Tourism and Poverty Reduction in the South Pacific

Regina Scheyvens &
Matt Russell

MASSEY UNIVERSITY

August 2009

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This report has been funded by NZAID's International Development Research Fund, for a research project on: *Sharing the Riches of Tourism: Exploring How Tourism Can Contribute More Effectively to Poverty Alleviation in the Pacific*

Contents

List of Tables

Executive Summary

This report examines tourism and its contribution to poverty alleviation in the Pacific, focusing mainly on what existing literature can tell us about the nature and scope of tourism in the region and its contribution to development, constraints to tourism, and the roles of key institutions in the region which encourage development of tourism. This is the first written report produced from NZAID-funded research on *Sharing the Riches of Tourism: Exploring How Tourism Can Contribute More Effectively to Poverty Alleviation in the Pacific.* Later fieldwork will be conducted in Fiji and Vanuatu, and two further country study reports will be produced.

In the last decade tourism has been promoted widely as a tool for economic development in developing countries under the banner of 'pro-poor tourism' (PPT), which aims to increase the net benefits of tourism for the poor. While PPT is not an approach which has been specifically adopted in the Pacific, many Pacific Island governments have nevertheless pursued growth of their tourism sector, particularly in response to disappointing returns from investment in agricultural commodities. **While** undoubtedly **tourism has contributed to foreign revenue generation and created thousands of jobs** in the region, there is recognition both that **a) the benefits of tourism do not reach the poorest groups in society**, and b) **South Pacific countries could secure much greater benefits from existing tourism flows** if more attention was paid to strategies such as fostering local ownership (including partnership arrangements) and developing backward linkages.

The nature of tourism development varies considerably across the region. While a small number of countries in the South Pacific such as Fiji, French Polynesia, Vanuatu, the Cook Islands and Samoa have turned tourism into their major industry, others with a smaller sector also gain considerable benefits from this industry and are seeking to grow tourism further. In Fiji and Vanuatu the tourism industry is foreign-dominated and centred around resort-style development, but in some other countries smaller to medium-scale forms of tourism with relatively high levels of local ownership have thrived. Small-scale and alternative tourism development has often been posited as the most appropriate means of involving communities directly in tourism in the region but a lack of entrepreneurial/business experience among local populations and poor access to credit can inhibit the success of these enterprises. In practice, more potential for delivering benefits to the poor may be harnessed from larger private sector businesses such as resorts (see the discussion on the private sector below).

One of the strongest factors influencing tourism development in the South Pacific region is land tenure. In most South Pacific countries over 80 percent of land is held under communal ownership, and much of this comprises beachside locations ideal for tourism development. Land disputes are often at the root of socio-political turmoil, which is perhaps the most serious constraint to the development of tourism in the South Pacific. Developing tourism under systems of communal land tenure and where traditional decision-making forums are often not inclusive enough to encompass the voices of all groups, such as women and youths, raises particular challenges. In Fiji, the government has created an environment which is conducive to foreign investment in tourism, while also instituting the Native Lands Trust Board which acts on behalf of communities in lease negotiations with foreign investors. While a good system in theory, there are concerns that ordinary members of landowning communities are not fully involved in negotiations and are not sharing fairly in the benefits of such developments. Joint ventures between landowning communities and foreign investors are another option which has been pursued in some key destinations in the Pacific – they offer greater potential for landowners to play an active role in tourism development than do lease agreements. Of key consideration is the need to avoid alienation of communally-held land, as has occurred recently on Vanuatu's main island, Efate.

While many commentators have presumed that tourism can deliver a wide range of benefits to the Pacific region, they have not always accounted for **threats to the viability and competitiveness of tourism in South Pacific countries**. The most apparent threat currently is the **global economic recession**, which has led to a downturn in tourist arrivals in most Pacific Island destinations, although they have shown a level of resilience higher than in neighbouring Asian countries. **Political instability** has also regularly affected tourism arrivals to Fiji. Immediately after the December 2006 coup, for example, the country lost around NZ$1.3 million a day in tourist expenditure. The Solomon Islands, New Caledonia, and Tonga are other Pacific Islands which have seen rapid declines in tourism at different times due to political troubles. The ability of a country to 'bounce back' depends considerably on the effectiveness of crisis management and tourism recovery plans implemented by governments. A third threat to tourism in the South Pacific is **environmental vulnerability**, with the region ranking as the second most disaster prone island group in the world. This is most evident in the case of low-lying atolls threatened by global warming, but other islands also face threats from cyclones, seismic activity, tsunamis, and storm surges. In addition, tourism itself can be environmentally destructive, particularly some construction practices in coastal environments and use of poor waste disposal measures.

The final section of this report considers the **regional framework** within which tourism development is being pursued: this includes the roles of the **South Pacific Tourism Organization (SPTO)**, governments, and the private sector. Elsewhere in the world it has been recognised that regional cooperation can facilitate integrative planning amongst developing countries which wish to sustainably grow their tourism industries, and this is something which the SPTO used to do when they received most of their funding from the European Union. Currently, however, the organisation relies largely on funds from member governments and the private sector, thus its focus centres on encouraging further investment in tourism and engaging in marketing activities. The SPTO has been criticised for centring its activities on larger enterprises in main tourism receiving countries, while others receive little attention or benefits.

Governments also obviously play a central role in establishing the direction that tourism takes. Interestingly, the **governments of Pacific Island countries** have stood out from many other developing country governments around the world in that they **have pursued tourism while also endeavouring to respect holistic approaches to development and resource management**. Words such as 'sustainable', 'respect', and 'culture' often permeate their tourism policies and plans. This rhetoric, however, tends to contradict the neoliberal, growth-oriented economic policies being implemented by the same governments at the behest of lending agencies and donors: this leads to market-led development which may not always contribute to enhanced wellbeing of communities.

One of the greatest challenges to achieving pro-poor forms of tourism development is gaining support for this from **the private sector**, although this also **offers the greatest potential for delivering benefits to the poor**. While characterised by a drive for profits, the motivations of contemporary private sector tourism businesses are often more diverse, and many are keen to demonstrate Corporate Social Responsibility. For some this simply leads to donations to community development initiatives, but in other cases the benefits are more wide-ranging and sustainable, such as resorts purchasing a majority of their produce from local suppliers, or providing business mentoring to members of landowning communities to assist them to develop a taxi business to transport resort clients. Governments could provide more incentives to encourage private sector businesses to work in such ways.

In summary, tourism is already the number one foreign exchange earner in some Pacific Island states, and it makes a significant contribution to revenue and employment generation in others. The challenge remains to minimise any negative socio-cultural or environmental impacts of the industry, while ensuring that it contributes directly to poverty alleviation as well. For this to occur, the SPTO, governments, donors, and the private sector will all need to work to create an environment where holistic development goals, not focused on economic growth alone, can be pursued. The country studies on tourism in Fiji and Vanuatu which follow this report will provide case studies to show how effectively this is occurring in practice.

1. Introduction and Context

1.1 Tourism and development: a global picture

Tourism is the world's largest industry and has been an integral component of economic development strategies in many developing nations for over half a century. The sector is generally regarded as a major growth sector which is labour-intensive and offers significant potential for sustainable growth in developing countries which may have limited growth options (Ashley and Maxwell, 2001; Gerosa, 2003; Roe *et al.*, 2004; Torres & Momsen, 2004). In over 50 of the world's poorest countries tourism is one of the top three contributors to economic development (WTO, 2000, cited in Sofield, 2003: 350). The tourism industry already employs over 200 million people world-wide, and there has been a 9.5% annual growth in arrivals to developing countries since 1990, compared to 4.6% worldwide (IIED, 2001). While tourism accounts for up to 10% of GDP in Western countries, in the developing world it contributes up to 40% of GDP (Sofield *et al.*., 2004: 2).

As an industry tourism is regarded as less vulnerable than traditional sectors, it has less rigid socio-economic and gender barriers to entry than other industries, and, because it is often based on natural and cultural resources and is consumed on-site, has considerable potential to provide income generating opportunities for local communities (Gerosa, 2003). Thus it is argued that "The industry's potential to generate foreign exchange earnings, attract international investment, increase tax revenues and create new jobs has served as an incentive for developing countries to promote tourism as an engine for macro-economic growth" (Torres and Momsen 2004: 294–5).

The World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) in its report *Travel & Tourism Economic Impact 2009,* which takes into account the global recession, highlights the following impacts of travel and tourism on the world economy:

- The contribution of travel & tourism to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is expected to rise from 9.4% (US$5,474 billion) in 2009 to 9.5% (US$10,478 billion) by 2019.

- The contribution of the Travel & Tourism economy to total employment is expected to rise from 219,810,000 jobs in 2009, 7.6% of total employment, or 1 in every 13.1 jobs to 275,688,000 jobs, 8.4% of total employment or in 1 in every 11.8 jobs by 2019.

- Two difficult years are now likely, with the contribution of travel and tourism to worldwide GDP likely to contract by 3.3% in 2009, and then to expand by only 0.3% in 2010.

- Real GDP growth for the Travel & Tourism economy is expected to be -3.5% in 2009, down from 1.0% in 2008, but to average 4.0% per annum over the coming 10 years.

Looking beyond the current financial downturn, these figures indicate that tourism is poised for continuing growth over the next ten years. As such, the expanding world travel market provides many opportunities to implement sustainable tourism growth strategies for local communities in developing countries.

1.2 The importance of tourism in the South Pacific

Because of their isolation, limited resources, and varying reliance on remittances and aid, most island states in the Pacific have, to varying degrees, welcomed tourism as a strategy for economic diversification and growth (Harrison, 2003: 2). The 'attractions' of the Pacific are well known. Since the earliest contacts with Europeans, Pacific islands have been viewed as "latter-day Gardens of Eden" and "surviving and authentic Paradises" (Harrison, 2003: 4). Common stereotypes typically include images of white sandy beaches, gently swaying palm-tress, unspoilt coral atolls and friendly, welcoming people – stereotypes which are well established in the imagination of the industrialised West and are purposefully reinforced by marketing strategies which emphasise the idyllic and unhurried pace of island life (Baum, 1997; Harrison, 2003: 5). Isolation is often considered a disbenefit to those trading products around the globe, but – for tourism – it may be a benefit in that it tends to make the destination more attractive, exotic and enticing, especially in the case of small islands. According to Gart´azar and Marin (1999, cited in d'Hauteserre 2003: 49), "islands are the second most important holiday destination after the category of historic cities". This huge demand should be understood in terms of the small land size and populations of many small island states, which greatly intensifies the impacts that tourism may have on host communities (MacNaulty 2002). As can be seen in Table 1, annual tourism arrivals can be many times the size of the total local population, as in the case of the Cook Islands (481% higher) and Niue (339.7% higher). On average, annual tourism arrivals total 97.7 of the total regional population. This impact can, of course, be both negative and positive.

In the Pacific, tourism is the only sector to have seen sustained growth in recent years, while the real value of primary export products has declined. Colonial and post-colonial governments in SIDS have typically pursued export agriculture as the major economic development sector yet, with continuing reduction in the real value of commodity exports, many island states are being forced to look elsewhere to earn foreign exchange. For example, comparing the value of crops such as coconuts, bananas, cocoa and coffee with tourism receipts for South Pacific countries over a twenty-year period, it has been found that "in every case the value of these primary products in real terms has declined and the only sector to demonstrate a continuous upward trend has been tourism" (Sofield *et al.*. 2004: 25–6).

Table 1: Tourism and Population Comparisons

Country	Total Population (est.) 2008	Total Tourist Arrivals 2008	Total Tourist Arrivals 2008 compared to Total Population (%)
Cook Islands	19 569	94 184	481.0
Fiji	849 000	582 602	68.0
Kiribati	96 000	3 871	4.0
French Polynesia	259 596	196 496	75.6
New Caledonia	244 410	103 672	42.4
Niue	1398	4 750	339.7
Papua New Guinea	6 832 000	114 182	1.6
Samoa	179 000	121 578	67.9
Solomon Islands	535 000	16 264	3.0
Tonga	104 000	49 400	47.5
Tuvalu	12 373	1 199	9.6
Vanuatu	240 000	90 654	37.7
TOTAL	3 223 346	1 378 852	98.1 (Ave)

1.3 Recent tourism activity

At a regional scale, Pacific islands are over-represented as a tourist destination, with 0.13% of the world's population, but 0.5% of all international stayovers (Weaver, 2002: 125). However, as Weaver (2002: 125) notes, these figures obscure the highly uneven visitor distribution in the region. Just two islands – Guam and the Northern Marianas – account for almost 60% of all stayovers. This report, however, focuses on the South Pacific countries, as listed in Table 1. This table shows the general pattern of visitor arrivals in the South Pacific, showing that tourism has experienced steady, if fluctuating growth rates since 1999. During the period between 1999 and 2008, arrivals have increased 32%, an average growth rate of 3.2% per year, (Allcock, 2006, STPO, 2007, SPTO, 2008), and the UNWTO projects arrivals for Oceania as a whole will to continue growing at around 5% per annum towards 2016[1] (Ashe,

[1] Oceania is a broad geographic region which includes Australia, New Zealand, Melanesia, Micronesia and Polynesia. Here we follow the generic usage of 'South Pacific', which refers to a

2005). Although visitor arrivals have only increased 3.2% per year between 1999 and 2008, the 2004-2008 period displays an average growth of 36.4%, already an average of 5.0% growth per annum.

The major recipient of tourist arrivals in the South Pacific is Fiji, which in 2008 received over half a million arrivals; this is followed by French Polynesia which received nearly 200,000 visitors. While there are concentrated facilities in the biggest destinations, mass tourism has not developed in the South Pacific as a whole. Tourist arrivals in the remaining destinations indicate a more incipient level of tourist development. Samoa is the third most popular tourist destination in the South Pacific, taking over this spot from New Caledonia in 2005. Arrivals in New Caledonia and French Polynesia have remained relatively static since 1999, but Vanuatu, PNG and the Cook Islands, all with over 90,000 arrivals now, have shown sustained growth of 7-8% per annum. PNG's doubling of tourist arrivals between 2003 and 2008 is particularly notable.

By contrast, countries such as Kiribati, Tuvalu and Niue receive very few visitors and their tourism industries are constrained by factors such as poor air transport services, high costs of access and low levels of awareness of those destinations (Allcock, 2006: 6). However, it has been noted these islands also offer excellent opportunities for development of growing "special interest" and "alternative" markets which focus on more intrepid tourists who wish to 'get off the beaten track' or avoid mainstream tourist destinations altogether (Allcock, 2004: 7), and the small number of tourists still make important contributions to local economies (Harrison, 2004: 7). As seen in Table 2, Niue has shown the highest average growth since 1999, at 16.7% per annum.

The heavy decline in arrivals for Fiji and the Solomon Islands between 2000 and 2003 reflect the political instability in these countries during this period (see the later section of this report on Political Instability). While the nascent tourism business has shown signs of slowly recovering in the Solomon Islands since 2005, further growth will require a more organised state structure (Harrison, 2004: 7) Fiji has experienced robust growth since 2004; only marginally curtailed by the 2006 coup and setting a new high in 2008. In the past, unstable political institutions and inter-ethnic conflict have restricted growth in Papua New Guinea's tourism industry (Harrison, 2004: 9). While these issues still persist as limiting factors, since 2004 the country has experienced six years of consecutive growth averaging almost 7% per annum. This reflects the improved political situation as well as more focused attention paid to tourism development by the government, driven by a desire to diversify the economy

---

loosely defined geographic and geopolitical region comprised of a number of Melanesian and Polynesian island states: Papua New Guinea, Niue, New Caledonia, Samoa, Fiji, French Polynesia (Tahiti), Kiribati, Vanuatu, Tuvalu, Tonga, Nauru, the Marshall Islands, the Cook Islands and the Solomon Islands.

which is heavily reliant on export earnings (PNG Tourism Promotion Authority, 2007: 21). More concerted efforts to market Papua New Guinea as an 'adventure' destination based on strategic targeting of niche sectors – particularly diving, trekking, surfing and cultural visits – within mostly Australian markets has been highly successful, the country doubling its share of holiday makers to 34% of total visitors in 2008 (PNG Tourism Promotion Authority, 2009: 1). While a recent tourism sector review indicates a desire by the Papua New Guinean Government for tourism growth that is both sustainable and beneficial to local communities, the industry is still embryonic and there has been no research exploring the impacts of this recent growth (PNG Tourism Promotion Authority, 2007: 24).

Most visitors to French Polynesia are from the Americas or Europe (especially France), whereas most tourists to Fiji and most other Pacific destinations are from New Zealand, Australia and the USA (Harrison, 2004: 7-8). Visitors to French Polynesia and Fiji are typically holiday makers, whereas domestic and diaspora tourism makes up the largest category of tourists in Samoa and American Samoa (Harrison, 2004: 8). Business tourism still makes up the majority of tourism in Papua New Guinea, and other South Pacific destinations combine mainstream tourism with speciality and niche markets.

Despite the onset of the global economic recession, South Pacific Islands managed to buck trends for the broader region, with visitors increasing by 3% to surpass 1.36 million in 2008 (SPTO, 2008: 3). The Pacific Asia Travel Association (2009: 11) noted that visitors to Pacific Asia increased by only 0.7% in 2008, while the greater Pacific region, which includes Hawaii, Guam/Saipan, Australia and New Zealand, experienced a 4.6 per cent decline. However, in its 2008 annual report the South Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO) warns the South Pacific should be braced for a possible decline of incoming visitors of between 5 and 10% during 2009 (SPTO: 2008: 3).

This performance has been driven by a number of factors. Globally, tourism is a high growth industry, and the intensified marketing of the South Pacific brand and individual country brands under the auspices of the South Pacific Tourism Organisation and Pacific Asia Tourism Association has certainly been a contributing factor (Singh, 1997: 91). The strong economic performance and currencies of the South Pacific's two largest and closest markets Australia and New Zealand, has also been significant. The South Pacific's combined share of visitor mix from these countries has grown from 40% at the beginning of the decade to 50% in 2008 (SPTO: 2009: 1).

Table 2: Growth Trends in South Pacific Tourism – 1999-2008

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	Av (%) growth per annum	Av (%) growth 2007-2008
Cook Islands	55 599	72 994	74 575	72 781	78 328	83 333	90 977	94 108	97 019	94 184	6.93	-2.9
Fiji	409 995	294 070	348 014	397 859	430 800	507 000	551 932	542 221	539 255	582 602	4.2	8.0
Kiribati	5 104	4 377	4 831	4 288	3676	2 882	3 012	3 721	4 709	3 871	-2.41	-17.8
French Polynesia	210 800	233 326	227 658	189 003	212 767	211 893	214 009	216 125	218 241	196 496	-6.7	-10.0
New Caledonia	103 352	109 587	100 515	103 933	101 983	99515	102 194	103 172	103 363	103 672	3.96	0.3
Niue	1 778	2 010	2 069	1 632	2 758	2 558	2 864	3 001	3 463	4 750	16.7	37.2
Papua New Guinea	67 375	58 429	54 280	53 482	56 185	59 022	65 321	74 930	104 122	114 182	6.94	9.7
Samoa	85 124	87 688	88 263	88 960	92 313	98 024	104 171	121 238	122 250	121 578	4.28	-0.5
Solomon Islands	17 395	10 134	3 418	4 508	6 000	6 000	10 245	11 179	13 748	16 264	-0.65	18.3
Tonga	30 883	34 694	32 386	36 585	40 110	41 208	43 621	40 813	46 040	49 400	5.99	7.3
Tuvalu	770	1 504	976	1 236	1 496	1 214	1 199	1 199	1 199	1 199	5.77	**NA**
Vanuatu	50 746	57 571	53 300	49 463	50 400	60 611	65 910	70 250	81 345	90 654	7.86	11.4
TOTAL	1 038 903	954 260	990 285	1 003 730	1 076 816	1 173 260	1255 455	1281957	1334754	1 378 852		
TOTAL GROWTH (%)	NA	-8.14	3.77	1.35	7.28	8.95	7.00	2.11	4.11	3.3	3.2	3.3

Sources:
Allcock (2006); STPO, (2007); SPTO (2008).
Notes:
(1) SPTO figures were not available for French Polynesia in 2005 and 2006, therefore an estimate is given based on the growth rate between the last known figure in 2004 and the most recent known figure for 2007. **(2)** The 2003 and 2004 arrival figures for Solomon Islands are estimates by the South Pacific Tourism Organisation. The 2004 arrival figures for Fiji are Fiji Visitor Bureau estimates. The 2004 annual visitor arrivals for Niue and Kiribati are provisional figures. **(3)** SPTO figures were not available for Tuvalu for the years 2005, 2006, 2007 and 2008. As there is no clear pattern in growth for Tuvalu an estimate is given based on the average data recorded between 1999 and 2004. Given there was an overall average growth rate of 9.6% for the period 1999 to 2004 however, the figures given for 2005-2008 are likely to be on the conservative side as no growth is factored in.

While a decade ago tourism in the region was dominated by Fiji and the two French territories, Tahiti and New Caledonia, tourism is now significantly more widespread in its economic impact. Tourism has become a very significant economic contributor in destinations like Samoa, Cook Islands, and Vanuatu, and other destinations are developing niche opportunities from smaller bases.

1.4 The economic impacts of tourism

The latest available statistics on the contribution of tourism to GDP date from 2002 (SPTO, 2003). As can be seen in Table 3, tourism plays a dominant role in the Cook Islands and a relatively significant role in most South Pacific states, except PNG, the Solomon Islands and Tuvalu. With the possible exception of the Cook Islands, most small island developing nations listed have the potential to greatly increase the tourism sector's contribution to GDP. While noting the difficulty in sourcing reliable data from most countries, a study by Milne (2005) provides useful information on the economic impact of tourism in terms of visitor expenditure, economic linkages, and contribution to overall employment – information which was not available previously for the region. The region as a whole was host to 1, 173, 260 visitors in 2004 who spent approximately US$1.5 billion, averaging US$1297.90 per visitor (see Table 3). Between 2000 and 2004 the total visitor expenditure increased by US$567.7 million, or 59.4%, and expenditure per visitor increased from US$988.3 to US$1297.90, or 31.1%. As shown in Table 3, based on per visitor expenditure in 2004, we have roughly calculated an increase of US$246.8 million between 2004 and 2008, or 7.1%. However, as this estimate does not factor in increasing per tourist expenditure, the actual increase is likely to be significantly higher.

In terms of employment opportunities derived from tourism operations, Milne's (2004) study finds that there is no reliable secondary employment data available in the SPTO member countries to base estimates on. Table 4 shows wide ranging estimates depending on the source of data employed, Milne (2004: 21) notes that the difficulties of estimating employment generation associated with tourism are exacerbated by the fact there is no consistent data available on expatriate versus local employment in tourism, or the seasonal/part time/full time make up of the labour force. Roa (2006: 9) has also noted the possibility that low estimates only count direct employment in the tourism industry, while high estimates include indirect employment as well including construction and agriculture. As shown in Table 4, we have used Milne's 2004 data to calculate rough estimates of employment growth against tourist arrival growth between 2004 and 2008. As Milne (2004: 3) states: "The real figure undoubtedly lies between the high and low estimates – but the paucity of effective secondary data makes it difficult to provide a figure with any confidence". Nevertheless, it is clear from the data that the capacity for tourism to generate broad employment across a range of sectors is significant indeed. Overall, Milne's (2004) study and our own growth estimates up to 2008 demonstrate a positive trend in broad employment and revenue generating indicators, showing the increasing importance of tourism in terms of its economic impact in the region.

Table 3: Economic Impacts of Tourism

Country	Tourism's contribution to GDP in 2002 (%)	Visitor Increase 2004-2008 (%)	Total Visitor Expenditure 2004 (US$M)	Estimated Total Visitor Expenditure 2008 (US$M)
Cook Islands	47.0	13	75.6	85.4
Fiji	12.8	15	413.2	474.8
French Polynesia	-	7.2	501.3	464.8
Kiribati	14.5	32.0	1.3	1.7
New Caledonia	-	4.1	229.2	238.7
Niue	13.0	8.5	1.3	2.3
PNG	6.3	93.0	134.7	260.5
Samoa	9.5	24	57.4	71.2
Solomon Islands	2.9	170	11.9	32.2
Tonga	14.5	19.8	22.4	26.8
Tuvalu	3.0	1.2	0.5	0.5
Vanuatu	16.6	49.5	74.0	110.6
TOTAL		36.4	1 522.8	1 769.6

Sources: SPTO (2002), Milne (2004)

Notes: **(1)** Visitor increase 2004, 2008 calculated from Table 2 figures. **(2)** Estimated Total Visitor Expenditure 2008 calculated from average per visitor expenditure in 2004 in Milne (2004). **(3)** Visitor expenditure does not include airline departure tax

Compared to their neighbours in the Asia region however, Pacific Island economies have performed relatively poorly in recent years. According to the ADB's *Asian Development Outlook* 2008, the average growth rate across the region in 2006 was only 2.3%, down from an original estimate of 3.3%, while the estimated growth rate for 2007 was 3.1%, down from a forecasted 3.4% (ADB, cited in Abbot, 2008: 3). This compares with an average 6.0% per annum in South-East Asia over the 2005-2007 period. Such a rate of growth suggests tourism is driving overall growth in the region.

It should be noted that the per capita GDP growth averages in the Pacific are particularly low, averaging a 1.6% per annum between 2004 and 2008, indicating that overall poverty and hardship in the region is likely to be increasing. Particular concerns have been raised about finding jobs and providing infrastructure to support the growing, relatively youthful, urban population often living in squatter settlements in the Pacific (Bryant-Tokelau, 1995), and assisting the most vulnerable rural communities who live in isolated areas where few services are provided (Roa, 2006). Poverty is evident in countries such as Vanuatu and Fiji, where the benefits of tourism are not being spread evenly or reaching the poorest communities (Abbot, 2008: 3). The latest available national poverty data (based on UNDP and ADB estimates) suggest that overall approximately one-in-four households across the region has a per capita income below the respective national poverty line, and that poverty and hardship are equally felt by urban and rural families alike throughout the South Pacific (Abbot, 2008: 9).

Table 4: Estimated Employment Generating Potential of Tourism, 2004-2008.

Country	**% of Total Workforce Employed in Tourism 2004 (Low Estimate)**	**% of Total Workforce Employed in Tourism 2008 (Low Estimate)**	**% of Total Workforce Employed in Tourism 2004 (High Estimate)**	**% of Total Workforce Employed in Tourism 2008 (High Estimate)**
Cook Islands	5.3	6.0	30.0	34.0
Fiji	3.4	3.6	12.6	14.5
French Polynesia	14.1	15.1	24.4	26.1
Kiribati	1.0	1.3	20.0	26.4
New Caledonia	6.2	6.5	6.2	6.5
Niue	5.3	5.7	10.7	11.6
PNG	0.1	0.2	3.2	6.1
Samoa	3.1	3.9	12.0	14.8
Solomon Islands	0.1	0.4	1.3	3.5
Tonga	4.1	4.9	12.0	13.1
Tuvalu	0.4	0.4	0.7	0.7
Vanuatu	2.3	5.8	21.0	31.3
TOTAL	3.7	4.4	12.8	15.7

Source: Milne (2004)

Notes: **(1)** Figures for 2004 sourced from Milne (2004). **(2)** All 2008 estimates based on 2004 figures from Milne (2004). **(3)** See Milne (2004) for how the lower and higher estimates of employment were calculated and the sources of data used.

1.5 The scale and composition of South Pacific tourism

There is a wide spectrum of types of tourism available in the Pacific, and while there is strong foreign involvement in tourism in some places, in others there is a high degree of indigenous control over tourism. Only tourism in Vanuatu and Fiji can be described as truly foreign-dominated industry structures (Milne, 1997: 297). While the tourism sector is performing well in Vanuatu, as Milne notes "the limited backward linkages established by the multinational hotels and duty free businesses that characterise its industry means that local income and employment generation has not been as good as it could be" (1997: 292).

While more recent government development plans have prioritised local business development and improving linkages with other sectors and businesses, relatively few ni-Vanuatu own tourism enterprises. Narayan and Prasad (2003: 54) note that of 132 tourism projects implemented between 1988 and 2000 in Fiji, 94% were foreign owned (including joint ventures), leaving only 6% with local ownership status. Rao (2002) argues that strong influence foreign investors have held over tourism development in Fiji, combined with the lack of an active role by government in directing tourism development and investment has resulted in unbalanced regional tourism development. More recent work by Schilcher (2007, 2007b) has also highlighted a significant shift in the Samoan government's approach to tourism development. While acknowledging Samoa's high rate of local ownership and the potential for a "competitive industry when combined with a strategy of localisation and place marketing", Schilcher (2007: 72) has pointed out that the Samoan government's recent relaxation of regulation to encourage foreign investment capital may also lead to a reduction in local ownership and local employment in tourism. There have been increased numbers of expatriate workers in the tourism sector, for example, in recent years. The amendment passed in Parliament in on June 26, 2003 involves government playing a stronger role in assisting outsiders to lease land, and tax breaks being given to new hotel/resort developments. This type of development may see more land moving out of community hands, but it is unclear if this is also signalling less government interest in supporting small scale tourism providers (Scheyvens, 2008: 322).

International capital is usually found at the more expensive end of the market (Harrison 2003: 12). Le Meridien, for example, has hotels and casinos in Noumea, New Caledonia and Port Vila, Vanuatu, and such French chains like Club Med and Accor, have a strong presence in New Caledonia and Port Vila. In other concentrated centres such as Hawaii, Guam, Fiji and French Polynesia, transnational hotels play a dominant role. International chains are significant in Fiji, including Accor (three), Sheraton (three) Intercontinental (three), Warwick International (two), Shangri-La (two), Outrigger (one) and Hilton (one). Foreign capital is not limited to international chains, and in many islands small boutique resorts or three-star hotels are often owned and operated by expatriates (Harrison, 1997: 171-172).

Although 'signature' products for the Pacific focus on high end accommodation, the majority of the region's resorts and hotels are mid-range, supporting a strong general leisure market and catering to families and couples (SPTO, 2005: 11). In addition, a survey of tourist demographics throughout the region shows 34% of travelers fall under the "backpacker", "adventure" and "culture and nature interested" categories (SPTO, 2005: 6). Thus there are ventures which cater to a broad spectrum of niche markets such as diving and snorkelling, honeymooning, cruise shipping, fishing, sailing, kayaking, snorkelling, whale watching, cultural tourism and nature tourism. These niches are extremely important to destination economies and deliver solid business (SPTO, 2005: 11). There is also some interest in the Pacific's history and colonial past, including WWII relics (SPTO, 2005: 11).

Thus despite early warnings from academics about the development of exploitative forms of mass tourism largely based on foreign ownership of core infrastructure and resources (Britton, 1987), mass tourism has not yet developed in most parts of the South Pacific. Much of the tourism industry beyond Fiji, New Caledonia and French Polynesia is composed of small-medium scale, locally owned tourist enterprises – even places like the Cook Islands and Tonga which have seen considerable growth in tourism arrivals in the past two decades (Milne, 1997: 297). Thus a mix of types of tourism is quite common. Scheyvens (2005, 2008) has provided a comprehensive discussion of the flourishing of small-scale tourist development centred on basic, family-owned beach huts in rural areas of Samoa. These beach *fale* co-exist with a small number of high class hotels and resorts, along with a range of middle-of-the-range hotels and motels, and provide numerous formal and informal sector jobs, and have served to effectively rejuvenate a number of rural villages. Schilcher (2007) estimates that 80% of tourism businesses in Samoa are locally owned. In the Cook Islands, Niue, Kiribati and Tonga also, indigenous ownership is relatively high, resulting in locally owned enterprises (including those owned by the government) receiving well in excess of 70% of direct tourist expenditure (Milne, 1997: 292). In such countries governments and communities have retained a significant degree of control over their cultural and natural assets.

While anthropologists have often warned of cultural erosion due to tourism, in many islands, rather than being endangered by tourism, traditional economic and social institutions have been blamed for *preventing* tourist development. In Samoa, for example, the government did not actively pursue growth of tourism until the 1990s because the people were very concerned that the industry might undermine their traditional communal land tenure system and disrupt fa'a Samoa (the Samoan way of life) (Scheyvens, 2005). A strong desire to retain these customary systems is evident throughout the South Pacific, and while some commentators have characterised customary ownership as an obstacle to economic growth (e.g. Hughes, 2004), others have been more positive about both the developmental and economic potential offered by these traditional systems (see section 3).

A final important point to make about the composition of tourism in the Pacific is that domestic and diaspora tourism comprise very important, yet often over looked and underrated, tourism markets: "The existing tourism literature and planning, on the whole, see a "tourist" as being automatically a "Northerner", with leisure activity being his or her privileged practice" (Ghimire 2001:3). Domestic tourism has grown in recent years coinciding with an increase in numbers of middle-income earners and, most likely, greater adoption of western-style leisure pursuits. In Samoa, for example, it is common for professionals working in the capital, Apia, as well as youth groups and church groups from around the country, to go on day trips to beaches around the island of Upolu to swim, relax and picnic on weekends. Workplaces also regularly hold week-long 'retreats' at beaches around the country, where staff may reflect on achievements of the previous year's goals and objectives, and plan for the following year. This constitutes an important form of business for some beach *fale* enterprises. These domestic tourists stimulate local economy by purchasing a range of locally-produced goods and services, and they tend to be less fickle than international tourists, using tourist accommodations during the low season and also not being deterred from travel so much by political instability (Scheyvens, 2005).

Meanwhile diaspora tourists constitute a very significant group of arrivals in those countries which have large populations resident overseas. For example, Samoa is home to around 180,000 people, but importantly, another 100,000 Samoans are estimated to live abroad mainly in New Zealand, the United States, and Australia (Bennett *et al*., 2003:20). Consequently, over 40 percent of New Zealand visitors to Samoa conform with the VFR (Visiting Friends and Relatives) category (Hall and Duval 2004:84). Hall and Duval, commenting specifically on Pacific Island migrants from Tonga, Samoa and the Cook Islands returning to their homelands for short visits, are mystified at the lack of attention to these groups:

> *Despite the rhetoric of sustainable tourism, the relative value of such [VFR] markets has been all but ignored …even though expenditure is still being directed into the economy with only minor demands on local culture and infrastructure (2004:84, 91).*

The value of diaspora tourists is starting to gain recognition internationally. When a country's nationals return home for a holiday and/or family gathering, they bring foreign currency as well as rekindling their cultural links and ensuring enduring economic and social ties with their country (Coles and Timothy 2004). Contributions from people returning to their home country for a holiday can be significant, and can include "financial remittances, technology and skills transfer, material and equipment donations" (Asiedu 2005:1). Pacific Islanders resident in New Zealand, Australia or the United States certainly seek to maintain their cultural relationships and family ties through regular visits to what Hall and Duval call their "external homeland" (2004:89). Such visits may help to sustain practices such as the sending of remittances, which is vital to economic well-being in many places (Duval 2003). Thus Lee (2004) writes about second generation Tongans living abroad, noting that if support for their homeland (both economic, in the form of remittances, and non-economic, through social networks) is to be sustained in the long term, they will need to "build a secure sense of identity and belonging", something which can be facilitated by travel to Tonga (Lee 2004:249). Some families of the diaspora send their children on trips to Tonga specifically to build up this cultural knowledge and social connection.

In summary, projected growth in worldwide tourism is good news for small, tourism dependent island countries. For a growing number of South Pacific states, tourism is major driving force for economic development, both because of its ability to generate foreign exchange and the large potential multiplier and spillover effects tourism has on the rest of the economy. The South Pacific should continue to enjoy steady increases in their tourism markets, but maximising both economic and social benefits will require genuine and consistent commitment from governments. In seeking to reduce poverty and realise other development goals, there must be a clear awareness of both the benefits and the obstacles presented by tourism growth. Understanding these issues is the focus of the next section.

2. Spreading the benefits of tourism to reach the poor

2.1 Dependency or Development?

This dependency on the tourism sector has been critiqued from political economy perspectives which emphasise the economic vulnerabilities of small island developing states (SIDS) with large tourism sectors (Britton, 1982), and the dominance of foreign owned multi-national corporations which import a large proportion of the goods and services they require and repatriate their profits (Brohman, 1996; Hoti *et al.*., 2005; Potter, 1993). Tourism has also been accused of perpetuating unequal relations of dependency and encouraging inequitable socioeconomic and spatial development (Milne, 1997). While exposés of such limitations are certainly important and necessary, it has been pointed out that many commentators have *only* identified the development constraints facing island states while failing to identify their strengths (Scheyvens & Momson, 2008: 491). Such an approach often neglects the significant role governments and local communities have played in managing their tourism assets (Scheyvens and Momson, 2008: 495).

Moreover, research has highlighted the potential of sustainable and well-managed tourism as a powerful development tool. For example, Encontre (2001) argues that steady tourism development is likely to have a measurable socio-economic impact and can drive a Least Developed Country near the threshold of 'graduation' out of LDC status. He argues that the five countries to graduate from LDC in recent years (Botswana , Cape Verde, Maldives, Samoa and Vanuatu) show a close association between tourism development and "the socio-economic progress that explains the context of proximity to, or realization of graduation" (Encontre 2001:108). In terms of the top ten performers measured by International Tourism Receipts (ITR) per capita in 2002, only one is not a SIDS, and all are lower or upper middle income countries. This appears to indicate that those SIDS with a high economic dependency on tourism are among the richest of such states (McElroy, 2006). Thus, it has been asserted that "tourism is an essential component for both economic development and poverty reduction in SIDS" (Ashe, 2005: 5).

2.2 Measuring poverty alleviation

Determining and measuring the impact of tourism activities on poverty alleviation is notoriously problematic. These difficulties are compounded by the conflicting views of different stakeholder groups on the notion of what poverty alleviation through tourism should be. As Scheyvens (2007: 249) has noted, in practice some prioritise the interests of the tourism industry as a whole, that is, in growing the sector, expanding markets and enhancing profits, while others focus more directly on utilising the industry to improve the well-being of impoverished peoples. A one-sided emphasis on macroeconomic indicators often serves to obscure vast inequities in the distribution of wealth generated by tourism. For example in Peru, policies adopted under Fujimori from 1990 onwards contributed to a three-fold increase in tourist arrivals between 1992 and 1996. While this did result in some macroeconomic benefits, poverty has been entrenched and the agricultural sector has decreased in size (Desforges, 2000). In Ghana tourist arrivals increased from around 85,000 in 1985 to over 286,000 in 1995, and tourist receipts increased from US$20 million to US$233 million over the same period. However spatial disparities have become entrenched, the quality of life of many Ghanaians has declined and increasing rates of foreign ownership of tourism infrastructure are leading to higher leakages. Devaluation of the cedi enabled travellers to see Ghana as a 'cheap destination', while making it difficult for locals to afford imported products such as medicine (Konadu-Agyemang, 2001: 194). Conversely, strong if highly variable growth in Fiji's tourism sector has not been reflected in either GDP or notably increased benefits for the poor. During the period 2000-2006 the performance of real GDP averaged 2 per cent per annum, declining to -4 per cent in 2007 and 1.1 in 2008, with an estimated 40 per cent of Fijians now living under the poverty line (Narayan and Prasad, 2009: 7).

As part of a larger critique of pro-poor tourism approaches to development, Harrison (2008: 861) argues that there are as yet no empirical studies which have managed to link pro-poor tourism initiatives with poverty reduction. He notes how it is often impossible to calculate the benefits tourism brings to communities, given the resources required for systematic and comparative monitoring and analysis, as well as the difficulties inherent in gauging more intangible benefits over the long-term which are not directly related to wealth distribution or employment (Harrison, 2008: 862). This difficulty has also been noted by national governments and intergovernmental development agencies, one of the key points noted in the UNWTO's recent publication *ST-EP Programme: Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty* being "The need to carry out more research on measuring impacts and to develop and agree on a regional approach to measuring poverty reduction success rates" (ND: 39). However, this difficulty in measuring the concrete effects of tourism on poverty alleviation should not be viewed as an issue specific to pro-poor tourism, but rather a problem associated with the practice of pro-poor development as a whole.[2] Most agree however that broad-level statistics on GDP, tourist arrivals and expenditure give little information about tourism's impacts at a local level. Goodwin (2006: 1), for example, advocates directly tracing and mapping tourists' cash flows to the local poor by measuring remittances from tourist areas and household income from tourist enterprises, and assessing the results of improved market access.

[2] See for example discussions by Kemp (2008) and Prieto-Carron *et al.*, (2006) on the need for clearer outcome and impact monitoring and evaluation of corporate community development initiatives in the mining sector.

Zhao and Ritchie (2007: 11) stress the point that, due to the multidimensional nature of poverty, understanding any poverty related issue is necessarily a complex and difficult task in which a wide range of interwoven and context-specific factors – economic, socio-political and cultural – must be taken into account. A study conducted by the World Bank (1999) entitled "Voices of the Poor" calls attention to the importance of listening to poor people's own definitions of poverty and their strategies for managing the scarce and often contested assets available to them. While prominence was given to problems with securing food and difficulties finding safe and predictable sources of livelihood, a core finding of the study was the extent to which dependency, lack of power and voice, and concomitant feelings of humiliation, shame and vulnerability emerge as core elements of poor people's definitions of poverty (World Bank, 1999: 26-64). In defining poverty, it was found that poor people talked extensively about the lack of such assets and much less about income: "The poor tended to mention income only infrequently relative to assets such as membership within kinship and social networks, health, labour power, land, and other resources that make self-provisioning possible" (World Bank, 1999: 51).

Drawing from these findings, Zhao and Richie (2007: 12-14) identify three "determinants" – 'opportunity', 'empowerment' and 'security' – as the key conditions for poverty alleviation to be successful. 'Opportunity' refers broadly to the income generation capacity building of the poor. 'Empowerment' aims to enhance and strengthen their participation in political processes and local decision making, as well as removing the barriers that work against the poor and building assets which allow them to engage effectively in markets. A focus on empowerment and disempowerment enables the conceptualisation of poverty and inequality in terms other than the reductively economic (Sofield, 2003; Schilcher, 2007; 2007b). The third determinant, 'security' is targeted at consolidating the fruits of 'opportunity' and 'empowerment' by providing a social security system that can reduce the vulnerability of the poor to factors such as environmental disasters, economic downturn or ill health (Zhao and Richie, 2007: 13). While arguing that the usefulness for tourism for poverty alleviation can be evaluated by employing these three criteria in general, the authors stress the highly situational nature of these determinants, and the need for researchers and development practitioners to carefully adapt the framework to the specific social and cultural context they are situated within (2007: 13). In terms of the efficacy of pro-poor tourism initiatives, the levels of development of a country, the structure and nature of the political system, the degree of corporate social responsibility in the tourism industry, and the level of empowerment at the local level are only some of the factors that affect how successful these initiatives might be. For Zhao and Ritchie, poverty alleviation requires that these "three determinants are concurrently strengthened" (2007: 14), and as Harrison has noted, this relies heavily on efficient and effective governance structures, a "developmental state" that can provide an enabling environment in which the efforts of government departments, aid agencies and the private sector can be facilitated and coordinated (2008: 863).

The background note prepared by the UNCTAD secretariat for the High Level Meeting on Tourism and Development in the LDCs (2001) states that countries that have been unsuccessful in integrating tourism as a tool for economic development have usually had inadequate or non-existent poverty led tourism policy frameworks. As a response to this, Jamison *et al.* (2004) have constructed a methodological framework for formulating poverty reduction policy related to tourism, the key point of which is developing a long-term monitoring methodology and indicators based on a "Livelihood approach", broadly defined as assessing patterns evident in the positive and negative impacts of tourism on unequal members of a community. For Jamison *et al.*, the maximization of livelihood benefits, "...requires an intimate understanding of what people most need and want (their livelihood priorities) and of the complex ways in which different tourism options affect livelihoods directly and indirectly" (2004: 15). Recognising that such an approach would obviously require extensive work in data collection and validation that may be beyond the resource base of many governments and development agencies, Goodwin (2006: ii) has proposed a more focused approach to Jamison *et al.'s* model, focussing less on the need to capture all the negative and positive impacts on different community members, and instead advocating a strong focus on gathering specific baseline data at the beginning of an initiative and identifying and monitoring particular impacts over time.

2.3 Developing backward linkages

A single focus on tourism, at the expense of other core sectors, often leads to patterns of dependent or spatially unequal development that result in great disparities in wealth between tourism areas and rural agricultural areas (Torres, 2000). This may stifle broader based development, as Brohman (1996: 50) warns: "In the absence of well-developed linkages between the external sectors and the rest of the economy, a limited and polarized form of development takes place that cannot act as a stimulus for broadly based development".

Thus a key contribution of tourism as an agent of development is its potential to stimulate backward linkages or entrepreneurial activity throughout the local economy. This may take the form of informal tour-guides; local artists selling crafts to tourists; locally owned and operated restaurants and cafes selling indigenous cuisine; or the stimulation of the agricultural sector by the presence of large and medium-scale tourist enterprises (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 182). Such linkages are seen as a fundamental element of sustainable tourism development, but are dependent on a number of factors, including:

- The types of goods and services required and the ability of local producers/suppliers to provide them in terms of both quantity and quality.
- The scale and rate of tourism development; rapid, large scale development tends to outstrip supply.
- The type of tourism in the destination, hence the types of goods and services required (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008: 183).

While the importance "sourcing goods and services locally wherever possible" (Roe *et al.*., 2002: 4) is included among the "action points" for the pro-poor tourism agenda, in practice developing these linkages has proved to be challenging. A DFID (1999b: 3) report notes that, "Linkages are frequently discussed, rarely seen and particularly important but difficult to develop". The report goes on to suggest that it is imperative to identify the causes underlying lack of linkages. A DFID (1999a: 61) report reviewing a series of pro-poor tourism projects in South Africa notes, "...there are few successful examples of action to stimulate linkages – this probably indicates that it is difficult, but also that concerted long-term effort has rarely been made. Research by DBSA [Development Bank of South Africa] and others found that linkages cannot be assumed to emerge – they must be actively facilitated".

This is particularly relevant to South Pacific nations which have bountiful productive resources related to fishing, agriculture, and the production of a wide range of foodstuffs, but have experienced a decline in exports as the real value of the products has dropped and access to preferential markets, such as the European Union, has declined. This potential for income generation is of increased importance in relatively 'land-rich' islands such as Fiji and Vanuatu, where tourism enterprises are large-scale and often dominated by foreign ownership where substantial levels of profit are repatriated. Benefits can be retained, however, as highlighted by the example of Vulelua Resort, some 70 kilometres east from the Solomon Islands' capital Honiara, which put SI$1 million into the local economy between 1989 and 1999. Vulelua was only a small 3-star resort, but their practice of sourcing all labour, most of its fruit and vegetables, all of its fish and most of its chicken and pork requirements from 3 local villages served to alleviate poverty in region almost completely (Sofield, 2003: 144). Tambea resort, about 8 kilometres west of Honiara, put about three times that amount into local village over a longer time of operation (1960-1999). Both resorts were unfortunately forced to close due to ethnic unrest, and have not reopened (Sofield, 2002). Other accommodation establishments have made a point of sourcing furnishings, linen, staff uniforms, and building materials locally. For example, when the medium-sized Uprising Resort was built in Pacific Harbour, Fiji, in 2006, the owner paid F$20,000 to buy thatch from three nearby villagers (Scheyvens' fieldnotes, June 11 2009).

Milne's (2005) regional analysis found that the annual business cost breakdown by country indicated that 76.5% of labour expense is sourced locally by tourist businesses throughout the South Pacific, while only 62% of material expenses are sourced locally. Of every US$1 million spent by visitors in the region, $660,000 are spent on local wages/salaries and purchases, "Clearly meaning that the industry has great potential to generate further downstream benifits to local communities" (Milne, 2005: 19) Notably, not a single respondent of Milne's survey indicated that they had significantly increased local purchases between 2000 and 2005, while a quarter of the respondents stated that they had significantly decreased local purchases with an additional 7% citing a small decrease. Quoting Roa (2006: 12): "This indicates the tourism industry's linkages with the local economy is weakening and should be a concern to policymakers in the region". Taking the case of Fiji, Roa (2006: 13-21) argues that heavy investment on the tourist sector has lead to a neglect of the potential for local job creation in backward linked sectors. While tourism is labour-intensive and contributes significantly to GDP, backward linked sectors such as agriculture and farming are labour-intensive but do not contribute significantly to overall national output. However, "Agriculture is an important means to employment generation and poverty alleviation in rural based areas where the most poor and vulnerable often reside" (Roa, 2006: 16). The results of this narrow focus are evident in widely uneven spatial development on the main Fijian island of Viti Levu, where regions inside the main 'tourist belt' between Nadi and Suva attract the lion's share of investment in roads and other infrastructure, while less 'desirable' regions have largely missed out (Roa, 2006: 21).

Since most developing countries have agrarian societies, backward linkages between tourism and the agricultural, farming, fishing and animal husbandry sectors that allow local producers to supply tourism industry food needs has been viewed as a particularly important component of pro poor tourism development (Brohman, 1996; Torres and Momsen, 2004). There appears to have been limited attention paid by researchers to the potential for a productive synergy between tourism and agriculture in the Pacific Islands, and this is certainly offers a rich area for further research. Meyer (2008: 571-580) has provided a useful discussion on recurring problems preventing increasing inter-sectoral linkages between small farmers and tourism. Frequently highlighted problems include inadequate quality, reliability and volume of produce, lack of communication between sectors, as well as the monopolisation of tourism markets by a few deeply entrenched suppliers. For Meyer, *Oxfam Caribbean's* work in St. Lucia provides a model on how development practitioners can work together with governments, local producers and private ventures to increase agriculture-tourism linkages. A number of Oxfam's core activities are highlighted, including: support for local agriculture and tourism businesses on production, marketing, and purchasing; advice on policy framework at the national level and efforts to influence Caribbean trade policy at the regional level. A marketing company set up by *Oxfam Caribbean* is seen as critical in an attempt to foster cooperation and communication between the two sectors. To encourage hotels to purchase from local farmers, incentives are being developed including accreditation of hotels that buy locally, marketing material about the scheme to be used for hotel promotion, and tax benefits for those that contribute to poverty-reducing objectives (Meyer, 2008: 576-579).

Similarly, in their case study of tourism and agriculture in Cancun, Mexico, Torres and Momsen (2004) highlight a number of challenges and constraints to developing linkages to achieve pro-poor objectives. But they also identify a number of competitive advantages unique to local producers which would appear particularly relevant the context of Pacific nations. Such advantages include producers' proximity to urban markets which allow delivery of fresh produce without the need of packaging or refrigeration; environmental conditions which are well suited to the production of 'exotic' niche market items such as tropical fruits and specialty herbs; the growing number of "alternative" tourists who express a strong demand for locally produced and indigenous 'speciality' foods; as well as the persistence of communal and hereditary land-ownership systems among local populations (Torres and Momsen, 2004: 312). As with Meyer, Torres and Momsen underscore the necessity of government investment, training, organisation and the facilitation of private sector–farmer joint ventures to achieve the significant potential that exists in agricultural sectors (2004, 315).

2.4 Is small beautiful in the tourism sector?

Tourism academics have been debating the value of small-scale tourism for many years. This may be a particularly good option in the case of small island states which want to control possible negative impacts of tourism on their people and environments. Some suggest that small-scale tourism may enhance local ownership and control over tourism, increasing the likelihood that benefits stay within local areas and reduce leakages (Brohman, 1996; Cater, 1993; Guthunz and von Krosigk, 1996; Singh, 2003; Woodley, 1993). For example, Wilson (1997), discussing tourism in Goa prior to the growth of the charter-package trade found that small-scale entrepreneurs were able to effectively respond to the needs of domestic tourists and backpackers, and that the industry was characterised by "wide local ownership of resources and the broad distribution of benefits throughout the local community" (1997: 63). Although mass tourism can certainly contribute to community development (Thomlinson and Gertz, 1996; Dombroski, 2008), it is much easier for less powerful groups in society to meaningfully participate and take a controlling role in small-scale ventures than in large, capital intensive enterprises (Hampton, 1998). This ownership and sense of control are seen an important developmental benefits in their own right. In a psycho-social study of local perceptions of tourism in the Cook Islands, Berno (2003) notes that when resident communities feel they exert influence over tourism they are less likely to experience what others may see as negative social and cultural impacts. It has also been noted that the ability of women to influence tourism development increases substantially when ownership is concentrated at the household/firm level (Milne, 1998: 41).

Case studies of particular countries where small-scale tourism provides an important part of the tourism product have often been very positive. For example, Duval (1998: 44) explains how on St Vincent small alternative tourism ventures provide a number of advantages ranging from economic self-reliance and dynamism in response to market trends through to “a new awareness of resource management issues” and “positive socio-cultural interactions between hosts and guests”. Sofield has noted that the Sa people of Pentecost Island, Vanuatu and villagers on Mana Island in Fiji were successful in gaining a significant degree of economic and political empowerment through small-scale tourism activities due to a facilitating government environment (2003). More recently Scheyvens (2005, 2008) has provided a comprehensive case study of the flourishing of small-scale tourist development centred on basic beach huts in rural areas of Samoa. These Beach *fale* coexist with high class hotels and resorts, along with a range of middle-of-the-range hostels and motels, and provide numerous formal and informal sector jobs. Scheyvens (2005: 135) identifies significant social and cultural benefits of beach *fale* tourism, chiefly their role in effectively rejuvenating a number of rural villages, as well as enhancing local pride and reducing rural-urban migration. Beach *fale* have arisen as a mostly spontaneous response to growing tourist numbers and visitor feedback is consistently positive (Scheyvens 2005: 137). While the Samoan Tourism Authority has made efforts to actively market beach *fale* and runs NZAID funded training workshops to support owners, the contribution of beach *fale* enterprises to Samoa’s tourism development has been undervalued (Scheyvens 2005).

The facilitation of small-scale ventures fits with the well-founded competitive strategies for developing destinations focused on forms of tourism that have wide linkages with resources locally available and unique, such as cultural tourism (UNWTO, 2004b), agrotourism (Torres and Momsen, 2004) and rural tourism (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004). For Ritchie and Crouch (2000), destination competitiveness in developing countries results from a combination of the natural resource base, which makes a destination attractive to visitors, and the ability of the destination to effectively mobilize and deploy this resource base. In that regard, marketing to ‘alternative’ tourists who have intense interests in experiencing local cultures and lifestyles, but are not overly concerned with the physical built environment (Zhao and Ritchie, 2007: 16) has proved to be a fruitful strategy.

A logical extension of the implementation of such strategies is the development of domestic and diaspora tourism, as it has been noted that these forms of tourism are often much less resource intensive and thus helps build competitive elements in a gradual, manageable manner (Seckelmann, 2002, cited in Zhao and Ritchie, 2007: 15). Domestic tourism accounts for approximately 80% of world tourism flows (Boniface and Cooper, 1994: 56), and, as noted earlier in this report, has particular importance in Pacific countries with large diaspora populations, an increasing number of which are middle to high income earners (Scheyvens, 2007b: 308). However, as Scheyvens has noted, while diaspora tourism can bring extensive economic and social benefits to communities, this market is prone to be taken for granted by governments and overlooked in national and regional marketing strategies (2007b: 310-311).

Despite the potential benefits, few developing country governments have chosen to pursue a strategy that prioritises small-scale development. In a review of tourism development planning literature related to empowerment of local communities, Sofield (2003: 342) found that few texts advocate any real devolution of power or resources to communities. Rather, "the community is restricted to a reactive response to an external agenda" (Sofield, 2003: 324). Those governments that have moved beyond wholesale encouragement of mass tourism tend to be lured instead by notions of 'high-value, low-volume' upmarket tourism (Scheyvens, 2004: 132), such as luxury, boutique resorts. However, this may cause more environmental harm than small-scale tourism because of the heavy demands placed on land, water and energy (Ioannides and Holcomb, 2003). In addition, economic benefits are not always as high as they might seem as there can be heavy leakages associated with large-scale tourism through the heavy reliance on imported products, dependence on expatriate management staff and the repatriation of profits. Thus, notes Harrison: "In the Pacific, the more developed the tourism industry, and the more it caters for high-spending tourists in great numbers, the more likely it will be owned and operated by overseas interests" (2003: 7).

While Samoa has had success in developing small and larger scale tourism, there are often problems for individuals and local communities seeking to start small scale enterprises. As Burns has noted in the context of Fiji, "large foreign companies often thrive in an environment where small local ventures fail" (2003: 90). She cites 7 local tourism enterprises on the island of Beqa that have struggled to open and remain financially viable, largely due to their inability to raise sufficient capital for advertising compared to the larger, foreign-owned competition (2003: 90). Jamison *et al.* (2004: 12) stress that policies assisting local communities to overcome obstacles in developing and sustaining small and medium-sized tourist enterprises should be a "central focus" of governments pursuing sustainable development strategies; particularly in the areas of training and capacity building, helping in the development of business plans, providing micro-credit schemes and most importantly providing advice to small-scale enterprises. This was confirmed by Scheyvens' (2006b) desk study of NZAID's support to tourism in the region, which noted that a lack of business experience among local populations and poor access to credit were major constraints to local ownership and control of tourism enterprises.

Most South Pacific governments operate micro-finance schemes targeted at assisting the initiation of small scale ventures, however, access to this credit is still tied to collateral requirements, deposits and past records. As Milne (2007: 3) has noted, "The region is literally awash with entrepreneurial ideas and small tourism businesses that wish to expand and build their market presence. However, challenges of skills acquisition, access to finance and high operating costs often prevent small tourism enterprises from developing effectively". Access to credit can be problematic for a range of reasons. In case studies in Vanuatu, Samoa and Fiji, Taufatofua (2008) notes that micro credit-schemes can greatly exacerbate existing inequalities in indigenous communities, as women, youth and untitled men cannot access collateral, records or a village chief's permission to guarantee loans. In countries where land registration is an ongoing problem – such as Vanuatu and Fiji – it was found to be particularly difficult for urban-based men and women to secure loans (Taufatofua, 2008: 41). Further complexities can arise where loans for individual enterprises are guaranteed through land under customary tenure systems. Taufatofua (2008: 41) cites the example of the Samoan Development Bank's incremental system of lending to small scale enterprises, whereby small loans are initially given with a gradual increase in the amounts loaned as initial debts are paid off. These loans are usually guaranteed by the village *matai,* and problems have arisen where relationships within the village have become strained and guarantees are withdrawn after the operation has commenced.

It has been contested by some that small-scale tourism can deliver on the benefits noted above. A key problem is that small-scale initiatives are often not viable, being established without adequate attention paid to or resources to fund publicity and marketing, and lacking connections to mainstream tourist enterprises (Butler, 1990). Harrison (2003) and Sofield (2003) further point out that the relationship between tourism and community development is both complex and problematic, with the benefits often being secured by local elites and a small number with business experience. It has also been noted that while small-scale initiatives will eventually evolve over time, often into something that replicates conventional mass tourism (Butler, 1980; Doxey, 1975; William, 1982). And while it is important to recognise such constraints and limitations, it is also important to avoid dichotomous simplifications regarding the relative benefits of small and large scale tourism. Mass tourism, often based on large resorts dominated by transnational corporations, represents an important model of tourism development being implemented by less developed countries seeking to promote economic growth (Brohman, 1996; Ghimire, 1997; Cattarinich, 2001; Torres and Momsen, 2004). Torres and Momsen (2004: 310) argue that it is mass tourism that holds the greatest potential impact – both positive and negative – on the poor. As noted above, producing food for large resorts is a powerful means to integrate poverty alleviation into the mass tourism development. And as Meyer (2008: 577) points out, mainstream TNCs often provide competitive wages and greater additional employment benefits when compared to local businesses, and they often invest more in training and capacity building thus enhancing the employment opportunities of their employees. However, in highlighting these benefits it is also necessary to recognise that the specialisation of labour often means these jobs are located at the bottom of the organisational hierarchy, and that there is a general pattern of exclusion of indigenous participation from management and other areas of decision making that often works against the benefit of communities as a whole (Burns, 2003: 91).

The constraints to developing and sustaining small-scale enterprises can be compounded in the context of small island states (Pearce, 1987). Tourism development in small islands is often impeded by inadequate transportation links, lack of accessibility to remote locations, lack of appropriate skills and inadequate amounts of local capital (Harrison, 2003: 7). However, a few authors have noted that Pacific Islands are also uniquely placed to pursue diversified tourism sectors in which both mass and small-scale forms of tourism can be developed in such a way as to foster equilibrium between economic, environmental and sociocultural goals (Milne, 1997; Weaver, 2002; Harrison, 2003; Scheyvens, 2003). While most Pacific nations have indicated their desire for long-term growth and recognised the need for increased foreign investment in the tourism sector, there is also a strong desire that this growth is sustainable and proceeds in such as way that benefits of traditional ways of life are retained. For example, when Milne (1997: 289) examined the national development plans of Tonga, Vanuatu, Kiribati and Cook Islands, he found that in each case, the government stressed that tourism development should not progress at the expense of environmental sustainability or local culture and values. Moreover, the small size of these island states has made it easier to have cohesive tourism planning and policy-making practices which are flexible enough to incorporate indigenous values (Campling, 2006: 251). Indeed, the idea of "authentic otherness" (Harrison, 2003: 8) is one of the most persisting attractions of the Pacific for tourists from industrialised societies, and maximising small-scale local ownership in the tourism industry is a powerful means to sustain a material basis for unique forms of social capital. As Scheyvens notes, "Many tourists visiting the Pacific Islands are attracted by precisely the benefits small-scale, locally controlled tourism can offer: namely low to moderate prices, friendly service, genuine cultural experiences and basic accommodation in stunning locations" (2008: 145). However, if small-scale tourism is to be successful, it is important that governments provide an enabling environment through both support and regulations (Sofield, 2003: 346, Dahles and Bras, 1999).

2.5 Reaching the poorest

Some commentators, such as Ashley (2004: 10) have argued that pro poor tourism approaches are unsuited to reaching the poorest, since it is these people who have the fewest assets and are least able to engage with the commercial economy. It is argued that while the central focus of pro poor tourism is maximising the benefits of tourism to the poor, the specific distribution of benefits is often overlooked (Ashley *et al.*., 2001: 2). DFID (1999: 1) unambiguously states that not all people will benefit equally from pro poor tourism initiatives: "the 'fairly poor' are more likely to reap net benefits than the 'poorest', who lack the capital and skills to exploit the economic opportunities, but are more likely to suffer negative impacts on local resources." In response, authors such as Reid have argued that the "tourism industry urgently needs to address more directly the goal of distributive justice", particularly in the case of developing countries where "tourism is characterised by uneven development, ensuring erratic returns and unequal outcomes" (2003: 4).

A variety of strategies to 'make tourism more pro poor' have been put forward. These include:

- provision of training to the poor
- local sourcing
- micro credit schemes
- improving access to the industry
- roles for communities in decision making
- supporting community initiatives and local ownership
- directing investment to impoverished areas,
- and mitigating negative impacts away from the poor (Ashley *et al.*., 2000, 2001; Bauer et al., 2004; Cattarinich, 2001; DFID, 1999).

Others have stressed the need to recognise the limitations of pro poor tourism initiatives in alleviating extreme poverty, and instead point to the role of governments in fostering equity and developing redistributive policies (Schilcher, 2007: 73; Harrison, 2008). Harrison (2008: 858) for example argues that – as with development matters generally – the real impact pro poor tourism initiatives might have depends on the government's policy and planning strategy generally, and urges researchers and pro poor practitioners to pay more attention to the redistributive role of the state and the wider international system generally. In the absence of a national plan for development, it has been noted that private sector funded and organised community development initiatives are rarely effective in achieving substantial or long-lasting outcomes, and can sometimes have the unintended negative effect of "fostering a culture of dependence", allowing governments to further abdicate core responsibilities towards communities with long-term negative economic and political consequences (Ite, 2004: 10; Idemudia and Ite, 2006).

Similarly, early case studies of pro poor tourism show that 'trickle down' does not work, and that "a proactive interventionist approach is needed" whereby governments target the poor and establish legislation to back up affirmative action strategies (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004; Sofield, 2003; 351). Governments need to ensure that local people are empowered with appropriate knowledge and skills and access to networks, so they are not sidelined from active participation in tourism and adequate linkages can be established and maintained between tourism and other sectors so that economic opportunities are not lost

(Momsen, 1998; Torres and Momsen, 2004). Governments also need to find ways of supporting local industry through training and information, and through provision of a supportive policy environment (Scheyvens, 2005). For Sofield, meaningful empowerment requires a real transference of power and resources:

> *...on one hand empowerment must include as an essential characteristic the involvement of the state in setting conditions that will provide the environment for assigning real power to communities. On the other hand, it is essential that the community have the capacity to set the agenda for consideration of tourism development, have access to appropriate resources, and a concomitant ability to implement its decisions (2003: 340).*

Thus it is found that substantial poverty reduction was achieved on Pentecost Island in Vanuatu and Mana Island in Fiji where social forces of local communities combined with the political and legislative power of the state. In contrast, in the Solomon Islands, where a supportive policy environment was not forthcoming, local communities struggled to become involved in tourism (Sofield, 2003).

While tourism is already benefiting many South Pacific nations, there is much more that can be done to ensure the benefits of tourism are being spread more evenly throughout communities. Of particular importance are both fostering local ownership of small and medium sized tourism ventures, and building backward linkages between tourism enterprises and other sectors of the economy. These benefits cannot be assumed to arise, and the success of such initiatives is heavily dependent on a government's willingness to provide a facilitating policy environment that specifically targets the poor, and to establish policy frameworks and institutions that ensure ongoing support. While it is often difficult to ensure widespread income earning opportunities for individuals, communal benefits should always be built into tourism planning to ensure all sectors of a community gain some benefits. In this regard, customary land tenure systems provide a powerful basis for local involvement and participation in tourism enterprises. Exploring the developmental potential of traditional land tenure is the subject of the next section.

3. Land tenure & tourism

3.1 Developing tourism under different land tenure systems

In contrast to French Polynesia and New Caledonia, where land of indigenous people was generally commoditised during colonialism, the vast majority of land in many South Pacific countries today remains under customary land tenure systems. Boydell and Holzknecht (2002: 203) estimate that 83-100% of land in Tonga, Papua New Guinea, Fiji, the Cook Islands, Vanuatu, Niue and Kiribati is today under some form of customary tenure system. Indeed, land tenure is the dominant political issue in the South Pacific today, with disputes relating to customary ownership at the centre of almost all recent political upheavals evident throughout the region (Harrison, 2004: 3). Land tenure has also received much critical attention from development practitioners, with many commentators including some from development organisations seeing the persistence of these traditional and customary systems of land ownership as the primary impediment to development in the Pacific (Fallon and King, 1995; Jayaraman, 1999; de Soto, 2000; Hughes, 2004). Hughes (2004:4) for example claims that the institution of customary land is "the primary reason for deprivation in rural Pacific communities". While the system of customary land has food security benefits, this is said to be "at the cost of agricultural productivity and output". Similarly, Jayaraman (1999: 9) describes customary land tenure as "anachronistic in modern economies", and argues the effective supply of land is restricted by such systems with "adverse effects on long term investment plans". AusAID and the World Bank have in the past developed programs of land mobilisation and land registration, with the aim of shifting areas of land under customary title into the registered and indefeasible Torrens Title system (Anderson, 2005: 137). Economic arguments used to justify this type of land reform usually centre on the macroeconomic desirability of cash cropping, and the access to mortgage finance, as well as income from leases that could come to benefit local communities with registered land (Anderson, 2005: 137). Such arguments have apparently influenced the Samoan government, which has recently engaged in highly controversial land reform to facilitate foreign investment (Iati, 2009).

Other writers have countered these assertions, arguing that they represent a narrow development ethos wherein development is simply seen as access to technology, economic growth and an outward focus on meeting the needs of world markets (Fingleton, 2004, 2005; Bourke, 2005; Powell, 1994). Under such logic, communally held resources are seen as curse rather than a blessing, and individualisation of land holdings is the only way to appropriately 'develop' resources, with little appreciation of the value of traditional beliefs and institutions. The idea that land has ecological, social, cultural and spiritual values that both coexist with, and in many cases override the potential for commercial value is built into customary notions of land ownership (Bourke, 2005: 6). In addition, as Fingleton (2005: x) argues, there is a general lack of empirical evidence to support claims that customary land tenure impedes development, and a tendency to characterise customary ownership systems as stubborn, inflexible and backward-looking. This ignores the processes under which indigenous systems have actively recreated themselves over time to respond to different economic or political challenges and contexts.

There is a burgeoning literature challenging perceived wisdom on the unproductive and anachronistic character of commonly held, customary land tenure systems. For example Bourke (2005) argues that, rather than proving an impediment to development, customary tenures are a dynamic growth sector in Papua New Guinea. Over recent decades, he argues, agricultural production – both domestically-marketed food and export crops – has expanded steadily under customary tenures, but has mostly declined under registered titles. While in most other developing countries in the Asia/Pacific region rural poverty tends to be higher, this is not the case in the Pacific, largely because traditional subsistence agriculture based on collective land ownership is critical in underpinning a minimum standard of living for the poorest in rural areas (Abbot 2008: 9). Furthermore, Powell's (1994) observations of cropping patterns in Fiji suggest that traditional agriculture produces significantly less ecological deterioration than its commercial counterpart, while optimising both cash income and non-monetary 'cultural goods' so that "overall village welfare" is maximised. In addition, researchers have stressed that in many cases the economic benefits of individualised land tenure is not as great as first assumed. In a case study of indigenous rural communities in Papua New Guinea, Anderson (2006) found that the monetary return gained from market-value leases is often much less than the non-commercial value of subsistence food production, housing and community benefits gained through customary land tenure.

It is also important to note that in most Pacific Island states land owners can agree to lease customary land to the private sector, or work in joint venture arrangements with private tourism businesses, so customary land *can* be used effectively to pursue tourism development. Lightfoot (2005) has countered arguments regarding the economic benefits of freehold leases, arguing that the difference in value between a lease over customary land and a lease over a freehold is only minor in economic terms, but customary land provides much higher social benefits. Taking Fiji as his main example, he shows how a system based on the registration of customary tenures has underpinned investments ranging from sugar cane production to international tourist resorts, while at the same time providing a social safety net for villagers. Although Fiji's economic growth has been unimpressive, he attributes this to the fiscal, social and macroeconomic polices of successive governments, rather than the land tenure system, one he argues has "effectively addressed the issue of retaining customary ownership of land while meeting the needs of investors and financiers" (Lightfoot, 2005: 25).

Leasing of land to private developers certainly has proven and significant benefits for local communities, and is the basis of continued foreign investment in small island tourism (Sofield, 1996; Leah-Burns, 2003; Schilcher, 2007, 2007b). However disputes over land, access to land and its resources continue to be common, and involve not only tourism, but other forms of development (Harrison, 1997: 173-176). These disputes are often at the root of socio-political turmoil – particularly in Fiji, the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea – which is perhaps the most serious constraint to the development of tourism in the South Pacific. As Boydell and Holzknecht (2002: 203) point out, land is arguably the key asset that underpins Pacific peoples' cultural and social integrity. While there may be a need to strengthen the rights of individuals and ease the constraints of customary tenures in some circumstances, there is little political support to radically alter traditional land tenure systems (Fingleton, 2005: 34). This reflects the urgent need for understanding and developing long-term policy responses to these sensitive issues.

3.2 Ensuring fair benefits to customary landowners

Overall there is a lack of empirically based case studies focusing on the interface between customary land tenure and the international tourism industry, although some studies do point to relevant linkages and issues. Burns (2003) has provided a discussion of local reactions to the establishment of a Canadian owned resort on the Fijian island of Beqa. The lease of the Marlin Bay Resort was approved by the Native Land Trust Board in 1988, making it the first lease, and the first large-scale tourist development on Beqa. Burns reports that introduction of the resort had immediate and major impacts on Beqan communities. As she writes, while "Beqans initially reacted warmly toward the Marlin Bay Resort and its guests, among some sections of the community this later turned to resentment. In particular, those living near the resort feel it has negatively affected themselves of their kin" (2003: 91). While Beqans were earning money both through rent from the land site and through wages, Burns identifies two broad factors contributing to these negative feelings: (1) a perception that the benefits and financial rewards generated by the resort were not being distributed fairly throughout the community; and (2) the a feeling that communities were losing control over their local affairs through an exclusion from land, events, facilities at the resort. For Burns, this dissatisfaction occurred against the backdrop of a more general attitude common in Fiji that "because foreigners own much of the tourism infrastructure, there is significant diversion of funds away from the locals, and a belief that outsiders are profiting from locals' expense" (2003: 86).

Other authors have pointed out that such ill feelings are often more pronounced in countries with a "colonial memory" (de Kadt, 1979), but as Sofield has noted (2003: 234) a more immediate factor is the incommensurability in western and indigenous conceptions of land use: where a western lessee may consider leased land wholly alienated for a set period, indigenous communities still retain a cultural and spiritual connection with the land and retain certain rights and privileges derived from this connection. This is particularly so of the Marlin Bay Resort, which as Burns (2003: 84) notes was on a location of great historical importance to Beqans and was one of the very few places on Beqa suited to permanent cultivation. This feeling of exclusion, as well as discontent over working conditions at the resort, prompted thefts from the resort and tourists. Similarly, there were further disputes over the lease and use of waters within recognised fishing boundaries, with Beqans calling for a ban on night diving to reduce depletion of fish and other marine resources (Burns, 2003: 86).

Such problems are obviously not uncommon, and continue to be experienced elsewhere. Burns (2003: 91-92) further cites a major dispute over the management of lease money for Yanuca Island, on which Shangri-La's Fijian Resort is located, in which indigenous Fijian landowners lit fires along the access road to the resort for several days. The landowners were protesting that one individual, the trustee to the lease, received all the money, and revenue was not being spread evenly.

Foreign investors have also been reported to take advantage of disagreements over customary ownership, sometimes quickly selling off to third-party buyers and further frustrating disputes over the original sale (Stefanova, 2008: 2). Stefanova (2008: 2) cites the example of Efate Island, Vanuatu, where 90% of coastal land is reported to have been alienated. Foreign investment properties often enclose the foreshore and block coastal access for communities, and some developments have raised fences and gates to keep indigenous land owners from accessing the land. This form of development has become a source of tensions between ni-Vanuatu and expatriates, posing a significant threat to social cohesion and stability (Stefanova, 2008: 2). Corruption and lack of regulation over land alienation in Vanuatu has thus contributed directly to uneven development.

By contrast, Sofield (2003: 285-333) provides enlightening comparative case studies of indigenous participation in the development of tourism on Mana Island in Fiji, discussed earlier in this report, and the Anuha Island Resort in the Solomon Islands. The two resort developments were both under traditional land tenure, both were being developed under foreign (Australian) ownership, and neither community had experienced direct resort development on their lands before. Sofield explains that, in the case of Mana Island, tourism developed in a sustainable fashion and local communities were able to derive many benefits through meaningful participation in matters relating to the development and operation of the resort (2003: 323). In contrast, Anuha Island Resort was mired by conflict, and volatile relations between local villages and both resort management and tourists culminated in the eventual destruction of the resort by indigenous landowners. In explaining these different outcomes, Sofield (2003: 324) points to the roles of the respective government institutions charged with overseeing the process of development. In the case of Anuha, the Solomon

Islands Lands Commission's role was largely limited to ensuring a fair lease rate, and its legal role ceased after the negotiation of a start-up agreement. Thus, when the resort expanded and local landowners were displaced, a sacred site was violated, the seashore was eroded and a rainforest was destroyed, the SILC had no legal power to make any intervention. Conversely, the Fiji Native Lands Trust Board played a much more active role in pursuing the interests of landowners, one which did not cease with initial development but extended to any proposed expansion. This worked out better than in the Beqa case, discussed above. The Mana Island resort was required by law to have local representation on their board of directors, to employ and train members of the landowning population for labour needs and, crucially, maintain public access to beaches and marine resources of the shoreline by locals. This last point is seen as especially important by Sofield as it prevented any kind of 'lock-out' from leased land and allowed communities to continue their small-scale backpacker operations and guarantee their tourists access to prime beach locations (2003: 325).

In further contrast to the Anuha situation in which there were no appeal mechanisms, the NLTB also provided formal channels for the revision of the lease agreement, protecting the rights of both landowners and the developer. Although there was considerable friction between landowners and resort management during the early stages of development, Sofield explains this gradually moved beyond a negative state of affairs to a mutually adaptive pattern of negotiation and compromise as landowners became more empowered, to the point where the resort was strongly supported by locals and a proposed expansion was enthusiastically welcomed (2003: 327). For Sofield, this empowerment rests on two main foundations: a "facilitating government policy environment" enacted through the agency of the NLTB, and "the traditional land tenure system which has permitted co-residency with the resort and provided some of the local landowners with opportunities to exploit the resort/tourism system adroitly" (2003: 326).

Pacific leaders concerned with land rights could also learn from discussions in London in November 2004, where African leaders, researchers and international development agencies convened at the Land in Africa Conference to explore current thinking and experience with land tenure issues. While the geography of the African and Pacific regions is radically different, the regions share a long colonial history and a legacy of enforced land alienation. Among the key findings and conclusions of the conference were:

- land titling programs have proved to be slow, expensive and difficult to keep up-to date;
- registration of individual titles risks many secondary right-holders losing access to their land;
- the debate about land reform options is often argued in economic terms, but there are also many other dimensions which relate to stability, social cohesion, identity and equity;

- many policy options are available to governments and reforms should be tailored to different settings; and
- ways of securing land rights work best when based on tenure systems already known to the community concerned (*Sustainable Development Opinion,* 2005, cited in Fingleton, 2005: 35).

Other authors have chosen to pro-actively address some of the constraints of customary ownership. In an article entitled "Is Papua New Guinea Viable Without Land Tenure?", Fingleton (2004) has argued against the dominant perception that customary tenure is a form of 'communal' land ownership, and instead argues that customary tenures involve a balance between group and individual rights and obligations, and that individual land rights can be strengthened without the abolition of group ownership. While customary tenures cannot, by themselves, meet all the modern development requirements for long-term interests in land, Fingleton (2004: 110) emphasises the point that it is reform proposals targeted at achieving a balance between retaining the integrity of indigenous tenure systems and meeting the demands of private enterprise that have the greatest chance of making a long-term contribution to poverty alleviation. He argues that within PNG there is support for the selective introduction of a system involving registration of group titles in the first instance, with groups then granting registrable occupation rights to members and leases to non-members (Fingleton 2004: 112-114).

As Sofield's (2003) case studies demonstrate, large-scale tourism ventures can either thrive or fail within the context of customary tenure, but the outcome is largely related to the nature of national development planning, policies and regulation generally, rather than customary ownership itself. Contrary to assertions that customary rights to land are a barrier to development, experience in the South Pacific indicates that various types of traditional group arrangements have often been highly effective in agricultural production and tourism development while maintaining a balance between social and economic goals. Attempts at legislative reform to group ownership rights have often been met with strong expressions of public opposition, indicating that Pacific Island communities are going to continue to be reliant on these traditional structures for some time to come. This is a challenge to calls for the radical reform of land tenure systems in the South Pacific, and instead points to the need to positively engage with both the developmental advantages and constraints of customary ownership, based on a clear understanding of how land is owned and used in local contexts.

In the next section we turn to a discussion of some of threats to viability and growth of tourism in South Pacific countries.

4. Maintaining a viable and competitive product in the face of internal and external threats

While the employment generating power of the growth in global tourism has been dramatic, it is often noted that tourism is an industry uniquely sensitive to a variety of internal and external influences, such as natural disasters, terrorist activity, global economic downturn or simply changes in fashion (Telfer and Sharpley, 2008: 185). Between 2001 and 2004, up to 5 million jobs in tourism were estimated to have been lost worldwide when a crisis in world tourism was triggered by the September 11 terrorist attacks (Beddoe, 2004).

2009 has been a difficult year for tourism too. The UNWTO reports that while tourism is faring better than many other industries, the global economic downturn combined with additional uncertainties brought on by the influenza A(H1N1) will continue to take a heavy toll, with international travel expected to decline between 4 and 6 % in 2009 (UNWTO, 2009: 15). In these situations employment losses are usually most intensely concentrated among large numbers of lower-skilled and socially weaker workers (MacBeth and Warren, 2007: 48), and vulnerability to such factors can be compounded in small island developing states with a heavy reliance on tourism.

This section will discuss in turn three key forces impacting on the viability and competitiveness of Pacific Island destinations: environmental vulnerability, the global economic downturn, and political instability. While much attention has been focussed on the perceived vulnerability of Pacific nations, minimal attention has been paid to building resilience, or formulating strategies and policies to maintain a viable and competitive product in the face of such threats. This section will thus consider such strategies.

4.1 Environmental vulnerability

Of the 25 countries that suffered the greatest number of natural disasters during the 1970s and 1980s, 13 were SIDS (UNCTAD, 1997). Using data on export dependence, remoteness and proneness to natural disasters, Briguglio (1993) demonstrated that nine out of the ten most vulnerable countries were small island states. According to Pelling and Uitto (2001: 50), the South Pacific ranks as the second most disaster prone island group after the Greater Antilles. Tonga records the highest disaster frequency (55 for 1900-1997), with other Pacific islands – Fiji (41 for 1900-1997), Papua New Guinea (47 for 1900-1997) and Vanuatu (32 for 1990-1997), also scoring highly. Environmental vulnerabilities identified include the threat of sea level rise, with associated king tides, and the location of small islands in relation to phenomena such as cyclones, hurricanes and seismic activity which can lead to tsunamis (Briguglio *et al.*., 1996).

Apart from disasters, there are other environmental vulnerabilities associated with development of tourism. Tourism-based construction has been shown to be a major cause of beach erosion, siltation of lagoons and reef damage (McElroy& Albuquerque, 2002), and tourism as an industry places high demands on fresh water and energy sources, and enormous pressure on waste disposal systems (Thomas-Hope, 1998).

These views about economic and environmental fragility have been mirrored at major international meetings where the well-being of small island states is discussed, from the United Nations Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States in Barbados (1994), through to the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg (2002). Thus, at an Africa, Caribbean and Pacific Heads of States meeting in Gabon in 1997, a Pacific Island delegate titled their paper 'Vulnerability: A Pacific Reality' (Tevi, 1997). More recently, the widespread circulation of Al Gore's popular 2006 documentary film, *An Inconceivable Truth*, and the release of the Stern Review (2007), have been pivotal in reinvigorating concerns about human-induced global warming and associated sea level rises on small island states (Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008: 494).

While there is a extensive literature available on the environmental vulnerability of SIDS and impact assessments on the tourism industries (Briguglio, 1998; Pelling and Uitto, 2001; Moreno and Becken, 2009; Gössling *et al.*, 2008), very little of this is specifically related to the South Pacific. As destination competitiveness in the Pacific relies heavily on the natural resource base often centred on coastal areas most vulnerable to extreme events and sea-level rise, assessing the impacts of environmental disasters is of particular importance (Moreno and Becken, 2009: 473). Using the example of Fiji, Moreno and Becken (2009) argue that coastal areas are not only exposed and sensitive to climate change, but in many cases their adaptive capacity is low. They argue for the need for vulnerability quantification measures, and construct a comprehensive vulnerability assessment methodology. Their methodology is comprised of four key 'steps': "system analysis" (identifying various on-site tourist activities); "climate" (identification of key hazards related to each activity); "vulnerability" (identification of risk components of each activity); "integration" (construction of crisis management scenarios) and "communication" (communication to staff and relevant stakeholders). For the authors, such a methodology is particularly useful for coastal tourism as it allows tourism operators to cover all the tourism activities and relate them to the various dimensions of vulnerability.

On a broader industry level, Gössling *et al.* (2008) have drawn attention to the need for NTOs, regional tourism organisations and governments in developing countries to pay close attention to the effect that global climate mitigation policies and attendant cost increases in international travel will have on tourism industries. Noting that the development of a serious global climate policy framework to reduce aviation emissions will almost certainly lead to declining arrivals in some islands – particularly long haul destinations – Gössling *et al.* underscore the necessity developing alternative tourism development and marketing strategies. This includes a conceptual shift away from quantitative factors (i.e. the overall number of arrivals) and planning to be organised more on qualitative factors such as per tourist revenues, leakage, the level of salaries paid to employees, as well as the distribution and governmental use of tourism-derived income (2008: 896).

Other authors such Pelling and Uitto (2001) have focused on building resilience at the national and local level. They argue for the need for small islands to mainstream disaster resilience into general development policy formation, with disaster mitigation not seen as a separate policy realm. They argue that resilience is closely related to overall political, economic and social wellbeing, and those countries most at risk usually suffer from unstable economies and weak social democratic institutions (2001: 60). Locating significant vulnerability in small islands' remoteness and insularity, they also stress the need the development of regional cooperative frameworks, and for small islands to have their voices heard in such international fora as the WTO, the UN system and international climate change talks (2001: 61).

Tarplee (2008) and Pelling and Uitto's (2001) work, which is broadly informed by the burgeoning 'political ecology' literature, has been applied to vulnerability and natural disasters (e.g. Burton *et al.,* 1993). Within this perspective, vulnerability is seen as a product of exposure to natural disasters coupled with the capacity to prepare for, mitigate and recover from such a disaster. Thus, rather than attempting to control or avoid such shocks, resiliency emphasises the capacity to lessen the impacts and recover quickly from a disaster. Pelling and Uitto (2001: 52) add an important proviso to this understanding, arguing that it is critical that definitions of resilience do not focus so closely on local contexts that they neglect the ways local level vulnerability is often intimately interconnected with global economic and political processes, as well as with physical processes such as climate change which are global in scale.

4.2 Global economic downturn

It has been generally noted that, because of the high import levels and relative dependence on export markets characteristic of many SIDS, there is a significant degree of vulnerability to global economic conditions (Briguglio, 1995: 1616; Pelling and Uitto, 2001). As yet there has been no published research on how Pacific Island governments have responded to current or previous world recessions. On a regional level, South Pacific tourism seems to have proven more resilient than other destinations. While UNWTO (2009: 4) reported a 1% decline in travel to Asia and the greater Pacific in the last half of 2008, SPTO reported 3% growth in travel to the South Pacific throughout 2008 (SPTO, 2008: 6). There was significant variability in this growth however, French Polynesia suffering a 10% decline, reflecting the dependence of markets in Northern economies such as Europe, USA and Japan which have been most severely impacted by the recession (SPTO, 2008: 6). This figure also conceals variability in local economic performance. For example, while Fiji experienced an 8% increase in visitor arrivals between 2007 and 2008, GDP dropped by more than 4% in 2007, reaching only 1.5% in 2008 after a budgeted forecast of 2.2% growth (Naryan and Prasad, 2008: 7). While the interim government pinned much of its hopes for economic recovery on a revived tourism sector, high levels of leakage combined with underperforming secondary and tertiary sectors indicated that increased tourist arrivals did not result in significant increases in tourism earnings in 2008 (Narayan and Prasad, 2008: 17).

Pacific nations with core markets in New Zealand and Australia have fared better than other South Pacific destinations, however, the SPTO warns of a challenging 2009 as the effects of the recession are more deeply felt in these countries, with Fiji said to be experiencing particularly difficult market conditions in the first half of 2009 (SPTO: 2008: 6). The UNWTO projects a traveller decline of 6% for the Asia and Pacific Region in 2009 (UNWTO, 2009: 5). This is similar to the decline forecast by Fiji's Reserve Bank, but actual data for the first quarter of 2009 indicates they are 23% down on arrivals (Frazine Dutta, Reserve Bank of Fiji, June 11 2009: personal communication). Meanwhile the Managers of several resorts approached in mid-2009 noted that lower than normal occupancy rates had led them to either reduce their full time staff by up to one third, or put all staff on reduced hours (e.g. 3 days on, 3 days off) (Scheyvens' fieldnotes, June 2009).

In 2008 the SPTO announced they were taking some initial steps to maintain competitiveness, specifically stepping up their marketing of short-haul destinations and increasing market intelligence provision for member countries (SPTO, 2008: 4).

In its recent report, "Tourism in Crisis: Roadmap to Recovery", the UNWTO (2009b) has underlined the importance of tourism providing short-term stimulus and broad multiplier effects on different sectors of national economies. The report specifically stresses the need for increased investment in tourism and various activities governments and tourist organisations can take to stimulate demand and facilitate travel. These can be broadly summarised under four key headings:

- *Monetary and Fiscal Measures:* Many countries have taken monetary and fiscal measures to ease the pressure on businesses and consumers. Specific measures in this area include the reduction or suspension of specific taxes such as the reduction of landing fees at airports or the decrease or suspension of taxes in accommodation or restaurants, as well as providing special credit lines and micro finance schemes to tourism operators (UNWTOb, 2009: 11-12).

- *Increased Private Public Partnerships (PPPs):* The UNWTO urges for the need for increased PPPs between local tourism industries and financial institutions and the corporate sector in times of financial downturn. Such partnerships include financial support for the expansion/maintenance of airline capacity; the organization of co-promotional activities with airlines, hotels, tourist operators and travel agents, including value-added/discounted packages; and discounts or special offers in products, leisure activities, restaurants, and tourism attractions (UNWTOb, 2009: 15).

- *Marketing measures:* Most of the measures cited in this area relate to increased funding for destination marketing by governments and regional tourism organisations. Measures in the marketing area include the promotion of domestic destinations and the encouragement of local visitors to make short trips "at home"; discounts on entrance fees in local attractions and facilities; and the promotion of value added or reduce price packages in major source markets (UNWTOb, 2009: 13)

- *Regional Cooperation:* Some governments have focused on the enhancement of regional cooperation through the development and the promotion of tourism products and destinations by taking advantage of easy cross border transit among neighbouring countries. Regional cooperation measures include the development and promotion of multi-destination itineraries, co-marketing activities, as well as the creation of platforms to share information on key markets (UNWTOb, 2009: 17-18)

In the wake of the recession many countries have implemented some of these stimulus measures in an effort to sustain demand, support tourism enterprises and maintain/increase employment. In March 2009, Madrid pledged $1.3 billion to modernize Spain's tourism infrastructure in an effort to fight off competition from destinations like Turkey and Egypt, which have become more competitive as the euro has appreciated (Adams, 2009: 2). Other governments have focused also on stimulating domestic travel. In China, local authorities have distributed domestic-travel coupons nationwide (Adams, 2009: 2), and the Australian government have launched a campaign entitled "No Leave No Life", in which Australian workers are encouraged to use some of their 123 million days of stockpiled annual leave for holidays in Australia (UNWTOb, 2009: 13). The most common strategy however seems to be simply lowering prices and demonstrating value for money. Thus in the Southeast Asian market, governments in countries like Thailand and Malaysia have reduced visa fees and worked with airlines, hotels and tourist sites to reduce prices (Adams, 2009: 3). France has lowered its VAT rate for restaurants from 19.6% to 5.5% in time for the high tourism season (UNWTOb, 2009: 11).

Tourism Fiji is carrying out "tactical marketing" within New Zealand and Australia focused on drawing attention to the competitive value offered by the depreciation of the Fijian dollar, and have developed a joint venture $1 million print and advertising campaign to promote the release of specially-priced package holidays (Fijian Government, 2009). Fiji further launched a "Backpackers/Flashpackers Month" campaign in August, a recognition of the resilience of backpacker and youth markets to economic downturn (see below). This initiative included promotion in Australia and New Zealand and discounted airfares in partnership with Air Pacific. In a joint scheme with Air New Zealand, the Cook Islands have rebranded themselves as a "Recession-Free Oasis", offering "romantic and secluded escapes" for middle and high-income earning New Zealand couples (Cook Islands Tourism, 2009). While there is little information detailing how Pacific Islands have responded to the tourism downturn (beyond what is available on national tourism organisation websites), aside from these initiatives it would appear most destinations have not been proactive in reformulating their promotional strategies to reflect these changing conditions.

While there are no regional or local analyses currently available on South Pacific nations' responses to a volatile international travel market, the stimulus measures promoted by the UNWTO and implemented in other countries may serve as a broad framework for such an analysis. Of particular relevance to the South Pacific will be the capacity to cooperate regionally, and to adjust marketing campaigns to reflect changing conditions and maintain competitiveness in reachable markets. Initial trends indicate that Fiji will face a low to medium reduction in visitor numbers throughout 2009 (Tourism News, 2009) which will likely exercise a major impact on an already faltering economy. Other destinations may do better however. It has been noted that demographics either side of the 30-50 family market are typically more resilient in times of economic downturn (Everitt, 2009: 1). As Tony Everitt, CEO of SPTO, puts it: "Backpackers don't generally yet have mortgages and stock portfolios to worry about and are less phased by economic fluctuations. At the other end of the age spectrum retirees are largely freehold therefore perhaps also more resilient. Other special interest markets [such as] diving, fishing, surfing, bird-watching may also be more resilient than the mainstream family market." (2009: 1).

To take one such example, backpackers, and what may be broadly referred to as 'alternative' markets, are substantial in many South Pacific destinations. Earlier in this report it was noted that such groups make up 34% of travelers to the region. The fact that the South Pacific caters to diverse array of tastes, interests and budgets makes it well-placed to take strategic advantage of resilient sectors. As backpackers tend to spend less than more mainstream or family markets, their value is not typically reflected in macro-economic indicators. But as Scheyvens has argued: "The importance of backpacker spending cannot be measured simply by the total amount of they spend: rather, it is magnified due to the fact that much of the money they spend stays within communities" (2006: 81). Backpackers tend to spend more on locally-produced goods and services thus minimizing leakages commonly associated with resorts whereby most goods are imported and profits are sent overseas (Scheyvens, 2006: 82). In this regard, and from a pro poor tourism perspective, backpacker and other alternative markets will likely continue to benefit local communities even as large-scale and more upmarket tourism operations struggle. However, taking full advantage of these opportunities would require strategic, consistent commitment from governments and regional marketers centered on a wise deployment of competitive advantages. While Fiji has recently shown some interest in specifically targeting backpackers, building a consistent and stable market requires concerted and long-term efforts (Jarvis, 2009), and as Scheyvens (2006) has noted, there is a general tendency for national tourism organisations to overlook backpackers in favour of developing higher-class facilities.

With regard to resilience of tourism destinations, it has been noted by Tarplee (2008: 149) that much of the literature relating to the effects of disasters on small island economies is focused on macroeconomic impacts and the responses of industry leaders and governments, and there have been comparatively few studies in which the impacts of tourism downturns include responses at a household and community level. In the case of Bali after the 2002 bombings, she notes that the most vulnerable turned out not to be those employed by large companies and hotel chains – who were able to some extent to absorb the shock – but rather those at the peripheries of the tourism industry: part-time and causal employees, informal workers, as well as the 'suppliers' of tourist businesses such as those involved in farming and agriculture (2008: 158). Vulnerability was found to be highest in urban areas, as individuals had fewer opportunities to 'fall back' on the income of family members than their rural counterparts (2008: 159). For Tarplee: "Diversity of income sources was one of the most effective preventative mechanisms for reducing vulnerability" (2008: 161). Further, as tourism generally has significant linkages with other economic sectors, any effort to build resilience or counteract the economic impacts of unforeseen shocks must take into account the effects in other industries and regions that may supply goods and services to tourism regions (Tarplee, 2008: 160).

4.3 Political Instability

The interdependence between political stability and tourism success has been widely recognised (Burns, 1995, Sonmez, 2000, Rao 2002). Violent crime, terrorism, political upheaval and socio-political turmoil in particular threaten the viability of tourism destinations. A cross-national study by Neumayer (2004) found that, on average, incidences of political violence can lower tourist arrivals in the long-term by up to one quarter, whereas more general political instability can affect a long-term decrease between one fifth and one quarter. Destinations with minimal product differentiation and high levels of competition – such as South Pacific destinations – were found to be vulnerable to more significant decreases (Neumayer, 2004: 271). As Richter notes, "Developing nations must be concerned not only with actual instability, but also perceived threats to and political relations with tourist-generating nations" (1994: 34). While peace and safety are prerequisites for the success of any tourism destination, small islands are said to be particularly vulnerable as they are viewed by tourists (and presented in marketing campaigns) as offering a harmonious, relaxed and idyllic holiday experience. For Sonmez: "Destinations interested in attracting foreign visitors depend heavily on visitor perceptions of stability and peace. For islands in particular, long-term economic viability is directly tied to stability and security" (2000: 179).

There is evidence that political instability in one country can also have prominent spillover effects on a regional level (Neumayer, 2004: 272). The 2002 terrorist bombing in Bali not only had devastating economic consequences for the island's economy, which at that time depended tourism for some 40% of direct employment – it also lowered visitor arrivals throughout Indonesia (Telfer and Sharpley, 2008: 185). In 1985, when the Kanaks of New Caledonia begun seeking their independence from France, the ensuing political unrest also became associated with their nearest island neighbour, Vanuatu. Because Vanuatu had not yet developed an independent destination image, "There was confusion in many tourism source countries whether Vanuatu was or was not part of New Caledonia and Vanuatu's tourism industry suffered accordingly" (Hall, 1996).

As Sonmez (2000: 179) points out, chronic instability in small island states is closely related to geopolitical status. Most islands burdened by endemic socio-political unrest are island states (e.g. Fiji, Haiti, Philippines) or independent commonwealths (e.g. the Bahamas, Jamaica) that suffer ongoing problems – such as foreign dependency, lack of self-determination and racial and ethnic conflict – which are often directly related to their colonial pasts.

The South Pacific has certainly been prone to political instability and this has been reflected in the marked fluctuations in tourism arrival trends. Burns (1995) notes that one of the problems Pacific Island states face is the "sensitivity of tourism to political instability", citing examples of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, where political unrest and poor political relations adversely affected tourism in the 1980s. Table One shows that Tonga experienced a sharp decline in tourist arrivals following violent pro-democracy riots in 2006, during which a number of tourists were evacuated on Australian military jets (World Tourism Directory, 2006). Similarly, more recent ethic conflict in the Solomon Islands between 1997 and 2002 severely crippled that country's nascent industry, which has only recently begun to recover (see Table One). Rao (2002) estimates that the 1987 and 2000 coups in Fiji resulted in the loss of six years growth in visitor arrivals, and had a major negative impact on tourism product development and delivery. The effects on the Fijian tourism sector following the December 2006 coup – although relatively moderate compared to earlier periods of political turmoil – had an immediate impact; hotel occupancy falling to 25 per cent and the country losing some NZ$1.3 million a day in tourist expenditure (TVNZ, 2006, cited in Telfer and Sharpley, 2008: 186). Note that section 4.4, below will cover crisis management strategies that can be developed in response to economic or political crises.

Drawing broadly from crisis management literature, Ritchie (2003) has provided a strategic framework for crisis management in the tourism industry which extends from proactive pre-crisis planning, strategic implementation and post-crisis evaluation and feedback. While he notes that major crises and disasters usually cannot be stopped, in many cases there is significant scope to limit their impacts by the coordinated actions of governments, regional tourism organisations and private sector managers. He particularly stresses the need for well-planned and organised crisis strategies to prevent or limit the "ripple effect" or outward impacts spanning different organisations and sectors (2003: 672). For Ritchie, a comprehensive strategic management framework consists of:

1. A pre-event stage allowing risk analysis and the development of strategy and plans.

2. A stage immediately before or after a crisis or disaster occurs which requires the implementation of strategies to deal with its impacts.

3. Continued implementation of strategies to control or reduce the severity of the crisis/disaster.

4. A long term recovery or resolution phase allowing for evaluation and feedback into future prevention and planning strategies for destinations and businesses (2003: 673).

Obviously, in each of these stages there needs to be flexibility, evaluation and modification to strategy development and implementation depending on the nature of the crisis. The ability to forecast potential problems and broadly predict their impacts on tourism and other sectors by reference to similar past events is seen as foundational to efficient and effective crisis management (2003: 674). Richie emphasises the need for the formation and adequate resourcing of crisis management units or teams comprised of representatives from local government, travel and tourism industry professionals and community leaders which can provide leadership and coordination during a crises, and fulfil risk analysis, advisement and planning functions in times of peace. Such groups should be widely representative of different tourism stakeholders, as "being able to minimise the impact of a crisis or disaster on internal and external and internal stakeholders and understanding the relationship between these stakeholders is critical" (2003: 679). As part of strategic implementation, Ritchie (2003: 675) also stresses the need for a detailed communications strategy. Co-operation with the media is considered vital as public opinion is obviously the major determinant of the short and long term impact a crisis will have on tourism. Rebuilding credibility and restoring the image of a destination is vital.

While there is a general lack of literature related to tourism and crisis management in the South Pacific, there are a few discussions available on tourism recovery strategies implemented in the contested state of Fiji (Rao, 2002; King and Berno, 2001, 2002). King and Berno (2001, 2002) provide a critical assessment of the "crisis action plans" implemented by the Fijian government in the aftermath of the 1987 and 2000 coups. Although the impact on tourist arrivals was severe, the quick and 'bloodless' nature of the two coups in May and September 1987 allowed the tourism industry to focus on its recovery strategy. Although there was little evidence of pre-planning, King and Berno point out that, like many Pacific Nations, Fiji's long established procedures to deal with emergencies like cyclones meant authorities were well resourced to implement crisis management quickly and skilfully (2002; 49). A crisis management team comprised of industry representatives called the Tourism Action Group (TAG) was immediately formed within the Fijian Visitors Bureau (FVB). The sole purpose of TAG was to arrest the decline in visitor arrivals to Fiji as quickly as possible and they were granted an F$500,000 emergency grant to assist in marketing and crisis management (King and Berno, 2002: 51). This accords with the need for more resources to be devoted to marketing, as noted in the UNWTO's 'Tourism in Crisis: Roadmap to Recovery' plan mentioned earlier. TAG's recovery strategy primarily consisted of rebuilding destination image, trade representative familiarisation visits from main markets and marketing special airfares and packages to those markets, and they also conducted extensive lobbying for the removal of travel warnings and union bans from New Zealand and Australia (King and Berno, 2001: 79).

TAG was disbanded eleven weeks after its establishment when there was evidence of recovery as a result of its strategies, and a recovery to pre-coup arrival numbers was realised by the end of 1988 (King and Berno, 2002: 58) Given the experience and usefulness of this approach in recovery efforts, the TAG model was quickly adopted again in 2000 to "try to counter the negative publicity of the crisis with our source markets and to formulate a recovery plan for tourism" (TAG, 2001, cited in Rao, 2002: 421) The loss of tourism revenue reached an estimated F$8.5million in the first month after the 2000 coup (excluding earnings by the national airline Air Pacific), and the hotel sector suffered 44% reduction in employment (King and Berno, 2002: 50). TAG secured F$5 million (F$3.6 million from public sector contributions and $1.35 million from local industry) for a recovery campaign which included:

- Seeking the services of a public relations and media management consulting firm to assist in the management of a recovery programme;
- Lobbying the governments and unions in Fiji's key markets against sanctions and travel warnings on Fiji;

- Coordination of advertising and promotional activities in proven media outlets in Fiji's key markets; and
- Devising special recovery fare packages (TAG, 2001, cited in King and Berno, 2002: 50).

While this overall strategy was generally similar to that enacted in 1987 (albeit with a significantly higher level of funding), the severe nature of the political turmoil and social unrest in 2000 called for a change in tactics. Unlike the 1987 coup, which was relatively non-violent, 10 people lost their lives in 2000, and the advancement of internet technology made a controlled communications plan almost impossible, with graphic images of unrest and violence projected to millions across the globe (King and Berno, 2002: 51). A key factor that facilitated the recovery plan in 2000 was the speed at which the tourism industry was able to collectively respond by reconvening TAG: "Within a week of the coup, industry players had met, leading the rapid reformation of TAG and the formulation and operationalisation of a recovery strategy" (King and Berno 2002: 57). The facilitation of effective collaboration between the public and the private sector to promote a single product rebranding campaign and disseminate a singular message with consistent responses was also seen as critical (2002: 57). However, the prolonged nature of the crisis (hostages were kept for 56 days) meant that promotional activities could not begin until the political situation became stable enough to allow the lifting or down-grading of travel advisories (King and Berno, 2002: 51). During this period TAG lobbied vigorously for the lifting of travel advisories and undertook a range of public relations activities preparing Fiji for the recovery programme. The most significant of these was a quasi-nationalistic "Spirit of Fiji" television campaign targeted at indigenous communities, highlighting the human effects of the tourism downturn and appealing for the local population's help to rebuild the image of a "friendly Fiji islands" (King and Berno, 2002: 51).

For Rao, the experience of TAG demonstrates that, "when industry stakeholders come together, the impacts of political crises can be minimised and the tourism industry can recover rapidly" (2002: 422). A slow increase in arrivals began around the third quarter of 2000, some four months after the coup, and continued throughout 2001 on a monthly basis, despite ongoing political unrest including an attempted military mutiny resulting in several deaths (King and Berno, 2002: 56). Despite the endemic and prolonged nature of the political crisis, TAG was able to successfully instigate a revival of tourism in Fiji (King and Berno, 2002: 55). In 2002, King and Berno could presciently advise that "Fiji would be well advised to consider what should be done to deal with the *next* coup, not make plans *in case* there is a coup" (2002: 56 – emphasis in original), and advocate the mainstreaming of such crisis management plans into more general national and regional frameworks of disaster preparedness.

The fact that visitor arrivals continued to increase soon after the 2000 coup in Fiji reflects Neumayer's findings indicating that the majority of tourists are generally unconcerned with political instability providing security can be guaranteed (2004: 273). This "success" however needs contextualisation. Industry employment suffered dramatic and long-term impacts, with a substantial number of hotel employees remaining unemployed as occupancy rates slowly increased (King and Berno, 2002: 56). Political unrest ensuing in the Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea conveyed an impression of regional instability, and further compromised the 'South Pacific brand' (Sonmez, 2000: 175). Although by the end of 2001 visitor arrivals in Fiji had increased 18.3% over 2000, this still represented a 15.4% decline from 1999 arrivals and a 18.7% decline over 2000 projected arrivals (Rao, 2002: 421). Plotting growth trends in world tourism throughout the 1990s, Rao estimates Fiji lost six years of compounded growth as a result of the 1987 and 2000 coups (2002: 421), as well as six years of tourism product development and delivery through damaged investor confidence (2002: 424). Heavy investment in the initial recovery plan and in the longer-term rebuilding of the tourism sector, while welcomed by the tourism industry, further directed investment away from already waning sugar and manufacturing industries, and Fiji's economy declined further and began lagging behind many of its Pacific neighbours (Prasad and Narayan, 2008: 6).

Teye's (1988) Impact Model, which has been used to describe the impacts of military coups on tourism, notes that tourism development in development countries relies on effective programmes and policies of a strong and effective national tourism organisation (NTO) (1988: 344, cited in Rao, 2002: 417). Applying his model to Ghana, he concludes that military governments usually produce weak and ineffective NTOs. Rao however points out that the coups in Fiji had the opposite effect, producing greater commitment and directing more resources to the NTO – the FVB (2002: 417). He attributes this to the high degree of political capital to be gained by a successful tourism industry – in Fiji nationalistic sentiments are closely aligned with tourism and despite the high degree of foreign ownership the industry is very much regarded as a 'Fijian Industry' (2002: 418). But the South Pacific brand, and the viability of Pacific island tourism generally, is built on a romanticised image of friendly people, pristine locations, exotic cultures, and a leisurely and peaceful tourism experience. As such, the most effective crisis management strategy will address "the historical factors and events, and vested interests associated with them" at the roots of endemic political instability (Rao, 2002: 426).

In summary, it is possible to identify a number of issues particularly relevant to Pacific Islands which directly threaten both the viability and competitiveness of the tourism industry in particular countries. While these issues are not unique to tourism in the South Pacific, a number of factors – geographic, economic and political – can greatly enhance the impact of unforeseen shocks. However, there is significant scope for governments to lessen and contain these impacts, but this requires a strategic, holistic and proactive approach to crisis management based on resilience building. Such an approach requires both an identification of the complex and interconnected elements of risk and vulnerability, as well as the mainstreaming of resilience building into general development policy. It also requires that Pacific states have their voices heard on the international stage. Regional cooperation by island leaders could help them to gain more international recognition for their shared vulnerabilities and interests. The manifestations of regional tourism cooperation are the subject of the next section.

5. Regional Framework: institutions driving tourism development

5.1 South Pacific Tourism Organisation/South-pacific.travel

In recent years, the need for integrative planning and regional cooperation amongst developing countries seeking to sustainably grow their tourism industries has been increasingly acknowledged by academics and practitioners (Fagence, 1995; Timothy, 1998; Ritchie and Crouch, 2000; Sofield, 2003; Milne, 2008). Regional cooperation is seen as particularly important for small island states facing constraints such as remoteness, a small population and economy, and lack of resources. Potential benefits from regional cooperation and partnerships range from information and data sharing; improved regional travel facilitation and cross-border transit; increased human resources development; technical cooperation; disaster preparedness; regional/sub-regional cooperation and joint projects; general networking and communication; increased resources for collaborative destination marketing, and improved coordination in individual product design (Timothy, 1998; Zhao and Ritchie, 2007). As Zhao and Ritchie note (2009: 14-16), a key impediment for developing tourism in impoverished countries is a low resource base compared with other richer, more established destinations, and therefore interregional cooperation and resource sharing is a core strategy in growing destination competitiveness.

The SPTO (South Pacific Tourism Organization) is the region's key tourism body, and it is comprised of 12 member Pacific countries. Formed from an informal association of South Pacific national tourism organizations in 1986, the SPTO was until recently funded almost entirely by the European Union, and now receives the bulk of its funding from private sector members (a selection of which sit on the Board of Directors) and fees paid by member governments. This change also saw SPTO adopt a trading name 'south-pacific.travel', which promotes the importance of online technology to their core business. Its current mission is to market and develop tourism in the South Pacific. The main services include:

- advising member governments on tourism policy
- facilitating foreign investment
- convening regional meetings for member countries and tourism ministers
- providing a policy platform for the industry
- developing and coordinating regional marketing.

Historically the activities of the SPTO have resulted in many significant benefits for South Pacific tourism, most notably in human resource and marketing development through the EU funded Regional Tourism Development Program, which as Sofield (2003: 187) writes, "brought economies of scale to bear on tourism development and promotion…and provided a wide range of materials and services which would have been beyond the scope of any one individual country", leading to an "increased sophistication" in the ability of island countries to maximize the benefits they gained from tourism.

However, some authors (Sofield, 2003; Schilcher, 2007, 2007b) have pointed to structural constraints which have limited both the developmental capacity of the SPTO, as well as preventing it from fulfilling a truly regionally representative function. Milne (2007: 4) identifies a "continued lack of regional approach to the industry", with "most tourism industries in the region preferring to 'go it alone'". In examining the South Pacific's cooperative efforts in tourism, Sofield (2003: 167) notes that, generally, intergovernmental cooperation has focused on limited, functional programs that have been "initiated, developed and continued for as long as that cooperation has served, preserved and/or extended national interests". Following Nye's (1968) typology classifying regionalism into five stages (one being the lowest end of the spectrum), Sofield places the South Pacific at the "middle to upper end of stage three", meaning, "there is a fairly effective degree of limited functional cooperation" (2003: 170). Restrictions tied to EU funding initially prevented tourism development programs from being extended to islands with constitutional links with other nations, such as the Cook Islands, American Samoa, Niue, the Marshall Islands and Palau, rendering these countries unable to participate in development projects administered by the SPTO (Sofield, 2003: 183). These funding restrictions were also seen to problematise the SPTO's relationships with non-European countries and organisations, effectively blocking participation from New Zealand, Australia, Japan and Hawai'i in SPTO activities (Sofield, 2003: 184). While the SPTO was able to subcontract limited work to regional agencies, in practice this rarely occurred, and European nationals were almost exclusively employed. Sofield cites a number of cases where conflict arose after inappropriate "experts" were employed for major development initiatives – one notable example being a Danish filmmaker with no previous experience or knowledge of Pacific culture being appointed to make 9 promotional films on tourism education for local audiences (2003: 184). There were also concerns raised regarding the predominance of European technical experts on the Organisation's Secretariat, who "continued to exert influence over its direction and activities" (Sofield, 2003: 185).

Notwithstanding the accomplishments of the SPTO, authors such as Sofield, (2003) and Schilcher (2007, 2007b) highlight a neo-colonialist outlook evident in the particular forms of development prioritised by EU donors. Schilcher (2007b: 254) cites from the final review of the Pacific Regional Tourism Development Program (PRTDP) conducted by Cleverdon Associates in 2003. Interviews with government associates, consultants and large and medium business owners revealed "an overall luke-warm to negative opinion regarding any perceived benefits of the PRTDP" (Cleverdon Associates, 2003, cited in Schilcher, 2007b: 254). Interviewees from the more developed tourism destinations (Fiji and French Polynesia predominantly) were much more positive than smaller states, "indicating that the more developed a country is the more it is able to gain benefit from a regional organisation" (Cleverdon Associates, 2003, cited in Schilcher, 2007b: 254). Schilcher provides an analysis of the development of the PRTDP, arguing that the 'development' dimension targeted at growing small operators ceased mid-way through the Program, giving over to an overarching focus on large industry growth through SPTO marketing and promotion. This one-sided focus on larger enterprises was a cause of significant dissatisfaction among less-developed destinations, with the Papua New Guinea Tourism Authority protesting that "the kind of promotion and marketing the SPTO has done with European Union money has been mainly for big tourist operators and hotels", and openly threatening to withdraw from the SPTO (Schilcher, 2007b: 256).

Both Schilcher and Sofield stress that this increasingly 'industry-first' focus was not always a direction favoured by the SPTO or Pacific governments (with the possible exception of Fiji and New Caledonia), but rather point to a lack of policy ownership as a natural concomitant to aid dependency, a point that has been made in the few other studies on regional tourism organisations in the global South (Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Gössling, 2003). This is not a matter of crude policy 'imposition' however; for Schilcher, 'performance criteria' related to aid distribution "induced aid recipients to be in sync with its donor's interpretation or ideology on how 'development' was best achieved" (Schilcher, 2007b: 257). And for Sofield: "The deeply embedded European Community presence in the delivery of tourism aid funds to the Organisation means that peripheral governments may have little room to manoeuvre", leading to a "bending of the South Pacific's tourism development in directions not always preferred by recipient countries" (2003: 188-189).

While the cessation of EU funding has removed some of these direct influences, the general path of the SPTO's core activities does not appear to have altered. Now heavily reliant on private sector donors, Schilcher argues that the SPTO has adopted an even stronger 'industry-first' approach. Schilcher (2007b: 252) quotes a SPTO official after the cessation of PRTDP, who said the Organisation was "no longer involved in 'development projects' as such, our approach is now facilitation (i.e. investment, marketing and capacity building of country NTOs)". Schilcher's interviews with SPTO officials indicate that this was not necessarily a favoured direction, but is more attributable to increased pressures of meeting private sector funders' priorities and turning the organisation into a commercially viable and self-sustaining entity.

By 2006, the SPTO had attracted 146 private sector members, the majority from capital-intensive ventures, and 50% of which were based in Fiji (Schilcher, 2007b: 232). This change in structure was seen to induce a further bias against the interests of small enterprises and less developed countries (Schilcher, 2007b: 262). While the SPTO has published a tourism enterprise tool-kit targeted at small and medium size ventures (Milne, 2007: 3), the Organisation's annual membership fee (NZ$280) as well as additional fees charged for the majority of its marketing activities, potentially puts such resources beyond the reach of many small-scale operators. It is worth noting that, according to Schilcher (2007b: 253), the 'user-pays' system was "adopted regretfully" by the SPTO, and the fees were originally targeted at the larger organisations, with smaller ventures to be supported through donor funding. While the SPTO does offer some targeted support to small and medium size enterprise, its predominant role "has become to primarily assist in creating a favourable environment for business, namely through its investment, training and marketing services" (Schilcher, 2007b: 264).

In this way the dependence of the SPTO on EU and then private sector funding constituted both empowerment as well as elements of disempowerment in terms of regional tourism development. While Schilcher almost certainly overstates the situation when she contends the impact of the SPTO's past activities on the poor "has been neutral at best if not negative" (2007: 173), it seems clear that limited funding options have resulted in an imbalance of interests within the Organisation, placing definite limits on its developmental capacity and in turn obstructed it from facilitating a more substantive form of regional cooperation.

5.2 Governments

The constraints faced by the SPTO underscore the importance of national governments pursuing poverty alleviation objectives through sustainable tourism development. As Harrison has noted, meaningful poverty alleviation effectively depends on the state, and "...the impacts of any pro poor tourism project, even if on a large scale, is likely to be limited unless a state's entire tourism strategy is constructed around poverty alleviation. In effect, [pro poor tourism] requires a *developmental* state" (2008: 863 – emphasis original). Harrison goes on to note that, in reality, the implementation of even the most rigorous development agenda faces wide-ranging practical constraints, and the job of the pro poor development practitioner is to identify and work within these limitations.

Tourism fits very well with the growth-focused approach, and tends to thrive in an open economic environment that facilitates the free movement of capital, labour and consumers (Schilcher, 2007: 58). However, while in the past there has been a tendency to see tourism as predominantly a private sector activity where market forces rule, today there is growing attention to the comprehensive role states must assume if tourism development is to meet the goals of sustainability and poverty reduction (Richter, 1993; Hall, 1998; Sofield, 2003; Torres and Momsen 2004; Schilcher, 2007, 2007b; Scheyvens; 2008). Richter (1993: 196) for example has called for "a realisation that tourism issues need to be coordinated at a government level" because its complex interrelation and influence on a range of sectors is "too great for either industry or local political jurisdictions to cope with". This shift can also be partly attributed to the empirical discrediting of previous macroeconomic orthodoxy which held that economic growth must necessarily benefit the poor through 'trickle down' effect (Schilcher, 2007: 58). Despite this, as Schilcher (2007: 58) emphasises, there is still a tendency in practice to see tourism as a panacea for economic and social development, and to downplay or ignore concerns about leakage, linkages with the wider economy, local ownership and cultural and environmental degradation. In the Pacific, the stimulation of tourism growth has and will continue to occur through the attraction of both international aid and foreign direct investment given an insufficient domestic funding base. In that regard, the extent that governments are able to continue to 'hybridise' external economic and political pressures with wider societal values and welfare might be broadly referred to as empowerment; and the extent to which these pressures serve to de-legitimise alternative paths to development may be perceived as contributing to disempowerment.

Many commentators have positively recognised that a major strength of many small island states is the continued respect – although not strict adherence – accorded to traditional, holistic approaches to development and resource management. Contrary to Western rational-economic viewpoints, traditional belief systems often highlight the importance of culture, spiritual well-being, environmental stewardship and the well-being of future generations. This respect for the past is acknowledged by Connell who notes that, in the face of external economic and political pressures, some of the most inspiring developments in the Pacific Islands region are what he calls "alternative indigenous responses" (Connell, 2007: 116). Connell is not romanticising past approaches to development, rather, he uses terms, such as "syncretism" and "hybridity" when referring to ways in which Pacific Islanders have engaged with the task of "interpreting, rereading and re-invoking their pasts" (Connell, 2007: 124), a hybridity which is certainly evident in the tourism development policies and industries in Pacific islands today. Thus, in countries like Vanuatu and Fiji, with the highest level of foreign investment and ownership, both governments place national development objectives at the centre of tourism development plans – focusing particularly on the need to support small, locally-owned tourism businesses while at the same time controlling future development (Milne, 1997; Sofield, 2003). The Cook Islands have successfully pursued a strategy which has maximised local control of tourism, and both Niue and Kiribati are pursuing similar strategies from smaller bases (Harrison, 2004). In Samoa, historically the government was highly conservative in its attitude to tourism development, fearing that foreign initiated tourism would endanger *fa'a Samoa* (the Samoan way of life) (Scheyvens, 2008: 135). Today, Samoa is increasingly adopting a neo-liberal growth model and actively soliciting increased levels of direct foreign investment, although as Schilcher (2007b: 316) has noted, in many ways this shift has more to do with the priorities of international financial institutions and donors, rather than the priorities of Samoan politicians and their constituents.

While small scale local ownership is widely recognised as one of the most effective ways to spread the benefits of tourism, there is a continuing tendency for governments to overlook local enterprises in favour of high-class tourist facilities, which they feel will earn their countries more foreign exchange and enhance its reputation as a quality tourism provider (see ADB 2000; Pearce 2000). For example, the Samoan government passed legislation in 2003 to provide generous tax breaks to companies developing large-scale hotels and resorts, whereas no similar incentives were offered to small or medium scale entrepreneurs (Scheyvens, 2008: 143). Even though the government has provided some support to the beach *fale* sector in the form of training to beach *fale* owners, and administering the tourism development fund which a number of beach *fale* operators have accessed, the significance of small scale tourism has been largely underrated in national tourism development plans (Scheyvens, 2008: 144). For Milne (2007: 4): "With cultural features now a growing component for tourism strategies around the region, it is essential that communities have not only the ability to work in the industry but are also directly involved in the planning and development of the sector". It has been noted that small, alternative-style tourism enterprises usually work most effectively in complementing mainstream, sometimes mass-tourism enterprises (Harrison, 1996; Weaver, 2002). Given the diversity of markets visiting the Pacific, there is no good business case for such a narrow focus (SPTO, 2005: 6-7), and similarly lop-sided approaches to tourism development are echoed elsewhere in the Pacific – most significantly Vanuatu and Fiji – which have not produced the anticipated results.

While tourism growth in Pacific nations will continue to be reliant on foreign investment, many authors have pointed to ways in which governments have failed to direct this investment towards wider social benefits (Roa, 2006; Narayan and Prasad, 2003; Schilcher, 2007b). Roa (2006: 33) draws attention to the marked socio-economic and geographic inequalities on Fiji's main island of Viti Levu, and argues if areas outside the main 'tourist belt' are to become attractive to foreign developers then it is critical that the government provides the required infrastructure (provision of roads, electricity and the up-gradation of air and seaports). Similarly, he attributes the lack of backward linkages between large enterprises and the agricultural and fisheries sectors to the lack of any policy incentives or regulation from government (2006: 38). Stefanova (2008) highlights how corruption and lack of regulation in Vanuatu's governance structures lead to rapid, unsustainable land alienation and privatisation, blocking many ni-Vanuatu from participation in the tourism industry and contributing to growing resentment amongst disenfranchised groups against tourism generally.

Sofield argues that governments are crucial in setting the conditions in which real power and associated resources can be assigned to communities (2003: 340). Giving 'voice' and 'ownership' to communities through tourism development can be facilitated by the state, and while this may be difficult to achieve in practice, it is not impossible. As Sofield's (2003) case studies in The Solomon Islands, Fiji and Vanuatu attest, empowerment requires a strong policy commitment, a legal framework protecting the rights of all stakeholders and sensitive, socio-culturally grounded preparation, implementation and monitoring of projects over the long-term. Sofield makes several suggestions for governments (2003: 351):

- governments need to adopt a "proactive interventionist approach" where they target the poor and establish legislation to back up affirmative action strategies.
- governments need to ensure that local people are empowered with appropriate knowledge and skills and access to networks, so they are not sidelined from active involvement in tourism
- governments need to facilitate the development of linkages so economic opportunities for local populations are not lost (Torres and Momsen, 2004).
- governments also need to find ways of supporting local industry through training and information, and through the provision of a supportive policy environment.

While the role of governments is thus vital to implementing effective pro poor tourism policies and strategies, it is also important to recognise that past policies and the agendas of external donors have in many cases undermined the perceived legitimacy of government institutions, making it difficult to for them to institute pro poor policies in practice: "The neo-liberal policies of the past two decades have may also have had a lasting impact on state agents and officials alike, impairing their ability to readjust to a new agenda involving fresh thinking in the area of poverty alleviation" (Onis and Senses, 2005: 279). It is very difficult for proposed partnerships between market and state to work in such circumstances; rather, the market continues to dominate, and this can certainly inhibit pro poor initiatives.

5.3 The private sector

Advocates of pro poor tourism stress the importance of integrating pro-poor approaches into mainstream tourism, and the development of partnerships and joint ventures between local governments, tourism investors, NGOs and consumers and donors are noted as being critical to the success of any pro-poor tourism initiative. One of the greatest challenges to achieving pro-poor tourism is to gain support from the private sector. Increasing interest from travellers in ethical tourism, coupled with pressure on companies to demonstrate higher levels of corporate social responsibility (CSR) has assisted in encouraging reforms (Scheyvens, 2006b: 42). However, as Coles stresses, while the private sector often offers support for the principles of pro poor tourism, "the greater difficulty is engineering action and delivery: only where pro poor tourism is demonstrated to be in the best interests of most private sector enterprises, their managers and their investors, will there be the best chances of their engagement in such initiatives" (2006, cited in Scheyvens, 2006b: 42). The need to make a good business case for CSR initiatives is a point which is echoed throughout pro poor tourism literature (Torres and Momsen 2004, Ashley and Roe 2003; Ashley, 2005).

Ashley and Roe (2004: 11) for example stress that it is "essential to see business partners as just that – businesses not philanthropists – and emphasise the business case for pro-poor action". As Ashley and Roe (2004: 11) note, this may be easier in tourism than other industries as the tourism product is directly affected by both social unrest and local poverty, and for many reasons a positive relationship with communities and high local participation in tourism is in the interests of tourism enterprises.

Work that has been conducted with a number of private sector tourism providers in Southern Africa under the Pro-Poor Tourism Pilots Project has aimed to show that pro poor tourism can make good business sense by, for example improving quality and price of produce that hotel and lodges can purchase locally (Ashley, 2005). Sofield's (2003) case studies of the resorts at Anuha and Mana Island show that, within an institutional framework aimed at facilitating cooperation, local communities and the private sector can sustain long-term, stable and mutually beneficial public-private partnerships. A wide range of established private sector organisations, from hotels and resorts, to tour companies, tourism associations and chambers of commerce, can be encouraged and incentivised to support initiatives in line with 'Sustainable Mass Tourism' (Weaver, 2001). Such initiatives include fair labour conditions and good training for workers, tax relief for businesses which engage in mentoring of the owners of microenterprises or establish linkages with other sectors and source goods locally, or the joint establishment of community development funds to benefit the local community.

Ashley and Haysom (2006) have provided a comprehensive discussion of the range of potential business benefits companies can achieve through pro poor approaches. Those particularly relevant to South Pacific tourism include:

- *'Social licence to operate'*: Enterprise gains legitimacy and stability through good relations with wider community and key stakeholders.
- *Customer satisfaction and market appeal/Enhanced destination brand and unique selling point*: Boosting market appeal through the added value of responsible behaviour.
- *Improved corporate governance and staff morale:* Companies engaged in pro poor and community development initiatives consistently report enhanced corporate governance and staff morale.
- *Risk minimisation:* Minimisation of risks associated with local opposition, global criticism and damage to the local product (such as wildlife, tranquillity) on which tourism industries depend.
- *Saving costs:* While pro poor initiatives usually involve some small short-term increase in costs (usually related to planning), companies developing linkages with local producers consistently reported long-term reductions in input costs (Ashley and Haysom, 2009: 271-272).

While ‘participation’ and ‘empowerment’ have been identified as the emerging dominant CSR frameworks – broadly defined as building mutually beneficial relationships with local communities through capacity building modes of community development – case studies focusing on corporate community development point to a number of significant impediments to achieving these goals in practice (Sofeild, 2003; Idemudia and Ite, 2006; Idemudia, 2007; Kemp, 2003, 2009). In a review of CSR literature, Kemp (2009) argues that while participatory development programs usually cost less overall and are consistently more effective in fostering sustainability and economic empowerment, at the level of local practice this form of community development is often mired by the contradictions between commercial and development agendas. These efforts are often further problematised by private companies’ strong orientation towards service-delivery as well as a prioritised mode of thinking centred on instrumental rationality, profits and control (Kemp, 2003). Ite (2006) has argued that even where corporate enterprises put substantial resources into poverty alleviation initiatives, these initiatives usually fail to achieve long-lasting outcomes in the absence of an effective government plan for national development, equitable resource allocation and public sector support and involvement in CSR activities. Notwithstanding the many benefits of private sector initiated community development, these observations support Sofield’s (2003) argument that empowerment is heavily reliant on the institutional and legislative power of the state.

While it is undeniable that the lack of capital in the South Pacific restricts the entrepreneurial activities of locals, there are a number of options available regarding what form of foreign investment is pursued. Partnerships and joint ventures between governments, local governance bodies and organisations, tourism investors, NGOs, consumers and donors are noted as being critical to the success of any pro-poor tourism initiative, and partnership schemes are seen as being the most effective way to ensure reciprocal commercial returns (Goodwin, 2000; Ashley *et al.,* 2000; Ashley and Jones, 2001) After the establishment of the ProInvest programme in 2004 to facilitate European investment in Pacific tourism however, more Pacific governments are now pursuing foreign direct investment as opposed to joint partnerships (Schilcher, 2007b: 266). While foreign direct investment is seen by some governments as a way to escape aid dependency, evidence suggests it may not always deliver on assumed benefits. Schilcher (2007b: 267) cites Moran’s (1999) study that found that in areas of high market competition, foreign direct investment can “drive domestic producers out of business and substitute imported inputs”. Significantly, as Schilcher (2007b: 266) notes, “while on ‘paper’ ProInvest was meant to support sectors which provided best opportunities for North-South ‘partnerships’, in practice consultants were required to select sectors of interest to EU companies”. Given that, under effective governance structures, customary land tenure is a powerful means of facilitating public-private partnerships, wholesale enthusiasm for FDI as a means to relieve aid dependence may prove to be misplaced.

In summary, in examining the potential for tourism to contribute to poverty alleviation in the South Pacific, it is important to scrutinise the institutions and agencies concerned to see whose interests are central to their agenda and identify developmental constraints and limitations. The SPTO, while fulfilling important investment facilitation and marketing roles, currently does not act in a developmental capacity. In its present form it has also served to perpetuate a rudimentary level of regional tourism planning integration and cooperation, rather than enhance it. A number of constraints also problematise governments' ability to balance commercial and social aspects of tourism development, and external pressures obviously serve to influence how tourism growth is pursued, often in ways not necessarily favoured by local populations. However it is at the level of large, private sector stakeholders that perhaps the greatest changes in support of pro poor tourism can occur. The ability of governments to work effectively with the private sector while maintaining the integrity of their development priorities is critical. While there are no simple solutions to these problems, there is still great potential to expand tourism's contribution to poverty alleviation, and there are positive examples of pro poor initiatives around the globe influencing a wide range of mainstream tourism stakeholders to make their activities more pro poor.

6. Summary

This report has discussed tourism in the South Pacific, discussing the nature and scope of tourism in the region, its current contribution to poverty alleviation and development, constraints to growth of tourism, and the roles of key institutions in the region which encourage development of tourism. While a small number of countries in the South Pacific such as Fiji, French Polynesia, Vanuatu, the Cook Islands and Samoa have turned tourism into their major industry, others with relatively low numbers of arrivals also gain considerable benefits from this industry and are seeking to grow tourism further.

While undoubtedly tourism has contributed to foreign revenue generation and created thousands of jobs in the region, there is recognition both that a) the benefits of tourism do not reach the poorest groups in society, and b) South Pacific countries could secure much greater benefits from existing tourism flows if more attention was paid to strategies such as fostering local ownership (including partnership arrangements) and developing backward linkages. The poor also need to be protected from vulnerability to the volatility of the tourism industry. Whether the benefits of tourism can be maximised and directed to the poor depends on the policies and actions of key institutions, particularly individual country governments, private sector operators, and the region's tourism body, SPTO.

There have been varied opinions on the best approach to developing tourism in region. Some suggest that a focus on small-scale and alternative tourism development is most appropriate, however for this to be successful more attention needs to be paid to developing business experience among local populations and providing access to credit. This model of development has been successful in Samoa, where there are a large number of small family owned tourism businesses which thrive alongside smaller numbers of resorts.

Perhaps, however, the greatest potential for achieving pro-poor forms of tourism exists in working through larger scale private sector initiatives, such as resorts. A resort with a strong corporate social responsibility stance involving support for labour rights, contributions to community development programmes, initiatives to mentor local people developing their own businesses, and procurement practices which involve maximising use of locally-produced foods, crafts, furnishings and the like, can make a major difference to the local economy. There are a number of difficulties promoting pro poor tourism on large scale tourism sites, but there are international case studies demonstrating how tourism companies have been encouraged to increase the local development impact of their business. Governments could provide more support for private sector businesses to work in such ways

Governments obviously play a central role in establishing the direction that tourism takes. Interestingly, the governments of Pacific Island countries have stood out from many other developing country governments around the world in actively pursuing tourism growth while also endeavouring to respect holistic approaches to development and resource management. Words such as 'sustainable', 'respect', and 'culture' often permeate their tourism policies and plans. This rhetoric, however, often stands in contradiction to the neoliberal, growth-oriented economic policies being implemented by the same governments at the behest of lending agencies and donors which often leads to market-led development which may not always contribute to enhanced wellbeing of communities. It is important the Pacific Island governments do provide an enabling environment for investment, but one which does not compromise the central values of their people or their people's access to resources.

Major pressure has been placed on Pacific Island governments to commit to land reform in recent years, because of a perception that communal land tenure is a barrier to economic development. However there are numerous examples from around the region of land which has remained under communal tenure while being leased to resorts, or used in joint venture partnerships: both of these arrangements can be highly beneficial for communities if managed carefully. Land reform which allows communal land to be alienated, as has occurred in Vanuatu, could lead to major social and economic poverty in years to come.

Pacific Island governments also need to engage in careful planning to build resilience in their economies and prepare for unanticipated events, whether environmental, economic or political. The most apparent current threat to the viability of tourism in the region is the global economic recession, which has led to a downturn in tourist arrivals in most Pacific Island destinations. Political instability has regularly affected tourism arrivals to Fiji and has also impacted on the Solomon Islands, New Caledonia, Tonga and PNG at different times. In terms of environmental vulnerability, the region is one of the most disaster prone island groups in the world. This is most evident in the case of low-lying atolls threatened by global warming, but other islands also face threats from cyclones, seismic activity, tsunamis, and storm surges. The ability of a country to 'bounce back' after political, economic or environmental events depends considerably on the effectiveness of crisis management and tourism recovery plans implemented by governments.

Regional cooperation can facilitate integrative planning amongst developing countries which wish to sustainably grow their tourism industries and successfully respond to crises which may emerge. The SPTO is the Pacific's regional tourism body, and it used to have a broad mandate for developing tourism in the region. However donor funding has dried up in recent year and SPTO now relies largely on funds from member governments and the private sector, thus its focus now centres on encouraging further investment in tourism and engaging in marketing activities. In the past countries with smaller numbers of tourist arrivals did not feel they were assisted greatly by SPTO.

In summary, tourism is already the number one foreign exchange earner in some Pacific Island states, and it makes a significant contribution to revenue and employment generation in others. The challenge remains to minimise any negative socio-cultural or environmental impacts of the industry, while ensuring that it contributes directly to poverty alleviation as well. For this to occur, the SPTO, governments, donors, and the private sector will all need to work to create an environment where holistic development goals, not focused on economic growth alone, can be pursued. The country studies on tourism in Fiji and Vanuatu which follow this report will provide case studies to show how effectively this is occurring in practice.

References

Adams, W.L. (2009) "Vacation Blues as Tourists Stay at Home", *Time.com,* Time Magazine: May 2009, on WWW at http://www.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,1893067-2,00.html accessed 08/09

Allcock, A (2006) "Pacific 2020 Background Paper: Tourism", paper written for the Pacific 2020 project, Pacific 2020 Steering Group, AusAid.

Anderson, T. (2006) "On the economic value of customary land in Papua New Guinea", *Pacific Economic Bulletin,* 21 (1), pp 31-42.

Ashe, J. W. (2005) "Tourism investment as a tool for development and poverty reduction: the experience in Small Island Developing States (SIDS)". The Commonwealth Finance Ministers Meeting, 18–20 September, Barbados

Ashley, C & Roe, D, (2002) "Making tourism work for the poor: strategies and challenges in southern Africa", *Development Southern Africa*, 19: 61–82.

Ashley, C, (2005) "Facilitating pro-poor tourism with the private sector. Lessons learned from Pro-poor Tourism Pilots in southern Africa", ODI working paper 257, October. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Ashley, C. & Maxwell, S. (2001) "Rethinking Rural Development", *Development Policy Review*, 19 (4), pp. 395-425.

Ashley, C. and Haysom, G. (2006) "From philanthropy to a different way of doing business: strategies and challenges in integrating pro-poor approaches into tourism business", *Development Southern Africa*,23:2,265 — 280

Asian Development Bank (ADB) (2000) *Samoa 2000*, Manila: ADB

Asiedu, A. (2005) "Some benefits of migrants' return visits to Ghana", *Population, Space and Place* 11(1), 1-11.

Baum, T. (1997) "The fascination of islands: a tourist perspective", In D G Lockhart and D Drakakis-Smith (eds) *Island Tourism: Trends and Prospects* Pinter, London: 21-35.

Bayliss-Smith, T. (1997) "From Taro Garden to Golf Course? Alternative futures for agricultural capital in the Pacific Islands", in B. Burt and C. Clerk (eds.) *Environment and Development in the Pacific Islands*, University of Papua New Guinea Press: Port Morsbey, pp 143-170.

Beddoe, C. (2004) "Labour Standards, Social Responsibility and Tourism", *Tourism Concern*, On WWW at http://www.tourismconcern.org.uk/downloads/pdfs/TC-Union-Final2.pdf. accessed 07/09

Bennett, M., Talbot, D. and Swaney, D. 2003: *Samoan Islands* Melbourne: Lonely Planet.

Berno, T. (2003) "Local Control and Sustainability of Tourism in the Cook Islands", in D. Harrison (ed.) *Pacific Island Tourism*, London: Pinter.

Boniface, B. and Cooper, C. (1994) The geography of travel and tourism. Butterworth Heinemann.

Bourke, R. M. (2005) "Customary land tenure and agricultural success: the Mekeo case", in J. Fingleton (ed.) *Privatising Land in the Pacific: A Defence of Customary Tenures,* Discussion Paper Number 80, The Australia Institute, pp 16-22.

Boydell, S. and Holzknech, H. (2003) "Land – caught in conflict between custom and commercialism", *Land Use Policy*, 20 (3), pp 203-207.

Briedenhann, J. And Wickens, E. (2004) "Tourism routes as a tool for economic development: Vibrant Hope or Impossible Dream?", Tourism Management, 25 (1), pp71-79.

Briguglio, L. (1995) "Small Island Developing States and their Economic Vulnerabilities", in R. Paoletto, and G. Kuhr, (eds.) *International Symposium on Small Islands and Sustainable Development*, United Nations University, Tokyo.

Briguglio, L., Archer, B., Jafari, J. & Wall, G. (1996) *Sustainable Tourism in Islands and Small States: Issues and Policies* (London: Pinter).

Briguglio, L., Archer, B., Jafari, J. and Wall, G. eds. (1996) *Sustainable Tourism in Islands and Small States: Issues and Policies,* Vol. 1. London: Cassell.

Britton, S. (1982) The political economy of tourism in the third world. *Annals of Tourism Research* 9(3), 331-358.

Britton. S. (1987) *Ambiguous Alternative: Tourism in Small Developing Countries*. Suva: The University of the South Pacific.

Brohman, J. (1996) "New directions for tourism in the Third World", *Annals of Tourism Research* 23(1), 48-70.

Bryant-Tokelau, J. 1995: The myth exploded: urban poverty in the Pacific. *Environment and Urbanization* 7(2): 109-129.

Burns, G.L (2003) "Indigenous Responses to Tourism in Fiji: What is Happening?", in D. Harrison (ed.) *Pacific Island Tourism*, Cognizant Communication Corporation: New York, 82-93.

Burns, P. (1995). "Sustaining Tourism under Political Adversity: The Case of Fiji", in M. Conlin and T. Baum (eds.) *Island Tourism: Management Principles and Practice*, London: Wiley, pp 259-72.

Burton, I., Kates, R.W., and White, G.H. (1992) *The Environment as Hazard,* Guilford Press: New York.

Butler, R. (1980) "The Concept of a Tourism Area Cycle of Evolution: Implications for the Management of Resources", Canadian Geographer, 24 (5) 5-12.

Cater, E. (1993) "Ecotourism in the Third World: Problems for Sustainable Tourism Development", Tourism Management, 14, pp 85-90.

Cattarinich, X. (2001) "Pro-poor tourism initiatives in developing countries: analysis of secondary case studies", Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) Working Paper No. 8 for Centre for Responsible Tourism at the University of Greenwich (CRT), International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and

Department for International Development (DFID), on WWW at http://www.propoortourism.org.uk/ppt-initiatives.html accessed 08/09.

Coles, T. and Timothy, D. J. 2004: *Tourism, Diasporas and Space.* London: Routledge.

Connell, J. (2007) "Islands, idylls and the detours of development", *Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography* 28 (2), 116–135.

d'Hauteserre, A. (2003) "A response to 'Misguided policy initiatives in small island destinations: Why do up-market tourism policies fail?" by D. Ioannides and B. Holcomb. Tourism Geographies, 5 (1), 49–53.

Dahles, H. and Bras, K (eds) (1999) Tourism and Small Entrepreneurs: Development, National Policy and Entrepreneurial Culture – Indonesian Cases, New York: Cognizant Press.

de Kadt, E. (ed.) (1979) Tourism: Passport to Development? New York: Oxford University Press.

De Soto, H. (2000), The Mystery of Capital: why capitalism triumphs in the West and fails everywhere else, Bantam Press: London.

Department for International Development (DFID) (1999a) Sustainable tourism and poverty elimination study. Report for Department for International Development by Deloitte & Touche, IIED and ODI.

Department for International Development. (DFID) (1999b): Tourism and poverty elimination: untapped potential study. Report for Department for International Development, April.

Desforges, L. (2000) "State tourism institutions and neo-liberal development: A case study of Peru", *Tourism Geographies* 2 (2), 177–192.

Dombroski, K. (2008) "The whole nine villages: local level development through mass tourism in Tibetan China", in *Tourism at the Grassroots: Visitors and Villagers in the Asia-Pacific*, J. Connell and Rugendyke, B. (eds.) Routledge: London.

Doxey, G.V. (1975) "A Causation Theory of Visitor-Resident Irritatants: Methodology and Research Inferences", *in The Impact of Tourism*, Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Conference of the Travel and Tourism Research Association.

Duval, D. T. (2003) "When hosts become guests: return visits and diasporic identities in a Commonwealth Eastern Caribbean community", *Current Issues in Tourism* 6(4), 267-308.

Duval, D.T. (1998) "Alternative Tourism on St Vincent", *Caribbean Geography,* 9, pp 44-57.

Encontre, P. (2001). "Tourism Development and the Perspective of Graduation from the LDC Category", in *Tourism in the Least Developed Countries*, edited by D. D. Benavides and E. Pérez-Ducy. (eds.) Brussels: United Nations Conference on Least Developed Countries, pp. 105–22.

Enright, M.J. and Newton, J. (2004) "Tourism Destination Competitiveness; A qualitative approach", Tourism Management, 25 (6), 777-788.

Everitt, T. (2009) "Global Economic Downturn and South Pacific Tourism", South Pacific Tourism: Tony's Blog, on WWW at http://www.south-pacific.travel/wordpress/?p=115 accessed 08/09.

Fagence, M. (1995) "Changing Paradigms of Orthodoxy: The Case of Spatial Models in Tourism Planning", *Les Cahiers du Tourisme*. Aix-en-Provence: Centre Des Hautes Etudes Touristiques.

Fallon, J. and King T. (1995) "The Economy of Fiji: Supporting Private Investment", Canberra: Australian Agency for International Development.

Fingleton, J. (2004) "Is Papua New Guinea viable *without* customary groups?" *Pacific Economic Bulletin,* 19 (2), pp. 111-18.

Fingleton, J. (ed) (2005) "Introduction: The Debate over Land Tenure", in J. Fingleton (ed.) *Privatising Land in the Pacific: A Defence of Customary Tenures,* Discussion Paper Number 80, The Australia Institute, pp 6-16.

Gerosa, V. (2003) "Pro-poor growth strategies in Africa—tourism: a viable option for pro-poor growth in Africa?" Paper prepared for the Economic Commission for Africa Expert Group Meeting, Munyony Speke Resort, Kampala, 23–24 June.

Ghimire, K. (1997) Emerging mass tourism in the south: reflections on the social opportunities and costs of national and regional tourism in developing counties. Discussion Paper No. 85, April. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD).

Ghimire, K. B. (2001) "The growth of national and regional tourism in developing countries: an overview", in K. Ghimire, (ed.), *The Native Tourist: Mass Tourism Within Developing Countries* London: Earthscan, 1-29.

Goodwin, H. (2006) Pro-poor tourism: principles, methodologies and mainstreaming, keynote address to the international conference on 'Pro-poor Tourism: Mechanisms and Mainstreaming', University Teknologi: Malaysia

Goodwin, H. (2006b). *Measuring and reporting the impact of tourism on poverty*, on WWW at http://www.haroldgoodwin.info/resources/measuring.pdf accessed 08/09.

Gössling, S. (2003) "The Political Ecology of Tourism in Zanzibar", in S. Gossling (Ed.) *Tourism and Development in Tropical Islands: Political Ecology Perspectives*, Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp. 178–202.

Gössling, S. Peeters, P. and Scott, D. (2008) "Consequences of Climate Policy for International Tourist Arrivals in Developing Countries", *Third World Quarterly*, 29 (5),873 – 901.

Gössling, S., Schumacher, K., Morelle, M., Berger, R. and Heck, N. (2004) "Tourism and street children in Antananarivo, Madagascar", Tourism and Hospitality Research 5 (2), 131–149.

Guthunz, U. And Von Krosigk, F. (1996) "Tourism Development in Small Island States: From Mirab to Tourab?", in Briguglio, B. Archer, K. Jafari and G. Wall (eds.), *Sustainable Tourism Development in Small Island States: Issues and Policies,* London: Pinter.

Hall, C. M. and Duval, D. T. (2004) "Linking diasporas and tourism: transational mobilities of Pacific Islanders resident in New Zealand", in Coles, T. and Timothy, D. J., editors, *Tourism, Diasporas and Space* London: Routledge, 78-94.

Hall, D.R. (1998) "Urban transport, environmental pressures and policy options" in D.A. Pinder, (ed.), *The new Europe: society and environment*, John Wiley and Sons: New York, pp 435-454

Hampton, M.P. (1998) "Backpacker tourism and Economic Development", *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25, pp 639-660.

Hannam, K. 2004: India and the ambivalences of diaspora tourism. In Coles, T. and Timothy, D. J., editors, *Tourism, Diasporas and Space* London: Routledge, 246-260.

Harrison, D. (2003) "Themes in Pacific Island Tourism", in D. Harrison (ed.) *Pacific Island Tourism*, New York: Cognizant Communication Corporation, pp 1-23.

Harrison, D. (2004) "Tourism in Pacific Islands", The Journal of Pacific Studies, 26 (10), pp 1-10.

Harrison, D. (2008) "Pro-poor Tourism: a critique", *Third World Quarterly*, 29 (5), pp 851-868

Hoti, S., McAleer, M., and Shareef, R. (2005) Modelling country risk and uncertainty in small island tourism economies. *Tourism Economics,* 11(2), 159-183.

Hughes, H. (2004), "The Pacific is Viable!" *Issues Analysis*, No. 53, Centre for Independent Studies: Sydney.

Iati, I. (2009) "Controversial Land Legislation in Samoa: It's not just about the land"

Idemudia, U. (2007) "Partnerships and Community Development in the Nigeria Oil Industry: Strengths and Limitations", United Nations Markets, Business and Regulations Programme Paper, March 2007, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development, on WWW at: www.unrisd.org/80256B3C005BCCF9/(httpAuxPages)/D7737BEE64BC48B0C12572C90045372E/$file/Idemudia.pdf accessed 08/09

Idemudia. U, Ite, E. (2006) "Corporate-Community Relations in Nigeria's Oil Industry: Challenges and Imperatives", in *Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management,* No. 13, pp 194-206.

International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) (2001) "Pro-poor tourism: Harnassing the world's largest industry for the world's poor". On WWW at http://www.iied.org/docs/wssd/bp_tourism_eng.pdf accessed 08/09

Ioannides, D. And Holcomb, B. (2003) "Misguided Policy Initiatives in Small Island Destinations: Why Do Up-Market Tourism Policies Fail?" Tourism Geographies, 5, 39-48.

Ite, U. (2004) "Multinationals and corporate social responsibility in developing countries: a case study of Nigeria" in *Corporate Social Responsibility and Environmental Management*, No. 11, pp 1-11.

Jamal, T.B. and Getz, D. (1995) "Collaboration Theory and Community Tourism Planning", *Annals of Tourism Research,* 22, pp. 186–204.

Jamieson, W. Goodwin, H. and Edmunds, C. (2004) Contribution of Tourism to Poverty Alleviation: Pro-poor tourism and the challenge of measuring impacts, paper prepared for Transport Policy and Tourism Section: Transport and Tourism Division: UN ESCAP.

Jarvis, J. (2009) The Billion Dollar Backpackers: Recession Resilient, presentation for the South Pacific Tourism Organisation Seminar on Tourism and the Global Economic Recession, June 2009, Nadi, on WWW at http://www.south-pacific.travel/news/whats_new/backpack_jjarvis.pdf accessed 08/09

Jayaraman, T.K (1999) "Private Sector Development and Competition in the South Pacific", *South Pacific Study*, 19 (1-2), pp 32-49.

Kemp, D. (2009) "Mining and Community Development: Problems and Possibilities of Local Level Practice" in *Community Development Journal*, Oxford University Press, Feb 2009, pp 51-72.

King, B and Berno, T. (2001) "Tourism in Fiji after the Coups", *Travel and Tourism Analyst*, 2, pp75-92.

King, B. And Berno, T. (2002) "Tourism and Civil Disturbances: An Evaluation of Recovery Strategies in Fiji, 1987-2000", *Journal of Hospitality and Tourism Management*, 9 (1), pp 46-61.

Konadu-Agyemang, K. (2001) "Structural adjustment programmes and the international tourism trade in Ghana, 1983–99: Some socio-spatial implications", *Tourism Geographies* 3 (2), 187–206.

Kozak, M. And Rimmington, M. (1998) "Measuring Tourism Destination Competitiveness: Conceptual Considerations and Empirical Findings", *International Journal of Hospitality Management*, 18 (3), pp 273-283.

Lakau, A.A.L. (1994) "Customary land tenure and economic development in PNG" in R. Crocombe and M. Meleisea (eds), *Land Issues in the Pacific*, Institute of South Pacific Studies, University of the South Pacific: Suva.

Lee, H. 2004: 'Second generation' Tongan transnationalism: hope for the future? *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 45(2), 235-254.

Lightfoot, C. (2005) "Does customary ownership make economic sense?" in J. Fingleton (ed.) *Privatising Land in the Pacific: A Defence of Customary Tenures*, Discussion Paper Number 80, The Australia Institute, pp 22-28.

MacNaulty, M. (2002) "The role of government in successful island tourism", *The Economic Impact of Tourism in the Islands of Asia and the Pacific: A Report on the WTO International Conference on Tourism and Island Economies*, pp. 28–41 (Madrid: World Tourism Organization).

McElroy, J. and Albuquerque, K. (1996) "Problems for Managing Sustainable Tourism in Small Islands", in Y. Apostolopoulos and Gayle, D.J. (eds.) *Island Tourism and Sustainable Development: Caribbean and Pacific*, New York: Pinter.

Meyer, D. (2008) "Pro-Poor Tourism: From Leakages to Linkages. A Conceptual Framework for Creating Linkages between the Accommodation Sector and 'Poor' Neighbouring Communities", Current Issues in Tourism,10 (6) pp 558-583.

Milne, S. (1997) "Tourism dependency and South Pacific Microstates: Beyond the vicious cycle?", in D.G Lockhart and D. Drakakis-Smith (eds.) Island Tourism: Trends and Prospects, London: Pinter, pp 281-301.

Milne, S. (2005) The Economic Impact of Tourism in SPTO Member Countries, SPTO: Suva.

Milne, S. (2008) "Challenges and Opportunities", *Pacific Connection*, 14, December 2007-Feburary 2008, pp 3-4.

Momsen, J.H. (1998) "Caribbean tourism and agriculture: new linkages in the global Era?" In T. Klak, (ed.) *Globalization and neoliberalism: the Caribbean context*, Oxford: Rowman & Littleman pp 115–33.

Moreno, A. and Becken, S. (2009) "A climate change vulnerability assessment methodology for coastal Tourism", Journal of Sustainable Tourism,17 (4),pp 473 – 488.

Mowforth, M. and Munt, I. (2003) *Tourism and Sustainability: Development and New Tourism in the Third World*, London: Routledge.

Narayan, P.K. and Prasad, B.C. (2003) "Fiji's sugar, tourism and garment industries: A survey of performance, problems, and potentials", *Fijian Studies*, 1 (1), pp 3-28.

Narayan, P.K. and Prasad, B.C. (2008) "Reviving Growth in Fiji: are we swimming or sinking?", *Pacific Economic Bulletin,* 23 (2), Australian National University.

Neumayer, E. (2004) "The impact of political violence on tourism: dynamic cross-national estimation", *Journal of Conflict Resolution,* 48, pp 259–281.

Onis, Z. and Senses, F. (2005) "Rethinking the emerging post-Washington consensus", *Development and Change,* 36 (2), pp 263-290.

Papua New Guinea Tourism Promotion Authority (2006) "Papua New Guinea Tourism Sector Review and Master Plan: 2007-2017", Final Report, Papua New Guinea Tourism Promotion Authority: Port Moresby, on WWW at http://www.docstoc.com/docs/3816949/PAPUA-NEW-GUINEA-TOURISM-SECTOR-REVIEW-AND-MASTER-PLAN-GROWING accessed 08/09.

Papua New Guinea Tourism Promotion Authority (2009) "Focus on PNG, our closest neighbour", Papua New Guinea Tourism Promotion Authority news article, on WWW at http://www.pngtourism.org.pg/public_html/media/download/090703-Traveltalk-PNG-trends.pdf accessed 08/09.

Pearce, D.G. (1987) *Tourism Today: A Geographical Analysis*, New York: Longman.

Pearce, D.G. (1997) "Competitive Destination Analysis on South East Asia", *Journal of Travel Research*, 35 (4) pp 13-24.

Pearce, D.G. (2000) "Tourism Plan Reviews: Methodological Considerations and Issues from Samoa", *Tourism Management*, 21, pp 191-203.

Pelling, M. And Uitto, J.I. (2001) "Small Island Developing States: Natural Disaster Vulnerability and Global Change", *Environmental Hazards*, 3, pp 49-62.

Potter, R. (1993) "Basic needs and development in the small island states of the Eastern Caribbean", In D. G. Lockhart, D. Drakakis-Smith & J. Schembri (eds.) *The Development Process in Small Island States.* London: Routledge, pp 92-116.

Powell, P.T. (1998) "Traditional production, communal land tenure and policies for environmental preservation in the South Pacific", *Ecological Economics*, 24 (1), pp 89-101.

Prieto-Carron, M., Lund-Thomsen, P., Chan, A, & Bhushan, C. (2006) "Critical Perspectives on CSR and Development: what we know, what we don't know and what we need to know", in *International Affairs*, 82: 5, Blackwell Publishing, pp 977-987.

Rao, M. (2002) "Challanges and Issues for Tourism in the South Pacific Island States: the case of Fiji Islands", *Tourism Economics*, 8 (4), pp 401- 429.

Reid, D.G. (2003) *Tourism, globalization and development: Responsible tourism planning*, Pluto Press, London.

Richter, L, (1994) "The Political Dimensions of Tourism", in J. Ritchie, R. Brent and C.R. Goeldner, (eds.) *Travel, Tourism, and Hospitality Research* (2nd ed.), Wiley: New York, pp. 219–232.

Richter, L. (1993) "Gender and Race: Neglected Variables in Tourism Research", in, R. Butler and D. Pearce, (eds), *Gender in Tourism*, Routledge: London.

Ritchie, B. (2003) "Chaos, Crises and Disasters: a strategic approach to crisis management in the tourism industry, *Tourism Management*, 25, 669-683.

Ritchie, B. and Crouch, I. (2003) The *competitive destination: A sustainable tourism perspective*, Oxon, UK: CABI Publishing.

Roa, M. (2006) "Challenges and Issues in Pro-Poor Tourism in South Pacific Island Countries: The case of Fiji islands", Working Paper for the School of Economics, Employment and Labour Market Studies in the South Pacific, Monash University, Australia.

Roe, D. Ashley, C. Page, S. & Meyer, D. (2004) "Tourism and the poor: analyzing and interpreting tourism statistics from a poverty perspective". PPT working paper no. 16. Pro-poor tourism partnership, UK. On WWW at: www.propoortourism.org.uk, accessed 08/09.

Roe, D., Goodwin, H. and Ashley, C. (2002) The tourism industry and poverty reduction: a business primer. Pro-poor Tourism Briefing No. 2. For the Centre for Responsible Tourism (CRT), International Institute for Environment (IIED) and Development and Overseas Development Institute (ODI).

Scheyvens, R. (2006) "Sun, Sand and Beach *Fale*: Benefitting from Backpackers the Samoan Way", Tourism Recreation Research, 31 (3) pp 75-86.

Scheyvens, R. (2006b) *Desk Study for NZAID on Alternative Forms of Tourism Including Ecotourism, Nature Tourism and Pro-Poor Tourism.* NZAID, Wellington.

Scheyvens, R. (2005) "Growth of beach *fale* tourism in Samoa: The high value of low-cost tourism", In Hall, C. M. and Boyd, S. (eds) *Nature-based Tourism in Peripheral Areas: Development or Disaster?* Clevedon: Channelview Publications, 188-202.

Scheyvens, R. (2007) “Exploring the Tourism Poverty Nexus” in C. Michael Hall (ed.) *Pro-poor Tourism: Who Benefits?*, Clevedon: Cromwell Press, pp 121-141.

Scheyvens, R. (2007b) “Poor Cousins no more: valuing the development potential of domestic and diaspora tourism”, *Progress in Development Studies*, 7 (4), pp 307-325.

Scheyvens, R. (2008) “On the Beach: Small-Scale Tourism in Samoa”, in *Tourism at the Grassroots: Visitors and Villagers in the Asia-Pacific*, J. Connell and Rugendyke, B. (eds.) Routledge: London

Scheyvens, R. and Momsen, J, H. (2008) “Tourism in Small Island States: From Vulnerability to Strengths”, *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*,16 (5), pp 491-510.

Schilcher, D. (2007) “Growth versus Equity: The Continuum of Pro-Poor Tourism and Neoliberal Governance”, in C. Michael Hall (ed.) *Pro-poor Tourism: Who Benefits?*, Clevedon: Cromwell Press, pp 56-83.

Schilcher, D. (2007b) Supranational Governance of Tourism: aid, trade and power relations between the European Union and South Pacific island States. PhD Thesis, University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.

Secklemann, A. (2002) Domestic Tourism: A chance for sustainable development in Turkey?”, Tourism Management, 23 (1), pp 85-92.

Singh, A. (1997) “Asia pacific tourism industry: Current trends and future outlook”, *Asia Pacific Journal of Tourism Research*, 2 (1), pp 89-99.

Singh, T.V. (2003) “Tourism and Development: Not an easy alliance”, in R.N. Ghosh, M.A.B Siddique and R. Gabbay (eds.) *Tourism and Economic Development: Case Studies from the Indian Ocean Region*, Aldershot: Ashgate.

Sofield, T. (2002) Pro Poor Tourism in the South Pacific: A scoping study for AusAid. Brisbane: Cooperative Research Centre for Sustainable Tourism.

Sofield, T. (2003) *Empowerment for Sustainable Tourism Development,* London: Pergamon

Sofield, T. Bauer, J. De Lacy, T. Lipman, G & Daugherty, S. (2004) “Indigenous Tourism Development”, *Annals of Tourism Research*, 20 pp. 729-750.

Somnez, S. (1996) “Sustaining Tourism in Islands Under Sociopolitical Adversity” in Y. Apostolopoulos and Gayle, D.J. (eds.) *Island Tourism and Sustainable Development: Caribbean and Pacific*, New York: Pinter.

South Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO), (2003), South Pacific Tourism Annual Report 2002, SPTO: Suva, on WWW at http://www.spto.org/spto/export/sites/spto/public/annual_reports.shtml accessed 08/09

South Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO), (2005), South Pacific Tourism Regional Marketing Plan 2006-2010 (Draft), SPTO: Suva on WWW at https://classshares.student.usp.ac.fj/TS106/SPTO%20Regional%20Tourism%20Marketing%20Plan.2006-2010.pdf accessed 08/09

South Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO), (2008), South Pacific Tourism Annual Report 2007, SPTO: Suva, on WWW at http://www.spto.org/spto/export/sites/spto/public/annual_reports.shtml accessed 08/09

South Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO), (2009), South Pacific Tourism Annual Report 2008 (Draft), SPTO: Suva.

Stefanova, M. (2008) "The Price of Tourism: Land Alienation in Vanuatu", *Justice for the Poor,* 2 (1), World Bank.

Stern, N. (2007) *The Economics of Climate Change: The Stern Review.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tarplee, S. (2008) "After the Bomb in a Balinese Village" in *Tourism at the Grassroots: Visitors and Villagers in the Asia-Pacific*, J. Connell and Rugendyke, B. (eds.) Routledge: London.

Taufatofua, Rosemary. (2008) Optimising Tourism Opportunities: A pilot study of the social and gender implications of tourism in Samoa, Vanuatu and Fiji, a paper prepared for the South Pacific Tourism Organisation with assistance from UNIFEM, SPTO: Suva.

Telfer, S. And Sharpley, R. (2002) *Tourism and Development: Concepts and Issues*, Clevedon: Channel View Publications.

Tevi, F. (1997) Vulnerability: A Pacific reality. Paper presented at the Summit of ACP Heads of State and Government, Libreville, Gabon, November 6–7, 1997, on WWW at http://www.acpsec.org/summits/gabon/tevi.htm accessed 08/09

Teye, V, B. (1998) "Coup- d' etat and African Tourism: A study of Ghana", *Annals of Tourism Research,* Vol 15, pp 329-356.

Thomas-Hope, E. (ed.) (1998) *Solid Waste Management: Critical Issues for Developing Countries*. Mona, Jamaica: UWI Canoe Press.

Thomlinson, E. and Gertz, D. (1996) "The Question of Scale in Ecotourism: Case Studies of Two Small Ecotour Operators in the Mundo Maya Region of Central America", *Journal of Sustainable Tourism,* 4, pp 83-104.

Timothy, D.J. (1998) "Cooperative Tourism Planning in a Developing Destination", *Journal of Sustainable Tourism,* 6, pp 52–68.

Torres, R. and Momsen, J.H. (2004) "Challenges and potential for linking tourism and agriculture to achieve pro poor tourism objectives", *Progress in Development Studies*, 4 (4), 294-319.

Tourism New Zealand, (2009), "Recovery for Global Tourism Unlikely Before 2010", Tourism New Zealand News, on WWW at http://www.tourismnewzealand.com/tourism_info/latest-news/recovery-for-global-tourism-unlikely-before-2010.cfm

Tourism News, (2009) "Tourist Numbers down in Fiji", Tourism News, June 2009, on WWW at http://www.ttnworldwide.com/articles.aspx?artid=8240&sr=1

Twining-Ward, L. (2005) Feasibility Study for Pacific Ecotourism Association (PETA), SPTO: Suva.

UNESCO (2003) Small islands: Looking forward – Beyond 2004, on WWW at http://www.sidsnet.org/docshare/other/20030909151802 B10 Foward.doc accessed 08/09

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) (2001) Intergovernmental Working Group on Tourism and Development in the LCDs: Background Paper, UNCTAD, on WWW at http://www.unctad.org/Templates/meeting.asp?intItemID=1942&lang=1&m=17159&info=doc accessed 08/09.

United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) (2009) World Tourism Barometer (Excerpt) 7 (2), June 2009, UNWTO: Madrid, on WWW at http://www.unwto.org/facts/eng/pdf/barometer/UNWTO_Barom09_2_en_excerpt.pdf accessed 08/09.

United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) (2009b) Tourism and Economic Stimulus – Initial Assessment, UNWTO: Madrid. on WWW at http://www.unwto.org/trc/response/en/pdf/UNWTO_TRC_Tourism_Economic_Stimulus_Jul01.pdf accessed 08/09.

United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) (ND) *ST-EP: Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty,* UNWTO, on WWW at www.unwto.org/st-ep accessed 08/09

Weaver, D. (2001) "Mass tourism and alternative tourism in the Caribbean", in D. Harrison (ed.) *Tourism in the Less Developed World: Issues and Case Studies* CABI Publishing, Wallingford: 161-174.

Williams, T.A. (1982) "Impact of Domestic Tourism on Host Populations: The Evolution of a Model" in T.V. Singh, J. Krauer and D.P. Singh (eds.) *Studies in Tourism Wildlife Parks Conservation*, New Delhi: Metropolan.

Wilson, D. (1997) "Paradoxes of Tourism in Goa", *Annals of Tourism Research,* 24, pp 52-75.

Woodley, A. (1993) "Tourism and Sustainable Development: The Community Perspective", in J. Nelson, R. Butler and G. Wall (eds.), Tourism and Sustainable Development: Monitoring, Planning, Managing, Waterloo, Ont: Heritage Resources Centre, University of Waterloo.

Narayan, D. With Patel, R., Schafft, K., Rademacher, A. And Koch-Schulte, S. (2000) *Can Anyone Hear Us?* Voices of the Poor Project. Washington DC: World Bank.

World Tourism Directory (2006) "Tourists flee riot torn Tonga", World Tourism Directory news article, 21.6.2006, on WWW at http://www.worldtourismdirectory.com/news/236/tourists-flee-from-riot-torn-tonga.html accessed 08/09.

World Travel and Tourism Council (WWTC) (2009) *Travel & Tourism Economic Impact 2009,* on WWW at http://www.wttc.org/eng/Tourism_Research/Tourism_Economic_Research/ sourced on 08.09

Zhao, W. and Ritchie, B. (2007) "Tourism and Poverty Alleviation: An integrative research framework" in C. Michael Hall (ed.) *Pro-poor Tourism: Who Benefits?,* Clevedon: Cromwell Press, pp 9-29.