santos, Paulo Águas, and José António C. Santos, "Sustainability as a key driver to address challenges," *Worldwide Hospitality and Tourism Themes* 10, no. 6 (2018): 662-73.

environment and to consider the economic pillar primarily as a means to community and intergenerational welfare.⁷⁷ This is, according to interviewee P, not at all in contradiction with a secure livelihood, on the contrary: 'Money will come as a consequence of doing things right'. Furthermore, it may even turn as an advantage in the long run: in the face of climate change a turn towards values instead of greed driven unlimited growth is urgently needed.⁷⁸

Social innovations

Many Māori are able to 'walk in two worlds', because of a fluid identity⁷⁹ created by their bicultural nature (interviews B, D, E, F, I, L). That means that they can resort to a pool of ideas, concepts, and resources derived from two cultures and move between the cultural spheres. This diversity increases the potential for social innovations.⁸⁰ Social innovations in Māori tourism also became visible via the perspectives of co-environment or the land as an entity with an identity (interview Q). These concepts are not innovative for Māori society, as they have been part of Māori values and tradition for a long time, but they may inspire the Pākehā world as Indigenous knowledge for sustainability (interviews H, O, P, Q).⁸¹

Māori terminology (e. g. *Kia ora* or *manaakitanga*) is already in use in Pākehā tourism businesses.⁸² Another example of Māori cultural elements going mainstream

⁷⁷ Ransfield, and Reichenberger, "Māori Indigenous values and tourism business sustainability," 49-60.

⁷⁸ Hall, "Degrowing tourism," 46-61.

⁷⁹ McIntosh, Zygadlo, and Matunga, "Rethinking Māori tourism," 331-52.

⁸⁰ Max Nathan, and Neil Lee, "Cultural Diversity, Innovation, and Entrepreneurship: Firm-level Evidence from London," *Economic geography* 89, 4 (2013): 367-94.

⁸¹ Parsons, Nalau, and Fisher, "Alternative perspectives on sustainability," 7-14.

Mazzocchi, "A deeper meaning of sustainability," 77-93.

Senanayake, "Indigenous knowledge as a key to sustainable development," 87-94.

⁸² Tourism New Zealand. "Kia Ora," <https://www.newzealand.com/> [Accessed 10 February 2022].

is the Emotiki app, which has caused trouble because of copyright issues.⁸³ In short, including Māori components in the Pākehā world does not necessarily happen in a culturally appropriate way, sometimes Māori terms are just hijacked for tourism marketing purposes (interview E) and only pretend to be innovative at most.

More important in terms of social innovations is the influence of Māori concepts such as small groups, sharing Māori stories and heritage, focusing on interaction and relationship with the guest in the sense of manaakitanga (observations 4, 5, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20) and treating the land as a living being (interview Q) on mainstream tourism businesses.

One example of a unique social innovation related to tourism is the legal personhood granted by Aotearoa New Zealand at the instigation of Māori groups to Te Urewera Park (2014), Whanganui River (2017), and Mount Taranaki (2018).⁸⁴ Legal personhood means that legal rights are granted which results in better chances of protection for – in this case – parts of nature. This cannot only be used as a USP in Māori tourism marketing, it is much more, a complete change of perspective, a game changer for a more sustainable world view even, since the non-Indigenous world tends to see nature predominantly as a resource to be exploited. The cases of Te Urewera Park, Whanganui River, and Mount Taranaki show once more, how critical it is for Māori to have control over the product in order to ensure the culturally appropriate presentation and representation (interview A, C) and to protect the environment in the sense of kaitiakitanga in regard to Māori induced social innovations in tourism.

⁸³ Talisa Kupenga, "Emotiki app causes cultural stir," *Te Ao: Māori News*, 17 January 2017, <https://www.teaomaori.news/emotiki-app-causes-cultural-stir>.

⁸⁴ Kate Evans, "The New Zealand river that became a legal person," *BBC*, 20 March 2020, <https://www.bbc.com/travel/article/20200319-the-new-zealand-river-that-became-a-legal-person>. Carr, "Māori tourism in New Zealand," 145-62.

A common good orientation

Due to the incorporation of Māori values into Māori tourism an orientation towards the Māori community (interview S) is inherent in many Māori tourism businesses (observations 10, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20). This is because an individual Māori's activity always affects the entire Māori group, e.g. family (Whānau), Hapū, or Iwi (interview E).

Māori tourism activity does not exclusively follow the interests of the clients or money-making (interview C, E). Such is the case with sharing (interview L): sharing of songs, stories, lore, and cultural heritage. Interviewee M, a Māori, asked the local 'Māori chief'⁸⁵ about establishing his tourism business. The 'Māori chief' gave him permission, but told him 'you need to respect the community' when running the business. As a result, interviewee M set up his small tourism business in a way that the tourists are welcomed by a Māori ceremony, feel part of the land and then, as a consequence, will take better care of the beach. Other examples are the Māori tourism businesses of interviewees G, L, N, and P. They are family run, operate with small groups, respect the spiritual history of the area, and will not be expanded in order to protect the environment. The tourism business of interviewee S is predominantly about showcasing Māori culture and educating non-Māori visitors. In all these cases, profit comes second to a common good orientation.

Comparison of Māori tourism and a post-growth economy are summed up in table 1:

	Sufficiency	Value orientation	Social innovations	A common good orientation
Māori tourism	rooted in connection	manaakitanga, kaitiakitanga,	resource pool of two	works via Māori values, since in

⁸⁵ The interviewee, a Māori, used this term. I am aware of the fact, that *rangatira* would be the correct Māori term. However, I decided to quote from the interview literally.

	to the land, problem of international visitors arriving on flights is unsolved	whanaungatanga, wairuatanga, rangatiratanga were the Māori values mentioned in the interviews, Māori values are the pillars of Māori behaviour	cultures favours social innovations, granting nature legal personhood is a powerful social innovation	this regard a common good orientation is inherent
A post-growth economy	essential criterion, because of limited resources in a limited world	necessary to establish a lifestyle that turns towards sufficiency, recycling, efficiency	essential to implement sufficiency, recycling and efficiency	works with a set of indicators fixed by the respective community

Table 1: Comparison of Māori tourism and post-growth economy

Table 1 shows that the commonalities of Māori tourism and a post-growth economy outweigh the contrasts by far. The intersection is so large that it can almost be described as congruent. In terms of sufficiency the arrival of international visitors on flights is by far the biggest obstacle. A solution could be the integration of carbon offset schemes into any international travel to Aotearoa New Zealand. The implementation of that, however, is realized more at the government level than at the level of Māori communities.

As to value orientation, Māori society has the advantage of the values having already existed for a long time, whereas these values for a post growth economy still have to be specified in detail. Regarding social innovations, the granting of legal personhood to natural areas is a very strong, innovative act that may serve as a model for a post-growth economy. One main difference regarding the criterion of a common good orientation is the value-based approach (Māori) in contrast to the indicator approach of the post-growth economy model. This difference, however, is in the end not a real one since the indicator set is based on values itself.

Discussion

The four post-growth economy criteria (sufficiency, value orientation, social innovations, and a common good orientation) considered in this article are, of course interdependent. Sufficiency and a common good orientation require values orientation. Social innovations are more likely when based on value orientation, because then there is a motivation to improve the social environment through innovations in the first place. The Māori tourism businesses analysed in this article overlap to a large extent with the concept of a post-growth economy.

However, not each and every Māori tourism business is necessarily inherently sufficient and just follows the western business model.⁸⁶ European visitors especially tend to have an overly romantic notion regarding nature and Māori in Aotearoa New Zealand (interview D). In addition, the CO₂ problem caused by international tourists on their long-haul flights is often ignored in the equation. Long-haul flights are not in line with a post-growth economy and contribute considerably to climate change because they are currently far beyond a tolerable annual individual emission quota of 2-4 tonnes of CO₂.⁸⁷ This is where the concept of folding comes into play,⁸⁸ i.e. what can grow within the planetary boundaries. Regarding the long-haul flights, the solution may lie in new synthetic fuels, fewer flights and longer stays, or in the targeting of digital nomads with staycations or workations. Thus, the number of long-haul flights should definitely not grow, but a common good orientation and social innovations, of course, should.

Therefore, Māori tourism businesses can become pioneers to highlight the way to a post-growth economy, especially in form of small trendsetting groups. If the

⁸⁶ McIntosh, Zygadlo, and Matunga, "Rethinking Māori tourism," 331-52.

⁸⁷ Paech, "Die Postwachstumsökonomie – ein Vademeum," 28-31.

⁸⁸ Levermann, "Begrenzen, was wir nicht mehr wollen."

response to climate change then requires the quick implementation of new forms of economy, today's niche of Māori tourism business may serve as a model to transform tourism with post-growth strategies. The 'unconditional increase of material self-fulfilment claims'⁸⁹ is not a future-proof concept and the Indigenous knowledge in Māori tourism businesses holds a key, a piece of the puzzle to a post-growth economy. In this regard, Māori tourism businesses are part of a post-growth economy, of course, but only at a micro level. On the global level, an evolutionary jump is needed.⁹⁰ The political will to do so on the necessary global scale is not yet apparent, as it is considered potentially politically toxic.⁹¹ Thus, political communication regarding post-growth should better use the term *right-sizing* instead of *downsizing* and steady-state economy instead of degrowth.⁹²

This article has its limitations due to the specific focus on Aotearoa New Zealand, which is not necessarily transferable to other countries with Indigenous groups that have different current circumstances and history. Furthermore, I am aware of the fact that as a tauwi researcher with a Western education background the research perspective is limited. At the interface of a post-growth economy and forms of Māori tourism, further future research fields can be opened up by Māori via a Kaupapa approach, Pākehā and tauwi researchers alike: How can a political implementation of post-growth tourism succeed? How can Māori groups contribute to it and under which conditions? How then can a post-growth tourism through Māori frameworks contribute to the transformation of the entire economy of a country in a post-covid era? How can Western tourism businesses learn from Te Ao Māori (the

⁸⁹ Paech, "Die Postwachstumsökonomie – ein Vademecum," 28-31.

⁹⁰ Banerjee, Jermier, Peredo, Perey, and Reichel, "Theoretical perspectives on organizations and organizing," 337-57.

⁹¹ Milano, and Koens, "The paradox of tourism extremes," 219-31.

⁹² Hall, "Degrowing tourism," 46-61.

Māori worldview)? How can Indigenous and non-Indigenous researchers develop joint research concepts on the topic of post-growth economy to bring together the best of both worlds of research?

Conclusion

With the ongoing diversification of the tourism market, Indigenous tourism promises an interesting new experience for visitors.⁹³ Moreover, innovative forms of tourism that address climate change and post-growth perspectives like Māori tourism may offer alternative products on the tourism market. Regarding the first research question it can be stated that the commonalities of Māori tourism and the post-growth economy model far outweigh the contrasts. This is not surprising because both are based on values, which are the key drivers towards sufficiency, social innovations, and a common good orientation. In addition, the western post-growth-economy idea can learn from Māori society with its centuries-old values and knowledge and use it as a blueprint to answer the second research question posited here, *Can Māori tourism contribute to a post-growth economy?*, with a definitive yes. The Māori may even export the concept of granting legal personhood to natural areas and open up entirely new options in nature conservation and lead to new research possibilities.

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⁹³ Anya Diekmann and Melanie Kay Smith, *Ethnic and minority cultures as tourist attractions*, Vol. 65 (Bristol: Channel View Publications, 2015).

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List of Interviews

Interview A, Māori, male, academia, 15 February 2017

Interview B, Māori, male, Māori tourism business, 22 February 2017

Interview C, Pākehā, male, Māori tourism business, 27 February 2017

Interview D, Pākehā, male, academia, 1 March 2017

Interview E, Māori and Pākehā, female and male, academia, 2 March 2017

Interview F, Māori, female, Māori tourism business, 2 March 2017

Interview G, Māori and Pākehā, both male, Māori tourism business, 4 March 2017

Interview H, Pākehā, female, Māori tourism business, 19 February 2020

Interview I, Māori, male, Māori tourism business, 21 February 2020

Interview J, Māori, male and female, Māori tourism business, 21 February 2020

Interview K, Māori, female, Māori tourism business, 26 February 2020

Interview L, Māori, female and male, Māori tourism business, 27 February 2020

Interview M, two Māori, both male, Māori tourism business, 3 March 2020

Interview N, Māori, female, Māori tourism business, 4 March 2020

Interview O, Māori, male, Māori tourism business, 6 March 2020

Interview P, Māori, male, Māori tourism business, 9 March 2020

Interview Q, Māori, male, Māori tourism business, 10 March 2020

Interview R, Māori, female, Māori tourism business, 21 February 2020

Interview S, Māori, female, Māori tourism business, 25 May 2020

List of Participant Observations

Observation 1, Nelson Provincial Museum, 18 February 2017

Observation 2, Te Papa, Wellington, 20 February 2017

Observation 3, Whakapapa Village, Tongariro National Park, 23 February 2017

Observation 4, Māori Rock Carvings, Taupo, 24 February 2017

Observation 5, Wairakei Terraces, Taupo, 25 February 2017

Observation 6, Te Puia, 26 February 2017

Observation 7, Novotel Hamilton, 28 February 2017

Observation 8, Whangarei Art Gallery, 3 March 2017

Observation 9, Auckland Museum, 7 March 2017

Observation 10, Guided tour Mount Eden, 10 February 2020

Observation 11, Coromandel Peninsula, 18 February 2020

Observation 12, Guided tour Rotorua, 19 February 2020

Observation 13, Mataatua Wharenu, 21 February 2020

Observation 14, Te Hana Te Ao Marama, 26 February 2020

Observation 15, Guided tour, Whangarei, 27 February 2020

Observation 16, Cape Reinga, 29 February 2020

Observation 17, Guided tour Ahipara, 2 March 2020

Observation 18, Guided tour Waitangi, 4 March 2020

Observation 19, Guided tour Hokianga, 5 March 2020

Observation 20, Small Māori tourism business, Kerikeri, 6 February 2020