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Tourism and regenerating place: insights from Queen Charlotte Sound/Tōtaranui

Prepared for the Department of Conservation

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Plate 1: Looking ‘down the Sound’, from the Queen Charlotte Track. Credit: *Steve Ulrich*

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1. Summary

Queen Charlotte Sound/Tōtaranui in the Marlborough Sounds ('Sounds') is one of the iconic coastal taonga of Aotearoa New Zealand. Picton/Waitohi is the gateway to the Sounds, being the arrival and departure point for the inter-island ferry. It is also the jump-off point for the Queen Charlotte Track, and for the enjoyment of the sheltered coastal waterways. The area has a rich Māori history, with Te Ātiawa iwi now holding mana whenua over the area. European involvement dates back to 1770, with the arrival of the English vessel *Endeavour* to Meretoto/Ship's Cove. Tourism also has a long history, with visitors attracted to the scenic beauty and the once numerous fish and shellfish species, some of which are now scarce.

Tourism has had significant historical impacts on kaimoana. These range from damage to Waikawa estuary from construction of the marina, to ship-wake disturbance from the fast ferries along Kura Te Au/Tory Channel and the inner parts of Tōtaranui. Pressure from increasing visitation prior to the 2020-21 coronavirus pandemic (hereafter 'Covid') caused a range of effects. Notable adverse effects were associated with freedom campers, seasonal fishing pressure, and the reinvasion of mice onto predator-free islands. Positive effects included the benefits of income from increased cruise ship visits, the growing popularity of the Queen Charlotte Track, and the completion of the Link Pathway between Picton and Havelock that now offers an additional scenic tramping and mountain biking opportunity. Visitation therefore occurs within the context of the wider ecosystem, which has a myriad other influences influencing the ecology, such as extractive land-based and marine activities.

The notion of regeneration in an ecological sense has been gaining attention, as more people are realising the planet is struggling to cope with the cumulative and multiple effects of humanity's collective activities. Regeneration has recently been discussed for tourism, primarily from the standpoint of recovering the tourism industry badly hit by Covid disruption, here and overseas. However, there is also an emerging narrative about tourism 'giving back' to people and place within the context in which it is nested. An exploration of these ideas was the subject of our interim report to the Department of Conservation/Te Papa Atawhai (DoC) in late 2020.

The purpose of the current report is twofold. First, to present an analysis of targeted interviews (12) undertaken with tangata whenua, DoC, Marlborough District Council (MDC), Destination Marlborough, tourism providers, and residents to explore how tourism post-Covid might unfold in Tōtaranui. Second, to present to DoC a project scope for a destination management plan that is focused on the regeneration and rehabilitation of the Sounds.

From the interviews, we found shared concern about the future of tourism, particularly in relation to how that might affect nature, and the people of the place. There were differences between participants about what recovery would look like, ranging from visitation that 'puts something back', to rebuilding numbers to assist the financial sustainability of current tourism operators. There was, however, an acknowledgement from almost all participants that there were other activities causing significant adverse effects on people and nature, and these should be managed in a holistic manner to regenerate and protect the mauri of the area.

The call was also made for a genuine partnership to address these issues in an integrated way. We suggest the co-development of a holistic destination management plan, framed to help implement the Te Tauihu inter-generational strategy Tūpuna Pono (i.e., being good ancestors) within Picton/Waitohi, Waikawa and Queen Charlotte Sound/Tōtaranui. Given the importance of this strategy, it makes sense for iwi to co-lead this in partnership with DoC and MDC, rather than Destination Marlborough leading this as a narrow economic recovery

initiative. This fits with the Tourism Futures Taskforce (Taskforce) and the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment's recommendations for inclusive destination plans.

Accordingly, we make the following recommendations to The Treaty/Te Tiriti partners:

1. Agree an inclusive process to create a destination management plan, one in which the Te Tauihu intergenerational strategy Tūpuna Pono is given effect.
2. Include the management of other environmental activities within this plan that interact with tourism, with the aim to protect and nourish the mauri of the people and place.
3. This be a partnered approach that is mandated and resourced from the highest levels.
4. That the partners promote and enable behaviours that create a culture of 'giving back'.



Figure 1: Queen Charlotte Sound/Tōtaranui and Kura Te Au/Tory Channel

"In terms of the name of Queen Charlotte Sound, the original authentic name is Tōtaranui. And the reason for that is it represented to the old people, not only the fact that Tōtaranui is a living entity, but it also represented the physical shape and representation of the Tōtara tree.

The main trunk or the tree running from the head of Mahakipaoa up here and the head of the Grove Arm at the base of Mt Roberts that then heading virtually due north, right up into the head of East Bay where we are on that map there with the big fish hook. That's the whenua upon which we reside, and some of our ancestors and tūpuna are laid to rest.

So, it branches off the trunk of the main pathway from Mahakipaoa down through to the head of the Queen Charlotte Sound, represents the trunk, the tree that the old people referred to and they recognised all the inlets and deviations in the layout of the Sounds created the branches upon which the fruits which sustained them were suspended. And so it was always referred to as a living entity well-known to the old people."

Te Ātiawa kaumātua, January 2021

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Plate 2: Picton/Waitohi from Victoria Domain 2016. Credit: *Peter Hamill, Marlborough District Council.*

“And so I guess when we talk about tourism, in my head, I'm thinking, what is the definition of tourism? Who is tourism for? Because often tourism is seen as something to attract other people to your region.

And I think the definition needs to turn around first and foremost. It needs to be for those people who live there, and then be something that other people can come and enjoy.”

Te Ātiawa Manawhenua Ki Te Tau Ihu Trustee, January 2021

2. Introduction

The impacts of the severe acute respiratory syndrome SARS-CoV 'Covid' pandemic have been severe on tourism internationally. In Aotearoa New Zealand (hereafter Aotearoa NZ) international tourism collapsed from a peak of almost 4 million overseas visitors in 2019 to 37,000 between April and December 2020¹.

There has been a dramatic loss of income and jobs throughout the country, with consequent economic and social effects. In response, the Government implemented a \$400 million funding package in 2020 to attempt to alleviate the downturn in income to businesses and regions dependent on high visitor numbers for employment and wellbeing.

The previous Minister of Tourism Kelvin Davis also assembled the independent Tourism Futures Taskforce ('Taskforce') in mid-2020 to respond to the effects of the pandemic on the industry and its interdependent communities. The Taskforce was to provide advice on what changes could be made to the tourism system for the long-term enrichment of Aotearoa NZ.²

This included addressing long-standing social and environmental challenges, which the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment (PCE) had also been concurrently investigating.³ Both the PCE's recommendations report and the Taskforce's interim report were publicly released within a month of each other in early 2021.

Both reports have called for significant changes to the tourism sector and the way in which it is regulated. One of the PCE's recommendations is particularly relevant to tourism in Te Taihū o Te Waka a Māui / Top of the South Island (hereafter 'Te Taihū'):

Make any future central government funding for tourism infrastructure conditional on environmental criteria and aligned with mana whenua and the local community's vision for tourism development.

The PCE contended that the wishes of mana whenua and the wider community need to inform decisions about the type and location of infrastructure. The PCE also observed that a fundamental question had not yet been asked of communities, as to whether growth in visitor numbers should be accommodated.⁴

The recognition that the needs of communities, within which tourism is nested, are important, has also influenced the vision set out by the Taskforce. The Taskforce identified that the concept of mauri was the best way of explaining wellbeing. They recommended embedding mauri within all aspects of the visitor economy, as a unifying and authentic approach.

This fits with the existing Mauriora Systems Framework (MSF) developed by Professor Hirini Matunga in 1993 (Figure 2).⁵ The MSF sets out an iterative process undertaken by kaitiaki to protect and/or enhance the mauri of their taonga using their tikanga.

¹ Statistics New Zealand 2021.

² Hon. Kelvin Davis 2020:

³ Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment 2019 & 2021.

⁴ It is beyond the purview of this report to examine Aotearoa NZ's neoliberalism political system. Suffice to point out that *Environment Aotearoa 2019* (MfE & Stats NZ) paints a concerning picture of systemic failure to anticipate, avoid, and/or mitigate existing and new acute and chronic environmental stressors in freshwater, terrestrial and coastal marine ecosystems.

⁵ Matunga et al. 2020.

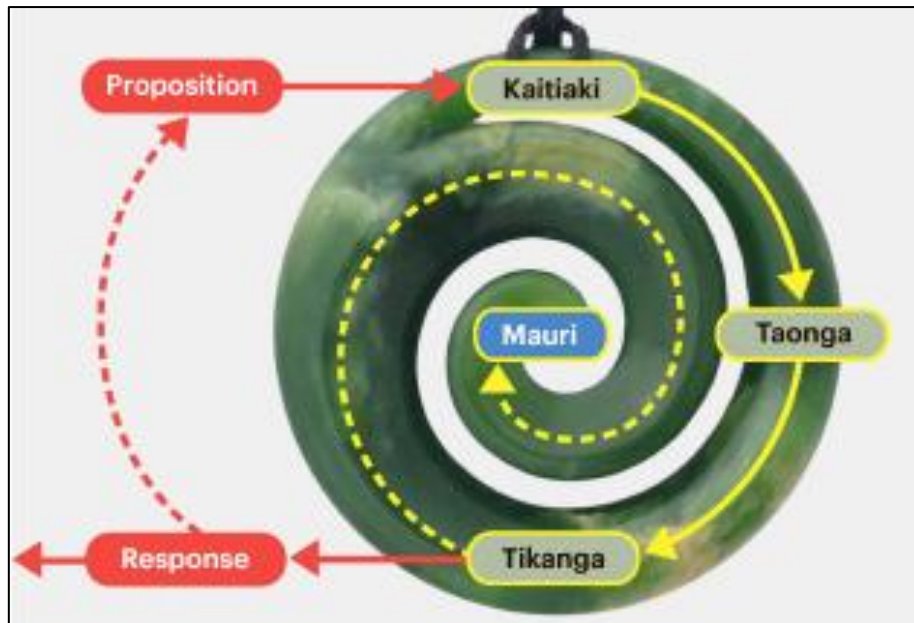


Figure 2: The Mauriora Systems Framework (redrawn from Matunga 1993, in Matunga et al. 2020).

The MSF offers a way of engaging with whānau, hapū and iwi to set the foundation for genuine bi-cultural discussions, that involve local and central government, about how to protect and enhance ‘place’. These could also involve industry and the wider community. This is consistent with the Taskforce also calling for the co-creation of “destination plans” with communities, which take a “long-term view aligned with regenerative outcomes” (p47).

The Taskforce defined the contribution of tourism toward these outcomes, as:

“This means that in the desired future, the visitor economy will deliver net benefits and positive impacts for our people, our communities, our culture, our environment and our economy” (p93).

The idea that tourism could therefore ‘give back’, as it occurs within a larger system, is also explicitly acknowledged by the Taskforce (Figure 3). They believe that “regenerating and reconnecting more New Zealanders with their [sic] natural world” will improve wellbeing. Moreover, by linking nature more closely with Māori and Polynesian cultures will help deliver on “100% Pure New Zealand and nurturing the life-supporting capacity of Te Taiao” (p57).

This ecological ethos is also recognised in the Taskforce’s vision for tourism of “Enriching Aotearoa”. They term this as “transformative”, and see it being underpinned by a “Te Ao Māori approach”. The Taskforce sets this out as “an ultimate unique proposition globally is our people and culture”, which is to be coupled with the “Tiaki Promise” by “embracing the concept of Kaitiakitanga” to care for the environment (p43). However, carrying capacity is not discussed explicitly⁶, with capacity referring to managing and rationalising surplus industry capacity, to improve overall financial yields.

⁶ A search of the Taskforce report for “carrying capacity” did not reveal any discussion on capping visitor numbers. The challenges that visitor growth has brought about are acknowledged (p43), but it does not see that reducing visitor numbers is the automatic solution to supply side issues (p45). They suggest a stocktake of offerings and managing “those resources (in particular, public assets) to achieve appropriate outcomes” (p45).

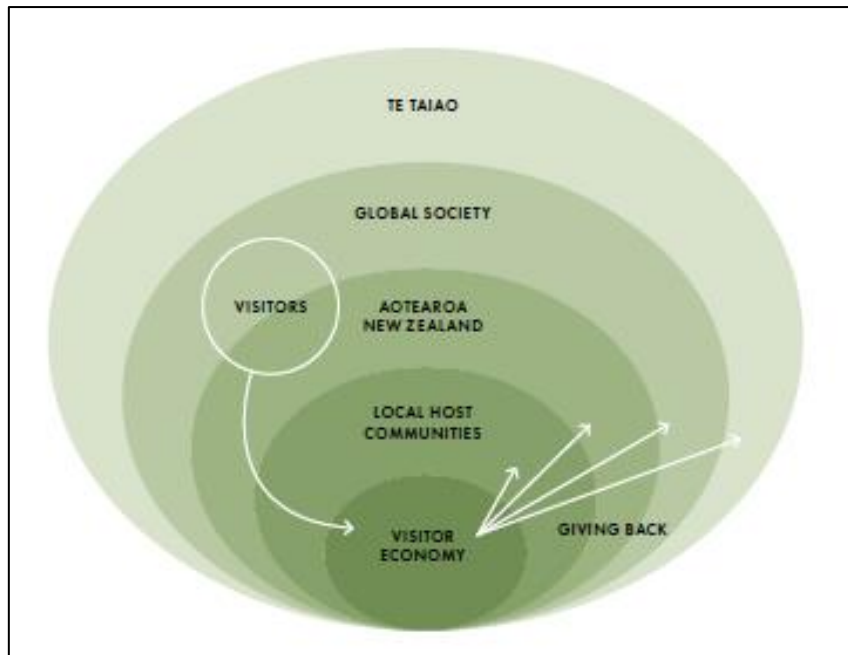


Figure 3: The Tourism Futures Taskforce’s notion of visitors being part of a system and ‘giving back’ to support that system (p35). The environment “Te Taiiao” is encompassing and therefore needs to be healthy, and not subservient to increasing demands from ongoing growth in visitor numbers.

The PCE took a more definitive stance on managing visitors by stating that tourism should not be predicated on a growth model that continued to cause ongoing environmental harm. The PCE identified three intervention points or approaches within a framework for analysing and managing environmental damage from tourism (Figure 4). He suggested Aotearoa NZ could welcome fewer visitors through a combination of tools that rationed demand. These tools range from increasing the quantum of the inbound visitor levy, to limiting access to conservation areas. The second approach attempts to change visitor behaviour, and/or to reduce the environment footprint of goods and services consumed. The third approach is to invest in system resilience to reduce the environmental impacts caused by visitors.

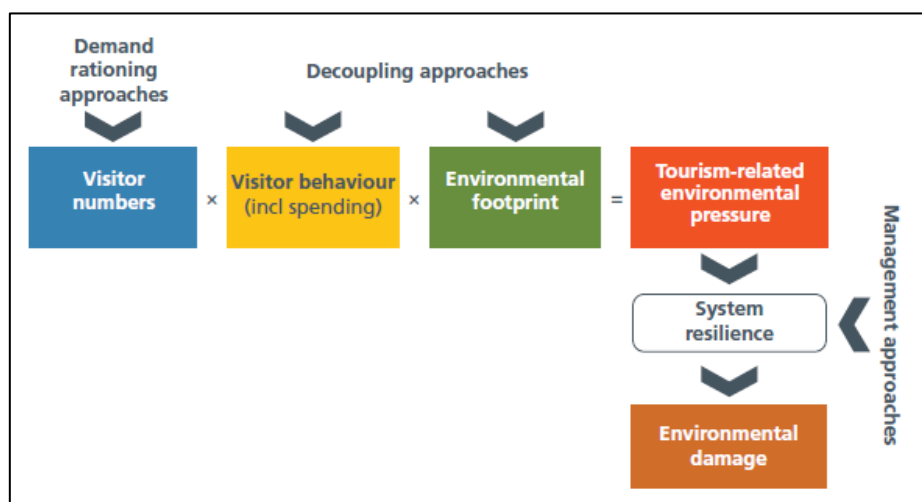


Figure 4: PCE’s suggested framework for analysing environmental damage from tourism, with intervention points shown by the arrows (2020, p10).

The PCE highlighted that if real change was to come about in the industry's environmental footprint, changes to business models and individual tourist behaviour would need to occur. These changes include paying for the costs of environmental services and also to remediate ongoing environmental damage.

The PCE also supported the need for destination management planning, as a means of aligning funding with individual community's vision for tourism. What scale these might cover; what their relationship to statutory planning documents might be; what these plans should encompass; and who leads this process; remains to be settled. The risk is that plans do not 'talk to one another' within and between regions, leading to discordant outcomes.

The relationship with the proposed Spatial Planning Act in the Resource Management Act reform is also not clear, but it makes sense for these to be at the very least consistent.

2.1 Study Objectives

It is with this background that we report on interviews with selected participants in Queen Charlotte Sound/Tōtaranui. These were done to derive a sense of historical and current tourism effects on people and place. We also wanted to understand from participants what recovery of tourism post-Covid might look like to them, and what might be done differently.

Concurrently, we developed and present a scope for a potential destination planning process.

Therefore, there are two objectives of this study:

1. Explore the role of tourism in a place-based recovery, after the acute effects of the pandemic have dissipated in terms of movement controls.
2. Outline a potential approach to destination management planning by providing a scope for what such a process may entail.



Plate 3: Picton harbour from west shore. Credit: *Steve Ulrich*

2.2. Study Area

The Marlborough Sounds (Sounds) are situated in the north-eastern top of the South Island (Figure 5), and are one of the iconic coastal taonga of Aotearoa NZ. Picton/Waitohi is the gateway to Queen Charlotte Sound/Tōtaranui being the arrival and departure point for the inter-island ferry to Wellington. It is also the departure point for the Queen Charlotte Track (Figure 5), and for enjoyment of its network of sheltered coastal waterways.

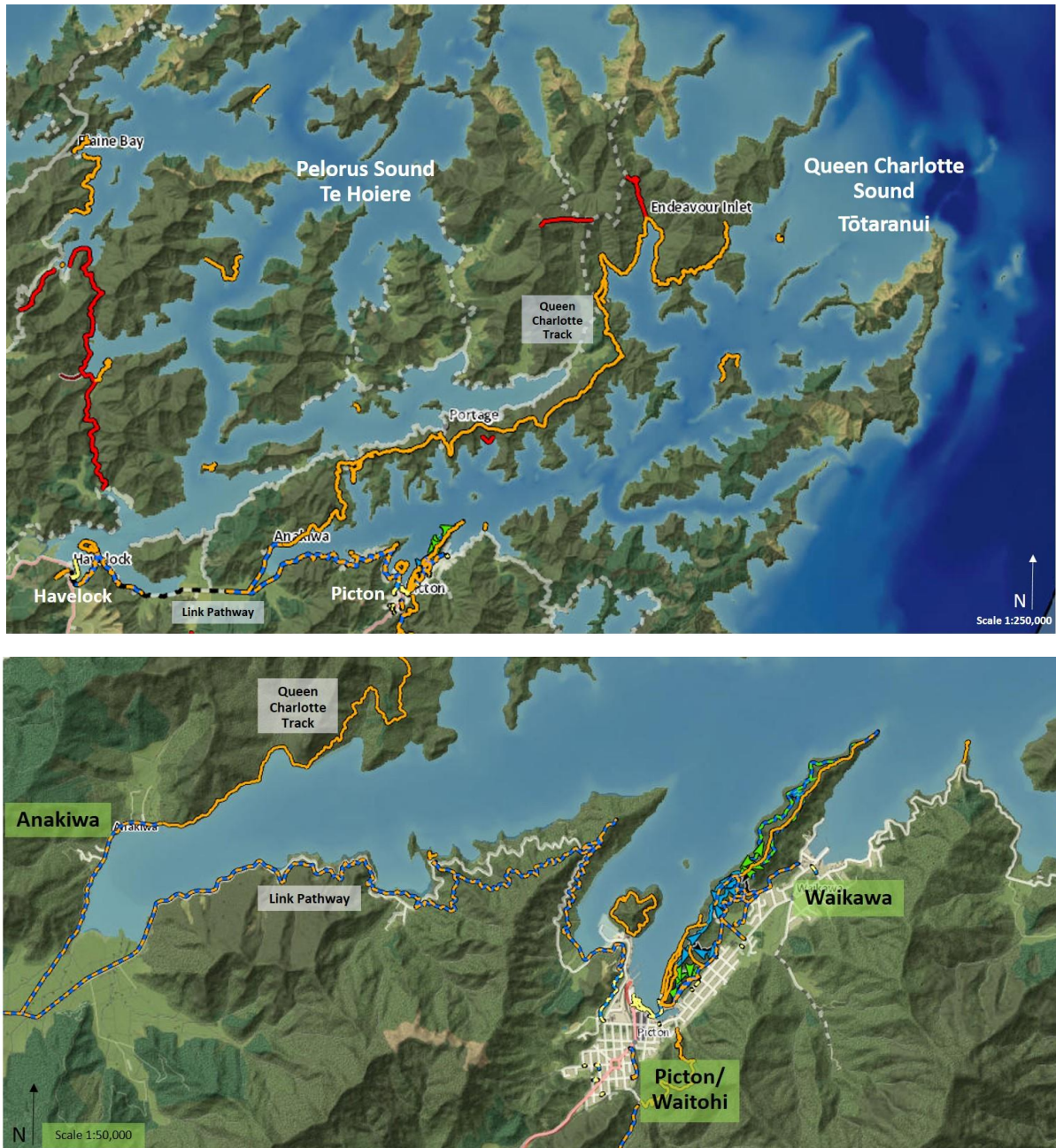


Figure 5: Queen Charlotte Sound/Tōtaranui showing the Queen Charlotte Track (outlined in orange) from Meretoto/Ship's Cove near Endeavour Inlet to Anakiwa (*Top*). (*Bottom*) Picton/Waitohi and Waikawa with the Link Pathway to Anakiwa (in blue and orange) and Havelock (not shown). To the west of Waikawa is Victoria Domain and the Snout, which have walking and mountain bike tracks.

The area has a rich Māori history, with Te Ātiawa iwi now holding mana whenua and mana moana over the area. European involvement dates back to 1770, with the arrival of the English vessel *Endeavour* to Meretoto/Ship's Cove. Tourism also has a long history, with visitors attracted to its scenic beauty and the natural resources (such as fish and shellfish species) that were once present in abundance, but some species are now relatively scarce.⁷

The Sounds have a history of poor environmental management. There are currently multiple stressors on land and marine ecosystems, caused by unsustainable extractive activities on hillsides above the coastline and in the coastal waters. Extensive clear-felling of plantation forests has caused excessive sedimentation, affected water quality, aquatic life, and smothered estuarine and near-shore ecosystems. Recreational and commercial scallop dredging, along with historical and current bottom-trawling, has decimated fragile, biogenic habitat-forming benthic communities. Overfishing of blue cod, snapper, and crayfish has altered food webs by the release of sea urchin/kina from predation pressure, leading to kelp forest decline. Biosecurity surveillance and management is an ongoing challenge on land and within the port areas. In addition, the effects of ocean acidification and warming sea surface temperatures, are also putting pressure on the resilience of the Sounds ecosystems. There are also fears for the sustainability of Hector's and bottlenose dolphin populations from these stressors, as well as from frequent encounters with boaties and tour operators.



Plate 4: Endeavour Inlet (foreground) and outer Queen Charlotte Sound/Tōtaranui, looking to Arapaoa Island from the summit of Mt Stokes. Credit: *Steve Ulrich*.

⁷ Ulrich and Handley 2020.

3. Methods

Interviews

Twelve participants were identified for interviews by the project partners: Te Ātiawa Manawhenua Ki Te Tau Ihu Trust (Te Ātiawa Trust), the Department of Conservation/Te Papa Atawhai (DoC) and Lincoln University (LU). Participants were:

- *Te Ātiawa iwi* – kaumātua, kuia and Te Ātiawa Trust Board members [Interview numbers #1-4]
- *Tourism providers* with iwi connections [#11, #12]
- *Politicians* from Marlborough District Council (MDC) [#7, #10]
- *Regulators* - staff members of DoC [#9], MDC [#6], and Destination Marlborough [#8]
- *Endeavour Inlet residents* – two interviewed together [#5].

Destination Marlborough was included for the purposes of this study as a regulator, given it receives funding from MDC, reports to it, and is involved in planning. A tourism provider (non-Māori) was contacted but declined to participate, as did an adventure training organisation.

A semi-structured interview method was chosen as it allows for conversations to organically develop, and for information to emerge that is not 'sought out' by the interviewer.⁸ The interviews were directed by a set of questions (see Appendix), which were co-developed by the project partners. As each conversation developed, the interviewer was able to ask more specific questions that related to the particular participant being interviewed.

Analysis was done by identifying common themes, identified by iterative analysis of interview recordings and transcripts. The interview data were also analysed against the themes identified by the Taskforce (2020, p10) following input from various groups and individuals. The analysis was not checked by participants, as the data were anonymised. Where quotes were given⁹ they were attributed to the interview number.

Scope for destination planning process

The purpose is to inform a feasibility study for a case study of regenerative tourism within a destination management plan, in a way that gives effect to Te Tiriti o Waitangi ('Te Tiriti'). This was informed by the earlier report submitted to DoC by Lincoln University¹⁰, and in particular, observations and findings in Part 2 of that report and associated appendix. It also draws on the separate and concurrent DoC and Te Ātiawa '*Hearing Te Taiao*' exploration.¹¹

The scope was developed with reference to the ecosystem-based management principles identified by the Sustainable Seas National Science Challenge¹², and contextualised with detailed local knowledge of people, place, ecosystems, and institutions held by EJ and SU.

⁸ Maxwell and MacDiarmid AB 2016.

⁹ Note that the quotes have been edited for clarity, such as removing 'um' and repeated words, with care taken not to alter the meaning.

¹⁰ McEnhill et al. 2020.

¹¹ An acknowledgement and thanks to Te Ātiawa and the DoC for allowing engagement in, and reference to, that project for this report. References in this report to the '*Hearing te Taiao*' project, the need to move beyond anthropocentric world views and to understand the effects of human (tourism) activities on nature, for nature's sake (*Hearing te Taiao*) reflect developing thinking from that project.

¹² Hewitt et al. 2018.

4. Results

4.1 Interviews

Eleven broad themes were identified, common to more than three interview groupings (Table 1). There was overlap between some of the themes, so these themes should not be viewed as necessarily discrete. A judgment call was made where a comment may have fitted under one or more themes. Table A1 sets out a summary of the range of individual comments within each theme (see Appendix), and Table A2 sets out different interviewee comments that broadly fit the themes identified within the Tourism Futures Taskforce interim report.

Table 1: Broad themes identified from iterative analysis of interview recordings and transcripts. The number of interview groupings (see Methods) from which these themes emerged is also shown.

Theme	No. groupings
1. Historical effects of tourism	4
2. Pre-Covid tourism	5
3. Tourism after Covid lockdown	5
4. Contribution to wellbeing	3
5. Disparity/inequality	3
6. Visitor pressures on place	5
7. Opportunities from/for tourism	5
8. Wider sustainability context	5
9. Management focus	5
10. Collaboration and partnership	4
11. Restorative actions and behaviour	5

4.1.1 Historical effects of tourism

Tangata whenua participants had the longer temporal perspective on the effects of tourism (Table A1). For example, the destruction of mahinga kai shellfish beds in Waikawa estuary to build the marina during the early 1980s was lamented. The increase in the visitor population attracted to the marina caused wastewater issues as Waikawa grew. The loss of shellfish beds is continuing to occur with the current marina expansion in the north-west of the bay.

The fast ferries between Picton and Wellington in the 1990s and early 2000s resulted in mortality of intertidal and subtidal invertebrate species, and induced shoreline erosion. One Te Ātiawa iwi member described it as follows:

“But what it did for us as a people, was it just about decimated our kina and paua beds. And that was, you know, something that we, you feel like you're outside the planet when you're trying to talk about those kinds of things. Personal health and safety was certainly critical, and it was waves were bashed up on people's properties and properties with damage; wharves were smashed” [Participant #4]

This contrasted somewhat with another iwi member's view:

Tourism in Waitohi, and in the Sounds has changed to a considerable degree. One point in time back in, say the 1950s, 1960s, tourism in the Sounds was not unheard of. But it was never as much promotion. People were not so much made aware of the beautiful, idyllic, gem type places we have here in the Sounds. So it was, it was far less commercially, promoted and motivated... [Does] tourism degrades Tōtaranui? No, I don't think that there is a degradation of the rohe. [#2]

Tourism had a short season 40 years ago, reflecting the area's attraction as a holiday destination particularly over the Christmas-New Year period. Long-term users such as bach owners, many from Canterbury, would arrive en masse. One local politician remembered a five-fold peak in population in Picton:

"So 1982, Picton, it was one of those towns that was extremely quiet for most of the year. The population went from 4,000 people on the 23rd of December to the 26th of December it would jump up to something like 20,000 people." [#7].

4.1.2 Pre-Covid tourism

Tourism has grown in economic importance to the area since the 1980s, with an increase in numbers over a longer period each year. Domestic visitors remained the majority. Diversification of tourist offerings also occurred, ranging from high-end resort and tour options to backpacker tourism. For example, the Queen Charlotte Track was designed in the 1990s. In the 2010s, international cruise ships began to rapidly grow in numbers over summer. However, the relatively sudden influx of passengers drew a mixed reception:

"It's an income for the town, people come off the boats and spend money." [#1]

"There's the buses catered for, but that tourist has already paid for that bus and the schedule of them leaving the ship to go and do whatever they do [outside Picton]. There's nothing for the local township unless they spend in that town. So yeah, it's nice to have them for a day, but it can be very hectic." [#3]

"You get some of the big cruise ships, which has 6,000 people, it's more than enough to go around and then you get feedback from the cafes, we couldn't cope and people were waiting 15 minutes in the line to get a coffee sort of thing. So it's as I say, it's a boom or a bane, but then it can be a boom or bust in a miniature type sense as well. [#6]

"This summer we were supposed to have 80. That's a huge jump. And the ships were bigger, and their number of crew increases as well as passengers. So that was starting to put pressure. It was starting to push a little bit in social license." [#8]

4.1.3 Tourism after Covid lockdown

This theme drew a diverse range of opinion, and elicited some penetrating observations about the state of economic conditions for some local residents - particularly Māori. The behaviour of domestic visitors and local residents was remarked on by several participants, and compared with a common perception of overseas tourists. The positive economic benefits to the business community of a summer of domestic tourism were noted, although the benefits did not seem to accrue within the wider community nor the environment.

"We are still in the stages now at our marae of providing food packs to people more and more, particularly if they've had their work hours reduced because they've lost their job because of the loss of tourists... And so we are living in this affluent, highly tourist paradise where we have families, who are struggling to feed their children." [#4]

"The past year without those tourists is just showing that, probably the major polluters are Kiwis and not foreign tourists... Tourism, obviously in the past year, it's changed. A lot of

New Zealand tourists here, which has been great. And if you head down to the local high street in Picton, you would find that almost any tourism business that live off tourism, not directly housing tourists as such, but cafes, restaurants, trinket shops, those have actually had a wildly better trading year than they have in any other year.” [#7].

“Whereas here we’ve actually had numbers increased [to conservation areas] ...campgrounds are going through the roof, campsites and campgrounds.” [#9].

“We are not going to get the February/March rush. This has allowed us to ‘breathe’ and renovate and upgrade things that we normally wouldn’t get the chance to do... This year is going to be really uncertain for business owners as there’s no wage subsidy.” [#10]

“Covid showed us that we need the environment.” [#11]

“I’ve never seen so many domestic tourists before, never seen so many boats, dragging anchors, pulling fish. People just take, take, take. They don’t give anything back.” [#12]

4.1.4 Tourism contribution to wellbeing

Different participants focused on different dimensions of wellbeing, with economic, social and environmental perspectives highlighted. One participant highlighted the need to have a conversation about what people value about the area, beyond just financial rewards:

“Tourism is good for the area” [#1]

“The big push around it was the potential employment that it [the marina] would bring. That, you know, it would bring what it’s got here and lots of boats and things and that would add to our quality of life. Man, we were right. If I had the ability to go back, now this [Waikawa marina] wouldn’t be here.” [#4]

“I think Marlborough suffers from, we don’t have very many big tourism players, so it’s a lot of medium to small size tourism players and they get affected very quickly by downturns, upturns, seasonality, and all the rest of it. So, it doesn’t take much for smaller operators to suffer.” [#6]

“I’ve always said that New Zealanders are the world’s worst at having a conversation about what are the values in New Zealand that we want to protect... I guess when you look at the previous Key government, as far as they were concerned, any tourism dollar was a good dollar and I can’t subscribe to that view. As a councillor, we constantly come up against this - any money earned for the district is good money. Well, that’s just incorrect and not true.” [#7].

“There are still some Council people who only have economy goals, no other views, and have a very narrow view of how to promote Marlborough.” [#10].

4.1.5 Disparity and inequality

The converse to notions of wellbeing are the consequences of social, economic, and racial inequality. Tourism marketing typically shows stunning land- and sea-scapes, as well as people on holiday having fun. A number of participants, particularly Māori, challenged the reality of that portrayal, with particular concern about the future of their rangatahi:

“There are many boats sitting in the marina but lots of people can’t feed themselves”. [#1]

“We are a small country, and we were actually sometimes allowing our tourism to create an elite... we have become a solely tourism driven place, and so it impacts on things like family income, housing affordability. A lot of our young people, our rangatahi, leave here to go elsewhere for training and employment, nothing wrong with that. We want them to

spread their wings and get out and see the world. But when it is because they can't get employment here, they can't get career pathways here, then that's different" [#4].

"So tourism going forward here, I would see as a slightly higher or considerably higher value as than we've had previously. I don't think that necessarily needs to be the top shelf tourism, but I think that we need to do better out of the tourism industry, than it being a low employment option for Kiwis sort of struggling to find jobs elsewhere. Should actually be a career choice that they aspire to rather, than a last resort choice which is generally what happens in our district. No middle ground. Often affluent business owners, with the proletariat out there are doing all the work at a very poor hourly rate, almost abusive contracts". [#7]

"A sustainable economy through tourism. Negative to tourism is it gives low-paid jobs." [#12]

4.1.6 Issues with tourism

There were a number of issues identified, which can broadly be categorised into ecological sustainability; social carrying capacity; and the economic recovery of business.

The pressure on fisheries from the effects from bach owners, and an increasing number of boats from the marina expansion, elicited ecological sustainability concerns. The number of walkers and mountain bikers, and illegal quad bike users, on the Queen Charlotte Track also drew disquiet. Conversely, a desire was expressed to rebuild visitor numbers to assist tourism operators. This was tempered by others who sought an equilibrium with visitor experience and impacts, although the specifics of how this might work weren't forthcoming:

"It's more because we are a holiday destination for people who own baches in the Sounds, that's the worst thing for us - those baches. They're only there for a certain time, but it's the actual paru, the rubbish that they leave behind afterwards. And then what are they doing while in the bach? Are they destocking our fisheries by way of just taking what they want when they want? Nobody knows. I don't speak on behalf of the iwi, but for myself as a Māori or part Māori, It's really hard to be able to function as the kaitiaki, if we don't know the full extent of what's being taken" [#3]

"The way the track is used is hardly sustainable, lots of wear and tear. There's been an absolute explosion of tourism in the last 10 years" [#5].

"Our community, like a lot of other communities are starting to get concerned about the volume and impact. Everyone wants to make money, but I don't necessarily think that everyone wants to have a volume-based business. We've always talked about less people who spend more money and spend more time here, not more people who spend less money, but because it's more people, we get the same amount of money. It's quality over quantity. And with the quality of the quantity, hopefully we can also then reduce the impact on our community's environment." [#6]

"The international peak is February, March, and we haven't gotten there and it won't be coming. So while a lot of operators have had a reasonably good summer. The next big jump that normally you would expect, it's not coming. We're doing a lot of work to make sure that we're promoting Marlborough over that period to try and build that up." [#8]

"But at the end of the day, a lot of concessionaires don't give a shit about the environment. I'm sorry to be so frank, but that's all they're interested in is bums on seats and how much they can make per person. It's the volume tourism I was referring to. Whereas, if you want to look at sustainable tourism, you're constantly looking at the impacts that tourists are leaving on the environment that they're actually enjoying, it's like the goose that laid the golden egg. At what point do you get an equilibrium where you've

got a nice balance between numbers, people getting good experiences and having very few impacts on the environment?” [#9]

“In Waikawa, the marina is adding 350 boats...The fish don’t stand a chance.” [#11].

4.1.7 Opportunities from/for tourism

Tangata whenua expressed a desire to be more involved in tourism as a provider, and to share their stories on their terms. Other participants expressed support for iwi aspirations. The need for tourism to be more environmentally sustainable was also articulated, as was a suggested shift in Picton’s orientation to more explicitly value Queen Charlotte Sound. Opportunities were identified to future-proof visitor sites and possibly to regulate visitor numbers for managing social effects. Others took a sanguine view of the economic crisis as an investment window in new businesses or offerings to overcome the seasonal downturn.

“I would like for us [Te Ātiawa] as an entity to be involved in tourism, very similar along the lines of how Ngai Tahu, through Ngāti Kuri in Kaikōura have... because like I said, it’s a fabulous area out there, we should be a part of running the operations of tourism in this area.” [#3]

“I also think that tourism offers us, like here, Te Ātiawa, an opportunity to talk our picture, tell our stories.” [#4]

“Iwi are proud of their heritage. They should also be involved more.” [#5]

“I’m of the view that actually for Picton to be a successful tourist town, all it needs to do is actually value the waterway on which that resides beside and, just accept the fact that they are a service town for that waterway.” [#7]

“So yeah, we’ll see hibernation. But the other thing that we will see, which I think will be a really good opportunity, as we might see some businesses fold, but we’ll see other ones come up stronger and we’ll see opportunities for new investment. You know, now is the best time ever to invest in tourism businesses because you can’t get lower than this.” [#8]

“We’ve got an opportunity in New Zealand to reset the dial in terms of being able to cater for tourism post-Covid. We can put things in place where we can future proof our sites so that they don’t become as impacted when tourism numbers build.” [#9]

“Eco-tourism is the way of the future. Look into changing vessels, zero-carbon boats” [#12]

4.1.8 Wider sustainability context

It was evident from the interviews that participants viewed tourism as one of a number of issues facing the Sounds. The imperative to better manage the carbon footprint of global tourism was raised by several people. At a more local scale, almost all participants expressed unprompted concern about the landscape effects of forestry clear-cutting, and the effects of excess sedimentation on water quality from runoff. Fisheries sustainability issues were also raised by a number of people. These included fishing methods, such as dredging for scallops; and the depletion in fish populations from an increase in pressure from domestic visitors. There was a call for charter fishing to be included in the quota management system, given the increase in these trips. Other issues raised included the effects of salmon farming, wilding pines, and introduced grazing mammals. One participant summarised it all as follows: *“The ecology of the Sounds is in a state of collapse”* [#11].

“And it’s the worst thing that could ever happen was when they put pine trees in the Sounds, going back 60 years or so. Not only the dolphins, it has an effect upon our

kaimoana, effect upon the marine ecology close into the coastlines, and our mussels and natural wild growing mussels and food of that nature are nowhere near in abundance. And, it's an issue that does have considerable effect upon what we are able to offer to build our tourism on, in my view." [#2]

"I'm tangata whenua. Tangata whenua means you're a person of the land. You can only be a tangata whenua if the land that you stand on is well, and then you aren't well." [#4]

"Pigs, deer, goats are killing the native bush. DoC [Department of Conservation] don't take any responsibility for predator and pest control. We do our own trapping". [#5]

"What are the carrying factors of the Sounds in terms of boats, people, baches, tours, cruise ships, industry, how much more aquaculture can we put in there without affecting the environment? You know, forestry has side effects that you got to manage pretty carefully, once you start harvesting." [#6]

"It doesn't take a lot of brain power to understand the damage that just recreational fishing is doing. We're great as a community at blaming commercial fishing for trashing the Sounds and that is correct, but, people fail to shoulder the responsibility of their own actions, out there." [#7]

"So you go through Pelorus, I haven't been there much often, but I have friends that go on boats, so you don't go down Pelorus after it's been raining, cause you'll hit logs in the water around, you know, and it's brown.. We don't want to show visitors that. And same for the forestry. When you clear out those big areas and it scars on the landscape". [#8]

"I think some of the other countries in the world are starting to look at a component of sustainability, carbon footprint, as part of the operation as the way they sell the story to the customer. So we've got to front foot that as well." [#9]

"Ideally we want a management plan for the Sounds that can achieve sustainable and recreational fisheries" [#11]

4.1.9 Management focus

Destination management plans appeared to have different meanings for different people. Council-affiliated participants seemed to view it as more about the visitor experience and the mix of attractions and supporting infrastructure, with room for growth. Tangata whenua asked more searching questions about whom should have primacy in destination management planning – the people of the place, or the tourists being attracted to the place?

"There's a survey out at the moment from the district council about some of the things people might or might not like to see within the bigger Picton area around the foreshore area. Things like a pool complex and a cultural centre and those kinds of things. And I don't deny all those things are desirable, but it's often looked at as a catalyst to bring more visitors into the region and I'm not against it at all. It's not often looked like from a point of view first and foremost about what does that mean for the population who already lived here? How does it add to their quality of life and appreciation for and ability, I guess, to get closer to the things that we're getting far away from - our ability to understand how nature works?" [#4]

"I think we need to be a bit more canny about what we offer, the product development here is very, very low. And that's what we're getting into destination management and product development is part of what we're trying to achieve." [#6]

"I got to say that I actually see the Sounds as being able to handle a considerable amount, more tourism and development out there, but it needs to be very much controlled in a manner that doesn't impact on the environment. I mean, it's a fabulous place, very much under-utilised in the tourism aspect". [#7]

"Destination management plans. So looking at that key piece around, here's a time to stop and reset and look, how do we collectively as a communities, as iwi, as DOC, as local people that live here, want visitors to experience our region and how we can manage them through our region." [#8]

"We need to rethink how we do tourism here. There's no clear message from the government. We need a clear, better management strategy before things take off again. Encourage Kiwis to visit and spend money in our own backyard, in a sustainable and caring way [as] our environment has taken a beating" [#10].

4.1.10 Collaboration and partnership

Participants highlighted that managing tourism into the future requires closer collaboration, particularly between management agencies and iwi. Frustration was expressed with the current state of Treaty/Te Tiriti relationships by tangata whenua, which was acknowledged by local politicians. Council staff mentioned a partnership between them and DoC, possibly indicating that the language around collaboration and partnership is perhaps conflated. Although, it could also reflect a belief that public agencies are solely in charge of tourism:

"The ability to have a greater input into how that living entity is able to evolve and exist, which in actual fact today we do not. Those that do, such as the local authorities, Crown regimes, such as DoC, harbour boards, government departments who issue licenses for high-speed ferry boats to come up and down and so forth and not to do any good for the adjoining or adjacent whenua, things like that" [#2]

"So from an iwi point of view, even now we've signed a settlement, we have an iwi settlement, which technically says we're a partner with the Crown. That's lies. Its blatant lies. We are not a partner with the Crown. What we are now is an agency that every government department and every other Quasimodo group can come and talk to you about what they want... And we spend probably 80%, at least of our iwi trust time, actually meeting other people's needs before our own responding, to answering. And that's not a Crown partnership. So, and in terms of tourism development, there are so many things that we would like to be part of and maybe do with others or on our own that we can't get to, because of a lot of those things." [#4]

"I think the organisation I work for is pivotal already. And of course, with the airport, we own the port company, we fund Destination Marlborough, we're partners with DOC. I think we were one of the key influences and enablers. And with the Resource Management Act, I think there's a lot of tools there that we can use. But I think it's us taking everyone with us and making sure we engage with the industry and bring them along and make them understand the new horizon of what we want as a community, but what we can provide it to the travellers." [#6]

"Well, definitely our treaty partners. The community; we've got a lot of local communities that are impacted by greater numbers of people. So they should have a say. We should be working closely with the local authorities, you know, Marlborough District Council and others. And we should be working with the operators and being quite blunt with them about what the realities are for the future and being open and honest" [#9]

"Iwi get sick of lack of involvement, lack of engagement." [#10].

"We have mana, so we should have a say" [#11]

"The Crown, local bodies, Ministry of Fisheries, DoC, Iwi – everybody has to be involved. We are all tourists." [#12]

4.1.11 Restorative actions and behaviour

The emergence of this theme reflected that tourism's potential role in the restoration of the environment resonated for many participants. The idea of 'giving back' to the place also came through clearly, as not only the right thing to do, but also the responsible thing. This related to a call for tourism to be redefined, such that there are more benign or beneficial effects, rather than 'costs' to people and place from transactional or overly-extractive activities. A Kaumātua called for Tōtaranui to be the first moana in Aotearoa New Zealand to become a legal person so as to elevate its value and care in the public consciousness. There were a number of suggestions around a visitor levy or tax to fund restorative actions. The need to anticipate and buffer natural assets from the effects of climate change was also highlighted. A view was expressed that tourism as a career could be made more attractive if it was restorative, although others challenged the sustainability of the current low-wage industry model as not benefiting people and place.

"Everything we do is for our kids, for the future generation." [1]

"And put something back into it, you know, maybe have a fund that they put into to help it be looked well maintained because, they just take and take and take. Cause if you do that, then everything falls. For instance, if we keep just taking out of the environment, there'll be nothing left and we won't exist. So we've got to be thinking about giving something back. And if the operators think along those lines and just put a little, I don't know, maybe 1% or something of their total takings a year, put it into a fund so that they can help the local people and the Sounds..." [3]

"What we need to be developing as tourism ventures actually add to the ecosystem that they're within, rather than detract in any way. And I know that it's a huge thing, but if we want to leave this place a better place for our children, our grandchildren, our great-grandchildren then we've got some work to do. We've got some huge work to do." [4]

"It'll be hard to turn the [Queen Charlotte] track into a regenerative space – unless we turn the track into a regenerative tourism venture. Abel Tasman Birdsong Trust charge a levy for every walker in the Abel Tasman, which goes back to the community." [5]

"Make tourism a career, and show that it's sustainable, restorative, manage the impacts, manage the infrastructure because it all comes at a cost. Someone's got to pay, now, how do you do that? Because there's only so much that the local community will bear in terms of costs that are not driven by them." [6]

"We, as New Zealanders, probably haven't valued that [Queen Charlotte Sound] in the past, but it's got to the stage where there's more and more pressure on the resource and we need to start doing better by that. And tourism has a role to play in it and quite a good role to play in that it can be a leader in how people perceive the Sounds. This is an ideal opportunity to showcase, platform the rehabilitation of the Sounds." [7]

"Do we feel we have an active role in helping tourism having more sustainable? Be an agent for restoration? Hell yeah, we've got to, if it's not us, who else is going to do it? And we need to work closely with our iwi partners and try to understand what their aspirations are as well." [9]

"Destination management over marketing" [10]

"What we need is people being honest, talking, coming together, a shared kaupapa, companies caring about the environment, and better management and regulations." [11]

"User-pay system. Could just be 10 bucks each time they launch their boat. They can afford it. Could be a local tourist tax. Could use the money to rebuild reefs, artificial reefs, genetically superior seaweed, release fingerlings each year to help stocks, ban anchoring. People don't need to anchor, they can just float. Anchoring damages the reefs. We need to record fishing, how much, how long." [12]

5. Discussion

There was a clear narrative that tourism needs to be rethought for Picton, Waikawa and Queen Charlotte Sound/Tōtaranui. Even though this finding was from a relatively small sample size, we believe that this would be a relatively commonly-held view in the Sounds.

Participants generally expressed dissatisfaction with the historic and current environmental, social, and cultural effects of tourism, as well as the economic wage structure of the industry. The economic benefits of tourism were acknowledged however, although inequality and disparity were highlighted, particularly (but not exclusively) by tangata whenua.

There was the stark contrast drawn of the Waikawa marae giving out more food parcels to struggling low-wage or ex- tourism workers, with the number of pleasure boats in the nearby marina. This is in an area that was once abundantly rich in a diverse array of natural resources¹³, but through ongoing clear-felling and over-exploitation, has consequently led to significant deficits in ecological integrity and resilience, and an ongoing loss of biodiversity.¹⁴

That scarcity was created through a history and culture of poor management. Resources were disproportionately captured by those that had the capital to benefit from the extractive practices permitted since the late 1800s, which had poor environmental standards.¹⁵ Those practices have damaged nature, but the ethos still remains as policy today, despite a recent review of the regional plan¹⁶. This reflects a systemic failure of Pākehā-dominated culture to acknowledge these problems, and thus fail to address them effectively, even in the face of compelling scientific evidence. That is a deliberate choice, to not put too fine a point on it.¹⁷

The history of colonialism has also induced long-term social inequality. The protection of vested interests through systemic institutional failure exacerbates the gap between the ‘boat owners’ and those forced to seek food parcels. The regulatory system is arguably now path-dependent as tourism numbers have been essentially unregulated, and the predominant high volume, low margin, business model has become difficult to shift. Tangata whenua have had their kaimoana grounds decimated by tourism development, wastewater and other pollution, and ongoing visitor pressure. Couple that with “the almost abusive contracts” as one local politician termed them, and the effect has been to foster a ‘wage-slave’ economy¹⁸.

Sustainable tourism risks being ‘sustainable’ for a select few, as there is little hope for many young people to buy increasingly unaffordable housing in the face of minimum wages, expensive food prices, and insecure employment. Iwi observations on these points are telling, as is the bitter lament about the “blatant lies” of partnership. These comments are not at all surprising to one of us who worked for the local Council from 2011-2018 (SU).

In reading the transcripts, one is struck with the thought: “How did this go so wrong?” Closely followed by “How can this be fixed, if at all?” In a sense, this is not a unique situation within Aotearoa NZ. Other communities once rich in natural resources have seen these depleted, polluted, and/or unable to recover. The Government’s *Environment Aotearoa 2019*¹⁹ report is confronting reading in this respect. Tourism policy has actively contributed

¹³ We acknowledge that the term ‘resources’ depicts an anthropomorphic view that nature is to be exploited, so we use the term in the context of humans making provision for food, shelter, warmth, and for trade.

¹⁴ Marlborough District Council (MDC) 2016, Ulrich and Handley 2020.

¹⁵ Ulrich 2020a

¹⁶ Ulrich 2020b, 2020c

¹⁷ Ulrich 2020a, 2020d. MDC have had complaints on excess forestry sedimentation in the Sounds since 1974.

¹⁸ Malpass 2021. “Part of that is trying to drive a cultural change around how people think about workers in hospitality: not as wage slaves but as the first line of hosts welcoming tourists”

¹⁹ Ministry for the Environment and Statistics NZ 2019.

to the climate and biodiversity crises. Moreover, four decades of neoliberal ideology in economic management has also grown an underclass, and widened inequality²⁰; the ongoing housing crisis is the poster child for the systemic failure of laissez-faire economics.

This is perhaps the key underlying reason why Destination Management Plans (DMP) will likely fail, even if a shared understanding of what these should include can be reached. If DMPs end up becoming asset investment plans combined with hardening existing sites to accommodate increasing visitor numbers, instead of part of a holistic strategy to improve environmental, social, cultural and economic wellbeings, then DMPs run the risk of serving the status quo and inevitably exacerbating tourism-related pressures on people and place.

Moreover, without the ability to statutorily control public access at different visitor sites, aspirations for setting a voluntary carrying capacity become fertile ground for community disagreement about what is acceptable and where.

Take cruise ships for example. If the port company has or wants no restrictions on the number of visits, due to the revenue from port charges, then it falls to the Council to instruct their subsidiary about what revenue that they will forgo in the annual dividend. If ratepayers object to rate rises due to the dividend drop that then creates political pressure. And if tour operators operating on fine margins also object, due to wanting higher volumes from more frequent cruise ship visits, then it is difficult to see anything but a return to the status quo.

Should the Council decide to invest or co-invest in new attractions to hold visitors in Picton for longer, then the status quo may get an 'upgrade'. As economic activity increases and the demand for accommodation rises to service the visitor demand, house prices and rents may also increase²¹. This is in a region which already experiences high demand and a housing shortage. If tourism remains as a minimum wage industry, it is conceivable that those on low incomes may be forced into crowded sub-optimal accommodation, or out of the area entirely. This is an issue for those "*born, bred, and buttered in Waikawa*" wanting to stay/return there.

Leadership and genuine partnership are therefore required to address these risks. From the interviews, it is apparent that these are generally lacking at present, both from central and local government. One could reasonably draw the conclusion that until tangata whenua are genuinely respected as Treaty partners, then the challenges identified by participants are unlikely to be satisfactorily addressed through a DMP. It is a much wider conversation about co-governance and co-management, rather than Iwi currently having to: "*spend probably 80%, at least of our iwi trust time, actually meeting other people's needs before our own*" [4].

5.1 Operationalising the Parliamentary Commissioner's framework

Even if there was the political will to ration tourism numbers (Figure 4), by significantly increasing the International Visitor Conservation and Tourism Levy, and/or amending the Conservation Act to enable greater controls on public access, will these tools actually make much of a difference for Picton, Waikawa and the rest of Queen Charlotte Sound/Tōtaranui?

The answer judging by the interviews is probably not by much, if at all. This is because of the poor behaviour of many domestic tourists after lockdown in terms of litter and human waste, and the increased fishing pressure on an already stressed marine ecosystem as domestic visitors flocked to the Marlborough Sounds post-lockdown.

²⁰ Standing 2011

²¹ Eder 2021.

The Government has recently proposed stricter measures around campervans, including increasing fines and restricting non self-contained vans to DoC and private campgrounds²². Although ostensibly aimed at overseas backpackers, whether it will make a difference is an open question, given the experiences in Marlborough with domestic tourists, post-lockdown:

"I think it's been very interesting for us with freedom camping. And I think these are a report going up to our council soon that our rangers who enforce the freedom camping, now that there's no international travellers, it's pretty eye opening as to how New Zealanders abuse their country as well. And we were, you know, naturally blame it on the foreigners. And actually we're just as bad as them, if not worse at times."[6]

The lack of shared care towards nature is perhaps reflective of the interaction between certain personality types, and a dysfunctional economic system that is geared towards a culture of overly self-indulgent consumerism. Moreover, if individuals see local and central government enabling the ongoing damage and destruction to habitats and ecosystems from primary industries²³ then why should a higher standard of behaviour be expected from them?

It is fair to say from *Environment Aotearoa*, and many academic articles and reports, that the regulatory system continues to largely fail the environment. It has almost become too difficult to transition, even if there is political will, given the fundamentally shaky dependence that some regional economies have on low value, high volume commodities such as tourism, pine forestry, and fishing. The latter two are in large part based on ecologically damaging clear-felling, which have had ongoing devastating consequences to places like the Sounds²⁴.

Any DMP therefore needs to bravely deal with a number of primary stressors together²⁵, to improve the resilience of the ecosystems upon which humans and nature depend. For example, if the recreational and charter fishing pressure continues at the levels post-lockdown, as one interviewee with decades of lived experience in the Sounds put it: *"I've never seen so many domestic tourists before, never seen so many boats, dragging anchors, pulling fish"* [12], then harmful changes to the marine food web and ecosystem result, as sea urchin/kina numbers continue to decimate kelp forests and anchors damage fragile habitat²⁶.

The Parliamentary Commissioner (PCE) also talks about improving system resilience. However, this is defined narrowly as *"rubbish bins, toilets, freedom camping facilities and wastewater networks"* (p11), or the booking, concessions, and self-containment toilet systems. Only once in the PCE's report is the wider ecosystem mentioned that tourism sits and is dependent upon.²⁷ This lack of integrated ecological thinking is a flaw in the PCE's report, as it may inhibit the search for enduring solutions by leading to a piecemeal approach of trying to solve inter-connected issues in isolation of one another. Such integrated thinking is also absent in the current regulation of pine forestry²⁸ and fishing²⁹ generally.

²² Tourism Minister Stuart Nash quoted in Malpass 2021.

²³ Ulrich 2019

²⁴ Ulrich and Handley 2020

²⁵ *Ibid*

²⁶ *Ibid*

²⁷ The PCE states in *Chapter 4: Protecting wildness and natural quiet in public conservation lands and waters*, p65: "While the main focus is on addressing the loss of wildness and natural quiet that will likely accompany the re-emergence of tourism, these policies could also create co-benefits for ecosystems and landscapes by reducing the need for more infrastructure to accommodate visitor growth" [underlined emphasis added].

²⁸ Ulrich 2020a, b, c

²⁹ Gerrard 2021. The Prime Minister's Chief Science Advisor called for a more holistic ecosystem-based management approach to commercial fishing, and highlighted existing regulatory tools to protect the habitats upon which fish depend are under-utilised *"The most striking example is perhaps Section 9(c), which enables the protection of habitats of particular significance for fisheries management - but has never been used"* (p5).

Therefore, we suggest the PCE's recommendation for DMPs³⁰ be amended to:

Make any future central government funding for tourism infrastructure conditional on enhancing environmental bottom-lines, and aligned with a vision for the wider ecosystem restoration and regeneration co-developed with mana whenua and the local community.

We suggest that this a more integrated approach, but is still consistent with the PCE's Principle 2 for tourism policy debates: that the wishes of communities should be a key input into decisions about local tourism development:

"It is certainly true that tourism development can result in new economic opportunities. But if those opportunities are to be truly sustainable in the long term, it is vital that any such development is on terms that local people are comfortable with. The only way of achieving that in practice is to pay much greater attention to the wishes of communities and iwi when decisions about tourism development are being made." (2021, p9)

5.2 Maori and the 'Tiaki Promise' – changing the culture

The suggested amendment to the PCE recommendation brings it to closer accord with that suggested by the Tourism Futures Taskforce's (Taskforce):

"This means that in the desired future, the visitor economy will deliver net benefits and positive impacts for our people, our communities, our culture, our environment and our economy" (2020, p93).

The Taskforce has placed mauri at the core of its vision of Aotearoa Whakapapa (Figure 6). However, it seems confused about how to achieve this, by steering away from limiting visitor numbers at a time the industry is desperate to rebuild them. The Taskforce is clear that communities are at the centre of the industry, and communities need to lead the visitor economy for it to thrive sustainably. However, without a DMP implemented into regulation, and local and central government investment criteria, this risks being marketing hyperbole.

Including Maori concepts within government and industry tourism strategies, however transformational these purport to be, but then not empowering tino rangatiratanga, has been recently critiqued.³¹ There is a risk of cultural appropriation if kaitiaki are not enabled to determine what is important to them and to be able to protect and/or bring that about. In essence, it risks layering the existing colonial system with the icing sugar of 'Treaty compliant' language. Meantime, it is conceivable that Waikawa marae continues to hand out food parcels to tourism workers laid off or on reduced hours from their "almost abusive contracts"; and for blue cod, crayfish, scallops, and pāua to undergo further decline.

If the language of mauri is to be used, then it is for the kaitiaki of the area to determine what that means for them. This is the underpinning kaupapa of Matunga's Mauriora Systems Framework (Figure 2). And, for kaitiaki to participate in a DMP for Picton, they then have to have the ability to decide if it is to proceed, to be a final decision-maker, and to be resourced to do so. It would seem counter-intuitive for the Council and/or Destination Marlborough to decide to undertake a DMP, without involving Te Ātiawa as partners in making that decision.

³⁰ "Making any future central government funding for tourism infrastructure conditional on environmental criteria and consistent with the community's vision for tourism development – as expressed in a local destination management plan. " (PCE, 2021, p4)

³¹ Matunga et al. 2020

<p>Kua noho mai te Mauri ki te iho o ō mātou whakaaro me ā mātou matapakinga i te mea e rawe ana te hāngai ki te whakaaro o te whakahou tonu. Ko te tikanga o te whakahāngai i te kaupapa o te Mauri, me noho mai he ōhanga manuhiri ki tua ka mauroa taha ōhanga, ka mutu, ka:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Noho hei wāhanga o ō tātou hāpori, kava ki waho atu – Rangatira te whakahoki ake ki tō tātou taiao, e rangatira nei tāna i homai ai ki a tātou – Tūhono, ka whakapiki ake i tō tātou mana me ā tātou Manaakitanga – Whakatō i te ngākau hiamō kia tipu ai, kia tōnui ai – Mārama, ka tūturu te whakarangatira, te whakakorikori i tō tātou ahurea, i ō tātou hāpori me ā tātou mahuhiri – Whakanui i a tātou, ka whakakaha anō i tō tātou wāhi i te ao – Noho haepapa tūturu mō te whakarato oranga, kava mō te hua moni anake. 	<p>The concept of Mauri has frequently come to the centre of our thinking and discussions because it aligns perfectly with a regenerative mindset. Applying this kaupapa (principle) of Mauri means that we must have a future visitor economy that is economically sustainable and:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Is a part of our communities, not apart from them – Gives richly back to our environment, which gives so much to us – Connects and enhances our mana and our manaaki – Enables our people to get excited, to grow and to thrive – Clearly and tangibly enriches and enlivens our culture, our communities and our visitors – Celebrates who we are and strengthens our place in the world – Ensures accountability for delivering wellbeing, not just financial profit.
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Figure 6: The Tourism Futures Taskforce embrace of mauri as the core of tourism wellbeing (2020, p21).

Therefore, the decision to actually undertake a DMP, its mandate, scope, terms of reference, process, resources, timelines, public consultation methods, dependencies, outputs, and implementation plan for the outcomes, should occur in partnership between manawhenua, Council, and DoC in a genuine co-governance arrangement. For Destination Marlborough to appoint someone to undertake a DMP and then talk to Te Atiawa about their involvement, as has occurred³², risks merely perpetuating the “lie” of partnership as one iwi member stated.

A culture change in tourism to achieve the Taskforce’s vision, requires Te Tiriti to be honoured as the bedrock for bringing about that change. This will be challenging for existing organisational cultures which don’t yet recognise that they also need to change. Moreover, if that culture change embodied in the industry’s Tiaki Promise³³ is to successfully flow out into wider society to bring about behavioural change from domestic tourists, then that requires institutional change from elected representatives and the staff employed in those institutions.

In essence, we need to reconceptualise our relational models of resource management and governance so that they are fit for purpose in our Te Tiriti world³⁴. These models need to be inclusive, well-resourced, authoritative, adaptable, and self-regenerating, as people and the

³² Email DM to Te Atiawa Trust 23 February 2021.

³³ “The Tiaki Promise must underpin the visitor economy. This is a powerful and uniquely New Zealand programme that has been undervalued and underused. We need to embed Tiaki to guide everything we do domestically and internationally. The Tiaki Promise should be co-owned by the Government and private sector. It can become the internal representation for how we make 100% Pure New Zealand come alive behaviourally and operationally. By embracing the concept of Kaitiakitanga –our role as caretakers and nurturers of Te Taiao – we will play a leading part in ensuring a healthy planet for future generations.” (Taskforce report, p43):

³⁴ Macpherson et al. 2021

environment change. A DMP should be an expression of that relationality and fit within the broader Te Taihu intergenerational strategy: Tūpuna Pono (being good ancestors)³⁵.

The application of the visionary Tūpuna Pono strategy to Picton/Waitohi, Waikawa and Queen Charlotte Sound/Tōtaranui should therefore precede the DMP or be part of a reconceptualization of what a DMP should include. This is because, as the strategy says:

“Te Taiao, The Natural World, is struggling under increasing pressure and our society isn’t meeting the needs of our most vulnerable. Inequality, climate change, biodiversity loss, colonisation, loss of mātauranga Māori, poor housing and poverty are affecting our people and our communities deeply” (p4).

Tūpuna Pono (being good ancestors) is a high-level strategy with a number of intergenerational outcomes identified (Figure 7). The strategy sets out a number of actions (Ngā mahi matua) such as applying regenerative practices for Te Taiao (the natural world).

How these actions are given expression is the challenge before our elected representatives and the institutions that serve them. The input from Te Taihu rangatahi into the strategy provides some guidance and benchmarks for successful implementation of Tūpuna Pono:

- Restore and value our connection to the natural world
- An inclusive society where no one is left behind
- A resilient sustainable economy.

For these challenges to be met, the environmental and social issues facing Picton/Waitohi, Waikawa and Queen Charlotte Sound/Tōtaranui need to be more effectively addressed. A DMP that ignores these, risks becoming nothing more than the continued imposition of a failed Pākehā development model, that advances the neoliberal monetarist ‘trickle down’ ethos; a model that serves to increase revenue for a select few, but exacerbates environmental damage and inequality for many.³⁶ A DMP is therefore too important to leave to the tourism promoter to drive.

The Taskforce supports this, by identifying that DMPs:

“...need to be co-created by communities in an integrated manner. This must happen alongside other relevant planning processes and be aligned with a national visitor planning framework. Integrating destination management planning into local, regional and iwi long-term plans is essential because it will enable more efficient use of resources and provide appropriate access to local government funding mechanisms. Aligning destination management with other planning processes – such as DoC’s – is also necessary, and beneficial to ensure coherent and efficient development that aligns with community aspirations. These plans must be well funded and under a constant review cycle to ensure they are delivered and remain relevant” (p65).

³⁵ Te Taihu iwi 2020.

³⁶ Standing 2011, 2016. Quince 2021.



Figure 7: Ngā Hua Whakatupuranga – Intergenerational Outcomes from the Te Taiuhu Strategy
Tūpuna Pono: being good ancestors (2020).

5.3 Giving back – tourism and the rehabilitation of the Sounds

One of the disquieting things to emerge from the interviews, was the shared observation that some Kiwis have lost respect for their country. Perhaps it was never there from the time the pioneer economy began to turn Aotearoa NZ into a developed country, but it is certainly in the myths that we tell ourselves as a society. ‘Clean and green’ and ‘100% Pure’ belie much of the ecological reality, although with slick marketing with majestic nature scenery, we can almost believe and feel nostalgic for that imagery. However, no amount of freedom camping fines are going to address the behaviour of Kiwis towards our own country, even if ostensibly the proposed new Government actions seemed to be aimed at overseas backpackers.

The culture of ‘giving back’ will need to replace the culture of ‘take, take, take’, as several participants observed has placed the ecosystems of the Sounds under huge pressure. The need to rehabilitate the Sounds was identified by one local politician, and for tourism to play a leading role in changing how people perceive the Sounds. However, it is not just the environment that needs rehabilitating according to some participants, particularly tangata whenua. It is also the restoration of the Treaty partnership and relationships with public agencies. What came through from the interviews was that iwi view these as damaged, as did one local politician: “*Iwi get sick of lack of involvement and lack of engagement*” [10].

However, it seems to not be enough to restore those relationships - several participants observed that these need to be actively enhanced, possibly by a relational governance model³⁷ that acknowledges, respects, and empowers iwi to exercise kaitiakitanga over the Sounds through co-governance arrangements and co-management actions.

³⁷ Macpherson et al. 2020

There are a number of ways that this could occur, either through tools available within existing legislation³⁸ or by the passing of new legislation. For example, a Guardians model for the Sounds³⁹ has been proposed by the Marlborough Girls College Marine Team which has representation and decision-making powers that give effect to Te Tiriti. The proposal for special legislation was supported by a Council decision in 2018, but Council subsequently decided to try to work better with government agencies before inviting iwi involvement.⁴⁰

A Kaumātua made specific reference to the legal personhood model within the Whanganui River 2017 Treaty settlement legislation⁴¹, and the establishment of Te Awa Tupua to speak for the river, as a means of enabling Te Ātiawa to be better able to exercise their kaitiakitanga over Queen Charlotte Sound/Tōtaranui:

“And I’m hopeful that now that philosophy and that ideology has been accepted, that perhaps Tōtaranui may become the first moana. There’s awa being recognised. For Tōtaranui I would like to see become the first moana classified as a living entity and recognition of kaupapa of understanding and respect. So, it’s a very important thing I believe. It also gives the ability of those who hold recognition re: authority, manawhenua, the ability to have a greater input into how that living entity is able to evolve and exist, which in actual fact today we do not.” [2]

Whatever the form that future co-governance arrangements may take, there is nothing holding back the genuine expression of Treaty partnership under existing legislation except political and institutional will. Perhaps the sharing and adoption of the kaupapa to protect and restore mauri recommended by the Tourism Futures Taskforce may assist that process.

The Taskforce recommend that mauri: “*be embedded in all aspects of the visitor economy – to enhance the health, wellbeing and life force of our society, our culture, our environment, and our economy*” (p43). They tied this to the notion of ‘giving back’ to the people and the place. This kaupapa reflects that of the Kaitiaki o te Taiao office of Te Ātiawa Manawhenua Ki Te Tau Ihu Trust, which is about achieving “Net Enduring Restoration Outcomes”⁴² in its mahi (work) to both elevate and strengthen mauri.

5.4 A scope for a collaborative Tōtaranui Destination Management Plan

The current Tourism Minister Stuart Nash, in disbanding the Taskforce before their final report, reiterated his commitment to four principles for transforming the tourism sector⁴³:

- Protecting Brand New Zealand;
- Not returning to “business as usual”,
- Visitors covering the full cost of tourism, and
- Government working with the sector to achieve change.

³⁸ For example, Resource Management Act 1991 s33 Transfer of Powers, s36B Power to make joint management agreement; and s58M Mana Whakahono a rohe. These would require Councils to resource iwi to enable them to fully participate. It may also necessitate a culture and organisational change for some councils.

³⁹ Ulrich et al. 2019. The Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern expressed interest in this after meeting the MGC Marine Team, and invited Council to prepare a draft bill: “But it’s then really up to the local community to say ‘yes, this is the kind of thing we want sponsored on our behalf’.” <https://www.stuff.co.nz/environment/113261575/pm-jacinda-ardern-to-check-if-local-bill-would-work-for-marine-guardians-in-marlborough>

⁴⁰ Letter Mark Wheeler, CE Marlborough District Council to Dr Steve Ulrich, Lincoln University, 1 June 2020.

⁴¹ Te Awa Tupua (Whanganui River Claims Settlement) Act 2017

⁴² Shapcott 2020

⁴³ Nash in Jamieson 2021

It is unclear which, if any, of the Taskforce's 21 recommendations will be picked up by the government, including the proposal for a new Act: Ngā Manuhiri o Aotearoa (The New Zealand Visitors) Act. As the Taskforce put it in their report to Minister Nash in December 2020: "We have a Minister of Tourism with no legislative levers to manage industry settings".

Implementing the Taskforce recommendations would have meant that DMPs would be required to align with local planning processes and iwi management plans, as well as a national visitor planning framework. This would also have potentially linked them to the new Spatial Planning Act which is proposed as part of the Resource Management Act reform.

Notwithstanding the uncertainty as to whether the Minister will eventually accept some or all of the Taskforce's recommendations, it is also not completely clear how the Minister intends to implement his four principles if DMPs are not to be mandatory, and his focus is on campervans, and encouraging high-yielding tourism.

Moreover, those initiatives seem unlikely to assist in the increase in fishing pressure from domestic visitors in the Sounds. It is also unclear what the Minister means by 'protecting Brand New Zealand' means when *Environment Aotearoa 2019* shows Aotearoa NZ can just as aptly be described as 'brown and down' instead of 'clean and green', due to the ongoing excessive sedimentation of coastal waters and widespread destruction of seabed habitats.⁴⁴

In the absence of clear central government leadership and national direction, it may fall to regions such as Marlborough to develop their own bespoke DMPs.

So what should a DMP address for Picton/Waitohi and Queen Charlotte Sound/Tōtaranui? Here, we outline the scope in general terms.

Rationale

- A review of tourism in Picton/Waitohi, Waikawa and Queen Charlotte Sound/Tōtaranui ('Tōtaranui case study') is urgently required and timely.
- That this should be collaboratively undertaken.
- The outcomes must include inter-generational (past, present, future) perspectives, and be consistent with Te Tauihu Intergenerational Strategy.
- The physical and spiritual wellbeing of Tōtaranui has suffered through past generations from the cumulative and multiple effects of human activities.
- In this context of a degraded natural environment, future outcomes must be founded upon securing a healthy and thriving natural world, the notion that regeneration *follows* restoration⁴⁵.
- Historically, benefits and costs of tourism have not been shared equally. Iwi in particular also view tourism impacts from a perspective of disparity and inequality.
- Tourism in Tōtaranui is best experienced within healthy natural and community environments. Tourism influences both, positively and negatively.
- Tourism does not occur in a void. Planning for tourism outcomes and development must include relationships with the broader physical, management and operating environments.

⁴⁴ Ulrich and Handley 2020.

⁴⁵ We note that restoration can be considered a stepping stone to regeneration; although, these concepts are complementary and can evolve and simultaneously.

Process

This section is provided to 'give a feel' for how a process might be undertaken and to facilitate discussions that help to frame future planning and development. This is depicted in Figure 8. It is not intended to be followed as a step by step set of instructions, as it involves:

- A coming together of governance partners to agree the concept and broad scope of the Tōtaranui Pilot Case Study and initiation of such.
- A coming together of high-level stakeholders (management working group) to begin the process of progressing the kaupapa.
- Using the mahi (work) undertaken to date to frame discussion and refine and agree the scope, methodologies, and process to be undertaken.
- Review and refine with co-governors.
- Review and refine with broader stakeholders.
- Commence analysis to define and create a shared understanding of current state.

We suggest consideration is given to utilising systems dynamics mapping processes. This approach facilitates a collective learning of the system and inter-relationships, allowing this process to occur at a high level while also enabling a 'zooming' in to any part(s) within that.

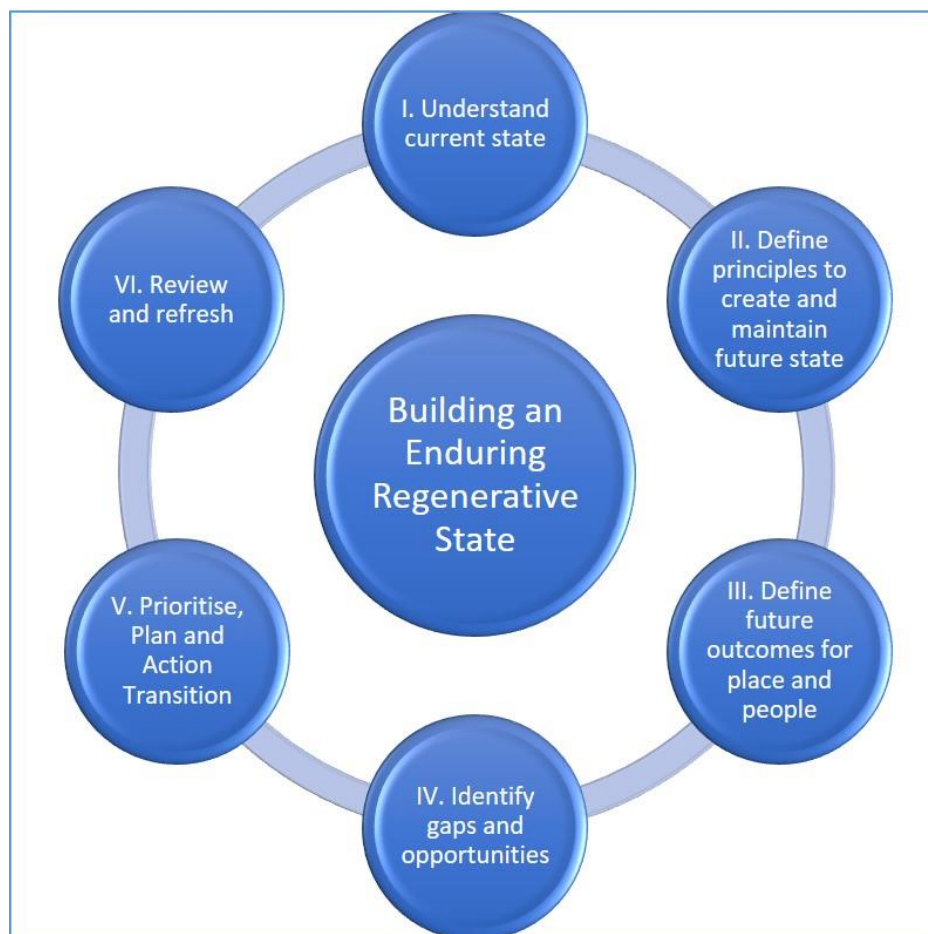


Figure 8: Process for undertaking a Destination Management Plan for Tōtaranui.

Define the principles to create and maintain future state

It is easy to lose sight of the overall objectives and instead focus on detail. Developing and using high-level principles and values helps to avoid this.

Informed by the process to date, key principles that future work will be founded upon and tested against will need to be defined. As principles are set at a high (almost generic) level, often most (if not all) parties tend to readily agree on them; they usually reflect a high degree of common sense and can be quickly settled upon. In so doing they not only serve a practical purpose in the context of future work, the process of establishing them helps build relationships and understanding in a relatively easy and non-confronting manner.

The identified core principles help test and frame future outcomes (objectives), processes and decision making. These principles focus on the most important 'things' to achieve as outcomes and how these will be achieved. They do not have the same level of specificity as objectives or performance indicators.

Define future outcomes for place and people

Building on relationships and knowledge gained through the previous steps, and working to the core principles, discussions can begin as to what the future state should be and why.

The principles establish context for how this occurs and act as a guide for determining the types of issues to be addressed and the types of outcomes sought. In this way the development process and the outcomes are the embodiment of the principles.

Process related outcomes aspects refer to *how* things will be done in the future (e.g., how we want governance, management and engagement to occur *plus* the use of, for instance, Te Ao Māori tikanga ā-iwi). Place and people related outcomes refer to *what* we will see/feel/sense when we improve the wellbeing of te Taiao and te tangata.

This will be an iterative process. The systems map of the current state and issues documented through the process to understand the current state and create the launch pad.

The first iteration may be as simple as saying "*we want more of, less of, none of*" particular outcomes.

Identify gaps and opportunities

Align the existing and future state processes and outcomes to understand and document where the variances occur. The variances present the opportunities to improve the system.

Consider the broader research and management landscape in terms of developments and initiatives impacting Tōtaranui and align those with the variances from the analysis above.

Undertake a broad-brush SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) analysis to inform the next step, remembering that tourism does not occur within a vacuum and the relationships to the broader environmental and management landscape are critical.

Prioritise, Plan and Action Transition

This step needs to occur with a high degree of awareness of, and consideration to, the broader issues and management landscape. This is to ensure that not only are the most effective actions identified and undertaken in the most effective and efficient manner but

also, importantly, to ensure that relationships between different sectors, the environment and people are all inter-connected.

Planning and execution must take care to ensure that the broader community is aware, engaged and supported.

Transition planning should simultaneously consider actions that address multiple time horizons, giving effect to inter-generational aspects.

Review and Refresh

At this stage of conceptualisation this step is more a footnote, serving as a reminder that we live in a world where environmental conditions change rapidly, new information is constantly becoming available and, the values of society are not static.

Changing external factors can bring about unanticipated change, and changes we implement will likely have some unforeseen consequences.

Governance and management process need to be nimble and adaptive and strive for continuous improvement.

To support this, we suggest that a stocktake of research be undertaken, and a gap analysis done. This will inform future research priorities that support management over the short- and long-terms.

Broader Engagement

Engaging with broader interested parties will be a critical aspect of the case study. In essence, the whole community needs to be aware of the opportunity to be informed and to contribute to the process. Different roles and functions are suggested in Table 2.

There are several organisations across Tōtaranui that can be utilised to help facilitate this engagement. Benefits of engagement will be both direct and indirect; from providing a sounding board and reality check on issues, opportunities and implementation; to building future champions for the notion of enduring regenerative tourism.

Broader engagement will require specific and careful planning and execution.

Involved Parties

Referring our earlier report⁴⁶, we envision that the following could have roles to play in the framing and development of the research (Table 2).

⁴⁶ McEnhill et al. 2020.

Table 2: Indicative roles and functions for a Destination Management Plan for Tōtaranui.

Generic Role	Function	Entities / People
i. Governance	See text	Treaty Partners Agencies (DOC, MBIE, MfE, MPI, MDC) Tourism Industry sector peak body
ii. Management	See text	Iwi Representatives of hapū and whānau NGO's (local/national) Representative of 'most' affected communities, e.g.: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Inter-generational Sounds families • Permanent residents • Bach owners • Youth⁴⁷ • Tourism Sector and other closely associated businesses: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Transport providers • Accommodation providers (in Marlborough Sounds) • Experience providers (kayaking, eco-tourism, other guides) • Hospitality sector, small centres/towns • Outward Bound • Forestry Owners, Marine Farmers, Commercial Fishers
iii. Reference Group	Provide a broader testbed for developing concepts Provide a review function for key outputs	Other agencies/staff Other iwi organisations Broad selection of affected community of interests ⁴⁸ Other leading 'thinkers' in this space

⁴⁷ Marlborough secondary schools run a variety of courses interacting with/covering environmental matters.

6. Concluding summary and recommendations

Queen Charlotte Sound/Tōtaranui in the Marlborough Sounds ('Sounds') is one of the iconic coastal taonga of Aotearoa New Zealand. Picton/Waitohi is the gateway to the Sounds, being the arrival and departure point for the inter-island ferry. It is also the departure point for the Queen Charlotte Track, and for the enjoyment of sheltered coastal waterways. The area has a rich Māori history, with Te Ātiawa iwi now holding mana whenua over the area. European involvement dates back to 1770, with the arrival of the English vessel *Endeavour* to Meretoto/Ship's Cove. Tourism also has a long history, with visitors attracted to the scenic beauty and the once numerous fish and shellfish species, some of which are now scarce.

Tourism has had significant impacts on kaimoana grounds. These range from damage to Waikawa estuary from construction of the marina, to ship-wake disturbance from the fast ferries along Kura Te Au/Tory Channel and the inner parts of Tōtaranui. Pressure from increasing visitation prior to the 2020-21 coronavirus pandemic ('Covid') caused a range of effects. Notable adverse effects were associated with freedom campers, seasonal fishing pressure, and the reinvasion of mice onto predator-free islands. Positive effects included the benefits of income from increased cruise ship visits, the growing popularity of the Queen Charlotte Track, and the completion of the Link Pathway between Picton and Havelock that now offers an additional scenic tramping and mountain biking opportunity. Visitation therefore occurs within the context of the wider ecosystem, which has a myriad other influences influencing the ecology, such as extractive land-based and marine activities.

The notion of regeneration in an ecological sense has been gaining attention, as more people realise the planet is struggling to cope with the cumulative and multiple effects of humanity's collective activities. Regeneration has recently been discussed for tourism, primarily from the standpoint of recovering the tourism industry badly hit by Covid disruption, here and overseas. However, there is also an emerging narrative about tourism 'giving back' to people and place within the context in which it is nested. An exploration of these ideas was the subject of our interim report to the Department of Conservation/Te Papa Atawhai (DoC) in late 2020.

The purpose of the current report has been twofold. First, to present an analysis of targeted interviews (12) undertaken with tangata whenua, DoC, Marlborough District Council (MDC), Destination Marlborough, tourism providers, and residents to explore how tourism post-Covid might unfold in Tōtaranui. Second, to present to DoC a potential project scope for exploring the notion of regenerative tourism as part of a destination management plan.

From the interviews, we found shared concern about the future of tourism, particularly in relation to how that might affect nature, and the people of the place. There were differences between participants about what recovery would look like, ranging from visitation that 'puts something back', to rebuilding numbers to assist the financial sustainability of current tourism operators. There was, however, an acknowledgement from almost all participants that there were other activities causing significant adverse effects on people and nature, and these should be managed in a holistic manner to regenerate and protect the mauri of the area.

The call was also made for a genuine partnership to address these issues in an integrated way. We suggest the co-development of a holistic destination management plan, framed to help implement the Te Tauihu inter-generational strategy Tūpuna Pono (i.e., being good ancestors) within Picton/Waitohi, Waikawa and Queen Charlotte Sound/Tōtaranui. Given the importance of this strategy, it makes sense for iwi to co-lead this in partnership with DoC and MDC, rather than Destination Marlborough leading this as a narrow economic recovery

initiative. This fits with the Tourism Futures Taskforce (Taskforce) and the Parliamentary Commissioner for the Environment's recommendations for inclusive destination plans.

Accordingly, we make the following recommendations to The Treaty/Te Tiriti partners:

1. Agree an inclusive process to create of a destination management plan, one in which the Te Tauihu intergenerational strategy Tūpuna Pono is given effect.
2. Include the management of other environmental activities within this plan that interact with tourism, with the aim to protect and nourish the mauri of the people and place.
3. This be a partnered approach that is mandated and resourced from the highest levels.
4. That the partners promote and enable behaviours that create a culture of 'giving back'.



Plate 5: NIWA research vessel *Ikatere* heading down Queen Charlotte Sound/Tōtaranui. Credit: *Steve Ulrich*.

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Appendix

Table A1: Summary of key points made on each identified theme, by participant grouping (see text). QC Track = Queen Charlotte Track.

Theme	Iwi	Iwi tourism operators	Regulators & promoter	Local politicians	Sound residents
Historical effects of tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mahinga kai shellfish gathering areas destroyed by marina construction. • Marina attracted people resulting in wastewater issues as Waikawa grew • Fast ferries damaged seashore and marine life 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • About 65 years ago, there were a few dozen recreational fishing boats, now hundreds putting strain on fisheries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fast ferry wave wash caused significant damage in 1990s • QC Track design in 1990s to be one-way far-sighted, has alleviated user-conflict issues • Long-term holiday users, many from Canterbury 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Picton in 1982 was quiet most of the year, but population jumped 5 fold over Xmas-January period • MDC wasn't aware of tourism potential in 1990s 	
Pre-Covid tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Never objected to cruise ships as income for town • Cruise ships tend to spoil by taking & not giving back • Nice to have, but hectic. Income minimal to town as cruise ship revenue largely bypassed local businesses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mix of high-end and backpacker tourism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More domestic tourism than international • Promoted tourism outside Marlborough • 80 ships planned 20/21 - social license issue • Tourism volume driving tourism market 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International visitors grew over time • Resorts orientated to get international visitors • Picton embraced backpackers, and season ran until April/May 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism numbers exploded over last 10 years on QC Track • ~7,000 people walk or mountain bike QC track each year
Tourism after Covid lockdown	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marae providing food packs to more people, particularly if on reduced hours or lost tourism jobs • Living in affluent tourist paradise, but families struggling to feed children • Place quiet in lockdown showed influence of humans on land and sea • More people getting out and celebrating country 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Covid showed people need the environment • Never seen so many domestic tourists • Never seen so many boats, dragging anchors, pulling in fish. People are taking & not giving back 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Smaller operators suffer from no cruise visits, which affects Picton too • NZ tourists not acting well – as bad or worse as overseas • Recovery is years away, now promoting to Marlburians • Lodges along QC Track doing well from high numbers • DoC sites increased visitation • Pinch point in huts on Richmond Range as Kiwis 'flood' Te Araroa trail 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kiwis major polluters, and overseas visitors may be unfairly blamed in the past • Local Picton businesses traded well over summer • Tourism not going well for activities operators and smaller operators. Kiwis can be reluctant to spend. • More Kiwis want free stuff or discounts – not being kind anymore 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Crowding affects enjoyment • Antisocial visitor interactions about 10-15% visitors • Issue with danger from quad bikes on QC Track

Theme	Iwi	Iwi tourism operators	Regulators & promoter	Local politicians	Sound residents
Contribution to wellbeing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Waitohi is a tourism town, rely heavily, good for area • Tangata whenua means person of the land – if the land is well, the people are. • If the place isn't well then quality of life compromised • Tourism isn't balanced and not meeting needs of iwi 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Covid has exacerbated lack of resilience in tourism businesses for operators who operate seasonally 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Have conversation about values and need to protect • Supportive of small Sounds communities to keep them functioning. • Some MDC people only have economic goals, and narrow view of how to promote Marlborough 	
Disparity/inequality	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism only seems to benefit those involved • Many employed, heaps can't feed themselves, yet marina has many boats • Expensive to live in Picton but many empty baches • Place solely tourism driven, but low incomes and high house prices impact on ability of young to return • Tourism creating an elite 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Negative is low-paid jobs. Positive is more high-end tourism. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need to do better than low employment option for Kiwis - should be career choice not a last resort • Very poor hourly rate, almost abusive contracts, yet often affluent business owners - no middle ground 	
Issues with tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kiwis as bad as overseas visitors, rubbish left behind • Fisheries may be over-exploited, but no data • Not many tourist activities improve condition of place • Marina extension - loss of kupakupa (purple mussels) • NZ thinks it is clean and green, but local areas impacted to benefit majority over local concern 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Marina construction to add 350 new boats, increasing pressure • Question of sustainability of dolphin tours 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community concerned with visitor volume and impact • How to determine carrying capacity for boats, people, baches, and cruise ships to avoid 'Akaroa' type situation • Need to build up numbers to fill overseas visitor gap • Some business will hibernate • Identify equilibrium between numbers, experience, and environmental impacts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greenhouse gas emissions from long-haul flights issue • Encourage tourists value, appreciate, and look after the environment • Destination management over marketing preferred 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Wear and tear on QC Track, hard to maintain in that environment

Theme	Iwi	Iwi tourism operators	Regulators & promoter	Local politicians	Sound residents
Opportunities from/for tourism	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Greater iwi involvement in providing experiences and stories, in interactive way • Develop new destinations to keep tourists in area • Look to invest in existing or develop new offerings, and for iwi to tell their stories 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Tourism can be educational, encourage schools to do eco-tours • Eco-tourism is the way forward, such as zero carbon vessels 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • More canny about offerings, get out of thinking seasonally • Opportunities for new investment as best time to invest is in the downturn • Future-proof sites to resist impacts as tourism rebuild • Look at regulating numbers for social experience/license 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Value the waterway over building a major attraction • Accept Picton is a service town for Sound's waterway 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hope iwi are more involved and want to share their heritage
Wider sustainability context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forestry causing excessive sedimentation and damage • Salmon farming a concern • Loss of scallops from dredging 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ecology of the Sounds is in a state of collapse. • Quota Management System isn't sustainable • Commercial fishing need better management • Environment unbalanced too many marine farms • Forestry should not be in the Sounds due to effects 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forestry harvesting needs careful managing of effects • Fishing enquiries increased • Don't want to show visitors Pelorus Sound as too muddy, or forestry clear-cut 'scars' • Manage carbon footprint to model sustainability 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Majority of environmental deterioration water quality and seabed is from forestry and land development • Commercial fishing impacts as well as recreational fishing impacts over summer months 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Forestry industry causes sedimentation degrades marine life and Kaimoana • Wilding pines an issue • Pigs, deer, goats impact forests, critical of DoC pest & predator efforts
Management focus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Difficult for iwi to function as kaitiaki without good information on ecosystem • Critical of MDC survey about potential new tourism assets – assumes more visitors is desirable • Not many tourism things are about improving, safeguarding or protecting the place. Taking too much • Suggest a levy on operator gross takings for fund to help local people & Sounds 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Management plan for the Sounds that achieves sustainable fisheries • Look at holding capacity of the Sounds – people, tourism companies boats, cruise ships, ferries, buses etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How to make Picton and Sounds more of a destination • Provide more infrastructure, toilets, car parks, camping areas, accommodation, information services • Discuss with industry what is right-sized infrastructure, in cognisance of environmental protection role of MDC • Work with DoC and iwi for regional destination plan 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integrated management group started to better understand impacts of different user groups on each other & environment. Tourism high on that list. • Tourism under-utilised in the Sounds – okay more development and numbers • Need better management before visitors return, as environment hit hard • Better infrastructure and management cruise ships 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DoC should be leading conservation efforts – but where are they

Theme	Iwi	Iwi tourism operators	Regulators & promoter	Local politicians	Sound residents
Collaboration and partnership	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need partnership with DoC for tourism decisions • ‘Blatant lie’ that iwi are a partner with Crown - in reality now an agency for govt to get what they want • Too much time responding to others’ requests, not enough on their own needs • Iwi need to be more involved in building tracks and conservation work 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Need local marae involved in cruises • Lack of engagement from Destination Marlborough with marae when meeting local providers • Partnership between iwi and crown is key • Iwi can be vehicle to control bad behaviour 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Iwi should have a say as have guardianship role and have tourism business aspirations • MDC are partners with DoC • MDC own airport & port companies, fund Destination Marlborough • DoC to work with iwi to help tourism be more sustainable • Be blunt and honest with operators on future realities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Iwi should have bigger say in tourism, and be leaders • Iwi philosophy of kaitiakitanga really good for future sustainability • Iwi ‘sick’ of lack of involvement and engagement 	
Restorative actions and behaviour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Covid chance to rethink what to do differently • Need to have ‘us’ in having the place working for iwi, not just overseas visitors • Some ‘huge’ work to do to leave the place a better place for grandchildren • Operators should pick up rubbish in remote sites • Iwi need to have a role in looking after the place • Sharing iwi stories leads to support to protect, restore • Definition of tourism needs to be turned around – needs to be for people who live in the place first • Legal personhood for Tōtaranui – first moana be classified as a legal entity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People need to come together to talk honestly with shared kaupapa to care about environment • Recommend a user-pay system for boat launch or a tourist tax to rebuild reefs, install artificial reefs, release young fish to restore environment • Ban anchoring. • Bring recreational fishing charter operators into the Quota Management System to better regulate • Became tourist operators because of kaitiaki responsibilities • Need to redefine tourism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unclear what regenerative tourism means, although term bandied about • Can visitors give something back at the same time as experiencing environment? • Tourism attractive as career if it is sustainable, restorative • Develop tourism products around sustainability • Reimagine tourism to give back to communities • DoC has a role for being an agent of restoration • Some DoC concessionaires give back to environment, • Climate change future proof infrastructure site/design 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A responsibility of tourism to enhance the environment they use • Tourism can be a leader in how people perceive the Sounds. Ideal opportunity to showcase rehabilitation of the Sounds • What is the world going to be like for future generations – what do we value – what do we want to protect – tourism needs to be higher value than previously. This is do better from the industry than low employment option now 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People need to give back – most companies support conservation but DoC don’t • Hard to turn QC Track into regenerative space unless it becomes regenerative tourism venture with levy going back to community • Link tourism to wider ecosystem restoration in forests and marine by “giving back”

Table A2: Selected interview data that broadly matched the themes identified within the Tourism Futures Taskforce interim report (2020: p10).

Theme	Interviews
Value over volume needed	<p>The TTF used a monetary yield per visitor to define value. They believed “<i>value and volume growth as achievable within the limits of a genuine regenerative visitor economy</i>” (p20). In contrast, interview participants referred to value as either monetary (e.g., expenditure, value-for-money) or as non-monetary (e.g., intrinsic, cultural) values. Volume was discussed as a ‘carrying capacity’ issue, although participants did not articulate how that is determined (whether social crowding, environmental impacts or both).</p> <p><i>“The boats that zip around, down the Sounds here now are just like, people walking across the Queen Street in Auckland, boats everywhere, you know, compared to what they used to be. So, it has changed considerably, both in volume promotion and one of the big effect of it too, is that, we’ve had to have a lot more control over our fish stocks, which are being to some degree depleted by the increase in tourism.” (2)</i></p> <p><i>“...that [marina] went right over our kai beds, and so with that development, as well as changing the landscape and what’s in it and the values, it also takes away your cultural narrative and there’s a pain, and an ache in that.. I remember when we were having a discussion around the [recent] extension of this, and we talked about the loss of a particular kaimoana bed that it around the end there, and it’s called a kupakupa, and a kupakupa is a small purple mussel, that’s very, very sweet. It doesn’t grow in lots of places. And this was one of the few and another place on the other side, where people who don’t have a boat could go and get it...And you had one person say, well, it’s a mussel. You can get mussels from the supermarket. It took me my time to be polite...It is how things are valued.” (4)</i></p> <p><i>“Our community, like a lot of other communities are starting to get concerned about the volume and impact. Everyone wants to make money, but I don’t necessarily think that everyone wants to have a volume-based business. We’ve always talked about less people who spend more money and spend more time here, not more people who spend less money, but because it’s more people, we get the same amount of money...It is quality over quantity. And with the quality of the quantity, hopefully we can also then reduce the impact on our community’s environment...I mean, everything gets degraded with more volume.” (6)</i></p> <p><i>“I guess when you look at the previous Key government, as far as they were concerned, any tourism dollar was a good dollar and I can’t subscribe to that view. As a councillor, we constantly come up against this any money earned for the district is good money. Well, that’s just incorrect and not true.” (7)</i></p> <p><i>“As a country we were letting tourism volume drive our tourism market. And my belief is that we need to...[be] looking at quality of experience in matching tourists to that rather than the other way around, where we’re reacting to bulk tourism.” (9)</i></p> <p><i>“Destination management over marketing. Isn’t that what people want? Being overrun with tourists is not what they want. Too many people in hot spots.. Can’t keep hammering the same area and expect it to be okay” (10)</i></p> <p><i>“About 65 years ago, there were only a few dozen recreational fishing boats, now there’s 500 of them. The fish don’t stand a chance... In Waikawa, the marina construction is adding 350 boats to the current 500” (11)</i></p> <p>One participant was focused on rebuilding tourism numbers to replace the previous seasonal lift from overseas visitors:</p>

	<p><i>"We're doing a lot of work to make sure that we're promoting Marlborough over that [February/March] period to try and build that up" (8)</i></p>
International tourists don't pay their way	<p>TTF found no clear evidence to support this, and suggested further work to gather data. They agree there are fundamental issues with local government funding mechanisms. This issue was not specifically raised by interview participants. One participant did ask the question rhetorically as who should pay for infrastructure (6).</p>
Infrastructure shortfall due to user load from international tourists	<p>TTF acknowledged there are particular areas of the country where tourists place a significant user load on infrastructure, and called for data. This issue was raised by participants in terms of both international and domestic visitors:</p> <p><i>"Impact on infrastructure. Provide more, always comes down toilets, doesn't it, toilets and car parks, camping areas, and accommodation and information services and you know, all those sorts of things. So it's a matter of also understanding what the demand is. So you don't over invest." (6)</i></p> <p><i>"One of the things that you find as a councillor, pretty much a tourist town Picton, that I live in, and we get many people state that, you know, Picton needs a major attraction here. It needs a gondola or it needs a spa pools or whatever else. Pretty much just trying to piggyback off the success at other places, in my opinion. I'm of the view that actually for Picton to be a successful tourist town, all it needs to do is actually value the waterway on which that resides beside and, Just accept the fact that they are "a service town for that waterway." (7)</i></p>
International tourists cause of issues such as freedom camping and driver safety	<p>TTF make reference to unspecified statistics that suggest that the perception is incorrect. Interview participants observed that, in the absence of international visitors, domestic visitors caused litter, and antisocial behaviour:</p> <p><i>"Kiwi tourists are as bad as overseas - Covid has shown that - "I'm always picking up stuff [rubbish]" (1)</i></p> <p><i>"Bach tourists leave rubbish "that's the worst thing for us...it's the actual paru, the rubbish they leave behind" (3)</i></p> <p><i>"A report going up to our council soon that our rangers who enforce the freedom camping, now that there's no international travellers, it's pretty eye opening as to how New Zealanders abuse their country as well. And we were naturally blaming it on the foreigners. And actually we're just as bad as them, if not worse at times." (6)</i></p> <p><i>"The past year without those tourism is just showing that probably the major polluters are Kiwis." (7)</i></p> <p><i>"The 'be kind' Jacinda talked about hasn't followed through from COVID times, people are not kind anymore." (10)</i></p> <p><i>"Never seen so many domestic tourists before, never seen so many boats, dragging their anchors, pulling fish. People just take, take, take. They don't give anything back." (12)</i></p>
Tourism is low productivity sector	<p>TTF refer to a Tourism New Zealand report that suggested tourism performs better than previously claimed. However, interview participants, particularly tangata whenua, had a more holistic view, indicating that industry productivity is built from a low base:</p> <p><i>"Tourism only seems to benefit the people who are involved in it" (1)</i></p>

	<p><i>"We are still in the stages now at our marae of providing food packs to people more and more, particularly if they've had their work hours reduced because they've lost their job because of the loss of tourists... And so we are living in this affluent, highly tourist paradise where we have families, who are struggling to feed their children. Doesn't add up. So there's a direct impact of tourism on that and what it's done to the place it sits on, and in. A lot of our young people, our rangatahi, leave here to go elsewhere for training and employment, nothing wrong with that. We want them to spread their wings ...but when it is because they can't get employment here, they can't get career pathways here, then that's different" (4)</i></p> <p><i>"I think that we need to do better out of the tourism industry, than it being a low employment option for Kiwi sort of struggling to find jobs elsewhere. Should actually be a career choice that they aspire to rather than a last resort choice, which is generally what happens in our district, no middle ground, often affluent business owners, with the proletariat out there are doing all the work at a very poor hourly rate, generally employed on an hourly rate, almost abusive contracts" (7)</i></p> <p><i>"I think will be, a really, a good opportunity as we might see some businesses fold, but we'll see other ones come up stronger and we'll see opportunities for new investment. You know, now is the best time ever to invest in tourism businesses because you can't get lower than this...So we might see some new product development. We're hoping we will see new product, we'll see new opportunities and, and things going forward." (8)</i></p> <p><i>"Negative to tourism is it gives low-paid jobs." (12)</i></p>
Government needs to provide more funding to manage effects of tourism	<p>TTF believe their report recommendations if implemented together will enable more revenue to local and central government, derived from better business reviews and directly from visitors hypothecated to industry needs [presumably includes environment]. Interview participants raised the idea of a visitor levy for the Marlborough Sounds:</p> <p><i>"And put something back into it, maybe have a fund that they [tourism businesses] put into to help it be looked well maintained because, they just take and take and take. Cause if you do that, then everything falls. For instance, if we keep just taking out of the environment, there'll be nothing left and we won't exist. So we've got to be thinking about giving something back. And if the operators think along those lines and just put a little, maybe 1% or something of their total takings a year, put it into a fund so that they can help the local people and the sounds." (3)</i></p> <p><i>"Hard to turn the Queen Charlotte Track into a regenerative space unless it becomes a regenerative tourism venture with a levy going back to the community, as per Abel Tasman Birdsong Trust" (5)</i></p> <p><i>"Simplistically, it could be that everyone that ventures out to the Sounds on top of their boat ticket or other ticketing processes, should be paying \$5 to have work done out there" (7)</i></p> <p><i>"User-pay system – Could just be 10 bucks each time they launch their boat. They can afford it. Could be a local/ tourist tax, could use the money to rebuild reefs, artificial reefs, genetically superior seaweed, release fingerlings each year to help stocks, ban anchoring." (12)</i></p>
New recovery plan for tourism needed as Covid effects prolonged and the	<p>TTF does not have a mandate to address the business impacts of border closures. Acknowledges there appears to be an absence of leadership and coordination...and no clear pathway forward or a plan to support businesses and the natural assets they care for.</p> <p><i>"Everything we do is for our kids, for the future generation." (1)</i></p>

**Government needs
to respond**

"For Tōtaranui I would like to see become the first moana classified as a living entity and recognition of kaupapa of understanding and respect. So, it's a very important thing I believe. It also gives the ability of those who hold recognition re: authority/ manawhenua, the ability to have a greater input into how that living entity is able to evolve and exist, which in actual fact today we do not." (2)

"I would say all over New Zealand, the iwi, in certain areas will want to have, or have had talks with DOC on how they perceive to run things and, and what benefits that the iwi could have on helping DOC to look after a space." (3)

"I guess one of the things that I'd like to see after post COVID, whatever that is, whenever that is, whatever that looks like, is that the 'us' is strong in that picture. So if it's not something that's working for us and when I say us, us as iwi, and if it's working more for the attraction of people from overseas to come and have a particular experience and isn't balanced with meeting the needs of iwi, then I think we've lost" (4)

"Tourism can help 'give back, putting back' - place-based or company-based." (5)

"MDC with the airport, we own the port company, we fund Destination Marlborough, you know, we're partners with DOC. I think we were one of the key influences and enablers. And with the Resource Management Act, I think there's a lot of tools there that we can use, but I think it's us taking everyone with us and making sure we engage with the industry and bring them along and make them understand the new horizon of what we want as a community." (6)

"'Obviously I think Iwi should have a big say in it, and I think they'll be a big leader in it in this area. There is 9 iwi that we have to deal with as a Council, and they're great to work with in general. And I think their philosophy of Kaitiakitanga is a really good philosophy of sustainability going forward...I think that they will have tourism, it's a natural sort of attachment for their philosophies in life, and they will become a big player going forward" (7)

"The alignment with DOC, the opportunity for destination management plans from regions that will fit in with DOC and iwi, the environmental impacts and non-impacts from lockdown." (8)

"We've got an opportunity in New Zealand to reset the dial in terms of being able to cater for tourism post-Covid, we can put things in place where we can future proof our sites so that they don't become as impacted when tourism numbers built. Plus, we've got an opportunity to actually look at regulating numbers in getting put in some work around social experience, social license to operate, working with concessionaires, etc." (9)

"We need to rethink how we do tourism here." (10)

"What we need is people being honest, talking, coming together, a shared kaupapa, companies caring about the environment and better management and regulations." (11)

"Need to redefine: what is tourism? What is a tourist?" (12)

Interview questions

Theme 1: Group / organization / affiliation / interest

- What is the purpose or aim of the group/organisation you belong to?
- What is your role within the group/organization?
- How does your group/organisation intersect or interact with tourism? What is the nature of that tourism? Are you part of any other groups involved in tourism? Do you have any other personal interests relating to tourism?
- What does Tōtaranui (Queen Charlotte Sound)/Waitohi (Picton)/Waikawa mean to you? Why do you live there? What do you value about the place?

Theme 2: Tourism in Tōtaranui/Waitohi/Waikawa

- How would you describe tourism in Tōtaranui/Waitohi/Waikawa? Why would you describe it like this?
- How do you think tourism in Tōtaranui/Waitohi/Waikawa has changed over time?
- How do you think the Tōtaranui/Waitohi/Waikawa area has changed over time as a result of tourism?
- What do you think are the benefits of tourism in Tōtaranui/Waitohi/Waikawa? Are there any particular aspects or activities that contribute to these benefits? (This can be in relation to current tourism and/or pre-Covid tourism)
- How do you think tourism degrades Tōtaranui/Waitohi/Waikawa? Are there any particular aspects or activities that contribute to these outcomes? (This can be in relation to current tourism and/or pre-Covid tourism)
- How do you think tourism in Tōtaranui/Waitohi/Waikawa could change to become more positively contributing?
- What is your long-term vision for tourism in Tōtaranui/Waitohi/Waikawa?
- How does this long-term vision link to sustainable outcomes, particularly climate change?

Theme 3: Involvement in Tourism

- Do you feel you have an active role in helping tourism become more sustainable or be an agent for restoration? What would that role involve?
- Who else do you think should have a say in tourism in Tōtaranui/Waitohi/Waikawa?

Information sheet



Faculty of Environment, Society and Design | Department of Tourism, Sport and Society

RESEARCH INFORMATION SHEET

You are invited to participate in a research project entitled:

Exploring the role of tourism in a place-based COVID-19 recovery

The research project aims:

This project aims to generate an evidence base for future action in the sphere of the recovery of tourism through qualitative research, by interviewing iwi and professionals working in tourism. The purpose of this proposed work is to gather empirical evidence of selected interviewees perspectives on tourism in Tōtaranui (Queen Charlotte Sound)/ Waitohi (Picton)/Waikawa. The proposed research is a Department of Conservation match-funded research project.

Your participation in this project will involve:

Participation involves your agreement to be interviewed about tourism in Tōtaranui (Queen Charlotte Sound)/ Waitohi (Picton)/Waikawa – and your participation in the project is voluntary.

The interview will be much like a conversation and will likely take between 60 and 120 minutes. We would like to record the interview to refer to at a later date, but will not do so without your consent.

What will happen with the information you give me: The results of the project may be published or presented (e.g., at a conference), but you may be assured of your anonymity. Your name will not be made public, or made known to any person other than the three members of the research team, and the Human Ethics Committee (in the event of an audit), without your consent.

To ensure anonymity, consent forms and individual interview data (our transcribed conversation) will be stored on a password-protected computer, accessible only by the researchers. The results of the project may be published so you may choose to keep your name, identity and role confidential, known only to members of the research team so as to avoid being identified. You will have the opportunity to review any information attributed to you in published form and confirm the level of anonymity you require on a case by case basis. It is possible that the data gathered from this research may be used as a baseline in future research. In such instances, you would be identified in the same way that you have indicated you would like to be identified in this study.

What to do if you change your mind: You are free to cancel the interview, to decline to answer questions, and to stop the interview at any time. If, after the interview, you want to withdraw any information you have provided, please contact any member of the research team (listed over the page) by the 15th of February 2021.

If you have any questions or would like to withdraw your consent to participate in the research (by 15 February 2021), please contact any one of the research team (see below). You do not have to give a reason. This project has been reviewed and approved by Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee.

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