The Socio-Economic, Cultural and Environmental Sustainability of Indigenous Tourism in Yasawa and Indigenous Tourism Initiatives in Essipit, Canada.

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A DECLARATION

I, ***Sefanaia Sakai,*** hereby declare that this thesis work is entirely my own. All ideas, data and other information that have been reproduced and compiled herein have been duly acknowledged to their respective sources. Any other omissions and errors, technical or otherwise, I fully acknowledge as my own.

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ABSTRACT

Generally indigenous communities all over the world are often disadvantaged with regards to their socio-economic standings compared to other ethnic groups. These differences are caused by many factors including colonial and neo-colonial exploitation, overused natural resources, geographical isolation and poor academic performances. Despite these challenges, many indigenous groups are actively participating in business ventures to improve their standard of living in the different geographical boundaries they call their own. Tourism is one business that indigenous people actively participate in because of the reliance of the industry on the natural and cultural environment of the indigenous people. This study discusses the socio-economic, cultural and environmental sustainability of indigenous tourism in Yasawa, Fiji and indigenous tourism initiatives in Essipit, Canada by using administered and self-administered questionnaires and in-depth interviews as methods of research. The outcomes of the research show that indigenous people can become successful tourism operators if they follow proper business ethics, are given proper financial assistance, forge proper business partnerships, restrict financial contributions towards traditional commitments and diversify tourism with non-tourism economic activities. The sustainability and success in tourism is a source of aspiration for indigenous communities; for striving to better their livelihoods and achieving self autonomy, economic independence, land reclamation, cultural revival and environmental conservation.

ABBREVIATIONS & ACRONYMS

AFN - Assembly of First Nations
ATTC - Aboriginal Tourism Canada
EU - European Union
GDP - Gross Domestic Product
HDI - Human development Index
IFAD - International Fund for Agriculture Development
ILO - International Labor Organization
IWGIA - International Work Group for Indigenous Affair
LDCs - Least Developed Countries
MOT - Ministry of Tourism
NBL - Nalova Bay Lodge
NGOs - Non-Governmental Organizations
NLC - Native Land Commission
NLTB - Native Land Trust Board
OBL - Oarsmen Bay Lodge
SACT - South Australian Commission Tourism
SMTEs - Small Medium Tourism Enterprises
SPREP - South Pacific Regional Environment Program
TALC - Tourist Area Life Cycle
TIR - Turtle Island Resort
UNDP - United Nation Development Program
UNWTO - United Nation World Tourism Organization
WCED - World Commission on Environment and Development
WTO - World Tourism Organization
WWF - World Wild Fund for Nature

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Chapter One

Introduction and Literature Review

> *It is a mistake to assume that most tourists are anything more than consumers, whose primary goal is the consumption of a tourist experience.*
>
> McKercher 1993: 27

1.1 Introduction

1.1.1 General

The world of indigenous people represents an intriguing frontier for both tourists and geographers. Indigenous identity has a strong association with place (and - in the international ideal - an affiliation with the natural environment). Both these affiliations are important considerations in relation to tourism since people (as tourists) seek unique places and natural environments. The world of indigenous tourism offers spaces which few non-indigenous people have visited and it encourages travel to many peripheral areas in the world. Somehow tourist space is important because it is distinct or a break away from work or everyday space. Commentators highlight that destinations associated with the culture of indigenous people tend to be unique places, which can enrich the way tourists understand the world and at the same time they contribute to the financial and socio-cultural well being of the indigenous people (Lew et al. 2004).

1.2 Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Each chapter has an introduction and conclusion. *Chapter One* provides an introduction, literature review on indigenous tourism and the research's research problem and objectives. *Chapter Two* provides a theoretical framework and the work of Butler and Hinch (1996) and social exchange theory have been specifically used for this purpose.

Chapter Three provides an introduction and justification of the study areas, Essipit, Canada and Yasawa, Fiji. Some detail discussions on issues affecting indigenous people in Canada are included in the chapter due to its vast difference in size and culture. The second half of the chapter contains discussions on the methodology as well as quantitative and qualitative techniques of research that were employed for this study. The chapter concludes with the limitations of this research in relation to the actual

fieldwork, methodology adopted, samples, data collection, data collation, analysis and writing for the benefit of future research in this particular area of research.

Chapter Four covers the discussion on the research findings and their analysis on topics of indigenous tourism initiatives and the sustainability of those initiatives in Essipit, Canada. The chapter follows an integrated approach in which the research results and analysis are discussed consecutively. The six initiatives adopted by Essipit Tourism are discussed in detail together with their contributions toward the sustainability of the indigenous operation.

The sustainability of indigenous tourism in Fiji is discussed in *Chapter Five* with specific references to Oarsmen Bay Lodge (OBL) and Nalova Bay Lodge (NBL). Like *Chapter Four*, it follows an integrated approach combining the views of employees, community members and tourists on the socio-economic, cultural and environmental sustainability of the two indigenous tourisms in the Yasawas. The study on NBL was limited due to the unavailability of tourists and community members in Naisisili due to a death in the village.

Chapter Six, as the concluding chapter of this work, includes a summary of the results of this study. It concludes by re-examining and summarizing the initial questions of this research including the problem statement, the objectives and as well as the relevance of the theories and model used in this research. The chapter also contains a list of policy implications and recommendations arising out of this research and closes with a few suggestions on other areas that need to be considered for further research. Finally, the chapter rests with suggestions in areas that need further investigation and analysis.

1.3 A Brief Geographical Perspective of Tourism

From a geographical point of view, tourism studies are interested in the places of tourist origin and tourist destinations and their links which include transport routes, business relationships and traveler motivations. Furthermore, it involves movement and activities across geographic space or between places, and it is an activity in which both place characteristics and personal self-identities are formed through the relationship that are created among places, landscapes and people. 'Place' is concerned with the meaning attached to space, place individualize space, gives an identity to it (Tuan 1974 in Hinch 2006: 17). Standeven and De Knop (1999: 57) suggest that:

> ...the nature of tourism is rooted in authentic cultural experience of places away from home that have different characteristics. Those characteristics are unique to each place, and the tourist views, feels, smells and touch them. Their differences (and their similarities) become part of his or conscious experience.

Physical geography provides both the essential background against which places of tourism are created. Vast differences of natural features exist all over the globe. They are crucial to constitute the livelihood of tourism-related industries in any given destination, especially when physical - natural attractions provide a major stimulus to people to visit the place. Physical geography is also concerned with environmental impacts caused by tourism activities.

On the other hand, human geography provides an understanding of the social and economic relationships that are inherent to tourism, especially between tourists' destinations and tourists' activities and special meaning these places have to individual tourists especially after having visited a place. A destination's sense of place is often a key element behind tourism and development, because without the uniqueness and diversity of places, tourism is of less significance compared to what it is today.

This thesis links physical, cultural and human geography when discussing the socio-economic, cultural and environmental sustainability of small-scale indigenous tourism in Fiji and indigenous tourism initiatives in Canada. The connection between tourism and indigenous culture as an attraction has been the focus of debate of many tourism researches but little has been done on the extent of indigenous ownership on tourism ventures, their success and how indigenous ownership can enhance the authenticity of indigenous tourism.

It is generally assumed that some of the distinct cultural and natural environment of indigenous people are vital attractions to potential tourists who venture to experience the 'otherness' of culture and environment (Hollinshead 1992: 47) of the world usually located in exotic remote parts of the globe, such as Africa, South America as well as the South Pacific Islands.

The 1980s and 1990s have seen a dramatic growth in both demand for indigenous tourism experiences and the supply of such experiences (Zeppel 1998). One of the reasons for the surge in this demand is that, according to some commentators, as societies become more complex, tourists have sought to escape to simpler places and times. Robinson (1999: 381) describes this in terms of a search for the fading link between nature and culture in an

increasingly urban landscape. In response, tourists are pursuing the 'otherness' around the world (Waitt 1999: 148; Cole & Viken 1998: 90).

The vast difference between developed nations' western culture and the traditional cultures of indigenous people in many developing nations also increases the demand for tourists visiting developing nations' remote areas. McIntosh and Goelder (1990) use the concept of cultural distance to refer to the extent a tourist's home culture differs from that of the area being visited. Ryan and Aiken (2005: 124) describe it poetically as 'ethnic differences are the stuff of magic, power and poetry' and in most cases researchers assume that these differences are the foundation for the attraction of indigenous tourism. Many indigenous people cater to this demand, show-casing their unique cultures as part of their strategy for cultural survival (Smith & Robinson 2006: 93). In the modern world, indigenous tourism is not only an alternative source of livelihood but also a source of aspiration to take part in the mainstream economic activities especially indigenous people who are marginalized.

Unlike mainstream tourism, Indigenous tourism ventures' operations are often assumed to be multi-faceted. Their motivations include economic objectives designed to overcome poverty, political objectives associated with bolstering land claim arguments, environmental objectives such as the promotion of non-consumptive uses of resource, and socio-cultural goals aimed at fostering cultural identity and pride (Hinch 2001:137). As such the extent to which those motivations are fulfilled can determine the way the host community perceives a given tourism operation. Although residents' perception of the host countries especially towards new tourism such as indigenous tourism is still not fully established, residents' perceptions, attitudes and participations have constituted a major area of tourism research. They are important considerations if tourism programs and projects were to be sustainable. Any tourism operation in foreign land and community requires the active participation of the host population for the sake of the venture and welfare of the people.

1.4 Community Participation in Tourism

The idea about community participation derives from the general notion of community development as an approach to rural development during the 1950s and 1960s. It was popularized by the United Nations during the same period as many countries in the less developed world gained independence and were decolonized. Haywood (1988:106

in Okazaki 2008) defines community participation as a 'process of involving all stakeholders in such a way that decision making is shared'. In a similar vein the rationale behind community development was to educate and 'remove the stigma of charity and involve local people in decision-making' (Tosun 2004) and to enhance the community's standard of living.

Okazaki (2008:511) notes community participation has long been advocated as an integral part of sustainable tourism development. Haywood (1988:106) adds it is envisaged that the approach can increase a community's carrying capacity by reducing tourism's negative impacts while enhancing its positive effects. Connell (1997:250) asserts that participation is 'not only about achieving a more efficient and more equitable distribution of materials resources: it is also about the sharing of knowledge and the transformation of the process of learning itself in the service of people's self development. Anstein (1969) states that the purpose of participation is power redistribution that enables society to fairly redistribute benefits and costs. It is often argued that participation of the host community is often excluded from development projects in the tourism sector. Community participation depicts positive perception of the host community towards any development and is crucial towards the stability of any tourism development.

1.4.1 Perceptions of Residents

Research on residents' attitudes indicates that their opinions on tourism development, including indigenous tourism within the community, depend very much on the benefits from tourism ventures, the duration and magnitude of development, and community involvement. For example, several studies (e.g. Madrigal 1995; Aronsson1994) have shown that people who benefit from tourism perceive a greater economic impact than social or environmental impacts from tourism than those who do not (Jamal and Getz 1995:194). In addition, research by Long et al. (1990:54) on 28 rural Colorado communities indicated that residents' favor of tourism development increased initially, but became less favorable after a threshold level of development was reached.

Other studies indicate that community involvement in planning and development is critical to the overall sustainability of tourism in a destination (Cook 1982). A longitudinal study by Getz (1994) shows that resident support for tourism is linked to perceptions of benefits outweighing the costs of tourism development. Similarly Ap's

(1992) contention that *social exchange theory* can help explain residents' attitudes, that is residents are more likely to accept tourism development that benefits the community more than it costs. Furthermore, residents' perception of social and economic benefits may be influenced by the degree of tourism education of the residents (Brayley et al. 1990: 287), while lack of familiarity with development proposals may have an overall adverse effect on general residents' attitudes towards tourism projects (Keogh 1990). Clearly, the perceived benefit and cost of any tourism development in the host community plays a major role in its sustainability and some forms of collaboration and partnership are necessary to achieve sustainability.

However, tourism's role towards development is often debatable especially in developing countries and covered well in a wide range of literatures. The issues include environmental degradation, erosion of culture and economic inequality such as trade imbalance and leakages.

1.5 Background – Exploring the Crust

1.5.1 Tourism's Two Sides of the Coin: Development and Underdevelopment?

Tourism is the act of travel for predominantly recreational or leisure purposes, and also refers to the provision of services in support of this act. According to the World Tourism Organization (WTO), tourists are people who 'travel to and stay in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from the place visited' (2000: 5).

More tourists are from developed countries visiting other developed countries (Hall and Boyd 2005) - refer to Table 1**.** Even though there is an increasing number of tourists travelling to developing countries for the last 10 years, tourism development rarely occurs in the poorest Less Developing Countries (LDCs) (Harrison 2001). Consequently this has a lot of implication on the level of development generated by tourism in LDCs.

Table 1: International Tourism Arrival by Region

Region	International tourist arrivals 2000 (million)	International tourist arrivals 2003 (million)	International tourist arrivals 2005 (million)	Market share %) 2005	Average Annual Growth rate 2000/05 (%)
Europe	395.8	407.1	441.5	54.8	1:1.6
Asia Pacific	110.5	113.3	155.4	19.3	1:30.8
Americas	128.1	113.1	133.5	16.6	1:7.6
N. Americas	91.4	77.3	89.9	11.2	1:5.5
Africa	28.2	31.0	36.7	4.6	1:26.8
Middle East	24.2	29.5	39.1	4.8	1:14.3
World	687	694	806	100	1:9.1

Source: Derived from UNWTO, 2006

Globally the number of international tourists' arrivals has increased from 25 million in 1950 to 842 million in 2006, an average annual growth rate of 7% (UNWTO 2007 in Hall 2007:111). Yet when examining tourism exchanges from a global perspective the actual share of international tourist arrivals which the South enjoys is relatively small. For instance, Africa accounts for 13.3% of the world's population and 3.8% of the world domestic product (GDP) had a 4.6% share of the global tourism market (Table 1). Due to that inequality in tourism receipts, many developing countries are yet to fully appreciate the economic benefits of tourism which can contribute positively to their development.

Tourism has enormous global economic impacts on sending and receiving nations. According to UNWTO (2007) international tourism receipts reached US$680 billion in 2005, making it one of the largest categories of international trade. Also Fellmann et al. (2007:324) state specifically on a worldwide basis that, tourism accounts for some 250 million recorded jobs globally in the formal and unreported numbers in the informal economy, and that services at the start of the 21st century reached about $4 trillion or some 14% of the world's gross domestic product. Unfortunately, using tourism as a development tool is much debated and there is no universal method that measures development success.

The use of tourism as a development tool to generate progress for developing countries has been the focus of research in tourism studies since 1970 (De Kadt 1979; Lea 1998 in Hall 2007). It is unjust to ignore the fact that tourism has generated much needed foreign exchange for many developing countries. For instance, developing countries received US$177 billion in tourism receipts in 2004; tourism was the primary source of foreign exchange earnings in 46 of the 49 poorest nations that the UN describes as the Least Developed Countries (E-TurboNews 2005). Dieke (2000: 287) comments '... developing

countries look upon tourism consumption as manna from heaven that can provide solutions to their development [deficiency]'. While development is often viewed as a positive sign in society, its outcome is often mixed and confused.

1.5.2 Defining Development

What is development? At the most simple level, development means a process of change, which hopefully moves in a positive direction, this positive change can be socio-economic, environmental and cultural (Narman 1997: 221). This definition of development has been adopted for this thesis because it considers development at the indigenous community level in which the community generally lacks basic infrastructure, health facilities, amenities, education and especially a secure source of basic income – synonymous with indigenous communities worldwide (to be discussed later in the chapter).

However, defining development is not always an easy task as many may assume. Narman (1997: 224) concluded that development thinking has taken many twists and turns during the last decades; what has been claimed at one stage is later retracted for some new dogma. Above all, achieving economic gain is always the primary goal of development. As years go by, other issues such as environmental protection, health, education and a decent standard of living have become important components of development. Nevertheless, it has been widely discussed that tourism can also fuel development.

1.5.3 Tourism and Development

Can tourism growth generate development? Sofield (2003: 92) answers this question by saying 'that to study development in the tourism context, it is crucial to grasp the basic facts of who gets what, when, where and how'. Britton (1981) reminds us that 'the emphasis is not whether tourism is economically advantageous in aggregate term, but to whom these advantages accrue.' In other words, the development-tourism link depends on the distribution/control of the proceeds from tourism.

Who benefits from tourism development in general? As stated previously tourism benefits are shared mainly by developed countries, despite having a small share of the world's population**.** For example, North America with only 6.8% of the world's population has 11.2 % of the tourism market in contrast to Africa (see Table 2). The fact is, most of the things perceived about tourism are based on the activities of mass tourism.

Table 2: GDP and Population by Region

Region	GDP (PPP$US billion est.) 2002	GDP as % of world GDP	GDP per capita (PPP$US est. per person)	Population 2002 (million)	Population as % of world population
Europe	12,297	25.2	18,803	654	10.5
Asia Pacific	16,631	34.1	4,470	3479	55.7
Americas	15,091	30.9	17,609	857	13.7
N. America	12,144	24.9	28,597	425	6.8
Africa	1,897	3.8	2,280	832	13.3
Middle East	2,866	5.8	6,795	422	6.8
World	48,781	100	7,815	6,242	100

Notes: PPP refers to purchasing power parity; purchasing power is a measure of what can be bought in the country in which that money is earned; percentage figures have been rounded.

Source: derived from UNTWO, 2006

Mass tourism is synonymous with large-scale tourism and typically associated with 3S (sand, sun, seas), resorts and characteristics such as transnational ownership, high leakage effect, seasonality, and packaged tours (Weaver 2001: 659). Furthermore mass tourism has been tainted with issues of environmental degradation, increased population density, prostitution and increased congestion and strains on infrastructure (Filho 1996; Wilkinson 1989). These issues demand a new form of tourism that is sustainable. Sustainable forms of tourism and tourism development arise from the same concerns over sustainable development in general. Environmentalists' influence on tourism is more recent and more diffused and play an important role in sustainable tourism development. Indigenous tourism also plays a crucial role towards sustainable tourism development and a brief discussion about the subject will help to shed some light about the interconnectedness between sustainability and indigenous livelihoods.

1.5.4 Sustainable Development and Tourism

The concept of sustainable development has been popularized by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in its 1987 report '*Our Common Future'* seeks economic growth and environmental protection. For others it refers to type of development that is ecologically, economically, socially, politically, and culturally sustainable. The Rio Summit of June 1992 defined sustainable development as any socio-economic, cultural and environmental progress that will adequately meet the current needs of society without totally compromising the needs of future generations. This definition applies to development tools such as sustainable tourism.

The WTO states that sustainable tourism development guidelines and management practices are 'applicable to all forms of tourism in all types of destinations, including mass tourism

and the various niche tourism segments.' This includes indigenous tourism. Sustainability principles refer to the environmental, economic and socio-cultural aspects of tourism development, and a suitable balance must be established between these three dimensions to guarantee its long term sustainability (WTO, 2004a, b).

For any tourism operation to be sustainable, it should meet a number of criteria. According to WTO (2004a, b) sustainable tourism should:

- Make optimal use of environmental resources that constitute a key element in tourism development, maintaining essential ecological processes and helping to conserve natural heritage and biodiversity
- Respect the socio-cultural authenticity of host communities, conserve their built and living cultural heritage and traditional values, and contribute to inter-cultural understanding and tolerance.
- Ensure viable, long term economic operations, providing socio-economic benefits that are fairly distributed to all stakeholders, including stable employment and income earning opportunities and social services to host communities, and contributing to poverty alleviation.

This thesis will employ the definition of sustainable tourism provided by the WTO above to judge the sustainability of small-scale indigenous tourism both in Fiji and Canada.

1.5.5 Criticism of Sustainable Tourism Development

Despite its prominence, the concept of sustainable tourism development has received its fair share of criticism. It is much debated and disjointed (Liu 2003). Opponents accuse the concept as another marketing ploy to improve tourism earnings rather than practicing responsible tourism. Mowforth & Munt (2003:80) add that the concept often has been 'hijacked to give moral rectitude and "green" credentials to tourist activities'.

In addition, some authors have questioned the validity of sustainable tourism in practice (Sharpley 2000: 13; Clarke 1997: 369). Their criticisms include confusion over growth and sustainability, the issues of scale, and the development of indicators (Hunter 1997). The demand for an integrated sustainable tourism platform has led to the present and potential clash between the economic and environmental needs of the new form of tourism development therefore creating social conflicts and industries inefficiencies (Ritchie 1999). Some authors have claimed the scope of sustainable

tourism has been from the protection of environment, to management of tourism businesses to interpretations that are simply marketing ploy or a marketing publicity stunt designed to attract new clientele and enhance tourism promotion (Berry and Ladkin, 1997). Despite these oppositions, the concept of sustainable tourism development has received wider applause, depending on the form it takes and its positive contributions to the livelihood of people that engage sustainable tourism as part of socio-economic development.

Part of the problem in determining the sustainability of tourism development is the fluidity of variables being affected by tourism development. Harrison (1996:78) voices the difficulty in analyzing the sustainability of socio-culture structure of the host community in any sustainable tourism development because culture changes with time. Accordingly, Tisdell (1993: 216) points out the difficulty of determining when one cultures end and another begins makes it hard to decide and determine what the 'sustainability of cultural and community life.'

Wall (1997) on the other hand questions what is to be sustained and who is to decide? These are intractable questions. Should one be trying to sustain individuals, communities, regions or nations; experience for tourists, incomes for businesses or lifestyles for residents; individual enterprises, economic sectors or whole economies and production systems; economic activities, cultural expression or environmental conditions ? These are important issues to consider about tourism sustainability. Importantly, many researchers have linked sustainable tourism development to the operation of small and medium tourism enterprises (SMTEs) because of its size, ownership and community involvement. However there is still much room for debate to substantiate this view.

1.6 Characteristics and Impacts of Small and Medium Tourism Enterprise (SMTEs)

The characteristics and impacts of SMTEs are discussed here because they are relevant to the discussion of small-scale indigenous tourism in Fiji and Canada. Definitions of small business differ and Ateljevic (2002) has identified more than 70 in her international review. The terms SMEs (small and medium–sized enterprises) is increasingly used, especially within the European Union (EU) (Wanhill 2000). The EU definition focuses on the number of employees involved in an enterprise. Therefore medium-sized enterprises are classified as those employing between 100 and 499 employees, small enterprises

employ 10-99 people, and micro-enterprises of fewer than 10 employees. SMTEs specifically refer to small-medium enterprise in tourism. This thesis adopts the EU's definition to define SMTEs in Fiji and Canada, micro, small and medium tourism operation employing fewer than 10 people, 10-99 people and 100-499 people respectively.

SMTEs are the predominant business sizes in tourism and recreation, but have only recently been the focus of academic research and writing (Carlsen 2008: 243). Research in this field traditionally puts a heavy emphasis on their contribution to job creation, economic revitalization (Zhao and Getz 2008:314), and local ownership (McDonald et al. 2008:265). In Europe, SMTEs employ to an average of about 83% of all hospitality workers, compared to an average of about 66% for all other industries (Eurostat 2003). In Canada for example almost all (98.9%) of the established businesses in the service-producing sector are small enterprises (Statistics Canada 2005). Over three quarters of them (78.5%) are micro-businesses that employ no more than four employees.

SMTEs owners are often motivated by many factors depending on their personal circumstances, location, as well as the characteristics of the tourism destination. These motives can range from the need to gain income and employment to less tangible rewards, such as the opportunity to pursue more enjoyable lifestyles.

1.6.1 Weaknesses of SMTEs

Despite their importance to tourism, SMTEs are often plagued with inherent weaknesses that marginalized them from the greater tourism economy (Morrison 2002: 165). Augustyn (2004:58) explicitly comments that one of the most prevailing characteristics is the 'resource poverty' these firms face. Such poverty is considered in terms of inadequate capital (Morrison and Teixeira 2004: 166), thus affecting many other tangible resources that the business requires. It is their 'skill poverty' however, that could arguably have the greatest effect on the business and the vulnerability they face. It includes lack of management and financial skills to manage any business like tourism.

Furthermore, SMTEs owners are characterized as poor business planners and the reasons for poor performance include the lack of resources, limited management experience, unwillingness to grow and the absence of a business plan and a strategy (McDonald et al. 2008:267). Studies regarding SMTEs in New Zealand and Canada reveal the lack of business planning by these operations. A study in New Zealand's South Island found a predominance of informal 'strategic intent' with a focus on day to day operations,

maintenance of a desired life style and reliance on business experience taking precedence over any formal written strategic planning processes (Williams and Peters 2008:278).

Due to their small economies of scale and scope, they typically are confronted with a particular set of constraints. These include marketing/advertising budgets, human resources, and entrepreneurial leadership capacities (Morrison 2002; Morrison 1998:193). The owner/managers of these businesses have enormous influence over the economic growth strategies of the enterprises and the extent to which the ventures generates benefits for the communities in which they operate (Gagnon et al. 2000). An increasing number of indigenous tourism entrepreneurs have engaged in small scale tourism ventures because of the characteristics of SMTEs as less formal and rational as discussed above. A primary concern however is how indigenous tourism entrepreneur can become competitive in the current tourism business dominated by transnational tourism companies. It is very important to identify the indigenous people of a country before discussing indigenous tourism in the context of indigenous tourism sustainability.

1.7 Defining Indigenous People

The concept of indigenous people has long been used in different literature on issues affecting them. A sampling of the terminology (in Butler and Hinch 1996:9) includes: Indian (Hollishead 1992) aboriginal (Altman 1989, Altaman and Finlayson 1983), native (AFN 2006), indigenous (Sofield 2002), and first nations (AFN 2006). The choice of a particular term is normally based on: the geographic context, the specific cultural group that is the focus of the publication, the objectives of the author, and the sensibilities of the target audience (Butler and Hinch 1996:9).

The term indigenous peoples has no universal, standard or fixed definition, but can be used about any ethnic group who inhabit the geographic region with which they have the earliest historical connection (BSR, 2003). They are considered to be the original or First Peoples with different cultural beliefs and practices closely linked to local ecosystems and the use of natural resources (Furze et al. 1996; Price 1996). However, several widely accepted formulations, which define the term "Indigenous peoples" in stricter terms, have been put forward by internationally-recognized organizations, such as the United Nations (UN), the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the World Bank (WB).

Drawing on these, a contemporary working definition of "indigenous peoples" has criteria which seek to include cultural groups (and their descendants) who have a historical continuity or association with a given region, or parts of a region, and who formerly or currently inhabit the region either:

- before its subsequent colonization or annexation; *or*
- alongside other cultural groups during the formation of a nation state *or*
- independently or largely isolated from the influence of the claimed governance by a nation-state, and who furthermore have maintained at least in part their distinct linguistic, cultural and social organization characteristics, and in doing so remain differentiated in some degree from the surrounding populations and dominant culture of the nation-state (Eversole et al. 2005:10).

In the context of this research indigenous people will be used to describe races of people who are endemic or native to a given place due to the criteria listed above. This group can either represent the minority or majority group of the population.

1.7.1 Indigenous People and Development- A glimpse

The United Nations estimates that there are at least 300 million indigenous people in the world associated with 5, 000 indigenous groups in more than seventy countries (Eversole et al. 2005: 2). Indicators of the social demographic characteristics of indigenous people in North America, Australia and many other parts of the world have described the cultures of indigenous people as a culture of poverty (Frideres 1988). Eversole et al. (2005: 2) acknowledge in *Indigenous People and Poverty* that around the world in vastly different cultures and settings, indigenous people are nearly always disadvantaged relative to their non-indigenous counterparts. Their material standard of living is lower and their risks of disease and early death are higher. These indicators of economic and social conditions paint a grim picture of the culture of poverty in which many of the world's indigenous people exist.

1.7.2 Indigenous People and Poverty

Researches by World Bank and Inter-American Development Bank indicate that generally indigenous people are disproportionately represented among the poorest of the poor in both developed and developing countries. The World Bank (2001) study on indigenous peoples and poverty in Latin America concludes that "poverty among Latin America's indigenous population is pervasive and severe. Another study in the region conducted by the Inter-American Development Bank has similar conclusions and observations and I quote:

> *By conventional socioeconomic indicators, whether based on income data or on concepts of unsatisfied basic needs indigenous peoples as an ethnic group are represented disproportionately among the poor and the extreme poor. Moreover, with very few exceptions, the indications are that this trend has been worsening over the past decade or so…This is mainly rural poverty, given that despite recent demographic and occupational trends the vast majority of indigenous peoples are still concentrated in rural areas. But there is also new urban poverty confronting indigenous peoples, with evidence that extreme poverty once again affects them disproportionately as an ethnic group.*
>
> (IFAD 2000/2001; IWGIA 2004)

A brief look at indigenous poverty shows that in Mexico indigenous peoples live in "alarming conditions of extreme poverty and marginality." The study observes that being poor and being indigenous are synonymous. Statistics in Guatemala show that 50 to 60 percent of a total population of 11 million belongs to 23 indigenous groups of people. Of this number, 54.3 percent of them are poor and 22.8 percent extremely poor. In Ecuador's rural population, of which 90 percent are indigenous peoples, almost all are living in extreme poverty (Tebtebba 2003).

The poor indicators of development for indigenous people are not confined to developing countries for it is well documented in developed countries as well. A meeting of the indigenous people of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Hawaii and mainland United States in 2000 concluded that 'indigenous people by any social or economic indicators do not have equality with the members of the dominant societies where they live'. For instance, Canada's Human Development Index (HDI) ranking has dropped from the first to eighth due partly to the poor socio-economic status of the native population (IFAD 2000/2001; IWGIA 2004).

Furthermore, the poor socio-economic indicators of many native communities show that development in general is not benefiting them. For instance, for First Nations, the indigenous people of Canada, one in every four children live in poverty compared to one in six Canadian children. High school completion among First Nations youth is half the Canadian rate and at the current rate, it will take 28 years for the natives to catch up to non- Aboriginal population (Tebtebba 2003).

Depressed conditions often cause tourism development goals and aspirations of indigenous communities to vary from the goals of non-indigenous communities and foreign investors. While economic gains are always the primary objective, indigenous entrepreneurs have other important goals that regulate how economic gains are used, such as aims to improve the livelihood of the community. Studies have suggested that indigenous communities are much more likely to identify tourism development objectives in the area of community infrastructure and service upgrading than non-indigenous communities which emphasize promotional initiatives to improve tourists' arrival that may compromise the carrying capacity of the natural environment (Hinch 2004). While there is a narrow literature on the ability of indigenous entrepreneurs to negotiate environmental protection and economic gain from tourism, there is an assumption that they will protect the environment because for many indigenous entrepreneurs the natural environment is their source of livelihood even before any tourism development.

1.7.3 Indigenous Entrepreneur

Mill (1848), considered entrepreneurship to be direction, supervision, control and risk taking, with risk being the main distinguishing feature between the manager and the owner-manager (in Dana & Anderson 2007:3). Although there are variations in defining entrepreneurship, there is agreement the terms includes at least a part of the administrative function of making decisions for the conduct of some type of organization (Cochran 1968:87). A specific definition referring to indigenous entrepreneur is drawn from Hindle and Lansdowne's definition:

> Indigenous entrepreneurship is the creation, management and development of new ventures by Indigenous people for the benefit of Indigenous people. The organization thus created can pertain to either the private, public or non-profit sectors. The desired and achieved benefits of venturing can range from a narrow view of economic profit for a single individual to the broad view of multiple, social and economic advantages for the entire communities. Outcomes and entitlements derived from indigenous entrepreneurship may extend to enterprise partners and stakeholders who may be non-Indigenous.
>
> (2002:2)

This thesis employs the definition above when discussing the indigenous entrepreneur engaging in tourism venture in the Yasawa Group, Fiji and Essipit, Canada. Dana and Anderson (2007:4) comment on research on indigenous entrepreneurship as timely, given the recent surge in interest in the subject. Also Dybbroe wrote, 'indigenous knowledge as a field of study in its own right has attained wide currency over the last ten or more years' (1999:15). In similar vein McGregor (2004:389) acknowledges that indigenous knowledge 'is still highly relevant not just to the indigenous people but to larger societies as well. Principles and values such as respect, coexistence, cooperation, honor, thanksgiving, reciprocity, balance and harmony and recognition of relationships among all of Creation are still very relevant and needed in contemporary times'.

Dana and Anderson (2007:5) study of indigenous entrepreneurship from several corners of the world reiterate the richness of heterogeneity among indigenous people, and some of their cultural values are often irreconcilable with the basic assumptions of mainstream theories especially when profit is not a primary goal of the business venture. Some indigenous communities' economies display elements of egalitarian, sharing and communal activity. Indigenous entrepreneurship is usually environmentally sustainable. Indigenous people often rely on immediately available resources, and work in indigenous communities is often irregular (Dana and Anderson 2007:5). Also social organizations among indigenous people are often based on kinship ties, not necessarily created in response to markets needs.

Moreover, opportunity is more likely to be culturally influenced, as is the measurement of success (Dana and Anderson 2007:5). Indigenous people are sometimes pulled to traditional forms of self-employment but pushed to other money-making earning activities, out of economic need. One economic activity which draws the attention of indigenous entrepreneurs is the tourism venture. Many indigenous entrepreneurs are engaging in tourism venture either through sole ownership or partnership to foster the socio-economic and environmental well-being of their immediate families and the community. This indigenous ownership of tourism venture has brought alternative or the only viable choice of engaging in business for indigenous entrepreneurs.

1.8 What is Indigenous Tourism?

Indigenous tourism can mean a lot of things. For this study, the definition of indigenous tourism has been arrived at by three approaches; i) according to academic criteria of Hinch and Butler (1996), Smith and Eadington (1992); ii) according to country preference in defining indigenous tourism, and, iii), according to self-identification of visitors in the local tourism environment.

For Butler and Hinch (1996: 9) 'Indigenous tourism refers to tourism activity in which indigenous people are both directly involved either through control and or by having their cultures serves as the essence of the attraction'. Smith and Eadington (1992) perceive indigenous tourism as … 'that segments of the visitor industry which directly involves native peoples whose ethnicity is a tourist attraction.'

Different countries will have variations to this definition. For example, in Australia, indigenous tourism is a much contested label and has been defined as 'a tourism product which are either; Aboriginal owned or part owned, employs Aboriginal people or provides consenting contact with aboriginal people, culture or land (SACT 1995: 5). Indigenous tourism in Canada and the USA is also referred to as Aboriginal, Native or First Nation in Canada and Indian or Native American in the USA respectively (Zeppel 2006: 8). Further, indigenous tourism evolves when indigenous people operate tours and cultural centers, provide visitor facilities and control tourist access to cultural sites, natural resources, and tribal lands (ibid. 2006: 9).

On the other hand, how do visitors/locals classify themselves given the above definitions which centrally focus on the provision of cultural entertainment and ownership of indigenous tourism ventures? Visitors do not see themselves as cultural tourists, wine tourists or even eco tourists. The indiscriminate use of these market descriptions by the tourism industry can potentially limit our understanding of 'who any such travellers are' and 'how they are best reached and served' (Tourism and Community Development Solutions 2003-2007).

Visitors with a genuinely keen interest in nature and cultural tourism, including learning about indigenous cultures, are less likely to be one-dimensional in their behavior or easily categorized in market terms. Instead, like the majority of tourists, they are usually hoping to enjoy a wider mix of interesting and beneficial experiences

including good food, activity, relaxation and accommodation options when they decide to travel for pleasure (ibid.).

When referring to indigenous tourism in Fiji and Canada, this thesis will be using the definition by Parker (1993a:400) which defines indigenous tourism as any tourism product or service which is owned and operated by Aboriginal people. On the other hand, indigenous tourism in Fiji does not follow the Australian, Canadian or US country-specific definition or categorization. The case of Fiji is slightly unique because this is an instance where the country's Bill of Rights in the constitution has taken precedence over definition. In the multiracial and multicultural landscape of Fiji, the term 'indigenous' is construed as discriminating against other races in Fiji's society. Therefore, indigenous tourism is loosely identified as those ventures belonging to 'resource owners'. The major drawback of this definition is that it does not conform to the definitions already stated above and can pose problematic issues for this study. Resource owner tourism will be used in this thesis to refer specifically to indigenous Fijian operating tourism business in the land that is traditionally theirs or own by the *mataqali* where one belongs.

1.8.1 Where does Indigenous Tourism Occur?

Indigenous tourism occurs within the context of a global tourism industry that is dominated by large corporations as in Europe, New Zealand, Australia, Canada and developing countries like Fiji. As mentioned earlier, it forms part of the now copiously referenced cluster of tourism alternatives (Smith and Eadington, 1992), sustainable tourism (Weaver, 2001), that can inform in improving the socio-economic well being of indigenous people.

Furthermore, indigenous tourism directly denotes indigenous ownership of any tourism activities may it be sight-seeing, eco-tourism, trekking, sports, river boating and so forth. It is never limited to any geographical location whether it is rural or urban. The more focused study on indigenous tourism according to Hinch and Butler (1996: 6), in its various forms, has been characterized by four general phases; 1- legitimization as subject of scholarly study, 2- critical advocacy for indigenous people, 3- analysis from a policy and economic development strategy perspective and 4- pragmatic cross-cultural education.

Enveloping all these four phases, for instance, key themes in the published research and case studies about community and indigenous tourism include community development (Russel, 2000; Fennell, 2003; Brieddenham and Wickens, 2003), empowerment (Scheyvens, 2000, 2004; Sofield, 2003; WTO, 2005) or self determination (Johnston, 2003; Hinch; 2004) and sustainable tourism/ecotourism (Epler, 1999; Robinson, 1999; WWF, 2001). For various reasons indigenous people engage in tourism business that to some extent may be different from mainstream tourism operators.

1.8.2 The Rationale of Indigenous Tourism

The rationale of indigenous people participating in tourism can be explained briefly from the three dimensions of economic, socio-cultural and environment sustainability. Firstly, like other tourism ventures, economic considerations usually inspire indigenous people to participate in indigenous tourism. Proponents of alternative tourism development, Butler and Hinch (1996) reaffirm that indigenous people are gaining income from employment through the construction and operation of enterprises, through self employment and as vendors and guides, and through the production of goods and services as artists and accommodation providers. In some cases, those involved are using traditional knowledge and expertise to provide cultural experiences to tourists, while being able to maintain a life style which has not had to undergo major modification to meet the requirements of the tourism industry.

The economic benefits from indigenous control of tourism activities allow indigenous people to determine such critical factors as the scale, speed and nature of development (Butler and Hinch 1996: 9). Although in practice indigenous tourism represents a small subset of the global tourism, income generated through tourism represents a substantial proportion of resources for indigenous people and constitutes an exchange of value between indigenous people and tourists as the indigenous people are in positions of control of the tourism activities through indigenous tourism.

Secondly, indigenous tourism has a high probability of having indigenous culture as the main tourist attraction and can bridge cultural differences between indigenous people and tourists, and amongst indigenous people themselves. Aspects of indigenous culture are perceived as ‘primitive’ and isolated from the mainstream culture of developed countries. The cultural differences provide culturally-focused indigenous tourism operations a competitive advantage (Parker 1993b). In addition to these differences, each indigenous

culture is constantly evolving in the face of change within the environment in which it exists (Hinch and Butler 1996). Another benefit regarding tourist-host contact is that as a better understanding of non-indigenous visitors is achieved, tourism can be planned and managed so that indigenous people dictate the nature of the experience.

Hinch and Butler (1996) state the increasing participation of indigenous people in tourism is also driven by the belief that such activity facilitates understanding between indigenous and non-indigenous people. This rationale assumes that much of the harm that has been perpetuated by non-indigenous people on indigenous people has been, and continues to be based on ignorance (Hinch and Butler 2007). In this argument, when non-indigenous people observe and experience indigenous culture, their understanding and appreciation of indigenous positions on major issues improve. Visitors to indigenous communities return to their own community and disseminate their new knowledge and improve understanding between indigenous people and non-indigenous people within a country. Increased understanding results in changed attitudes and behaviors that lead, in turn, to a more just and equitable relationship between indigenous and non- indigenous people (D'Amore 1988: 37). This argument needs a wide-scope of study to substantiate whether indigenous tourism can fuel cultural integration and understanding between people because such remark is derived from general observation within and outside the tourism industry without proper research to validate the claim.

As for Fiji, as far back as the colonial era, the Fijians are facing the dilemma of cultural change and retention. This was because of the presence of non-indigenous population including whites and Indians. Nayacakalou (1975:4-5) critically discussed that the Fijian cultures had undergone changes from the time of colonization and it was up to the indigenous population to determine the speed at which these changes took place. As such tourism is perceived by many as agent of reviving the Fijian culture as well as fostering understanding between tourists and the indigenous people.

On the other hand there are numerous publications that discuss the negatives impacts of tourism on the culture of the indigenous people.

With greater legal recognition and control over homeland areas, culture and resources, indigenous groups in many areas can control appropriate types of small scale tourism development in traditional lands and protected areas (Zeppel 2006: 3). As well as being

an exotic tourist attraction, indigenous people are increasingly important stakeholders as owners, designated employees, managers, traditional owners, park rangers and tour operators (Notzke 2006).

Furthermore the global expansion of tourism into remote natural areas and indigenous land in developing countries has seen increasing concerns for sustainable tourism development, particularly with indigenous groups (Macintosh 1999; McLaren 1999; Smith; 2001). For indigenous people 'land rights are an absolute prerequisite for sustainable development' (Johnston 2000: 92). Legal rights over tribal lands and resources allow indigenous people to benefit from alternative tourism, through community-owned enterprises, joint ventures and other partnerships. Having legal rights over land and other resources has facilitated the growth of indigenous tourism although it can become a source of internal conflicts within the indigenous community.

Indigenous tourism has also facilitated indigenous peoples' reclamation or increased control of ancestral land in North America, Australia, New Zealand and developing countries (de Burlo 1996; Butler 1998). For instance, Guujaaw (1996 in Neel 1996) in studying the Haida Nation, an indigenous community in Queen Charlotte Island, Canada in the 1980s, concluded that the Haida Nation was able to regain access to their traditional land lost through forestry development through tourism activities in the form of a National Preserve for tourist visitation.

Likewise, Elias (1995) has observed that the development of indigenous tourism in Little Red River Community in Canada has facilitated the re-introduction of traditional values and skills to the younger indigenous generation in the community. Indigenous participation in tourism is more than just about economic gain (de Burlo 1996: 257). While this issue has not been discussed in a tourism context to any greater extent, it has received considerable attention in native development studies (Elias 1995). As well it seems more likely in the case of indigenous tourism that nature might be emphasized because there is a perception that indigenous people have a distinct eco-consciousness.

Regarding the environment, indigenous people have a close relationship with nature and see themselves as part of nature rather than a resource to be used for their short advantages (Toledo 1992; WWF 2001). The fact that many indigenous communities are the last to be absorbed into the age of industrialization explains such close relationship. The close interaction between tourism and the natural environment has given much hope and

aspiration for the participation of indigenous people in tourism. Especially when many of the attempts to integrate indigenous people into existing wage economies have led to their alienation from the land with its consequent negative impacts (ibid.).

Socially, it is argued that increased economic independence will be accompanied by a higher degree of self–determination and cultural pride as the shame imposed by poverty and social welfare are broken and lead to more improved standards of living (Hinch and Butler 1996; Harrison 2001). All over the world indigenous participation in tourism has given a new social status to indigenous people to one of cultural pride, self-fulfillment, and self autonomy, and a decent living standard. Indigenous tourism is also a mechanism for finding solutions to the challenges facing indigenous people (Altman 1989: Zeppel 2006; Altman and Finayson 1993; in Butler 2006).

Opponents to the involvement of indigenous people in tourism would argue that the above rationale is fallacious or at best naive. As well many indigenous advocates (e.g. Hall and Jenkins 1995) note that the "eco-indigenous" framework can prevent indigenous peoples from really benefiting from resource development (because they would look hypocritical). However, much research needs to be done specifically on indigenous tourism on this question. Many publications on this discourse are based on the experience of mass tourism operation and that alternative tourism is seen as having the same impact. Like most development, the government plays crucial roles especially for indigenous people to assist in terms of infrastructure, advice, policy and finance.

1.8.3 State Involvement and Tourism

Like all tourism, the economy, physical environment, social-demographics, and politics may have particularly strong influences upon the outcome of indigenous tourism. These factors represent external influences largely beyond the control of the either the indigenous or global industry, but which help determine the success of the industry (Zeppel 2006:12). Additionally government interference also shapes the success and failure of the tourism industry.

Generally, according to the WTO, the state is involved in tourism in five distinct ways: it establishes a framework within which the private and public sectors can cooperate; it legislates and regulates to protect the environment and cultural heritage; it constructs the infrastructure; it develops and provides training and education for tourism; and it formulates the overall policy and plans for tourism development (Raphael 1993: 1-3).

The state's involvement also varies from passive to active involvement (Jenkins and Henry 1982), although there is little chance of finding a society where government involvement is entirely absent (Harrison 2001: 34).

In Canada and Fiji, the state's involvement in tourism in general varies in scope and depth in financial terms and policies. The state level of involvement plays an important role in the sustainable of any form tourism especially in growing economy like in the South Pacific countries.

1.8.4 Indigenous Tourism in the South Pacific

The study of indigenous tourism in the South Pacific is still in its infant stages and confined to individual case studies (Harrison 2006) and fragmented studies by aspiring young scholars. On the one hand, the lack of study is surprising given that the populations of these small islands states are predominantly indigenous; however, the pattern of study reflects the historic focus on tourism developed by international corporations. This research deficiency leaves a gap in our knowledge of the impacts of indigenous tourism in society. The birth of this new alternative tourism in the South Pacific dates back in the late 1990s with varying degree in establishment, ownership and success.

Indigenous tourism, a term first used by Swain (1989: 85) in Melanesia has many features of other local business enterprises organized by islanders (Fairbarn 1988; Rodman 1987). Many indigenous tourism operators use ties of kinship and residential affiliation to collect and effectively utilize scarce capital and resources. Like other Pacific islander entrepreneurs, Ni-Vanuatu for instance, follow traditional styles of leadership and are supported in their risk-taking in commercial venture by indigenous social groups in which they are enmeshed, based on descent, marriage, and resource rights, and residence (Petersen 1993: 191). In return, these business leaders are expected to assist their supporters in traditional exchanges, access to credits, and with shares of profits and capital stocks (de Burlo 1984: 294—295). However, indigenous operators have admitted that commitments towards traditional obligations can have the final blow on the sustainability indigenous tourism.

Rodman (1987: 718) provides insights into the behavior of indigenous entrepreneurs and workers towards modern businesses. He noted the household is the mainstay of local production and indigenous entrepreneurs act as producers of simple economic goods. People will deliberately choose whether to become or not to become full time participants

in tourism or any other commercial venture. He added that any expectations that rural entrepreneurs will become committed to a tourism business on a full-time basis are simply unrealistic, since many islanders mix multiple economic activities to provide for their livelihood (1987:718). Islanders stop one commercial activity for others, or exert more efforts in gardening when social or economic conditions are unfavorable. This pattern of behavior manifests itself as only a partial commitment to tourist ventures and as a limited devotion to work by indigenous employees in the indigenous operation (ibid.).

Furthermore, indigenous tourism operators always have an 'exit option' (Rodman 1987: 718); as a result, small scale resorts or guesthouses regularly come and go depending on other opportunities and priorities (Harrison 2003:74). To maintain the integrity of social life and economic security, islanders forego capitalist rationality in favor of other priorities such as the performance of traditional obligations for instance. They enjoy the self reliance of diversity, flexibility, and keeping 'options open' (Rodman 1987:718).

The work ethic of indigenous owners and expectations of the community play an important function in survival of indigenous businesses. De Burlo (1984) for instance commented that indigenous owners in Vanuatu earn significant social and economic prestige. For instance in one case study, as the owner of the guest house and as a tour operator, John was able to follow a strategy of self reliance, which was characterized by flexibility and involvement in a diverse and shifting range of economic and social activities. His status was reinforced through the performance of other roles in traditional 'grade-taking' ceremonies, in running the village store, in establishing a local agriculture cooperative and as a copra producer. John's tourism activities thus helped finance his other business activities and his traditional leadership roles (de Burlo 1984). It is this basis of indigenous social organization and cultural values that nourishes entrepreneurship and builds long-term social sustainability for indigenous tourism (Harrison 2003:73). However it can also act as barrier to it.

A study by Reddy (1998: 150) found that landowner involvement and commitment led to the success of Bouma Forest Park, an eco-tourism village based in Fiji that links natural and the cultural heritage in ways to maintain the integrity of both heritages together. She also concluded that strong personal or family control and commitment

was the key to success for the other two small tourism ventures that provide camp site and village visit for tourists.

As in other traditional societies, in the South Pacific the sustainability of indigenous tourism is affected by factors of communal land tenure issues (Harrison 2004:37), conflicts over individual versus community gain from tourism, small visitors markets, remoteness and limited integration with private tourism industry.

Important as well, is the geographical isolation of South Pacific destinations from major source markets like North America and Europe provides an additional challenge. For the South Pacific tourist destinations, New Zealand and Australia serve as their 'bread and butter' markets have less than 22 million people combined, while Canada and USA which have a current 33.1 (Urban Waterloo 2010) and 310.8 million people (Rosenberg 2010) respectively supply tourists to Caribbean tourist destinations (Sofield 1998: 251).

Furthermore South Pacific countries vary in the level of support given by government and other tourism organizations in terms of finance, infrastructure and policies towards indigenous tourism's establishment. This support depends largely on the importance of the tourism industry to the economies of these island states. For instance, the establishment of indigenous tourism such as ecotourism ventures depends largely on donor assistance like SPREP, Australia, NZ, Japan and ILO and support from NGOs like WWF (Zeppel 2006: 60). There is also the problem about donor assistance that only assists towards the set up costs but not operational support or marketing (Zeppel 2006: 76) which are vital for the growth of any tourism operation especially towards small operators. Government in Fiji, Samoa, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu provide support for indigenous ecotourism to bring benefits of tourism to villages in remote rural areas and outer islands, generate local income and promote conservation of natural resources.

Nevertheless regarding assistance rendered to small scale tourism, Francis (1998) is critical of both the government and major tourism sector bodies for their actual commitment to the concept of ecotourism in Fiji. Non-participation of committees and boards, allocation of a very small proportion of tourism related funding to ecotourism promotion and development, and an apparent lack of appreciation of the potential of ecotourism are all cited as reasons for this stagnation of tourism subset.

1.8.5 Elements of Indigenous Tourism

Indigenous tourism operations develop in a socio-economic environment shaped by the wider / dominant economy, by expectations of tourists of holiday experiences, and by cultural practices of indigenous peoples. Indigenous tourist operators have to compete both with mainstream, dominant tourism operators and with alternate ways for employees to provide for their livelihood. These social, economic, and cultural forces shape the type of indigenous tourism initiatives in particular countries.

The same socio-economic conditions that influence the establishment of indigenous tourism initiatives also create particular challenges and opportunities for indigenous tourism. In addition, government policies (such that concerning land) and donor assistance contribute to the environment in which indigenous tourism operates.

Finally, sustainability poses a particularly important consideration for indigenous tourism operators. While questions of sustainability are important throughout tourism, two particular qualities make sustainability particularly important for indigenous tourism operators. First, since indigenous tourism often is located on or near traditional lands and waters, indigenous tourism operations should not harm the quality of life for the indigenous / host groups. Closely related to this is the communal ownership of land where the operation is located which can either lead to the operation's sustainability or vice versa. Second, since many tourist consumers associate indigenous people with a special relation to the environment, sustainability may be an essential selling point and source of competitive advantage.

1.9 Research on Indigenous Tourism in Canada and Fiji

1.9.1 Research Problem Statement

Research Problem

Are there certain pre-requisites towards the sustainability of indigenous tourism ventures?

Why should indigenous tourism's initiatives and its socio-economic, cultural and environmental sustainability be agents of its success?

Indigenous tourism ventures have been held to be an important answer to the development problem of indigenous communities seeking to stay connected with their

lands and culture at the same time experiencing a decent standard of living. But while there is increasing demand for such indigenous ventures from tourists the problem has been in providing a sustainable industry. The explanation has been unclear but such explanations usually depend on some cultural factors- a fundamental tension between indigenous culture and sustainable indigenous ventures in tourism.

The particular case for Fiji seems to bear out the observation of the difficulty of achieving sustainable indigenous tourist ventures. In a country where tourism is the number one industry and where most Fijians still live on communal land the importance of achieving such sustainability is paramount.

Understandings of this Fijian case have thus far been rather limited. It is the starting point for this thesis that an explanation of the prerequisites for Fijian indigenous ventures may have something to learn from the explanations of successful cases of indigenous tourism in Canada.

Thus the key research problem considered by this thesis is 'what are the pre requisites for sustainable indigenous tourism in terms of its socio-economic, cultural and environmental impacts in Fiji and how might we learn from the Canadian case?

The thesis also considers a related follow-on question which is whether successful indigenous tourism venture could be an agent of success.

1.9.2 Objectives

This research is based on the experiences of an indigenous tourism venture in Essipit Canada and two indigenous tourism ventures in the Yasawa group of islands in Fiji.

The objectives of the research are:

- To identify the indigenous tourism initiatives in Essipit, Canada and how these may better inform (or help improve) sustainable tourism initiatives in Fiji.
- To evaluate the economic, social-cultural and environmental sustainability of indigenous tourism in Fiji;
- To identify major challenges facing indigenous tourism in the two countries;
- To identify the kinds of assistance provided by the government towards indigenous tourism in Fiji; and,
- Based on research findings, recommend policy measures that are designed to assist the operation of indigenous tourism.

1.9.3 Research Methods

Research is a careful and systematic inquiry or investigations into a subject in order to discover or revise facts, theories, applications, etc (Castillo 2009). Methodology is the system of methods followed by particular discipline. Qualitative and quantitative methods of research were used in this study in order to collect empirical data.

The research used the following research methods: questionnaire, structured interviews, and informal discussions with respondents that were intentionally and randomly selected both in the Yasawa and Essipit with the different respondents. Informal discussions were done to facilitate the need to get detailed information about certain issues regarding indigenous tourism in the Yasawa.

In Essipit, convenience sampling was implemented to interview employees and community members since it was winter and low tourism season which made communication very difficult especially for employees who were working outside the reserve. Convenience sampling is a non-probability sampling technique where respondents are selected because of their accessibility and proximity to the researcher (Castillo 2009). It is acknowledged that the results obtain from the research may not be a representative of the entire population in Essipit and that the lack of youth interviewed in the research may leave a sample bias which does not include youths' perceptions about issues regarding sustainability of indigenous tourism in the reserve.

In contrast, respondents in the Yasawas were intentionally selected if they fulfilled the criteria for selection, for example, for a community member to be included in the sample he/she must derive part of their financial earnings either directly or indirectly from OBL and other tourism venture in the island.

Structured interviews were also conducted with government and private officials and individual experts regarding issues of tourism and especially the development of indigenous tourism both in Fiji and Canada. In structured interviews all the questions for the respondents were formulated in advance. Thus making it easy to gain answers to issues concerning indigenous tourism such as style of management, constraints, cultural influences and residents' perception about tourists. Directors of the indigenous operations, community members in Yasawa and some tourists in OBL were interviewed using this method. Structured interviews provided a more in-depth understanding of respondents' ideas on the given issue relating to indigenous tourism

and analysis of the results is relatively easy to carry out and the information reached can be readily quantified.

It is to be noted that not all methods used in this research were planned and tested and therefore may affect the results and they are acknowledged accordingly in this thesis. There was no pilot research carried out in Essipit and Yasawa consequently there was no opportunity to reduce any likely problems that may arise in the research and redesign parts of this study to overcome difficulties that the pilot study reveals.

Despite this shortfall other necessary steps were followed in order to minimize problems that may arise in the field and to achieve maximum accuracy for the purpose of presenting findings that reflect the reality of indigenous tourism and identifying research areas that are worth researching in the future.

The population and the sample of this research are the indigenous tourism operators, employees, tourists and indigenous community members surrounding the tourism operations in the Yasawas and Essipit, refer to Table 5 and Table 6.

1.10 Justification of Study

Tourism activities are conventionally classified into large scale and small-scale activities; with the former often referring to mass tourism and the latter as eco-tourism, cultural tourism and so forth. Indigenous tourism falls under small-scale tourism because of the nature of its operation and, there is no clear demarcation offered by available statistics and research on the various types of small tourism ventures that operate in the country. Therefore any studies to measure the participation of indigenous people in tourism in Fiji, will be problematic. Secondly, the study wishes to address this deficiency by conducting research, using the Yasawa Islands as a case study, specifically focusing on indigenous tourist ventures and their economic, social, cultural and environmental sustainability in Fiji. Thirdly, in light of the potential growth of tourism in Fiji (and despite the political instability), the study of indigenous tourism can provide another avenue to measure the level of participation of indigenous Fijians in the tourism industry.

The Ministry of Tourism (MOT) in Fiji reports that Yasawa is one of the fastest growing destinations in Fiji with potential impacts on the economy, environment, cultural and social lives of the people (2005a Annual Report). The research firstly considers the

economic, environment, cultural and social issues and investigates the extent of sustainability of indigenous tourism in regards to its contribution towards the economic, social and environmental well being of the indigenous Fijian community.

To provide comparative insights, the research provides a first study of indigenous tourism in a developed country by an aspiring young Fijian academic, using indigenous tourism in Essipit, Quebec, Canada and how the management and initiatives towards the development of indigenous tourism in this locality can assist in the development of indigenous tourism in Fiji.

The researcher was an exchange student at Laval University and had the rare opportunity to do a study far away from Fiji and to look at the aspiration of indigenous people in Canada towards indigenous tourism and how it contributes to their overall development. Indigenous tourism in Essipit reserve is often seen as one of the success stories in the Quebec region. It shows how natural collective resources can be used as a natural attraction to benefit the host community.

Lastly, a fact is that indigenous people in Canada, as in Fiji, have done poorly in some indicators of development such as education, employment and business participation. Conversely, indigenous people in both countries have higher rates of alcohol abuse, domestic violence, and imprisonment than the rest of the population. For instance in Canada, high school completion among indigenous youth is half the Canadian rate. At the current rate it will take 28 years for the natives to catch up to non- Aboriginal population (Tebtebba, 2003). Furthermore, about 80% of the Aboriginal population earn a personal income below the national income of $30,000 per year. More than half of the native people are unemployed and among those who completed high school about two in three are not employed compared with only about one in six of university graduates. Indigenous operation in Essipit has helped to reverse these bleak images for the Innu Nation in Essipit and one that has a success story of operating communal tourism operation.

Indigenous people in both developed and developing countries are lagging behind in some aspects of development. Indigenous tourism can be one way to help to bridge the gap between indigenous and non-indigenous people in a country. The major question of the research project therefore is whether Fiji can learn from the success story of indigenous tourism in Essipit to assist indigenous people in their over-all development.

1.11 Significance of Study

The study of indigenous tourism world-wide is still in its infancy, and this study is significant because it focuses on one subset of the tourism industry, the indigenous tourism both in Fiji and Canada. Previous research on indigenous tourism concentrated mainly on the impact of culture and economic contribution on indigenous tourism. The few researches on indigenous tourism will either concentrate in one of the geographical areas of study in developed and developing countries but not in both. In addition there is no study to look at the sustainability of indigenous tourism through the eyes of the indigenous community. This study explores that weakness in the tourism study research.

1.12 Conclusion

The first chapter has covered a wide range of issues regarding tourism in general. These include community perceptions, tourism and development, sustainable tourism and indigenous tourism. The chapter also defines some important concepts that will be used in the thesis and it also briefly gives a snap-shot in the development level of indigenous people around the world. The second part of chapter states the research problem, objectives, significance and limitations of the research. *Chapter Two* covers the theoretical framework of the thesis

Chapter Two

Theoretical and Conceptual Framework

> *One of the troubles with tourism studies, and paradoxically also one of its sources of interest, is that its research object, 'tourism' has grown very dramatically and quickly and that the tourism research community is relatively new. Indeed at times it has been unclear which was growing more rapidly – tourism or tourism research.*

(Franklin and Crang 2001:4)

2.1 Introduction

2.1.1 General

Theories define or plays a leading role in an academic research processes and are also vital research tools that can help determine the scope and direction of research. It also follows to establish whether research findings closely reflect one or more theories in practice for any particular issue that is being studied. These sentiments are voiced by Ely et al. (1997: 225) who have noted that the language of theory stands like parentheses at either end of academic research reports; a theoretical framework is proposed at the beginning and a theoretical discussion synthesizes findings and their significance at the end.

As tourism is an agent of change in society, theories may provide the direction for understanding these changes. With regards to social change, Perrons (2004:55) adds that theories are necessary in providing a framework for understanding and explaining social change. Theories relate to general processes, not to each and every happening. They are not a substitute for detailed explanation but rather help contextualize specific changes.

This research tries to identify both a relevant theory and a model in the pre and post research period. This stand was taken due to the slight change made to the research topic as discussed under methodology.

This chapter begins with a brief overview of the nature of tourism research and is followed by the discussion of the functions of theory in research as well as a justification for the sources of theory work used here. Butler's theory and model as well as the social exchange theory are discussed in detail.

2.2 Tourism Research

Overall, tourism studies face what Franklin and Crang (2001:7) termed as '*poverty of tourism theory'*. Harrison (1995a:138) adds that generally, studies of tourism development have occurred against a backdrop of changing perspectives that may or may not be considered 'theories' or 'paradigms'. Despite this weakness in tourism research Cohen (1995) has observed that there is on the one hand a wide variety of conceptual and theoretical approaches to tourism which have yet to be rigorously tested, and a proliferation of field studies which lack an explicit theoretical orientation and therefore contribute little to theory building.

One of the problems with tourism studies, and paradoxically also one of its sources of interest, is that its research object, 'tourism' has grown very dramatically and quickly and that the tourism research community is relatively new. Indeed at time it has been unclear which was growing more rapidly – tourism or tourism research (Franklin and Crang 2001: 4).

Part of this problem is that tourism studies have simply tried to track and record this staggering expansion, producing an enormous record of instances, case studies and variations. One reason for this is that tourism studies have been dominated by policy-led and industry-sponsored work so the analysis tends to internalize industry-led priorities and perspectives, leaving the

> ". . . *research subject to the imperatives of policy, in the sense that one expects the researcher to assume as his own an objective of social control that will allow the tourist product to be more finely tuned to the demands of the international market.*"
>
> (Picard, 1996: 103)

Another part of this problem is that efforts have been made by people whose disciplinary origins do not include the tools necessary to analyze and theorize the complex cultural and social processes that have unfolded. Most researchers have become dependent on a relatively small core of 'theorists' whose work has tended to become petrified in standardized explanations, accepted analyses and foundational ideas (Franklin and Crang 2001:8). Even some of the core theories of tourism are very vague as a conceptual framework. For instance, despite the wide appraisal towards Butler's Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC), Harrison comments that the precise status of Butler's framework is

unclear; it is variously referred to as a model, a description of stages through which 'tourist areas pass' and a hypothesis (1995b:137).

This thesis faces the same dilemma of 'poverty of theory' in trying to discuss the sustainability and initiatives of indigenous tourism in Fiji and Canada. There is no specific theory that deals with the research topic of this thesis. Despite this theory constraint, the two theories and model used intend to provide the basis upon which to explain the thoughts, feelings, expectations and aspirations of the indigenous stakeholders in indigenous tourism in Yasawa and Essipit.

2.3 Functions of theory in the study

Despite the lack of theories in tourism research the ones that have been selected and utilized for this research perform two basic functions. Firstly, the theories largely establish the boundaries of the research. The variables considered for this study - sustainability of indigenous tourism and indigenous tourism initiatives - have been identified from the theories particularly the Butler and Hinch (1996) Indigenous Controlled and Indigenous Attractions Model .They have provided general descriptions of what is to be expected on the ground with regards to the sustainability of indigenous tourism and therefore have largely influenced the directions of this study in the way questions and the questionnaire were designed.

Secondly, as Ely et al. (1997: 225) had suggested, the theories have been used as a mirror to scrutinize the end results of the research. There will be an analysis of the theories adopted for this study in the final chapter of this work to establish whether the findings regarding the sustainability of indigenous tourism reflect what the theories suggest. Explanations will be provided to discuss why the results are as they are in relation to the expectations of the same theories used in this study.

So far there have been no theories that can clearly explain the operation and sustainability of indigenous tourism in the South Pacific and Canadian context. The study employs Butler and Hinch Indigenous Controlled and Indigenous Attractions Controlled Model and the Social Exchange theory. Butler's well known theory (1980) of Tourism Area Life Cycle (TALC) is acknowledged but will not be used in the study because of the inconsistency of the model to explain nature of indigenous tourism which is owned by indigenous people and located in traditional communal land in villages or reserves. A brief discussion on the issue is warranted to avoid any

discrimination against TALC since the theory plays an important theoretical contribution towards understanding the development stages in any tourism destination where it is relevant.

Harrison (1995a: 137) commented that Butler's approach is charactrized by several assumptions. First, although Butler recognizes that the evolution of destinations varies over time and place, the direction of the process is unilinear. Second, the developmental cycle of the tourism's 'product' has its owm momentum irrespective of the wider socio-political and economic environment. Third, the empirical studies which the framework was originally based on were of tourism development in Europe and North America and were largely unplanned. In practice, destinations areas elsewhere, like those with a history of colonialism, may diverge considerably from the ideal type. Such assumptions do not invalidate the use of Butler's framework but, in so far as they are considered problematic, they should sensitize researchers to pay due regard to the overall social, political and cultural context in which tourism development ocurrs (Harrison 1995a:137).

The model may have general limitations when applied to the Asia Pacific region as well when applied to the development of alternative tourism such as indigenous tourism. Foster and Murphy (1991 in Rodriguez 2007) found that the model provided a good description of early tourism trends of resort retirement communities on Vancouver Island, but that the model failed to explain the later development patterns of those communities. A study by Choy (1992: 123) suggested that Butlers TALC model was not applicabale to Pacific island destinations as it was not able to explain the large variation in growth pattern across various destinations in that region. Douglas (1997:22) also reported that the model had limitations in explaining tourism development in Melanesia due mainly to the islands' different colonial experiences.

Additionally, Butler's theory is inconsistent with real events on the ground particularly in the context of developing states. For instance, the TALC theory suggested that in the exploration and the development stage in the destination areas, local residents are likely to be involved in the early stages of tourism development, with outside interest taking over as the development stage gets under way (Butler 1980:7-8). However, research in Least Developed Countries (LDCs) suggested that this did not occur. Swaziland's tourism industry, for instance was developed by white settlers, first for white business visitors and later for white holiday makers, largely from the republic of South Africa (Harrison 2001:

31). Similarly in the South Pacific Islands tourism has been developed by white residents for white visitors, and the indigenous population has been involved primarily as part of the island's attraction and as lower-level workers in the hospitality industry (Harrison 1998: 133).

2.4 Justifications for Source of Theoretical Framework

Given the limitation of theory in tourism research, the conceptual framework used in the study for this thesis was identified both in the pre and post field work study. Butler and Hinch (1996) Indigenous Controlled and Indigenous Attractions Model is employed as part of the theoretical framework since it specifically refers to indigenous tourism and it identifies the tourist attractions and type of ownership that constitute an indigenous operation. The theory provides a strong basis for the selection of area of studies for this thesis. The variables identified in that model have been considered in this research and have formed the basis of the questions raised in the questionnaires (see appendices 1 & 3). Butler and Hinch (1996) look at the essential criteria for tourism ventures that can be classified as indigenous tourism enterprises; i.e. that the ventures must be owned and operated by indigenous people.

Social exchange theory is based in economic theory and adapted by Thibaut and Kelly (1959) for the study of the social groups, focuses on the perceptions of the relative costs and benefits of relationships and their implications for relationships satisfaction. Comparison is an important component of social exchange and provides the standard against which all relationships are judged. Comparative standards are subjective and vary across individuals and groups. Social exchange theory argues that in any social interaction, the parties involved will directly or indirectly do a cost-benefit analysis prior to any engagement. Rugendyke and Connell (2009:276) conclude that hosts and guests relationships are complex and never straightforward. They have noted only a few studies that have looked at the primary viewpoint of the local people and their objectives. This point is valid and acknowledged.

This thesis work hopes to contribute to this debate by looking at various sets of relationships within the Fiji indigenous-operated ventures. These have included relationship between the tourist and the community, the relationship amongst the host communities (excluding the indigenous operator), the relationship between the

indigenous tourism employees and the tourists and the relationship between the indigenous community and the indigenous operator.

Social exchange theory was identified in the post field study period as the expectations of the community, indigenous operators, employees and tourists (from each of the indigenous tourism operation) were being analyzed. Expectations in this study have been measured in socio- economic, cultural and environmental terms from the communities', indigenous operators' and tourists' perspectives. In each of the areas of study, the sustainability of indigenous tourism is determined by whether or not these expectations are fulfilled.

2.5 Theoretical Framework for the Study

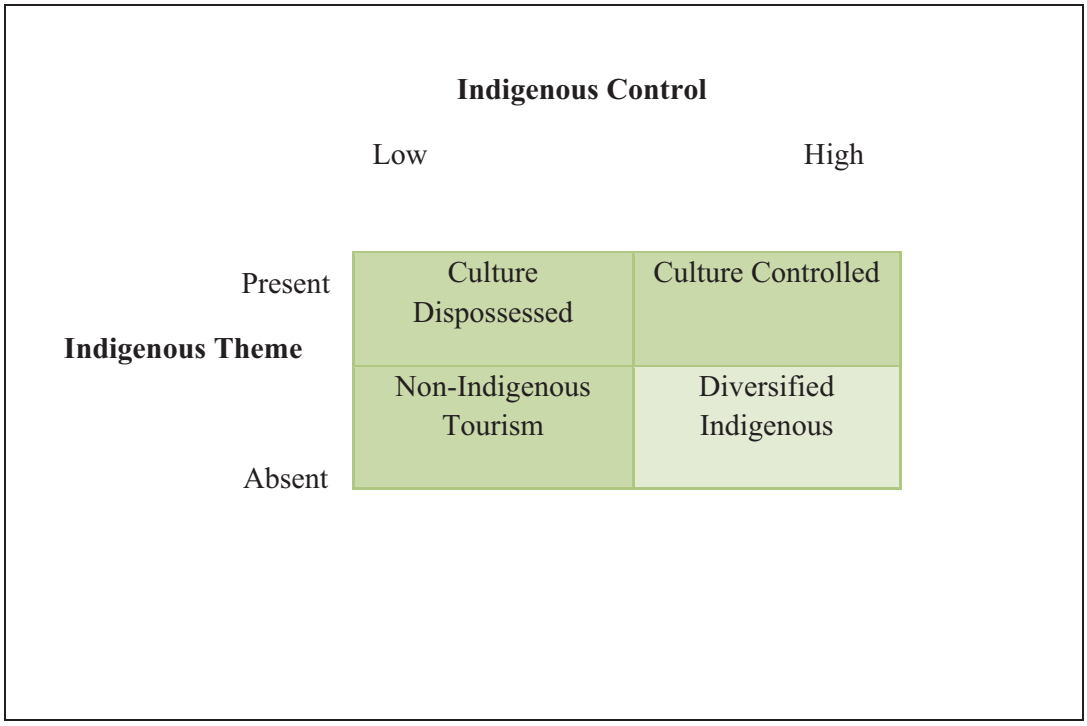
2.5.1 Indigenous Controlled and Indigenous Attractions Controlled Model- Butler and Hinch (1996)

Butler and Hinch (1996) looked at indigenous tourism and attempted to identify indigenous tourism within the whole tourism industry. He designed a model based on two key factors of tourism development - control and therefore ownership as well as the use of indigenous tourism as the main cultural attraction. In this work, Butler adopts an 'a priori' approach to arrive at what he classifies as 'indigenous tourism.' Butler effectively takes a snapshot of indigenous tourism and identifies a set of factors which, when present, allows the venture to be classified as indigenous tourism. These factors include indigenous ownership and control of a tourism venture and that the venture's main attraction being indigenous culture. He does not consider the historical development of the indigenous venture or the type of tourist market that an indigenous venture is catering for, which might explain the lack of cultural attractions or that the venture was not indigenous owned in the initial stages. By adopting an 'a priori approach' Butler effectively isolates indigenous tourism from other forms of tourism and then identifies factors typically found in indigenous tourism and which makes it unique compared to other forms of tourism.

This model identifies the criterion suggested by Butler and Hinch (1996:10) that can be used to identify whether or not a tourism operation is indigenous. Butler emphasized that the factor of control is a key in any discussion of development, and indigenous tourism is no exception. He used a matrix format to show two key aspects of ownership – control and indigenous attractions – to discuss the characteristics of indigenous tourism (refer Figure

1). For Butler and Hinch, if indigenous people have control they can determine such critical factors as the scale, speed and nature of development in tourism. Similarly, as long as indigenous culture is a central attraction, the tourism venture is identified as indigenous tourism.

Figure1: Indigenous Controlled and Indigenous Attractions Model



Source: Butler and Hinch, 1996

In Butler's matrix/model the horizontal axis represents the range of control that indigenous people have over a given tourism activity. At the left of the continuum, indigenous groups have no control at all while at the right end they have total control, inclusive of ownership and management interests. In between these extremes a number of graduations exist measuring the influence of indigenous people in a variety of roles such as employees, advisory board members and formal partners in development.

The vertical axis of the matrix represents the extent to which attraction is based upon an indigenous theme. These themes range from being focused totally on indigenous culture (at the top) to a total absence of an indigenous theme (at the base of the axis). Tourism enterprises which are both controlled by indigenous people and feature an indigenous attraction theme clearly fall within the scope of the definition for indigenous tourism (culture controlled).

Tourism enterprises, controlled by indigenous interests, but do not feature a central attraction that is based on indigenous culture represent parts of the middle ground between the two extremes just noted (diversified indigenous). An example of this type of activity includes the trend towards native-owned casinos in the USA (Hinch 2006). Similarly there is a substantial level of tourism activity that is developed around indigenous attraction themes but in which indigenous people themselves have a little or no controlling interest (Culture dispossessed). For instance Fiji major hotels like the Naviti Resort and Hideaway (along the Coral Coast) use indigenous cultural entertainment like fire walking as a tourist attraction, but the ventures are not owned by indigenous people.

The attractions, services and infrastructure that are controlled by indigenous or that are developed around indigenous themes represent the strongest manifestation of indigenous tourism industry. While these enterprises may pursue a variety of objects that differ from those of their counterparts in the global tourism industry, long term profitability and economic sustainability is consistently shared as a goal.

For this study the model provides an appropriate conceptual tool to analyze and test whether or not indigenous ownership and indigenous culture are two important main features of indigenous tourism as suggested by Butler and Hinch. This study also uses the model to evaluate the extent to which these two factors contribute to the sustainability of indigenous tourism in Fiji and as well as to what extent they are part of indigenous initiatives in Essipit.

2.5.2 Psychological Theory of Social Exchange

This theory was identified in the post research stage after listening and experiencing first-hand the expectations of both host communities and the tourists towards indigenous tourism in the Yasawa and Essipit. The social exchange theory has been used in tourism research and this study uses the theory to provide a psychological explanation of people's behavior and expectations in a given exchange, whether this exchange is social, economic or cultural in nature as in a tourism business.

At the most basic level, social exchange theory focuses on the fact that there are at least two people or parties in a relationship and, as its name suggests, is concerned with how these people proceed to exchange rewards. The theory is a psychological theory first adopted by Skinner (1971) and later developed by subsequent

psychologists to explain people's expectations in a given interaction or relationship whether at individual or group level. For instance, Homans (1961:48) used the theory to explain human interaction and rewards they get from a given interaction. As a model of behavior, it proposes several economic concepts, wedded to behaviorism, to account for human interpersonal relationships (Vauchan & Hogg 2002:375).

Furthermore Echtner and Jamal (1997:56) explain that social exchange theory posits that all human relationships are formed by the use of a subjective cost-benefit analysis and the comparison of alternatives. People will engage in an interactive process where they seek something of value, be it material, social, or psychological, and will try weighing the extent of benefit/cost they get out of that interaction. Individuals choose to engage in an exchange once they judge the reward and the costs of such exchange. Even though the consequences of this may not be dramatic, the process is ongoing in much of people's behavior. They seek to obtain, preserve or exchange things of value with other human beings (Vauchan & Hogg 2002:375). People bargain over what they are prepared to give to another in exchange for what they get in return. Some of these exchanges can be brief and perhaps without deep meaning, while others are on-going and long-term. Social exchange can be viewed as a give and take relationship between people and relationships such as business transactions (ibid.). Psychologists Thibaut and Kelly (1959) stated that a relationship between people is a series of trading interactions or business transactions. Foa and Foa (1975: 287) use what they called a 'minimax strategy' to describe people's motivation in a given exchange. That is, people aim to minimize costs and maximize benefits although people may not be conscious of doing so.

Historically most research on residents' perceptions has been without a theory even though past research has made a significant step towards better understanding of the relationship between positive and negative perceptions of tourism and support for specific policies (Ap and Crompton 1990: 123). For example, over the past 25 years North American research has examined different aspects related to residents' perceptions of tourism development. Pizam (1978) suggested that heavy concentration of tourism development has led to the emergence of negative host attitudes. Rothman (1978) highlighted negative perceptions towards increased noise, litter, traffic, crime, and overcrowding. There were also positive views about tourism for its contributions towards improvement in local infrastructure (Belisle and Hoy 1980), employment

opportunities (Milman and Pizam 1988) and increased recreational opportunities to name a few.

Later on, researches on residents' perceptions in the South Pacific on tourism development, concluded the same findings. For instance, Pizam et al. (1994:53) concluded in a study on perceptions of tourism industry employees and their families in Fiji and Central Florida, that both groups were highly supportive of their respective tourism industry in general. The impact of tourism on the community was perceived as positive from the economic point of view by both groups, but as negative in its impact on legal and environmental issues. Research has shown that net economic gain is a strong indicator of positive attitudes towards tourism (Lindbergh & Johnson 1997).

The dominant theory to emerge and shape this understanding has been social exchange theory, which concentrates on the extent to which residents receive something for the imposition the industry places on them (Haley et al. 2004: 650). Recent work on this subject in Ghana (Sirakaya et al. 2002) shows that it is not simply the existence of an exchange that is important, but its nature and value that influences attitudes and perceptions. Hence, traditional social exchange theory would hold that if people are employed then they would be expected to hold a positive attitude towards the industry. However, if the employment experience was negative, then this would shape the attitude and result in a negative attitude towards the industry as a whole.

In similar vein Ward and Berno (2011) have pinpointed that major exception to the lack of theoretical grounding in tourism studies has been the application of social exchange theory to the context of tourism in particular when exploring the tourists-host relations. The theory has provided a conceptual base for the examination of the inter-relationships among perceptions of costs and benefits, positive and negative impacts, and support for tourism. At the individual level, social exchange theory has been offered as an explanation for the robust finding that those employed in the tourist sector, who receive more direct benefits from the industry, have more positive attitudes toward tourists and tourism development. At the community level, costs and benefits in economic, environmental and socio-cultural domains have been identified as significant influences on attitudes toward tourism development as discussed under community perceptions in *Chapter One*. Also research has shown that those who regard tourist impacts in these areas more positively also have more favorable attitude toward tourists.

In the study presented the interaction takes place both at individual level and at the group level as a group between the tourists and indigenous community, tourists and employees and tourists and tourism operators. Also interactions can take place amongst tourists and community members themselves. The expectations they have towards the indigenous tourism operation can have a decisive influence on the sustainability of tourism. This research focuses on two levels of human interactions: firstly on those exchanges taking place in a tourism environment within the space owned by an indigenous community - the village of Nacula in Fiji and the Essipit reserve in Canada. Secondly it will also be considered in this study whether the tourists and the indigenous hosts seek and consider the values of their interactions prior to interacting amongst themselves.

Using the theory of social exchange the study will firstly try to identify (looking at the interactions between the studied groups as well as the stated expectations of tourists and the indigenous stakeholders) whether or not the expectation of tourists in terms of cultural, environmental, and quality of service have been fulfilled by the indigenous tourism operation. Secondly, the study will evaluate whether or not the socio-economic, cultural and environmental expectations of the indigenous community have been fulfilled. The analysis for those interactions and tourist expectations is important because it is through such exchanges that the sustainability of the indigenous tourism venture can be evaluated. Whether the tourist decides to return for another trip because of his cultural, economic, and social experience of the natural environment can be an indicator of how successful the indigenous tourism venture is. It also might be that the tourist influences others to come to the same destination. Finally, this leads to the question of possible alternatives the two interacting groups might plan to take up, if they feel that their expectations have not been met and whether or not these alternative actions will affect the sustainability of indigenous tourism in those areas.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has identified the problems in tourism research and how those problems have been compounded by the lack of theories used in tourism research and the tendency to adopt conceptual frameworks from other disciplines. Despite such shortcomings in theory-guided tourism research the chapter has identified the functions of theory in academic research and has provided justification for selection of the two theories and model used for this study. The theories of Social Exchange and Indigenous Controlled and Indigenous

Attractions model will be adopted for this research. Whether or not these conceptual frameworks will be effective for analyzing the sustainability of indigenous tourism in the Yasawas and indigenous tourism initiatives in Essipit will be discussed in the following chapters. *Chapter 3* discuses both the study areas used in this study and the methodology employed for acquiring both qualitative and quantitative data for the research on the sustainability of indigenous tourism in Fiji and tourism initiatives in Canada.

Chapter Three

Area of Study and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

3.1.1 General

The chapter begins with a brief introduction of the two countries that provide the study areas for this research. As for Canada, some in-depth discussion on the history of indigenous people and the Innu Nation is warranted due to vast differences in its indigenous people's history of settlement, colonization, exploitation and retaliation in comparison to Fiji. Particular attention is given to the Land Legislation and Tenure of the two countries as these widely affect the nature of indigenous tourism operation. The second part of this chapter contains a discussion on the methodology employed for research and details on the qualitative and quantitative research methods that have been used. The chapter concludes with details covering archival research, the period and limitations of the study. The words area of study is used in the thesis to refer specifically to the location of indigenous tourism in Fiji and Canada.

3.2 Area of Study

3.2.1 Country of Study I: Canada

Canada which occupies the northern portion of the North American continent is a country of 33 million inhabitants. It is the world's second largest country in terms of area. It was first settled by First Nation[1] or Aboriginal people 15,000 years ago. After it then evolved from a group of European colonies into an officially bilingual English and French multi-cultural federation. Although the French sent the first large group of settlers in the 17th century, Canada became dominated by the British until the country attained full independence in the 20th century. Particular aspects of each region in an immense territory shaped the many societies of both the First Nation and non-Aboriginal people who are distinguished by their language, their way of life and culture.

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[1] First Nations is a term of ethnicity referring to the indigenes of Canada that came into common usage and was first coined by Elder Sol Sanderson in the early 1980s to replace the word "Indian," which many found to be offensive. As of the 2006 Canadian Census there are over 1,172,790 or 3.8% of Canada's total population is Aboriginal or indigenous people (Ministry of in Internal Affairs 2007). At presence there are 2,597 reserves or indigenous villages across Canada. Despite the size of its population the First Nation has a special representative body to the government of Canada.

The Assembly of First Nations (AFN) is the national, political representative of First Nations governments and their citizens in Canada, including those living on reserves and in urban and rural areas. Every Chief in Canada is entitled to be a member of the Assembly. The National Chief is elected by the Chiefs in Canada, who in turn are elected by their citizens. The role and function of the AFN is to serve as a national delegated forum for determining and harmonizing effective collective and co-operative measures on any subject matter that the First Nations delegate for review, study, response or action and for advancing the aspirations of First Nations (AFN 2006).

First Nations are peoples recognized in the Canadian Constitution Act of 1982 as consist of First Nation, Metis and Inuit (Ministry of Indian and Northern Affair 2005). The First Nations were formerly known as "Indians" and the Inuit as "Eskimo"; the Métis are a separate people whose ancestors included both Indians and Europeans. In other words, "First Nations" is a collective term, but not an all-inclusive one, for Canada's aboriginal people. There are eleven distinct groups of First Nations in Canada that make up the Aboriginal population (refer to Map 1). This thesis focuses on the First Nations known as Innu.

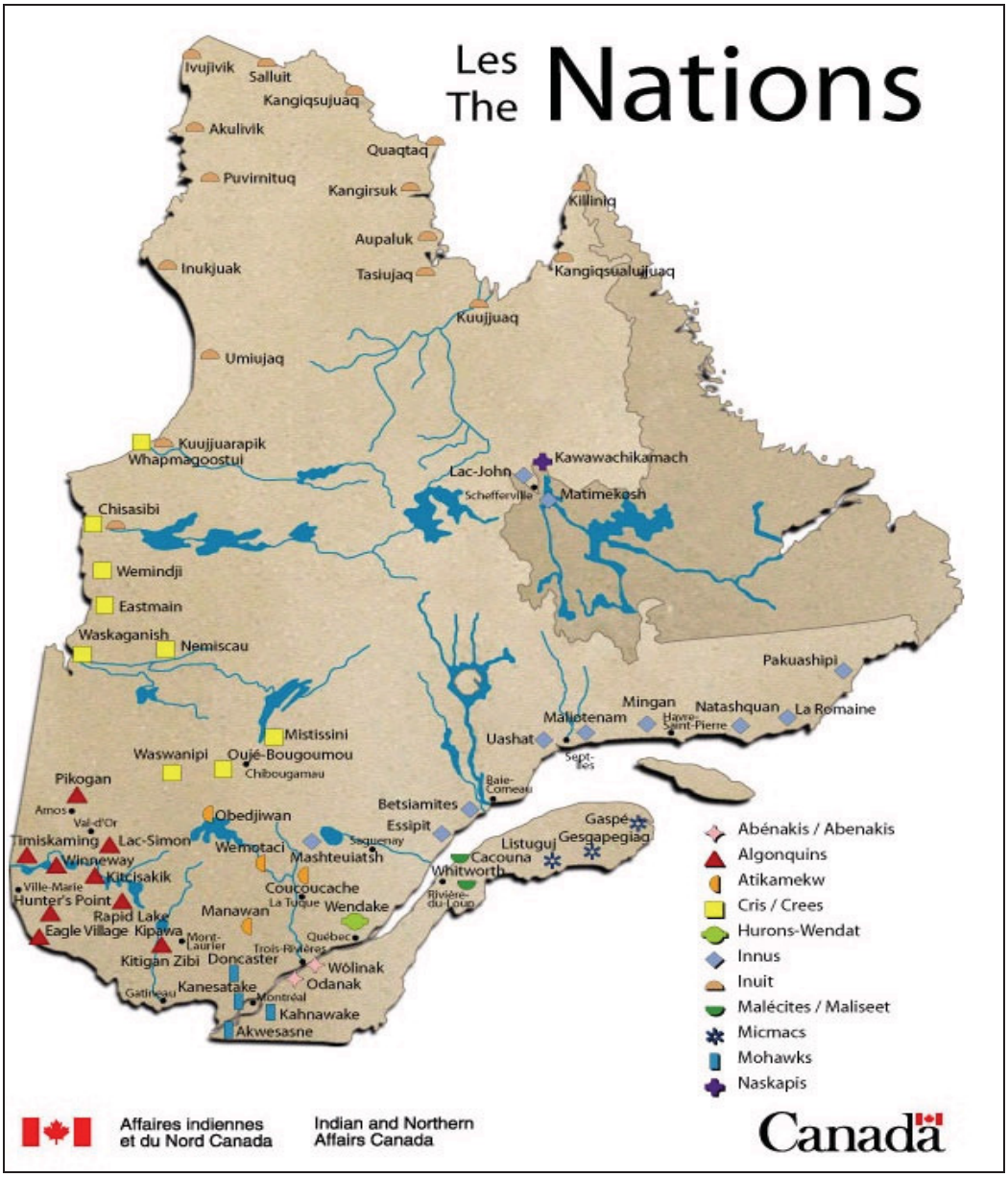
3.2.2 A Brief History of First Nation

The First Nation people are not homogeneous and they exist in loosely formed bands and tribes, speaking nearly 300 languages and thousand of dialects. Like people everywhere, the First Nations have history that includes population expansion, adaptation to a range of regional environments, trade across wide networks, internal strife, and warfare (Armitage 1988: 8).

However, there were different myths to explain the origin of First Nations in North America put forward by explorers, missionaries, and settlers and later anthropologists and archaeologists. Some believed that they were descendents from the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel (interestingly this is also assumed by some for the Fijian people), and others believe that they were descended from inhabitants of the lost continent of Atlantis (Armitage 1988: 8). A later vindication, used by many historians, focused on the relentless persecution of natives where they were scattered around the North American continent and only to be herded into reserves by the colonizers.

By the late 1800s, anthropologists and archaeologists realized that First Nations were on the verge of extinction. This threat of extinction included Indian languages, beliefs, technology, myths and legends.

Map 1: The Geographical Locations of Indian Bands in Quebec



Source: Ministry for Indian and Northern Affair, 2005

Many began to study and document the history and culture of the Indians of North America. By this time there was a new myth in the national consciousness that Indians existed as figures in the American and Canadian past. They had performed a historical mission by challenging the white who trekked across the continent. Many discourses claimed that Indians were defeated and had accepted graciously the way of life of the conquerors.

In reality, Indians resisted both actively and passively. They refused to lose their unique identity, to be assimilated into white society. Many whites viewed the Indians not only as members of conquered nation but as 'inferior' and 'unequal' (Armitage 1988: 9). The rights of the Indians could be expanded, contracted, or modified as the conquerors saw fit. In every generation, white society asked itself what to do with the Indians. Their answers have resulted in the twist and turns of federal Indian policy commonly known as the Indian Act.

3.2.3 Indian Act

The Act gives indigenous people of Canada a special status in their social and political structure since the 1867 constitution, which gave the government final jurisdiction over 'Indians and Indian land'. The term 'Indian' as used in the Indian Act was adopted by the colonial powers for purposes of political control and administrative convenience (Miller 1993: xiv). Traditionally, protection, civilization and assimilation have always been the goals of Canada's Indian Policy (AFN 2006). These goals were established by governments which believed that Indians were incapable of dealing with persons of European ancestry from being exploited. Therefore, the government of Canada had to protect the person and property of the Indian from exploitation by the Europeans. This perception shape much of the government policy concerning the Indians until to date, but with more understanding of the complexity arises in assimilating the indigenous people to the governing system of the British and French.

Canada follows the model of the British Parliament. Its political system has three levels of government, each has different responsibilities. The Federal government is responsible for issues that affect the whole country, such as citizenship and immigration, national defense and trade with other countries. The provincial and territorial governments are responsible for such issues like education, health care and highways. Lastly, the municipal or local government is responsible for firefighting, city streets and other local matters. If there is no local government, the province provides services. The Indian Act comes under the federal government jurisdiction.

The Act is designed specifically to protect the indigenous reserve lands from alienation. The rationale for protecting reserve lands and lands held by Aboriginal title from alienation is that it would bring to an end the entitlement of Aboriginal people to occupy the land. In order to fulfill its responsibility to protect reserve lands from

alienation, the Crown enacted numerous provisions in the Indian Act. For example, sections 29 and 89 of the Indian Act both protect reserve lands from seizure under legal process. This means that reserve lands cannot be seized and sold to pay any debts owed by band members. Section 89 also prohibits reserve lands from being mortgaged.

As reserve lands cannot be mortgaged, most banks are not willing to make loans to First Nations borrowers for home purchases on reserves. Furthermore, even where banks are willing to make loans available to First Nations borrowers, sections 29 and 89 prohibit reserve lands from being seized and sold. Thus, even if reserve lands could be mortgaged, banks would still not be able to seize and sell any reserve lands held by Certificates of Possession, custom allotments or otherwise if a band member defaults on his or her mortgage. In order to further protect reserve lands, only the band and band members are entitled to possess land on a reserve (AFN 2006: 10).

Miller (1991) however opposed the Indian Act. He bluntly states that the legislation's ultimate purpose is the elimination of Indians special status in the Canadian society. This goal was to be achieved by training or 'civilizing' the Indians in Europeans values, so Aboriginal people become capable of looking after their own interests. Eventually, through this training, the Indians' identity and culture would be eradicated and the Indians would be assimilated and no longer in need of special status. However rather than supporting the ultimate goal of assimilation, such legislation has only served to thwart it mainly because indigenous people were kept in isolated reserves and not integrated into the non-indigenous society. Experiences in other former colonial states support this view, where indigenous people, as part of the colonizers civilization process, were isolated in reserves from the colonizers and other non-indigenous population (Miller 1991: 127).

The Indian reserves in Canada were created in the 1930s as a part of the British civilization process. The Indians were encouraged to gather and settle in large villages on the reserves, where they would be taught to farm and would receive religious instruction and education. This goal became the basis of Indian reserves system in Canada and in this way the reserve system was like a laboratory to prepare Indians for coping with Europeans' ways of lives (Miller 1991: 129).

3.2.4 The Innu Nation Reservation

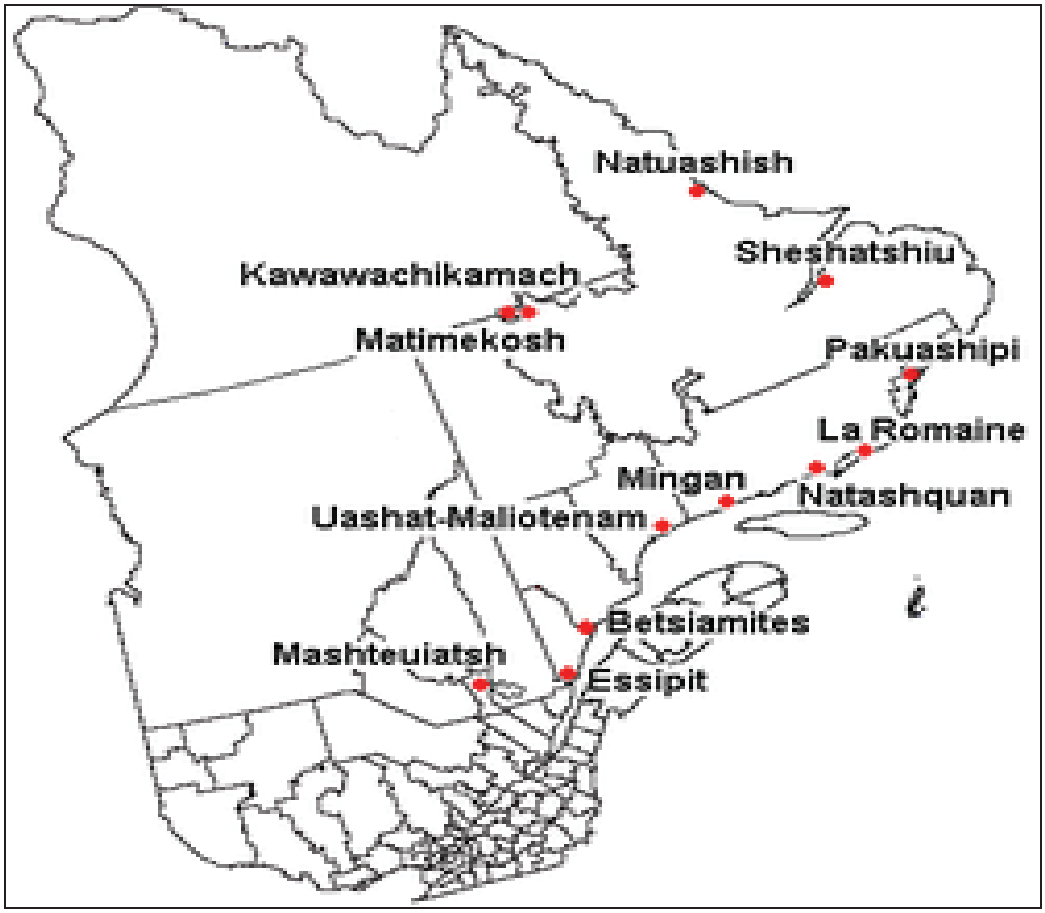
The province of Quebec has more than 71,400 Aboriginals from 11 distinct groups and a total of 55 communities (STAQ 2006:11). Essipit is one of the nine First Nations reserves that belong to the Innu Nation in Quebec.

The Innu Nation numbers some 15,000 people. It is the second largest aboriginal nation in Québec region next to the Mohawks. The Innu live in nine reserve communities (see Map 2), seven are located along a 900-kilometre stretch bordering the St. Lawrence River, from Tadoussac up to the Labrador border. The other two communities live on the edge of Lac Saint-Jean and at the heart of the northern region of Québec, near the Labrador border. Until recently, non-Indians have referred to the Innu as Montagnais-Naskapi. The term *Montagnais* (mountain in French*)* was first used by the French explorer and settler Samuel de Champlain, because of the high mountains that exist in the Innu territory.

Traditionally the Innu were nomadic hunter and gatherers. They lived in *teepees*[2] and hunted with bow and arrow. In their daily lives they used *caribou* (reindeer) for clothing, tent covers, snowshoes, tools, as well as meat. Despite the influence of missionaries, the sacred caribou is still one of the great elements of Innu culture which remains with them. The caribou is the most important of all the spirits in the Innu religion and respect for the caribou is shown through the communal feast known as *makushan.*

[2] A conical tent traditionally made of animal skins or birch used by some First Nations as temporary shelter

Map 2: Location of Innu Reservations in Quebec, Canada



Source: Ministry for Indian and Northern Affair, 2005

At first contact with western society in the early 18th century, especially with British and French fur traders, the Innu had developed an incredible trading system especially specializing in fur trade as they were good hunters and trekkers. When the European arrived they became increasingly dependent on European trading companies like the Hudson's Bay Company and other merchants for acquiring non-natives goods.

There were many changes brought by the new non-indigenous community. Spiritually, like in the case of indigenous Fijians and other indigenous peoples under colonial influence, missionaries tried to get them to abandon their religion and to try to "civilize" them into the mainstream of the industrial society. Also non-Innu trappers began invading some of the best Innu trapping regions which contributed to the economic hardship of the Innu. However the brunt of European presence was the impact of introduced diseases on the demography of the Innu. Diseases such as Spanish flu, tuberculosis, syphilis, scarlet fever, whooping cough, measles and others reduced the

Innu population by as much as two-thirds (Ministry of Indian and Northern Affairs 2006).

By the 1940s and 50s, the Innu fur trade had collapsed, and the industrial society had expanded into more of their harvesting areas. At the same time the federal and provincial governments were eager to assimilate them into the mainstream of Canadian society by integrating the Innu in the non-indigenous cultures of the British and French. After being subject to racism, Canadian hunting laws and missionaries influences, the Innu began having problems with family violence, alcohol abuse and loss of cultural identity. Like other First Nation communities the Innu culture is evolving much faster due to the continuous civilization process and the ever expanding white population in Canada making the indigenous people a minority group in a geographical territory they once called their own.

Recently the Innu started to turn their lives around by beginning programs to teach the young about harvesting skills, knowledge of the land, and oral traditions. The Innu language and culture have been introduced into the school curriculum in schools in the Innu reserves, and intensive alcohol treatment programs to strengthen family values.

The Innu Nation in Essipit is sustaining the socio-economic, environmental and cultural well-being of its members by managing a communal indigenous tourism operation. The indigenous tourism operation is part of the Essipit enterprise that is being done within their reserve and territory which gives them greater sense of control and sustainability.

3.2.5 Indigenous Tourism in Canada

Tourism is a mainstay of the Canadian economy. According to the Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada (ATTC) (2003), in 2001, international travelers brought $13.1 billion into the Canadian economy, while Canadians traveling within the country injected $17.2 billion in overnight travel. International travelers consider Canada a wilderness, known for outdoor activity and beautiful scenery. Aboriginal or indigenous tourism however accounts for a comparatively small fraction of the overall tourism market. In 1995 for instance the revenue for Aboriginal tourism industry in Canada was estimated to be $ 270 million (ATTC, 2003). Current estimates put the industry's value at $474 million with 6,400 people directly employed.

Indigenous tourism or aboriginal tourism is a recent phenomenon in Canada that became a significant force in its own right in the early 1980s. It reflects the growth in participation of indigenous people in Canada. The success of aboriginal tourism is based on the diversity and originality of its products such as ethno-cultural tourism, eco-tourism and adventure tourism which have become increasingly associated with indigenous tourism (STAQ 2006: 8). At first, aboriginal tourism activities focused around fishing and hunting but as demand increased it now includes activities like community visits, the discovery of aboriginal history, craftsman, cooking and lodging, canoeing and observations of fauna and flora (ibid.). The increasing popularity of these new traditional activities helps to promote indigenous tourism and sustain the socio-economic and the environment where tourism activities are taking place.

Like other indigenous supporting organizations in Canada the desire to capitalize on potential tourism market has led to the establishment of Aboriginal Tourism Team Canada (ATTC) in November 1997. The primary objective of ATTC is to assist in the development of the aboriginal tourism industry by playing a key role with business, government departments and other partners in the industry.

According to ATTC (2003), many surveys that have been undertaken showed that many visitors to Canada stated that they are seeking natural wonders and sites, historical sites and important places in history, the experience of different cultures and ways of life, unspoiled nature, adventure, and excitement. ATTC believe indigenous operators can meet this demand and there is clearly untapped potential for aboriginal entrepreneurs and aboriginal tourism experiences. Aboriginal entrepreneurs are involved in all aspects of the tourism industry across the country, on three coasts, from cities to remote settlements. For the most part, they deliver to domestic and international visitors a quality product but there are significant differences across the regions and the industry sectors of arts and crafts, cultural experiences, hospitality, outdoor and adventure, travel, trade and transportation. Yet there are problems that specifically influence the operations of indigenous tourism in Canada due to the special cultural and political structures of the First Nations in Canada.

3.2.6 Challenges Unique to Aboriginal Tourism in Canada

Like other small tourism entrepeneurs, aboriginal tourism or entrepreneurs face many challenges. These challenges are compounded by factors which other businesses owners usually do not have to contend with in most cases. These include, firstly, the limited access to business financing institutions. In most cases banks do not exist in aboriginal communities (reserves) and mainstreams financial institutions are unfamiliar with local opportunities and risks (McBride, 2002). The greatest risk is most likely generated by the Indian Act as discussed earlier in this chapter.

Secondly, is the lack of community support towards tourism entrepreneurs within the reserve because they are often viewed as too independent and the scarce community resources should be used for the benefits of the community and not the individual. This limits tourism entrepreneurs' ability to develop community-owned lands and resources, and attract localized market niches.

Thirdly, is the remoteness of many aboriginal communities. Due to the relative isolation of most aboriginal communities, access to markets and services is limited and costly. Similarly, building business networks and partnerships of supporting industries or of attracting qualified staff to run businesses is difficult and creates severe disadvantgaes.

In addition, is the narrow economic opportunity base of many aboriginal communities which deter their capacity to accumlate savings for new business ventures, as well as, having few options for borrowing start–up money from friends or relatives . Lastly, many aboriginal entrepreneurs have limited access to capital. Many who are applying for loans, grants or equity investments have minimal formal education and training. This is one constraint that is still facing many indigenous operators world-wide. Typically they have limited knowledge and experience with acquiring capital, developing professional business plans and seeking assistance in such processes (Royal Commission of Aboriginal Peoples 1996).

To illustrate some of the problems facing small aboriginal entrepreneurs in tourism, Williams and Peters (2008: 283) state a study conducted in British Columbia, Canada. They find that current challenges include acquiring funding needed to start and support businesses operations, developing and funding the implementation of comprehensive

and effecting marketing plans and developing the capacity of local staff (especially aboriginal) to provide business services.

3.3 Area of Study One – Essipit Reserve, Quebec, Canada

3.3.1 Justification of site selection

Essipit reserve is situated within the province of Quebec and located to the north of the St. Lawrence River which contributes to Essipit as an attractive tourist destination as discussed below . It is about 150 kilometers from Quebec City (refer to Map 3)**.** Essipit (river of shells), formerly known as Les Escoumin reserve, was established in 1892 and was relocated to its current location in 1984 and re-named subsequently. It is one of the sparsely populated reserves by Canadian standard, consisting of 255 people at the time of field research.

Map 3: Location of Essipit Tourist Attraction, 2007

Source: Essipit Enterprise 2007

The area was selected because of its proximity to the researcher's base during his stay in Canada. It also was seen as important that indigenous tourism in Essipit is owned by the Innu community and not by individuals or individual family living in the reserve.

The Essipit Band Council also operates a thriving indigenous tourism operations located in the reserve of the Quebec region of Canada and as such the analysis of a success story can contribute valuable insights possibly fruitful for other activities of this kind.

The geographical attributes and location of the area contribute to the success of the indigenous operation. The primary objective of setting up tourism in Essipit, is to provide accommodation to tourists visiting Tadoussac, a nearby common tourist destination (see Map 5) for tourists from the USA during summer. Apart from providing accommodation, indigenous tourism at Essipit offers tourists a wealth of services and outdoor activities provided by its outfitters such as whale watching cruises, sea-view cottages, condos and campgrounds (STAQ 2006 2006: 32). Tourism contributed about 60% of the revenue in the Essipit community and assist in the employment of young people (Ministry for Indian and Northern Affair 2005). According to Waddell (pers. comm. 2007) the Essipit reserve is one of the rich reserves in Canada due to the various economic activities generated within and outside the reserve.

3.3.2 Justification for the selection of indigenous operation

Essipit indigenous tourism meets the criterion outlined by Butler and Hinch (1996) model (see page 40) when identifying indigenous tourism from the rest of tourism ventures. According to Butler and Hinch matrix/model, Essipit tourism would be located in the upper right hand of the continuum (culture control) because firstly, it is indigenous owned and controlled. The indigenous venture is part of the collective economic activities of the Innu community in Essipit to assist in the socio-economic, cultural and environmental sustainability of the people. According to Mark Genest (pers comm. 2007), Essipit tourism was first established in 1989 and is owned by the Innu Nation residing in the Essipit reserve community and is managed by the band council. The council has four members including a chief and a three member council who are elected every two years.

Secondly, the indigenous culture has become an important attraction for tourists. The various aspects of the Innu culture become part of the main tourist attractions as the development of the indigenous venture progresses. These cultural attractions include promotion of art and crafts and participation in hunting and fishing in territories which

traditionally belong to the Innu Nations in Quebec. Therefore Essipit tourism is qualified to be the focus area of study for the research.

3.4 Country of study II: Fiji

Fiji is located in the South Pacific with a land area of 18, 272 square kilometers and an EEZ of 1, 2900, 000 square kilometers. Fiji is made up of 350 islands and gained political independence from Great Britain in 1970. Since 1987 the country has experienced four coups.

Fiji enjoys a tropical South Sea Maritime climate without extreme climatic conditions of heat and cold. However, the islands of Fiji lie in an area affected by tropical cyclones especially from November to April annually. Fiji's main income is earned through tourism, agriculture (especially sugar), gold industry and foreign aid – direct or received through regional institutions (Ministry of Information & Communication 2006). It is important to note, that Fiji is the most developed tourist destination amongst the Island states in the South Pacific.

3.4.1 A Brief History of Fiji

The history of Fiji started long before the time of the British. It began around 1500 BC with settlers who appear to have been the same stock as those who later became the Polynesian people of Tonga, Samoa and the major islands of Tahiti, Hawaii and New Zealand to the South, travelling eastwards from the Southeast Asia region. These people were great navigators and were also known today, through pieces of pottery left behind, as the 'Lapita' people (Sharpham 2000:6).

The initial population of Fiji was made up of a number of rival, semi-autonomous tribal chiefdoms embroiled in incessant struggle for political supremacy (Lal 2008:10). The problem of power struggle was compounded by the arrival of European beachcombers of which some turned into traders, fortune seekers, and missionaries from the beginning of the nineteenth century. They took side among the rival aspirants, later acquired land through dubious means with the help of tribal chiefs such as Ratu Seru Cakobau. Finally they built up plantations, engaged in trading, created port towns and urban centers and variously sought to insert themselves into the political scene, creating mayhem in the process (Routledge 1985). This power struggle changed the course of history for Fiji and the Fijian people. Allies created with the white people indirectly led to Fiji's cession to a foreign power.

Around the same time the Fijian population had already shown signs of stress from contact with the outside world. For example, the indigenous population had declined from 200,000 at the time of cession to approximately 87,000 at the turn of the century, largely because of introduced diseases to which the people had no immunity.

Fiji was ceded to Britain in 1874 after Ratu Seru Cakobau, the self styled *Tui Viti,* the supreme chief of the archipelago – was not able to control the new forces of change brought by these new European settlers. Under the colonial era the first Governor of Fiji, Sir Arthur Hamilton Gordon (1875-80), decided that Fijian society should be allowed to live within their own subsistence environment, under the leadership of their traditional chiefs in a system of indirect rule (Lal 2008:10). From his experiences in other colonies, Gordon would make sure that Fijians would not face the fate as other colonized people elsewhere especially the erosion of their customs and land ownership to the hands of new settlers in the colony (Lawson 1996:45). Similarly, Nayacakalou (1975:10) said the Deed of Cession also provided that Fijians would continue to own, under customary tenure, the lands they were then occupying or would require for their future maintenance and support.

Gordon was primarily responsible for establishing the institutions and practices which are now held up as essential foundations of Fiji traditions (Lawson 1996:45). One such institution was the Council of Chiefs now known as the Great Council of Chiefs[3] and regarded as one of the foremost symbols of a homogenized Fijian tradition. Lawson (1996:46) referred to such an institution as 'neo-traditional' impositions. The land policy initiated by the Gordon's administration has far reaching consequences to the lives of indigenous Fijians until the present era.

3.4.2 Native Administration and Land Act

One of the most important neo-traditional bodies established in Gordon's time was the Native Administration – later renamed the Fijian Administration. In keeping with Gordon's philosophy, as well as the exigencies of colonial bureaucracy, the administration was to operate through what was thought to be traditional chiefly system, with certain modification to ensure compatibility with the functions of colonial government (Lawson 1996: 46). It was both logical and convenient for Gordon to turn initially to the most powerful chiefs with whom relations had already been established by traders and missionaries, and they were the

[3]It is important to note that in 2009 the Prime Minster of Fiji had suspended the Great Council of Chiefs indefinitely.

paramount chiefs of the eastern regions which consisted mainly of Lau, Bau and Cakaudrove (Lawson 1996: 46). The Fijian administration remained the primary institution for managing and directing virtually all Fijian policy under chiefly leadership.

In the 1970s, Nayacakalou (1975) criticized and highlighted the opportunities missed by Fijians, especially in terms of economic development, in clinging to a system that had demonstrably failed to provide tangible benefits. He drew particular attention to the fact that the Fijian Administration rested on fixed beliefs about the role of chiefs, as well as on the proper channels of authority and communications which assumed the people were bound to their chiefs and to their land in unalterable ways which were defined once for all by their birth (in Lawson 1996:48). For the new colony, uniformity of land tenure practices under chiefly control throughout Fiji was required for the purpose of colonial management through indirect rule.

In general the land policy holds that the rights and interests of indigenous Fijians with respect to their lands and customs are virtually inalienable. To guarantee this, Gordon created a separate system of native administration with its own rules and regulations and courts governing indigenous life, a system of native taxation through which people paid tax in kind rather than cash, thus preventing the disruption of the people's subsistence lifestyle. This taxation system would ensure that fully 89% of all land would remain inalienably in Fijian ownership because Fijians would continue to use the land to meet their own needs and that of the colonial administration (Tupouniua et al. 1980:33).

For the purpose of this thesis, it is important to mention some important beliefs that relate Fijians and their chiefs to the land because it shaped the nature of communal ownership in Fiji and the authority of chiefs over land. It also affects the current distribution of monetary share given to different *mataqali* in a village whose lands have potential development value such as tourism.

It is often argued that there is a strong traditional Fijian practice and belief that Fijians have strong spiritual attachment to the *vanua* (Lawson 1996: 48). The view incorporates a host of mystical values as well as more practical aspects of landownership and usage, developed strong normative links with eastern chiefly authority and came to constitute a powerful political symbol subject to intense, instrumental manipulation (ibid.).

This spiritual attachment about the land however, does not reflect the realities of pre-colonial practices, nor, for that matter, some contemporary practices (Lawson 1996:

49). For instance, Ward (1995) gathers together a mass of evidence to demonstrate the variety of practices relating to land both before and after colonization which indicate very clearly that Fijian groups were able to detach themselves from the land both materially and spiritually. In the nineteenth century, for example, there is much evidence to suggest that the Fijian population was highly mobile:

> …the histories of groups of people recorded by the Native Land Commission, tell of frequent moves from one settlement site to another, the splitting of *yavusa* or *mataqali* [clans], the relocation of the different parts, and coming together of groups which may or may not have had prior kinship links. The distances involved in these moves were often considerable and took people into areas where they did not have prior land claims but where they obtained land by a variety of mechanisms.
>
> (Ward 1995:5)

It has also been found that with the tendency of groups to move around, land was often transferred temporarily from one group to another, and sometimes alienated permanently (Lawson 1996: 49). Also Ward (1995: 7) notes that the evidence gathered by the NLC when it was attempting to assess European claims to land in the period after colonization) shows that:

'in many parts of the country the appropriate chief could transfer and sell lands to others, Fijians, non-Fijians if he so wished, and that such actions were accepted as legitimate by his people'.

On this point Ward concludes that the concept of the inalienability of Fijian land was 'invented' in the 1870s and became enshrined through a 1912 Ordinance (1995:8).

3.4.3 The Impacts of Native Administration on Fijian Livelihood

In general the colonial administration fostered communalism and restrained individualism for the Fijians. Under the separate Fijian Affairs Board the Fijians were forced to live as a communal group under traditional leaders whose privileges and status were increased and secured (Tupouniua et al.1980:33). The land rights of individuals and small groups were submerged in the artificial registration of land only in *mataqali* groups. As well the positions of traditional leaders were solidified during the colonial rule through 'Native Regulation', unlike the pre-contact times inefficient leaders were wiped out by strong and efficient leaders especially during tribal wars (Lawson 1996:50; Tupouniua et al. 1980:33).

Consequently, Fijians individuality was suppressed under the many inefficient traditional leaders whose claim to office rested on nothing more than accidents of

birth. Any attempt to break from this bondage was ruthlessly suppressed by the new powers given under the Native Regulations. Commutation taxes were levied on anyone who was allowed to leave his village by the Administration. The Fijians were thus lumped together and the popular attempts to 'develop' them in these artificial units have not achieved any significant results.

On the same note Hailey (1988: 23) observed that, although the traditional system worked well in the past, it contributes to economic frustration. Qarase also noted that, 'The extremely low rate of participation by indigenous Fijians in business is a well known feature of the Fiji economy and one that is of considerable concern to the government' (1988:227). Reddy explained that traditional custom 'tends to restrict individualism, individual mobility, and consequently individual entrepreneurial and business activity' (2001:33).

In short, they were not allowed to develop their talents in agriculture, commerce, education, or any other field of human endeavor. Only in the 1960s were Fijians allowed to migrate to towns without administration approval.

Some authors argued that colonialism in Fiji bred racism. Ali (1980:10) and Lal (2003) for instance stated that separation and isolation rather than integration was the aim of the colonial administration. There was no planned effort to bring the two races together by the third party which posed as the guardian of both. As a result Fijians are lagging behind in terms of economic participation especially in managing their own business ventures. As well, the social hierarchy during colonial era was viewed to be discriminatory.

The colonizers (white) were at the top of the Fiji social structure. They manned the bureaucracy of government and managed the capitalist enterprises which monopolized the economic life of the colony. Allied to this class was a coterie of local collaborators who depended on the colonial regime for their status whether economic, social or political.

With the arrival of indentured laborers starting in 1879 from India, this system of governing the indigenous people proved to have far reaching consequences in their socio-economic and cultural lives that come to shape the modern Fiji society. In 1945 the number of people of Indian ancestry in the colony outnumbered Fijians for the first time (Lawson 1991:80).

As far as land is concerned, the presence of Fiji Indians places a lot of political importance on the valuable resource, for instance the Alliance Party[4] as well as the Rabuka SVT government[5] used the 'Indian land grab' notion successfully to create fear of land alienation amongst Fijians for their political dominance (Lal 1988: 70). The notion of land alienation is still used both by different parties supported by the two major races in Fiji as trump card for sustaining Fijian voters for their election victories in Fiji.

3.4.4 Native Land Trust Board Act and Tourism Development in Fiji

In 1940 the Fijian chiefs and indigenous Fijians entrusted the management of their land to the Native Land Trust Board. The primary role of the Board is to administered native land for the benefit of the indigenous landowners. The landowners receive rentals and other benefits such as jobs, royalties, and commercial opportunities depending on the nature of development on a particular native land.

Some areas in Fiji are much favored by overseas investors and locals for development purposes. This scenario holds true for the Yasawa (see below). To date there are six resorts located on native land on the islands of Yasawa, Nacula, and Waya. By the 30th of May 2006, there were 208 tourism leases on native land in the whole of Fiji with a rent of over $ 3.3 million (NLTB 2006: 3).

Native or communally owned lands comprise some 15,295sq km approximately about 88% of the Republic's total land. The balance is either free hold (8%) or state owned (4%) (NLTB 2006: 3). Native lands are divided into reserve and non-reserve lands, the former are set aside for the use and well being of the landowners. Though in some instances these lands may be de-reserved and leased out if it is more than what the landowners need for their survival. Land outside the reserve and surplus to land owners' needs may be leased out to anyone, subject to the majority consent of landowners and approval of NLTB (NLTB 2006: 3).

Native land is communally owned by tribal units, the *mataqali*, and not by individuals. This very nature of native land ownership can affect any development such as tourism by indigenous Fijians to improve their standard of living. By law native land cannot be sold or

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[4] The dominant Fijian political party formed since independence and led by a paramount chief of Lau, the Ratu Kamisese Mara

[5] The Fijian dominated political party formed after the 1987 coup and led by the coup-maker of 1987, Sitiveni Rabuka. Also signalling the withering of the chiefs' role in Fiji's leadership

alienated. However internal problems such as increasing illegal tourism development on native land, the rise in disputes associated with titles and land-ownership, lease income distribution or conditions (NLTB 20006, 4) can adversely affect the development of indigenous tourism and the industry as a whole in Fiji. Tourism on native land is increasing and policies concerning native land have been amended to suit this development.

As such, the Ecotourism Policy has been incorporated into the NLTB Act. It indicates the great significance of the land reserve as an integral part of the Fijian culture and as well as a resource for food production and development (Harrison 2003). The NLTB's tourism policy main focus is tourism development on native lands and the well-being of the Fijian landowners and tenants.

The native land tourism policy restricted the operation of all tourism small-scale development (these are backpackers or 1-2 stars resorts), to indigenous Fijians or in case where they enter into joint venture 50/50 basis with an investor who will provide finance/capital for the project while the native or landowning unit provides the land. This type of tourism development is common in the Yasawas with a few operators operating without a license or still in the application stage (NLTB 2006: 13). This new development of indigenous tourism on native land, under different management and ownership basis is another valid reason for conducting the research on indigenous tourism in the Yasawas.

According to the Ministry of Tourism Report 2005b, hotel ownership and management in the Yasawas fell under the following categories;

1. Joint Partnership between a local family and a foreign investor as in the case of the Oarsman Bay Lodge
2. Joint partnership between a community and a foreign investor, this includes the Twin Bay Resort
3. Full ownership by a foreign investor such as Turtle Island
4. Full Ownership by an individual local investor and
5. Full ownership by a clan or tribe as in the case of the Oarsman Bay Lodge after gaining full ownership in September, 2006.

This thesis will discuss two types (1 and 5) of management adopted by indigenous people operating small-scale tourism in the Yasawa.

3.4.5 Contemporary Fijian Social Structure

Since independence, Fijians live in fixed Fijian villages which are symbols of Fijian society and polity. These are settlement units and focus of rural economic activity. The

strength of a Fijian society in retaining much of its coherence in the face of almost 200 years of contact with the outside world is often said to stem from the maintenance of the village economy, social organization and life style (Ward 1994:134).

The following descriptions of a village structure are taken from Nayacakalou (1975:14). Village structure has an important bearing on the structure of Fijian descent groups. The village is primary unit of local organization in Fijian society. Its population varies from a few to many hundreds. It has a certain mode of internal organization by which it achieves a unitary authority structure and the principle authority is usually held by the senior chief.

The overall structure the village is divided firstly, into two or more primary divisions (*mataqali*) which is also the term given a patrilineal descent group of the second order of inclusiveness; second, each primary divisions may have a number of subdivisions known as *i tokotoka* which are lineages in the sense that they comprise the descendents, in one line, of a particular person through several generations.

According to the 2007 census, the total population of Fiji is 837,271 with 475,739 Fijians, 313,798 Indians and 47732 others. Rural population consists of 412,425 and urban population 424,846 (Fiji Islands Bureau of Statistics 2009). The declining Indian population is mainly due to high international emigration and lower rate of natural increase (Ministry of Information 2006: 5). The term Fijian in this paper refers to ethnic Fijians or native Fijians in the sense in which the term First Nations is used for the descendents of the original inhabitants of that continent.

Fiji's parliament largely follows the procedures and customs of the British where there is an elected House of Representatives and nominated senates (Ministry of Information 2006: 17). The house of representatives comprises of 71 members out of which 25 MP are elected on open rolls and 46 on communal or ethnic roll. The 46 communal seats are distributed as follows: Fijians 23, Indians 19, Rotumans one and Others three.

The Upper House or the Senate consists of 32 members of whom: 14 are appointed by the President on the advice of the Great Council of Chief, nine are appointed by the president on the advice of the Prime Minister, eight are appointed by the President on the advice of the Leader of the Opposition and one is appointed by the president on the advice of the council of Rotuma. The Senate complements the work of the House of Representatives through the scrutiny and revision of Bills. It can guide opinion,

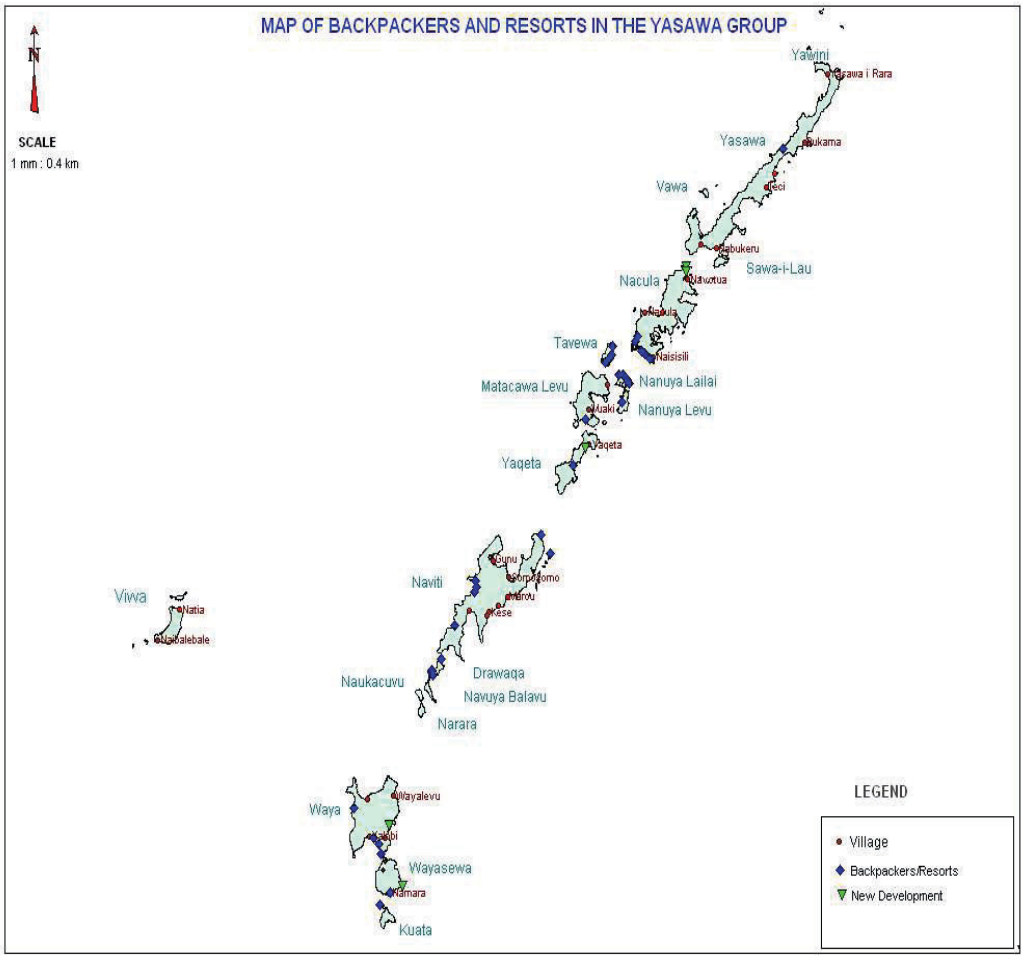
petition and adjournment speeches. While these lines are written Fiji does not have a sitting Parliament and since spring 2009 also lacks a constitution. Both were abrogated as a result of a military coup in December 2006.

3.5 Area of Study II – Yasawa

The Yasawas is a group of long, elongated, narrow volcanic islands in the west and north-west of Fiji's main island, Viti Levu (see Map 4). These islands are the remains of volcanoes, which erupted some 6-8 million years ago. They rise from parts of the huge Yasawas – Mamanuca lagoon, which is boarded on the east by Viti Levu and on the west by a barrier reef, which is 10 - 30km west of all Yasawa Islands.

Most of the villages in the Yasawas are located on the coasts surrounded by wide fringing reefs. The rugged inland includes some very steep mountain areas especially in the Wayalevu and Naviti islands. Most of the local people depend heavily on near shore marine resources for subsistence (Nunn 1999.).

Map 4: Map of Backpackers and Resorts in the Yasawa Island Group



Source: Ministry of Tourism, 2005a

In general the Yasawas, like other island destinations, is characterized by its dependency on the sea, vulnerability related to marine environment, a limited resource base, localized carrying capacities with interrelated and often fragile ecosystems (Levett and McNally 2003). With all these gloomy environmental conditions also lies its potential for tourism development.

3.6 Justifications for site selection

The Yasawa group of islands was chosen for this research because it is one of the most visited destinations in Fiji by tourists from outside the South Pacific region (MOT, 2005a). Secondly, since the early 1990s there has been an increasing number of indigenous Yasawans taking part in tourism activities as operators and owners of small-scale tourism ventures (see Table 3).

For instance, out of the 34 small-scale tourist accommodation in the Yasawas, 30 hotels are eco-tourism related projects, 22 are owned by indigenous owners in partnership with the Ministry of Tourism which provided the initial start up fund for the operations. The remaining 12 hotels are privately funded and a majority of these are owned by foreign investment (MOT, 2005b). Whether these local tour operators used eco-tourists philosophy as guideline of their operations is not the purpose of this paper. However, this is one area that needs future research especially in the islands like Yasawa.

Thirdly, the economic benefits generated from tourism activities in the Yasawas have become an important source for livelihood for the country and local communities. Approximately 95% of the tourism dollar earned in Fiji, is generated in the North/Western region which consist of the Yasawa group of islands and North Western Viti Levu up to the Ra Province and the South/Western region that includes Nadi, the Coral Coast and the Mamanucas (NLTB 2006: 2).

In terms of employment, data from the Ministry of Tourism shows that 87% of the local communities are employed indirectly by the tourism sector while the remaining 13% are foreigners and other races outside of the local community (MOT 2005b).Yet, despite the location of the Yasawas for major tourism development, only a small proportion of the population is employed directly by the tourist industry. The level of skills of the locals are manifold from receptionists to bartenders and managers, this however depends on the type of hotel ownerships and management.

Table 3: Location of Backpacks, Resorts & Hotels in the Yasawas, 2005

Location	No.	Backpacks, Hotels and Resorts names
Nacula	9	Al's Paradise, Kim's Place, Melbarro Beach Resort, Nalova Bay, Nanuya North, Oarsmans Bay Lodge, Safe Landing, Sea Spray
Naviti	5	Botaira, Coconut Bay Resort, Korovou, Qereqere Cross, Rays Tail
Wayalevu	7	Adi's Backpackers, Waya Island, Twin Bay, Bayside, Backers Paradise, Octopus Resort, Eagles Nests-Saints Retreat.
Tavewa	4	Coral View Island, David's Place, Kingfisher, Otto and Fanny
Nanuya Lailai	4	Gold Coast, Sunrise Lagoon, Nanuya Island, Blue Lagoon Beach
Wayasewa	1	Wayalailai Island Resort
Drawaqa	2	Drawaqa Island Resort, Manta Ray
Matacawalevu	2	Crimson Tierra, Long beach
Nanuya Levu	1	Turtle island
Sawa-I- Lau	1	Pleasuring Backpackers
Kuata	1	Kuata Natural Resort
Yaqeta	1+1	Yaqeta Backpackers , Naivalu Resort
Yasawa	1+1	Yasawa Island Resort (*Yasawa-I-Rara Paradise Point Resort)
Viwa	1	Viwa Island Resort
Total	**41**	

Source: Ministry of Tourism, 2005a.* Resorts that were still under-construction at time of research

Fourthly, the Yasawas is used as an area of study since it depicts an island destination that has unique cultural and natural environments, yet its carrying capacity if exceeded can cause enormous problems towards the sustainability of any tourism operation. According to the Tourism Report (2005b) an important factor in sustainable tourism development in these small Islands is their tourist carrying capacity both in environmental and social terms. At peak periods, visitors outnumber nationals by multiples in several of the smaller islands. In the larger islands of the Yasawa group the local concentration of tourism often leads to localized problems of carrying capacity, such as overcrowding of beaches, shipping/boat congestion and noise pollution.

Furthermore the report stated that for some of these small islands, treatment and disposal of liquid and solid wastes constitute a major problem. With limited physical infrastructure, the carrying capacity of small island is already strained. This is exacerbated by wastes generated by tourism activities. Examples abound of damage caused by the disposal of untreated effluents into surrounding areas of land and sea.

Pollution of marine resources is one such example. This in future can lead to the loss of valuable marine life, the destruction of coral reefs and the silting and erosion of coastal beaches, on which island tourism highly depends on.

Many of the small islands in the Yasawas, as in other small island destinations in the world, are confronted with severe infrastructural inadequacies consequent to the growth of tourism. Many of them suffer from chronic shortages of freshwater supply for their own use, a problem that is further aggravated by the high demand of large tourist populations. Liquid and solid waste disposal present a colossal problem to most islands but especially to those that are tourism-based.

Lastly, the Yasawas is used as a study area to identify whether or not the existing land tenure system contributes to the sustainability of indigenous tourism and the industry as a whole. It is of particular interest especially in a multicultural society like Fiji where land is mostly communally owned by the indigenous Fijians.

In the Yasawas like other tourism development on native land in Fiji, there are possibilities of internal conflict amongst members of the *mataqali*, family and between business partners if land policy regarding tourism development on native land is not adhered to by different participants in the tourism operation.

3.6.1 Study Area I: Oarsman Bay Lodge

Oarsman's Bay lodge is a two star resort which began its operation on the 8th of September 2000 and is situated southwest of the village of Nacula. Nacula village is one of the six villages in the *tikina* Nacula in the Yasawas. The resort sits on the edge of a magnificent turquoise lagoon, surrounded by a spectacular hilly back drop with grassland typical of the leeward dry areas of Fiji which are of *talasiga*[6] in nature.

It should be noted that the lodge had a joint venture partnership with the owner of Turtle Island until September of 2006. Now the lodge is owned by the *mataqali* Najia where the Tui Drola (Chief) who is the director of the lodge belongs. The initial idea for establishing the lodge was to help the Tui Drola finance his traditional obligation to the *vanua* of Nacula, his *mataqali* and other responsibilities bestowed on him in his capacity as chief.

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[6] bare landscape associated with dry climate

Tourism is the only viable option to meet this financial need since the traditional activities of farming and fishing are time consuming and less rewarding, although are still the main sources of livelihoods for the islanders in the Yasawa. Table 4 below shows some keys characteristics of the two indigenous operations which are case studies for this thesis.

3.6.2 Study Area II: Nalova Bay Lodge

The resort is situated besides OBL and started in October, 2000 despite the May coup in Fiji of the same year. It is owned and managed by the *Moceyawa* family who belong to the *mataqali Verebasaga* from Nacula village. It is located at Nalova Bay, 50 miles North West of *Lautoka* and *Nadi* international airport and between two to five kilometers off the islands of *Tavewa, Nanuyalailai* and *Matacawalevu* in central *Yasawa.* The *Mocewaya* family leases the land from their own *mataqali*, for 99 years. This is a family owned indigenous tourism operation.

Before the completion of this thesis, Nalova Bay Lodge was put on mortgage in March, 2009 and ownership shifted to an Australian who now owns the lodge under the new 'Blue Lagoon Lodge.

3.6.3 Justification for Selection of Tourism Operations

From the theoretical perspective, the two indigenous operations in Fiji were selected because they fit well with Butler and Hinch matrix/model (see page 40) to define indigenous tourism. When applying the matrix/model to OBL and NBL, the two indigenous tourism ventures fulfill the two criteria employed by Butler and Hinch to define an indigenous tourism operation. Both ventures are culture controlled and situated at the right upper continuum of the model.

Table 4: Key features between OBL and NBL Operations, 2008.

Key Features	**OBL**	**NBL**
Year of Operation	1999	2000
Ownership/Management	Partnership 1999-Sept 2006 Indigenous Ownd Sept 2006 onwards	Family Owned
Type of land/ Years of lease	Native land-*Mataqali* Najia, 99 years	Native land-*Mataqali* Verebasaga, 99 years
Land area	8 acres	9 acres
Financial contribution	Free interest loan Richard Evanson. Paid off 2006	Loan FDB Pension Personal contribution of family members. Still repaying loan
Class of service	Backpackers	Budget Accomodation
Tourist Facilities	Bure, dorm, kitchen, dining hall, bar, pipewater, internet laundry, electricity, sea transport	6 Bure, piped water, electricity.
Total Number of Eployees	24	5
Marketing	Done by Turtle island	Do their own marketing

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

Culture control, according to Butler and Hinch, is any tourism operation which is controlled by indigenous people and the indigenous culture is the central attraction. In the case of OBL, it is indigenously owned even though it was partly controlled by a non-indigenous entrepreneur from 2000 to September 2006. Even during the period of partnership the sense of indigenous ownership was always in the mind of members of the landowning unit *Najia,* it is their land and so is the tourism venture. After September 2006, the *mataqali* took full control and ownership of the tourism venture. Likewise, NBL was fully controlled and owned by an indigenous family.

Secondly, the indigenous culture is always a major tourism attraction in both indigenous operations, for example, visits to villages and participation in traditional Fijian activities. The fact that the two indigenous operations are located within the boundary of a Fijian village is itself a major attraction for tourists; it is like relocating tourists temporarily to the care free life of the Fijian people and their natural environment.

It is worth noting the family indigenous tourism venture failed and was put on mortgage in March 2009 and the ownership shifted to a non-indigenous entrepreneur who named the tourism venture Blue Lagoon Beach Resort. According to the matrix/model, the Nalova Bay position has shifted to the upper left of matrix/model (culture dispossess) after March 2009 and no longer considered as an indigenous tourism because it was no longer owned and controlled by indigenous people, but the Fijian culture is still a major part of the attraction.

From the business and management perspective, OBL resort is chosen as a case study for two reasons: first it is regarded as one of the most successful indigenous tourism enterprises in recent years; second, as mentioned above, the resort has gone through two types of management operation, one under partnership ownership and now under full ownership of the *mataqali Najia.* Initially the resort's operation was managed under a joint venture or partnership of the *mataqali Najia* with Richard Evanson who owns Turtle Islands Resort. The initial architecture and landscaping were designed and carried out by the Turtle Island management. However it became a fully indigenous-owned operation on September, 2006 after six years of partnership. This change of ownership provides a good ground for the sustainability of indigenous tourism operation under different management and ownership.

On the other hand, NBL was chosen for this case study because it is solely owned by an indigenous family who lease the land from their own *mataqali*. This case study will provide a good ground to compare and contrast the different management styles under different ownership and their impacts on the sustainability of indigenous tourism.

3.7 Methodology

3.7.1 General

The methods of research employed for this thesis were scrutinized carefully because they had to be appropriate and would be able to extract the type of information that would meet the objectives of this thesis. The methods of research had to be free of bias, inclusive and accurate for the same purposes. For this reason two broad methods of research, qualitative and quantitative methods used interchangeably for the best results, were employed for this study;

3.7.2 Qualitative Research

A good part of this research is qualitative in nature because the main issue under research – the sustainability of indigenous tourism and indigenous tourism initiatives - is an intricate socio-economic, cultural and environmental inter-relationship that involves human interaction and emotion. Some of these interactions are sensitive in nature and their corresponding variables are abstract and cannot be quantified to justify the use of quantitative methods of research. For instance, the respondents' social values, cultural and traditional norms, personal decisions and aspiration, and their opinions, expectation and thoughts on the management and sustainability of indigenous tourism. Yet these variables add insight to research and cannot be excluded from the whole study. Data for these variables have been collected using qualitative methods such as in-depth interviews, informal discussions and case studies. Table 5 summarizes the total number of respondents in Yasawa and the methods of research employed for extracting information.

Table 5: Total Number of Respondents by Method of Research – Yasawa Respondents, 2008

Types of Respondent	Total Number	Female	Male	Methods of Research
Employees	25	F-11	M-14	Administerd Questionnaire
Tourists	20	F-9	M-11	Self-administerd & Administered Questionnaire
Community members	13	F-6	M-7	Administered Questionnaire
Directors	2	F-0	M-2	Indepth interview (Tape record)
Total	60	27	34	

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

3.7.3 In-depth Interviews

The questions used for the in-depth interviews with the respondents were open ended and semi-structured to give more space for information exchange between the respondents and researcher in answering the objectives of the research. Interviews in Essipit (3) were tape recorded for accurate recollection of information analysis of these discussions. Where additional relevant information was gathered from those interview sessions, this was recorded as journal entry by the researcher. In-depth interviews at Oarsmen and Nalova Bay were digitally recorded and then transcribed for accurate analysis.

Finally, the respondents were assured of confidentiality and where their responses have been used, they have been notified and their permission sought to use the same. The results as given in *chapters four* and *five* will describe, argue and persuade that the views, experiences and aspirations of the respondents must be appreciated and have directly influenced the outcomes of this research.

3.7.4 Sample Space for In-depth Interviews – Group One: Essipit Respondents

There were two were directors with Essipit Enterprise who were interviewed for this research. They represent the views of the Essipit Enterprise and its aspiration towards the success and sustainability of the Essipit Tourism. They gave an insight about the strengths and weaknesses of the operation and the various sectors they look after in the operation.

A Chief, who is also a member of the Band Council, was also interviewed. He reflected on the history and gave account of the achievement of the Band council since its inception. He also discussed the political and economic aspiration of the Innu to achieve self-autonomy through the Essipit Enterprise.

3.7.5 Sample Space for In-depth Interviews – Group Two: First Nation Academia

There were two indigenous academics who specialized in indigenous issues such as indigenous and participation in tourism interviewed for this research. Their views reflect the experiences of the indigenous community they worked with, their own personal experience and also form part of the views of indigenous scholars who had done research on indigenous tourism in Canada and other parts of the world. They were selected apart from their work mentioned above; they also have insights into the aspirations of the indigenous people in Canada especially on issues of land reclamation, political autonomy and reviving the culture of indigenous people. Lastly, the two academic respondents were interviewed to discuss firsthand with the researcher some of their own original work about indigenous people since the researcher was still a stranger to the issues regarding Indigenous tourism in Canada. The interview would also provide the opportunity for the researcher to probe any issue regarding indigenous tourism which was impossible to do with any other sources of information in Canada.

In Fiji, while non-indigenous academia were consulted about the issue of indigenous tourism , there was none for indigenous academia especially regarding the land issues

and tourism development on native land whose views on sensitive issue such as land would have added in-depth to the research. This weakness is acknowledged.

3.7.6 Sample Space for In-depth Interviews – Group Three: President Indigenous Student Association

The president of the indigenous students' association at Laval University was also interviewed. She reflects the views of indigenous students at tertiary level on issues like discrimination, study ethics, government assistance towards education and the internal conflicts that exist amongst different indigenous groups. She was interviewed to provide a general background of the First Nation to the researcher and also as point of contact for other indigenous postgraduate students doing research on indigenous tourism and other related researches. As a member of the Inuit Nation she brings more light to the problem facing the First Nation in trying to have one common political forum to address various issues important to them. The interview was done prior to the field work in Essipit to give some socio-economic background information about indigenous students at university level. This was done for the sake of being informed about indigenous students' views on indigenous tourism.

3.7.7 Sample Space for In-depth Interview – Group Four: Fiji Directors –OBL & NBL

There were two directors interviewed and they represent management's views on the two respective indigenous tourism operations in this thesis. They gave an insight into the aspirations, aims and problems faced by indigenous tourism which they manage and the Yasawas as a whole.

3.7.8 Sample Space for In-depth Interview – Group 5: Manager – OBL & NBL

Two manageresses were interviewed and they represent the views of the mid-class employee and they gave detailed information on the daily activities of the operation and comprehensive information such as the employees' employment benefits, work ethics and views. They also provided exhaustive information about tourists especially their expenditure and the different tourist activities offered by the two operations. There was also an in-depth interview with a board member of OBL who was able to provide in-depth knowledge on the establishment of the OBL and the *mataqali* Najia's expectations of the OBL.

3.7.9 Sample Space for In-depth Interview – Group 6: Senior Employees

In the course of conducting the research, the researcher realized that an important issue that needed to be addressed is "*whether partnership management is good or bad compared to full indigenous management or vice versa"*. This question was asked of fourteen of the workers who have worked at OBL during the partnership and sole ownership period. They provided a detail discussion on the issue based on their own experiences.

3.7.10 Sample Space for In-depth Interview – Group 7: Senior Officials

There were five public and private officials who were interviewed for this research. They represented the views of the government (through the tourism ministry) and the private sectors on the plans and assistance available for potential indigenous operators. They also identified problems faced by the various stakeholders in the development of indigenous tourism in Fiji. These views have been incorporated into the findings of this research.

3.7.11 Quantitative Research

The only quantitative method of empirical and social data retrieval adopted for this research was the questionnaire which was designed according to the indigenous tourism variables that were highlighted in the models and literature reviews for this research topic. This theoretical framework helped in formulating the objectives of the research and thus the questionnaires. The Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS 14.0) for social statistical research and analysis was later used to analyze those questionnaires.

3.7.12 Questionnaires

The questions were structured and unstructured in nature and included open and close questions (see Appendix 1, 2, 3, 4). They were used to gather primary data directly from the various respondents in the Essipit Enterprise and indigenous tourism operation in Fiji. Questionnaires for community members and employees in Fiji were administered by the researcher. In Essipit questionnaires for both community members and employees were mostly self- administered with the presence of the researcher and interpreter to clarify any questions that might arise from the respondents. As for employees most questionnaires were self administered due to the location of most employees away from the station of the researcher. Furthermore since it was a low season period tourism

workers in the enterprise were either laid off or located far away in the hunting and fishing ground doing maintenance work. This might affect the outcome of the research (see limitations of the research). As for tourists, questionnaires were distributed during the high season period by the economic director in Essipit who later mailed them to the researcher in Fiji.

The questions focused on the views of the employees and community members on indigenous tourism initiatives in Essipit and socio-economic, cultural and environmental impacts of indigenous tourism in the Yasawas. Questionnaires for tourists were designed to evaluate the tourists' expenditure, length of stay and perception on environmental and cultural attractions provided by Essipit and the Yasawas. It also discussed their evaluation on overall services provide by both indigenous tourism in Essipit and the Yasawas.

3.7.13 Archival Research

This research tried to use the most recent statistics on items like tourist arrival, length of stay and as foreign earning on regional and national level to validate the relevance of this thesis. These statistics were gathered from various sources such as the Ministry of Indian Affairs (Quebec), South Pacific Tourism Organization, Native Land Trust Board and the Ministry of Tourism.

In addition, an extensive literature review was conducted to establish existing knowledge regarding indigenous tourism at the global, regional and national levels. Knowledge extracted from this review included past and current trends and issues of indigenous tourism and indigenous people, native land act, period statistics, evolving theories and concepts and other relevant materials. Most importantly, the review identified areas and problems of indigenous tourism research that need more attention and therefore, the questionnaire and in-depth interviews used in this study were designed to address some of those knowledge gaps relating to the contemporary nature of indigenous tourism in Fiji and Canada.

3.7.14 Period of Study

The research was carried out in two phases;

i) The first phase involved research activities in the Essipit Reserve in Quebec Canada which the researcher was able to undertake while being enrolled as an exchange student at the Laval University for nine months from September, 2006 to April, 2007.

All relevant materials about indigenous tourism in Canada and other countries were collected during this time.

ii) The second phase involved research activities in the Yasawas at Oarsmen Bay Lodge and Nalova Bay Lodge from the 17th to 22nd January, 2008.

3.8 Limitations of Research

The scope of the research topic and timing of the research posed a number of limitations for this research, which influenced and might distort the outcomes of this research. The limitations discussed here, are hoped to set a precedent to any future research on the sustainability of indigenous tourism in Fiji and around the globe.

i) Language Barrier - This proved to be the most difficult aspect of the research in carrying out the research in Essipit Reserve since about 95% of the population speaks French. Although the researcher spent some time learning French and had two interpreters with him during the field work, it was not adequate and deterred any free flowing conversation on issues related to the research topic during in-depth interview, when administering questionnaires or any informal conversation with the community. The language barrier also prevents the implementation of case study as a research method in Essipit, the initial research topic was '*A comparative analysis of the sustainability of tourism in Canada and Fiji: A case study of the Yasawa and Essipit'*.

ii) Two - Countries Research – The vast differences of the two countries of research in terms of the physical geography and cultural make up of its indigenous and non-indigenous population although providing an interesting area of research regarding indigenous tourism, pose problems such as distance and language (see Language Barrier). Therefore any issues needing further probing or detail explanation or discussion is futile. Due to the problem posed by language differences, the research topic was altered from the initial one.

iii) Research Timing - The field work in Essipit Tourism was carried out during the low season (winter) when the occupancy rate was very low and many employees were not on the reserve. Therefore the data collected from employees were not sufficient and might affect the outcomes. In addition there was no opportunity at all to talk to tourists about their views on issues like which tourist attractions they liked most in

Essipit. Achieving this might give more insight into tourists' perception about Essipit and thus its sustainability. The winter condition also prevented the researcher from visiting the hunting fishing grounds and other tourists' attractions and thus the inability to make any comparison with indigenous attractions in Fiji.

iv) Area of Study – One of the study areas in the Yasawa – Nalova Bay was without tourists during the time of research and therefore there was no tourists interviewed from the Lodge and that prevented any discussion on the views of tourists regarding the tourist service provided by Nalova Bay Resort and any comparison analysis between views of tourists visiting the two lodges.

v) Questionnaires – During the research the researcher then realized that one important question was not included in the questionnaires regarding the views of workers on whether joint partnership or sole ownership is good or bad for the indigenous tourism operation in Nacula. Although the question was put to fourteen employees, it would be better to ask all the employees to give a extensive idea of their views on the issue since this an important part of the objective.

vii) Community Sampling - Only 13 out of the 300 people in Nacula were interviewed and this is not representative of the village population and affect the community's perception on indigenous tourism in Nacula. Although this shortfall was mitigated in informal conversation with community members, it would be appropriate to interview a representative number of the village population to reflect more accurate views of the community on the research subject. There was no interview conducted for community members in Naisisili (due to a death in the village) where four employees from Nalova Lodge come from so the community perception discussed here are entirely of the Nacula villagers and this omission may deter any comparison of views of the different communities or families that depend on the two indigenous tourism enterprises. While many researchers believe that there are little differences about the views of people living in the same geographical space on issues affecting them in this case indigenous tourism in the village setting, it is the wisest choice to substantiate it with research evidence that this research was not able to do due to unforeseen circumstances.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter has two parts, one provides a background overview of the two countries of study. The second part provides a detail explanation of the methodological tool used for this thesis and the limitations of the research. Some important issues discussed in the first part include the geographical attributes of the two areas of studies, the Acts regarding native land, indigenous tourism and challenges facing indigenous tourism in Canada.

Chapter four contains the results and the analysis of the field work in Essipit. It discusses the various initiatives adapted by Essipit tourism which provided the foundations of its sustainability.

Chapter Four

Results and Analysis – Essipit:

The Strength of Communalism towards Indigenous Tourism Initiatives

'Our [the Innu Nation] social and economic system, which are based solely on community businesses, help to uphold a concept of sharing that is specific to our nation and which was established by our ancestors. This concept is a symbol of our strength and our commitment to the future'

Chief Denis Ross (2005)

4.1 Introduction

This is the first of the two chapters reporting the results of the field study for this thesis. As earlier mentioned, the study in Essipit, Canada looked at the initiatives the indigenous community adopted for their tourism venture. Chapter four, covers research findings and analysis of indigenous tourism initiatives, and discusses the sustainability of these initiatives. The discussion of results follows an integrated approach combining the views of Innu community members, members of the Innu band council, tourists and employees of Essipit Tourism interviewed through questionnaires (see Table 6). The issues related to sustainability covered topics of socio-economic, cultural and environmental sustainability of the initiatives taken up by the Innu community.

Table 6: Total Number of Respondent in Essipit by Method of Research

Respondent Category	Total No. of Respondents Interviewed	Total No. in the Community	Method of Research
Band council member	1	4	In-depth interviews
Director	2	5	In-depth interviews
Employees	10	72	Structured interviews
Tourists	10	Varies	Structured interviews
Community members	11	278	Structured interviews
Total	34		

Source: Fieldwork, March 2007

Table 7 shows the total number of people interviewed in Essipit and the methods used. The research findings and analysis will be discussed concurrently when discussing each initiative taken by the Essipit management in operating the indigenous tourism.

Table 7: Profile of the Ten Employees in Essipit, 2007

No	Age	Sex	Innu / Non-Innu	Marital status	No. in family	Resident /Non Resident	Length of Employment (Yrs)	F/Time P/Time	Work Type
1	61	F	Innu	Married	5	Res.	15	PT	In charge of cruise
2	50	F	Innu	Married	3	Res.	16	PT	Outfitter/ guide
3	51	F	Innu	Married	5	Res.	5	PT	Cleaner
4	30	M	Innu	Common Union	4	Res.	10	PT	Boat operator
5	41	M	Innu	Common Union	3	Res.	15	FT	Camping Assistant
6	29	F	Non-Innu	Common Union	3	Non Res.	7	FT	Receptionist
7	43	F	Non-Innu	Common Union	4	Non Res.	18	FT	Head Receptionist
8	45	F	Innu	Divorce	2	Res.	3.5	FT	Receptionist
9	30	M	Innu	Common Union	2	Non Res.	16	FT	Director Pouvoirie
10	23	F	Non-Innu	Single	3	Non Res.	3	FT	Director Human Resource

Source: Fieldwork, March 2007. Common union is similar to a de facto relationship in Fiji; it is recognized legally in Canada.

Table 7 shows background information of the ten employees interviewed in Essipit. There are seven females and three males with three in their 40s, whilst three are above 50; two each in the 30s and 20s age brackets. In general the reserves in Canada are facing an aging population because many young members of the First Nations are migrating to major cities looking for better employment opportunities. Chamberland (pers. comm. 2007) expresses; '*Essipit Tourism will be facing the prospect labour shortage in the future because many young educated Innus prefer to work outside the reserve'.* Six employees belong to the Innu Nation and four are non indigenous (the latter are known as Quebecois as a result of inter marriages between Native Americans and the French since colonization).

In Essipit the impact of inter-marriages is obvious by the physical attributes of the people which are different from pure blooded First Nation (pers. observation 2007). Three of the respondents are married, five are in common union relationships and one each is single

and divorced respectively. Generally, reserves in Canada have high family break-ups because of domestic violence, substance and alcohol abuse, compounded by chronic housing shortage as a result of forced assimilation (AFN 2006 17). In Essipit, family sizes are small with an average of three persons per household normally consisting of parents and their child (ren). Of the total employees, six reside in the reserve and four live in the surrounding areas. The majority (6) of the workers have spent more than ten years working in Essipit tourism and three have worked their way from junior positions to higher positions, e.g. from receptionist and tour guide to head receptionist and director. The workers hold a wide range of positions such as cleaners, receptionist, camping assistant, tour guide, boat master and director. The duty rosters are flexible allowing workers to adopt multi-skilled roles in the different tourism sectors within the enterprise especially during high and low seasons to ensure economic viability of the indigenous venture.

In terms of home ownership, four people have their own houses and six occupy houses arranged by the reserve Band Council. In a First Nation reserve, band members may occupy a house through capital housing (this is housing paid for by the band members and have ownership rights to the house). Secondly, social housing means housing owned by the Band for which members pay installments to the Band Council and when the house is paid off, the Band transfers ownership to the Band members. Lastly, rental housing is where Band members rent houses owned by the Band council (AFN 2006: 13). The four home owners have full possession of their homes by capital housing and the non-home owners occupy houses in the reserve through other housing arrangements mentioned above.

One obstacle for prospective home owners in the reserve is that they cannot obtain loans from financial institutions. Section 89(1) of the Indian Act expressly prohibits "the real and personal property of an Indian or a band situated on a reserve" from being mortgaged. Consequently, most couples who want to build or purchase a family home in the reserve cannot go to a bank to obtain a mortgage to build or purchase a home. Nor are there many couples who can build or purchase a family home without some form of financial assistance. This is particularly true for couples in the reserve, where the average income in 2006 was CAN$15,667 (AFN 2006: 9-14), far too low to afford a house. The lack of houses meant home owners may accommodate relatives in the reserve. An estimated 31% of all homes on reserves are overcrowded (Ibid). As for the Innu in Essipit reserve the

average income is CAN$20,000 and 80% of the houses in the reserve are owned by individuals. This is a positive sign for the standard of well being of the indigenous Innu[7]. There are tax provisions in the Indian Act which makes it cheaper to build a house in the reserve. Every registered Band member is entitled to tax exemptions for any material purchased from any outlets throughout Canada (AFN 2006: 14).

Table 8: Profile of the Eleven Community Members in Essipit Reserve

Member	Sex	Age	Marital status	Innu/Non-Innu	Own House?	Profession	Length of Resident (Yrs)
1	F	62	Divorce	NS	No (rent)	NS	>20
2	M	32	Married	Innu	Yes	Radio Announcer	16-20
3	M	47	Married	Innu	Yes	Maintenance Manager	>20
4	M	29	Single	Innu	No	Carpenter	16-20
5	M	54	Separated	Innu	No	Social Worker	>20
6	F	49	Separated	Non Innu	No	Cashier	6-10
7	F	78	Separated	Innu	No	Retiree	11-15
8	F	58	Separated	Innu	Yes	Cashier	16-20
9	F	51	Married	Innu	Yes	Maintenance	1-5
10	M	60	Married	Innu	Yes	School bus driver	>20
11	M	53	Separated	Innu	No	Cleaner	>20

Source: Fieldwork, February 2007

Seven of the community members interviewed are above the age of 50, five are separated, four married, one each is either divorced or single (see Table 8). All interviewees are Innu members except one who is separated and recently moved out of the reserve. Five of the community members own their homes and six are either renting or still repaying the home to the band council. Five members have spent more than 20 years in the reserve, three between 16-20 years and one each has spent 11-15, 6-10, and 1-5 years in the reserve. Many members are still employed in the various services provided in the reserve.

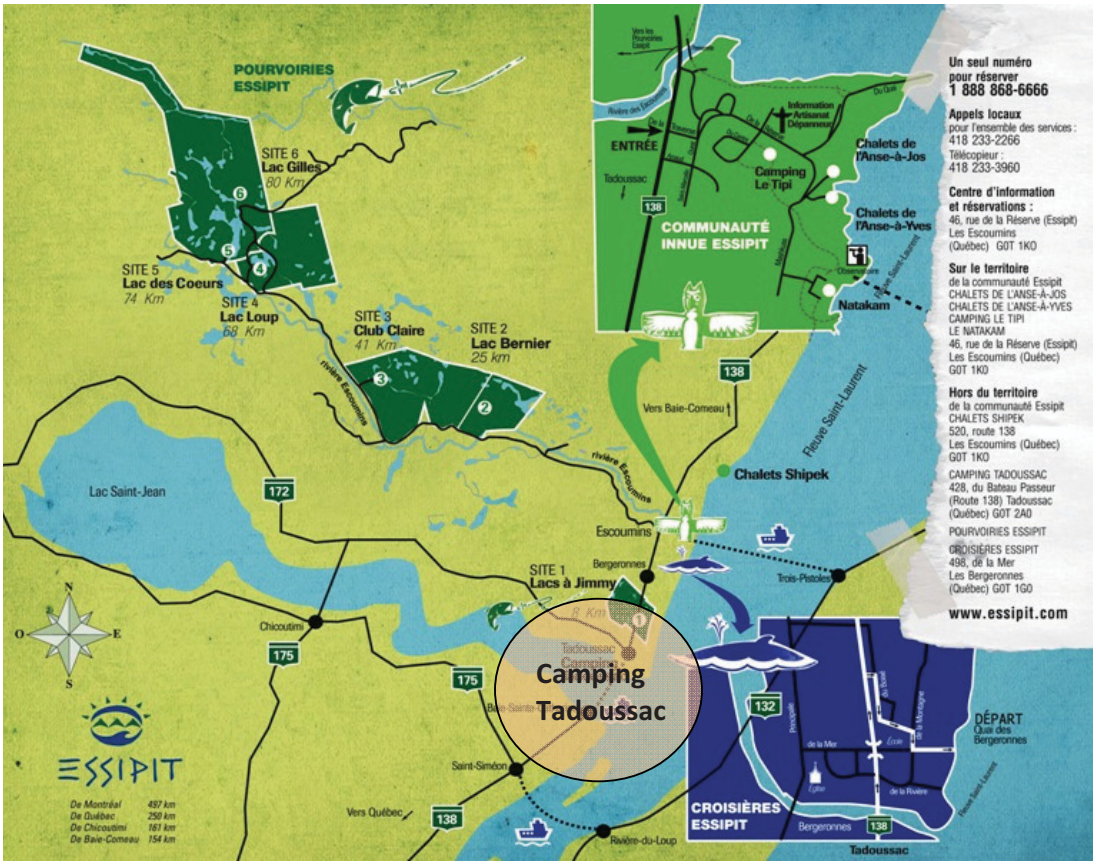
[7] Mark Genest pers. comm. 2007

4.2 An Overview of Essipit Tourism

'For our fathers and our children' Essipit Innu Council 2005

The motto of the Essipit Innu Nation Council above reflects the community's philosophy - to honor the past struggle and tireless efforts of their forefathers and to provide a promising future that is sustainable for their children. The motto forms the foundation of the Innu socio-economic, cultural, environmental and political activities.

Map 5: Location of Tadoussac and Essipit Tourism



Source: Essipit Enterprise 2007
Please note that map is not to scale

Essipit tourism was established in 1989 as part of the Essipit Enterprise that started in 1979. Initially it was established because of its close proximity to Tadoussac (see Map 5), a common destination for tourists from the USA visiting Quebec in the summers of early 1970s. The tourism venture was established to provide accommodation for those US tourists.

According to studies by Hajalager (1996) and Opperman (1996) on rural tourism in Europe, tourism services especially accommodation facilities have contributed

relatively little to farm incomes and rarely met operator's expectations. According to Fleischer and Pizam (1997:368) part of the reason is that rural tourism enterprises tend to be small-scale and supply to a highly seasonal market. The scenario for rural tourism in Europe is similar to Essipit tourism given its isolation from international and domestic tourists and especially now that its main tourist US market stop coming to Tadoussac in summer in big numbers due to prolong winter season that made summer holiday less rewarding.

As for Essipit, tourists using its accommodation range in numbers from 8,608 in 2004 to 8,091 in 2006. Accommodation was the fourth most important tourist service in Essipit during these years[8] (see also table 9). The drop in numbers of tourist staying in Essipit accommodation was the result of the closure of the port facility located close to Essipit, the tourists' entry point. Another contributing factor to the decrease in number is due to the short peak season in Essipit. In other words the high influx of tourists in Essipit during the peak season is very short, stretching to four months. Accordingly tourists' activities and maximum earnings are confined to those four months leaving the rest of the years as low season.

Table 9: Total Number of Tourists Visiting Essipit's Tourist Attractions 2004-2006

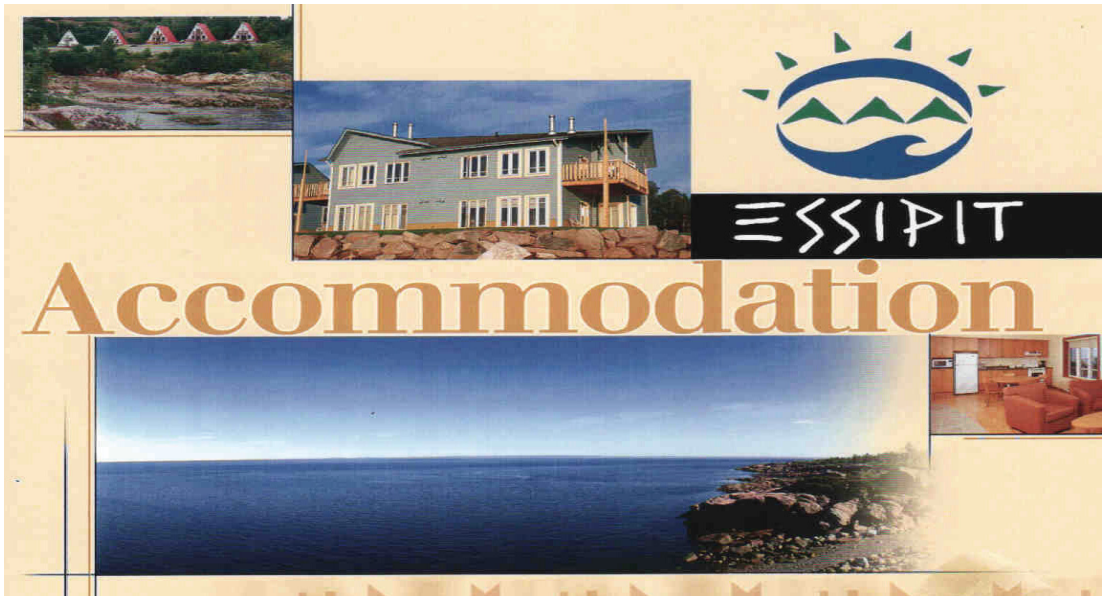
Tourist Activities	2006 Total no. of Tourists (000)	2005 (000)	2004 (000)
Pouvoirie	3472	3036	3032
Cruise/W. Watching	12,310	11,976	12,486
Camping	20,804	20,338	20,177
Accommodation	8,091	7,951	8,608
Centre Reservation	23,216	24, 167	31,966
Total	67,893	67,458	75,939

Source: Essipit Management 2007

Other tourist activities were developed as the tourism venture grew to meet the expectations of tourists. At the time of research in 2007, the main tourist services in Essipit offered accommodation, camping, whale watching, observing Black Bears and experiencing the povourier (traditional hunting and fishing game).

[8] Mark Genest pers. comm. 2007

Image 1: Accommodation Types at the Essipit Tourism Venture - 2007



Source: Fieldwork, 2007

A central issue of the Essipit enterprise is its communal management system: all businesses, services and modern facilities belong to the Essipit community and are managed by the Band Council. The communal ownership of resources stems from a decision made a number of years ago by Innu elders, about respecting, protecting and conserving their resources (Essipit Innu Council 2005). That approach has meant the Innu success in managing indigenous tourism initiatives because the value of communalism governs the vision of Essipit Enterprise on how business is owned and managed, how resources are acquired and shared and how the approach dictates human interaction in the community and work place.

4.2.1 Economic Sustainability of the Essipit Enterprise

In 2006, the total value of Essipit enterprise was about $25 million, out of which $2 million was generated by economic activities outside the reserve mainly on fishing and a freezing plant[9]. The tourism venture generated more than fifty percent of the total revenue of the whole Essipit enterprise. An in-depth interview with the Director of Tourism Activities disclosed in 2006 that the total revenue from *povourier* and accommodation was CAN$2,450,000 and the total number of visitors was 44,677. 23,216 were day visitors visiting the boutique and other sites in the reservation without

[9] Mark Genest, pers. comm. 2007

spending a night. In 2000 and 2005 there were 44,276 and 43,291 visitors visiting Essipit tourism respectively. The stability in tourists' number was attributed to reliance on domestic markets which was not affected by the 9/11 event and favorable warm weather conditions[10]. Table 9 (page 88) above shows the total number of visitors visiting the various tourist attractions in Essipit from 2004 to 2006. The majority of tourists visiting Essipit went to the centre reservation which displays and sells traditional art and craft, artefacts and historical information of the Innu Nation.

Other economic services that comprise the communal development model inside the Reserve are shops, a recreational centre and a gas station. A total of 160 people are employed by the Essipit enterprise, out of which one hundred employees are employed by the tourism sector (Genest 2007, pers. comm.). There are a number of initiatives aimed to promote sustainable tourism development. Initiatives in the context of this thesis are defined as ownership, operational and management strategies used by the Essipit indigenous tourism to ensure the sustainability of the venture. These initiatives were identified by the management of Essipit Enterprise during interviews as important for the sustainability of Essipit Tourism.

4.3 The Six Indigenous Tourism Initiatives in the Essipit Reserve, Canada

4.3.1 Communal Ownership of Tourism

Okazaki (2008:511) comments that 'a community participation approach has been long advocated as an integral part of sustainable development'. This comment is very relevant in the case of the Innu in Essipit. The first sustainable tourism initiative by the Essipit community was the communal ownership of all economic activities in the reserve. The idea about communal development was first put forward by a few people in the early 1970s to achieve economic goals such as tourism development[11]. Private commercial initiatives were not the option taken by the Essipit community, instead it favored communal ownership as a distinct initiative in the formation of the indigenous tourism. This is noteworthy, especially when modernization processes have tended to push traditional societies toward private ownership of businesses, since the communal model is usually tainted with internal conflicts amongst clan members, mismanagement and failure.

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[10] Chamberland, in-depth interview 2007
[11] Chief of Band Council, in-depth interview 2007

In a similar vein, others (e.g. Taylor 1995) have criticized the idea of a communal model as unrealistic and the participatory approach in communalism as time consuming. As indigenous communities face many deficits such as lack of education, business experience, insufficient financial assistance and conflicting vested interests they have to overcome many challenges before public involvement can be embraced. Also Jamal and Getz (1995:188) view such an approach as often being ineffective because of its high transaction costs not only in terms of getting the program started, but also in its maintenance. Gray (1985) emphasizes that even though community residents need adequate resources and skills to acquire the capacity to take part, the power to obtain them is often held by governments or other stakeholders who do not regard locals as equal partners. This was also the case with the Innu when Essipit Tourism was first established. Genest explains that:

> ' … *when we first started the communal model in Essipit, the government did not pay much attention because they regarded [us] indigenous people as failures and they determined the type of development model we follow in the reserves, but now they consider our views and want to implement and recommend them to other reservations when they realize how successful our [communal model] is… Also other First nations in other reserves did not trust our model because they thought it was designed by the government…'*
>
> (In-depth interview, 2007)

Unfortunately, the above arguments against community participation have neither suggested alternatives for achieving sustainable tourism development nor taken into account the demand for such a program (Okazaki 2008:511). As for the Innu Nation in Essipit, the communal model works because it has community support, good work conditions and a sound business plan. So far it has fulfilled the socio-economic and cultural aspirations of the Innu Nation.

Hence for the Innu Nation, tourism development was a collective decision because tourism is related closely with their environment. They agreed to follow a communal model of development (CMD) where profit is reinvested for the general well being of the community such as the establishment and maintenance of the community centre, recreational facilities, shopping service and sports facilities. The latest tourism development is the construction of a new condominium costing around $4 million in 2000[12]. Although indigenous tourism was only established in 1989 as part of the Essipit Enterprise, the various initiatives it has

[12] Mark Genest, in-depth interview 2007

adopted and its expansion reflect success and stability of the venture. A central issue about the model is to focus development on the welfare of the community and not the individual.

The stance taken by the Innu Nation in Essipit confirms Cook's (1982) view, that community involvement in planning and development is critical to the overall sustainability of tourism venture. The Innu Nations in Essipit decided to venture into tourism because it is a way of improving their standard of living, safeguarding their environment, reviving the culture and as conduit to acquiring their traditional land from foreigners and the government.[13]The Innu decision is supported by the findings of longitudinal study by Getz (1994) which showed that resident support for tourism was linked to perceptions of benefits outweighing the costs of tourism development. For the Innu, tourism fosters the community well-being which encompasses the benefits of the individual in the community.

Another important aspect of the CMD is active participation of community members in planning; consultation and implementation of community development goals (refer to appendix 5 – Organizational Chart for Essipit Enterprise). Connell (1997:250) asserts that participation is 'not only about achieving the more efficient and more equitable distribution of materials resources: it is also about the sharing of knowledge and the transformation of the process of learning itself in the service of people's self development. As for the Innu in Essipit, Chamberland (2007, in-depth interview) says 'the good thing about Essipit is that people work together, share ideas and have initiatives to try new things'. Good planning, consultation, and an effective work force are important in communal development work especially in this modern time[14].

A vital force towards the sustainability of CMD was the successful completion of a Community Centre - the first communal development project (1978-82) by the council in 1982 which brought the community together. As a result, since then the community has supported the council with its development goal and that same enthusiasm was given to the development of tourism when it was established in 1989. This research shows that 10 out of the 11 community member interviewed prefer the model of CMD in Essipit. Below are two comments from community members regarding CMD.

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[13] Chief of Band Council, and Genest in-depth interview 2007
[14] Chief Band Council, in-depth interview 2007

'Communal development is for the betterment of our ancestors and our future generation [as] private enterprises take advantage of workers.'

Carpenter 29, Comment February, 2007

'CMD permits more equality and the differences between people are not that significant in financial terms. People are allowed to express themselves freely. Everyone can participate in the community development.'

Social Worker 54, Comment February, 2007

It is also noteworthy that four of the community members commented on CMD and its relation to tourism and employment creation. They pointed out that a majority of the people are employed in the tourism sector of the Essipit enterprise and people can easily move from one tourism sector to another. This has also contributed to the sustainability of indigenous tourism in Essipit.

Unfortunately, the question concerning whether the CMD is good or bad was not included in the employees' questionnaires. However their views on this issue can be assumed from their responses to question nine (refer to Appendices 1- Employees Questionnaire): all ten workers interviewed are happy with their working conditions at Essipit tourism, which is managed by the CMD.

As a result of the success of the CMD, Essipit tourism is considered one of the success stories in the Quebec region. Part of this success is attributed to the sparse size of the population that stands at 278 during the time of the research. The small population has made the venture more manageable for the Band council. It was easy to reach an agreement amongst members over any issue being discussed by community members[15].

4.3.2 Communal Acquisition of Land

The second initiative taken by the Innu in Essipit involved the acquisition of surrounding lands by the community. According to the Chief of the Band Council, the native land policy of Canada has influenced communal ownership of the whole Essipit enterprise including indigenous tourism initiatives since 1989. The Indian Act of 1876 states that all land in the reserve is owned by members of that particular band or community. The Essipit community has capitalized on this policy by agreeing that the operation of indigenous tourism has to follow a communal ownership system[16]. This is

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[15] Chief of Band Council, pers. comm. 2007
[16] Chief of Band Council, pers. comm. 2007

one remarkable initiative since any individual or family member of that band has the right (by law as stated in the Indian Act) to operate one's own businesses within the reserve with the approval of the band council. However the Essipit Band council has adopted the communal approach since 1979, because communalism is an integral part of the Innu culture.

The aspiration and expectation of the Innu is similar to the notion mooted by the social exchange theory — that human interaction is dictated by the careful analysis of costs-benefits derived from such interaction (Echtner and Jamal 1997:56). As for the Innus, the community chose to follow the communal development model to manage the indigenous tourism venture because it will benefit the whole community. The interaction (in the form of community discussion and consultation) in this context takes place amongst community members whether to adapt the CMD in managing the indigenous venture.

The communal ownership initiative can be viewed by the community as the wisest decision given the failure of indigenous tourism operation managed by individuals and family in other reserves. For instance, the failure of individual tourism operation by the Attikameks in the Manawan Reserve (see Map1, *Chapter One*) was attributed to factors such as lack of management skills, marketing and lack of investment backing into the tourism venture[17]. Most of all they are providing the same tourism service all at once therefore increasing competition and making it hard to generate profit.

In contrast, Sylvia (2007 pers. comm.) commented on her research findings in 1989 of an Aboriginal community in Southern Australia. Their communal owned tourism business has more success rate than individual owned ventures because it has high degree of stability in the decision making process, more capital and wide community support in looking after the welfare of the community.

4.3.3 Incorporating Traditional Hunting and Fishing Grounds as Tourism Attraction (Pourvoiries)

The third indigenous tourism initiative is acquiring land outside the reserve which has made it possible to incorporate traditional and fishing aspect of Innu culture as an important tourist attraction. The communal ownership of the tourism venture, according to the Chief of the Band Council (2007, pers. comm.), facilitates the

[17] Suzie, phone interview April 2007

initiative to acquire land outside the reserve because it would have been difficult to acquire these lands individually due to lack of finance. Similarly, Addison (1996) and Morrison and Teixeira (2004: 166) believe that lack of finances and communal ownership of traditional land is a barrier to prospective tourism operators especially amongst indigenous people and groups who want to engage in business.

Johnston (1998) explains that the communal custom of land ownership causes conflict amongst land owners and can be an obstacle for indigenous people wanting to operate their individual businesses. As discussed in chapter 1 some of the problems endemic to indigenous people deprived them of the opportunities to venture into business like tourism. They therefore need special support from the private and public sector (Sharpley and Telfer 2002:2). By contrast communal acquisition is effective especially when acquiring the land as a specific group of the First Nation such as the Innu Nation and facilitated by the federal government of Canada[18].

Additionally, the land acquisition has elevated the position of the Innu culture as an important part of the main tourists attraction offered by the Essipit tourism. Since tourism began to develop in the Reserve, the community acknowledged the need to acquire more land to cater for the growing demand for more natural and cultural tourist attractions[19].

Part of the reason in promoting the Innu traditional hunting and fishing culture is the decline in the number of tourists who visit Tadoussac closer to Essipit for accommodation. The indigenous venture has to compensate for the vacuum by providing new attractions that cater for new groups of tourists. As a result of the tourism indigenous initiative in Essipit, the Innu Nation was able to acquire five *pourvoiries* from 1994-2000 with the total land area of 292 km sq (29,000 hectares) adding to the 86.5 hectares of reserve land (see Table 10). These lands were important parts of the Innu culture; traditionally they have remained hunting, camping, fishing and trapping grounds. Each *pouvoirie* has its own natural and cultural attractions.

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[18] In Canada, the Federal Government has facilitated the transfer of land control and ownership to the First Nation through provisional changes in the Land Act to meet the aspiration of the First Nation towards land reclamation.

[19] Mark Genest, in-depth interview 2007

Applying Butler and Hinch (1996*) Indigenous Controlled and Indigenous Attractions Model Assessment* to Essipit tourism one needs to note that during its establishment the indigenous culture was not the central tourist attraction. Cultural attraction, according to Butler's model, was diversified which simply means that there are other main attractions such as whale watching, beautiful sceneries and types of accommodation provided. In terms of indigenous control, Essipit tourism is entirely indigenous controlled through-out its operation in which the provision in the Indian Act as discussed earlier in the chapter plays an important role.

Furthermore, the communal acquisition of land, as indigenous tourism initiative, has played two crucial roles in the livelihood of the Innu in Essipit. Firstly, it has materialized the aspiration of the Innu towards the acquisition of their traditional lands. Secondly, it has made the Innu culture an important cultural attraction of the indigenous tourism. This latter development in Essipit qualifies this venture as indigenous tourism according to Butler and Hinch indigenous tourism model (1996: 13). In that model, Butler emphasizes the importance of indigenous control and cultural attraction as the main tourist attraction in order for a venture to be identified as an indigenous tourism business.

The expectation of the Essipit community towards tourism can be best explained by Echtner and Jamal (1997:56) see *Chapter Two*. For Essipit, the decision to participate in indigenous tourism was made by the community. The social exchange theory applies to the expectation of the Essipit community before engaging tourism as part of the Essipit Enterprise in three ways. Firstly, at the initial stage of tourism development, the community wanted to tap on tourism because of Essipit's proximity to Tadoussac and it would generate economic reward to the enterprise and thus improving the socio-economic well being of the community. Secondly, the community chose the communal development model to manage Essipit enterprise because it served the well-being of its members. Since communalism is part of the Innu culture the community believes communalism will bring prosperity to all its community members. Thirdly, the Essipit community used the model since it will effectively create an avenue for the acquisition of the Innu's traditional hunting and fishing ground for tourism purposes and thus fulfilling the Innu's' aspiration towards land reclamation, social prosperity and economic participation through indigenous tourism.

As for the tourists, fulfilling their expectations after experiencing environmental attractions such as whale watching, fishing and hunting in exchange of their time spent on Essipit is a positive indication of the exchange with the host community. Respectively nine and eight tourists in the research consider natural sceneries and whale watching as most important attractions for visiting Essipit (see Table 10, page 83-84).

It is also noteworthy that such indigenous tourism initiative of communal land acquisition is significant to all First Nations in Canada as it addresses one of the three most important issues facing indigenous people there (AFN 2006). In response to the indigenous aspiration of the First Nations, the Canadian Government has included land claims negotiations as part of its federal policy first adopted in 1973 and modified in 1986 (Charest 1999: 256). In 1988 for instance, the Innu Nations in Quebec were awarded rights to access and manage some of their traditional territories for conservation and economic activities under the Land Claims and Negotiations policy (Ente-Cadre 1989: 62-4). At present, land reclamation by indigenous people is an ongoing part of negotiation at the provincial and federal levels between the First Nations and the government of Canada and has drawn a mixture of progresses and setbacks.

The Indian Act (see *Chapter Three*) is a common barrier facing indigenous entrepreneurs in the reserve. It does not allow any sale of lands in the reserves. Therefore financial institutions are reluctant to provide loans to indigenous entrepreneurs operating in the reserves as property located in reserve land is governed by that Act. Therefore in this context the exchange is seen as what Thibaut and Kelly (1959) termed as trading interaction or business transaction or what Foa and Foa (1975: 287) called a 'minimax strategy' (see *Chapter Three*). In this context, social exchange theory explains the stance of financial institution in not taking part in the financial exchange with the Innu Nation by not giving loan because of risk placed by the Land Act regarding reserve land (see *Chapter Three*). The restriction by the Act has influenced the Essipit community to consider other alternatives avenue considers in the social exchange theory by Echtner and Jamal (1997:56) and the alternative is to invest their land resource outside the reserve for tourism and other economic ventures. For the Innu in Essipit Land outside the reserve was acquired from six private owners as well as leased from government and became classified as *pourvoirie* – hunting and fishing grounds between the years 1983 and 2000 (see Table 10).

Accordingly the acquisition of those lands outside the reserve have given full ownership rights to the Innu and those lands can now be used as mortgage for financial transactions[20]. The Innu community in Essipit views the initiative as one of the significant achievements of the indigenous tourism in Essipit.

In terms of cultural sustainability, the introduction of the pourvoirie helps to re-educate young people of the Innu nation about the knowledge of hunting, trapping, the different seasons and different wild life. For instance Elias (1995) concludes that the development of indigenous tourism in Little Red River Community in Canada has facilitated a re-introduction of traditional values and skills to the younger indigenous generation in the community. For the Innu, youths spend weeks in the wild with older people who transmit this knowledge through hands-on experience as they guide tourists through the natural attractions.

Table 10: Pourvoirie Acquisition, Size, Attraction and Entry Free – Essipit, 2007

Name of Pourvoirie	Yr of acquisition	Size (km2)	Special attractions	Entry Fee per person per day
Domaine du Lac & Cœurs et Lac Gill	1983 1994	141	Hunting and fishing adventure, peaceful surroundings, home amenities (boundaries merged)	CAN$75.00-$89.00
Club Claire	1989	29	brook trout fishing, small game hunting & hiking	CAN$65.00-$80.50
Lacs Bernier (50%)	1996	30	Spectacular scenery landscape, pristine natural surrounding	CAN$58.00-$77.000
Lacs a' Jimmy	1999	24	Speckled trout, small game hunting, beautiful scenery, cabins	CAN$92.00 - $97.00
Lac des Loup	2000	68	Beautiful natural setting for sports lover	CAN$68.00-$85.00

Source: Fieldwork, 2007

Reviving the Innu culture through tourism has also contributed to the high retention of young people in the Essipit reserve[21]. Unlike other reserves, young Innu voluntarily undergo six weeks of hands-on experience. If they like they have the opportunity to work in tourism

[20] Mark Genest, pers. comm. 2007
[21] Mark Genest, pers. comm. 2007

related posts such as tour guides, instructors and others[22]. They are given CAN$100 per week as allowance during the six weeks.

The initiative taken by the tourism sector to revive the Essipit culture has vital implication to the existence of Innu as part of the First Nation, whose cultural identity has been marginalized during colonization by the British and French (Charest 2007, in-depth interview). The Director of Human Resources still sees a need to attract educated young Innu to work in the reserve. Many prefer to work outside the reserve in cities in different industries other than tourism, which offer good economic benefits. Attracting them into the enterprise will enhance development economically for Innu living in the reserve, increase their standard of well-being and most importantly the sustainability of the venture, especially when the enterprise is managed by qualified Innu themselves.

Of the ten employees interviewed during field work, three are not members of the Innu Nation. One of them holds a directorial position since there is no Innu in the reserve qualified for the position. Qualified Innus are also not attracted to working in the reserve because of its isolation and the tourism industry does not give competitive salary compared to other industries (Chamberlin 2007, in-depth interview).

From an environmentally sustainable perspective the communal acquisition of land has enabled the Innu to become the guardians of their natural surroundings once again - something that is associated with their culture. Having full ownership of the land has given the Innu the opportunity to safe-guard their natural resources through proper conservation measures from overuse and exploitation through hunting and fishing game (Chamberlain 2007, in-depth interview). For example, fishing in each *pourvoirie* is determined by its carrying capacity, the season, and the maturity of the animals and fish game. In another instance, the Innu in another *pourvoirie* had to introduce fish from the fish farm because it was heavily depleted when it was acquired. At the time of the research, the lake has regenerated with fresh water fish.

It is also important to note that land acquisition has enhanced the socio-political processes towards self-determination of the Innu people. Altman (1989) and Zeppel (2006) believe indigenous tourism is also a mechanism for finding solutions to the challenges facing indigenous people. Challenges like land reclamation, resources conservation and poverty

[22] Mark Genest, in-depth interview 2007

alleviation are synonymous with indigenous people because of their isolation and colonial history (ibid). As for the Innu, land acquisition has more bargaining power with the federal and provincial governments and other stakeholders for any new development in the acquired territories[23]. Prior to this, the natives were considered by non-native owners as illegal poachers and hunters resulting in conflicts[24.] Apart from regaining their traditional territory, such tourism initiative has given the Innu pride and a sense of ownership and benefits them in a socio-economical, environmental, political and cultural sense. Chief Dennis states 'self determination is becoming a dream come true for the Innu Nation'[25]. For the employees tourism initiative in Essipit is seen as contributing to the protection of their natural surroundings.

Seven of the employees interviewed stated that tourism does not have a negative effect on the environment. They highlighted that water is recycled to provide drinking water, all tourist activities are done in a way respecting the environment and wildlife. Three of the employees interviewed gave no comments for the destruction of the environment. On the other hand, five of the community members (see Table 12) indicated that the most common negative impact of tourism on Essipit environment is waste pollution like disposal of plastic materials, cans and bottles in the environment and river pollution from oil spills and waste disposal.

Table 11: Tourism and Destruction of Natural Environment – Community Member's Views, Essipit, 2007

Natural Environmental Problem	No of Community Members (n = 10)
More waste in the environment i.e. plastic, bottles, cans	5
River pollution from oil spills and waste disposal	5
Alteration of landscape	4
Destruction of vegetation	3
Destruction of marine breeding grounds	1

Source: Fieldwork, March 2007. **Note:** that this is a multiple response question

[23] Chief of Band Council, in-depth interview 2007
[24] Chief of Band Council, in-depth interview 2007
[25] Chief of Band Council, in-depth interview 2007

This response can be attributed to the questionnaires asking the same probes differently (see Appendix 2 Questions 7). Firstly, whereas the question was an open one demanding explanations from the employees, the community members indicated their answers as multiple response options (see Table 11).

Secondly, the age range (41–70 years) of the majority (80%) of the community members interviewed could have influenced this result. The majority of the members (8) have lived in the community for at least 16 to 20 years and have noticed gradual visible changes; most of which could not have been totally attributed to tourism. In addition, river pollution cannot be entirely blamed on tourism because the Saint Lawrence is a major shipping route and is used for other activities apart from tourism**.**

Thirdly, the employees and the directors are looking at the environment from the conservation angle and have not therefore mentioned anything about pollution. For example, the majority of the employees (70%) have noted that tourism has conserved and protected the environment. As for the community members, all indicated that clean natural surrounding and environment is one of the benefits of living in the reserve, this reflect the attractiveness of the state of the environment in Essipit.

Table 12: Tourist Types, Countries of residence, Length of Stay & Attractions – Essipit,

Tours. No.	Country of Residence	Tourist Type	Accommodation Type	Length of Stay (nights) CAN$	Main Tourist Attraction Experienced *(n = 10)*
T1	Canada	Mainstream	Condominium	1 – 3 $357	splendid sceneries
T2	Canada	Mainstream	Condominium	1 – 3 $357	whale watching, splendid sceneries
T3	France	Mainstream	Chalet	1 – 3 $372	whale watching, splendid sceneries
T4	Canada	Mainstream	Condominium	1 – 3 $357	whale watching, splendid sceneries
T5	Not stated	Mainstream	Condominium	1 – 3 $357	whale watching, splendid sceneries
T6	Canada	Cultural	Condominium	1 – 3 $357	splendid sceneries, Innu culture
T7	Belgium	Mainstream	Condominium	1 – 3 $357	Whale watching
T8	France	Cultural	Chalet	1 – 3 $372	Whale watching, splendid sceneries
T9	Canada	Cultural	Condominium	1 – 3 $357	Whale watching, splendid sceneries
T10	Canada	Mainstream	Condominium	1 – 3 $357	Whale watching, splendid sceneries

Source: Fieldwork, 2007.

There is less that can be gathered from the tourists' views about environment protection in Essipit. Yet it can be inferred that the sustainable state of the environment plays an important attraction for tourists. Andrew (2005; 339) rightfully highlights that tourism depends on natural resources for its growth and sustainability and Buckley (2004) views tourism and the environment as having a symbiotic relationship meaning tourism cannot exist without a clean natural environment. From the ten tourists interviewed during field work, nine indicated that they visited Essipit for the beautiful sceneries and eight said that they visited Essipit for whale watching and splendid sceneries (see Table 12). Most tourists are attracted to better environmental qualities. They are more aware of the need to protect them. Also the majority of the international tourists consider cruise and whale watching as favorite tourist attractions (see Table 13). This is another indication that tourism depends heavily on the quality of the environment as part of the tourists' experience.

The sustainability of indigenous tourism in Essipit can be also being attributed to its dependency on the domestic market. Table 14 shows that 70% of the tourists are from within Canada. This contributes to the sustainability of tourist numbers coming to Essipit especially during low season. Tourists come to enjoy various attractions from accommodation (70%), hunting and fishing game (70%) and whale watching (40%). Reliance on domestic market has also cushioned negative external impacts such as global financial crisis, terrorism and health epidemic on Essipit tourism (Genest, 2007 per com.). The main international markets consist mainly of north of USA, France, Belgium and Switzerland who visit Essipit during summer largely for cruise and whale watching (40%).

Table 13: Tourist Attractions and Markets for Essipit, 2007.

Types of Attraction	Quebec Region (%)	Domestic Tourists – Whole of Canada (%)	International Tourists (%)
Condos	10	70	20
Chalet	10	70	20
Camping	30	70	-
Cruise/Whale/watching	20	40	40
Pourvoirie	24	70	6

Source: Essipit Management, March 2007

4.3.4 Diversifying tourism activities with non- tourism activities

Hall and Jenkins (1998:20) state tourism can be an engine of economic growth and diversification in rural areas especially mass tourism. For the Innu in Essipit the diversification of tourism venture is itself essential for the sustainability of tourism and the livelihood of the community. Importantly when the Essipit community had also recognized the seasonality[26] of the indigenous tourism venture and has diversified into other non tourism activities. In this way, the non-tourism activities assist in the maintenance of the natural and cultural attractions as well as sustaining the livelihoods of those who are either partly or fully employed in tourism activities. The diversification into other non tourism activities can be seen as another initiative for the development and sustainability of this indigenous venture.

[26] Tourism peak season in Essipit is short from late April to July and that affect the sustainability of tourism

The tourism services are supplemented by other economic activities such as commercial fishing and a freezing plant for marine seafood. There are eight permanent workers who catch marine resources like salmon, sardines and crabs depending on the season working on the fishing boats. All supporting services in the reserve such as supermarkets, radio station and service station services are owned by the community. This ensures that money stays and circulates within the reserve community.

During the time of fieldwork in February, 2007 tourism activities in Essipit did not generate much income due to low season but still helped to sustain the livelihood of the community through employment generated. This was possible because of these other economic activities that sustain people in the community. In addition, various measures are in place to cut costs: e.g. only two condos remain open for the low season; seasonal workers are laid off during this time, but they will qualify for unemployment benefit since they have completed 26 weeks. Full-time workers are multi-tasked to replace those seasonal workers. For example a worker who works as a cleaner can also man the information center too.

4.3.5 Humane Approach to Organizational and Leadership Structure

The humane-centered approach of organization as well as the leadership and administration structure of the venture has contributed to the stability and sustainability of the venture over the years. The essence of community has been directly translated into leadership and management styles adopted. This again reconfirms these approaches as additional initiatives towards the success of the venture in Essipit. A significant factor emphasized by the Director of Economic Development is that Essipit is the first indigenous tourism operation in Quebec which has a well-organized business plan and organizational chart.[27] This business plan has given the council a clear management structure for the daily operation of the enterprise. It also ensures that the short and long term goals of the Band Council are closely monitored especially their viability and accomplishment. Some of the factors that ensure the sustainability of the operation are:

Firstly, the council's plan to accomplish its development project on a one at time basis which has so far proved to be attainable. Having accomplished two or three projects at

[27] Mark Genest, pers. comm. 2007

once will diversify the resources and as a result the intended project may not be accomplished leading to dissatisfaction of the community.

Secondly, while the tourism business plan's intention is to bring economic gain to the whole enterprise; it takes a humane approach to workers. Respect for individuals is important. It is also seen as essential that proper channels of communication are followed if any problem arises.[28] Employees are disciplined according to the regulations of the enterprise, if they break their terms of contract. For the last 29 years, the Band Council had terminated three employees because of incompetence. This was after they had been given three warnings[29].

Thirdly, the Band Council tries to avoid wide salary difference between staff employed in different sectors of the enterprise. This measure will prevent employees from being attracted to one section of the enterprise which can negatively affect the whole venture.

Another contributing factor to the sustainability of the humane approach is the stability of the Band Council membership which allows goals to be achieved since high turn - over of council members can lead to changes in the vision and economic priorities of the Band Council[30] The Chief of the Band Council has been elected to that position for the last 29 years and having a CDM has prevented the likelihood of monopoly and mismanagement of resources that usually occur if one has occupied leadership role in an organization for too long. His long tenure also reflects his positive contributions and achievements as a Chief of the Council.

To sustain community participation in decision making concerning the management of the enterprise, the Band Council meets with the community four times a year. A special meeting is called, if there is any major project to be discussed or when further views of the community members are needed. Every year the council also produces an annual report and every member has the opportunity to question the Band Council on any issue. All this provides much room for transparency. Every three weeks each manager of the different enterprise also has to report to the director about the business. The director then reports to the director general and the Band Council. All these

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[28] Chamberlain, pers. comm. 2007
[29] Chief of Band Council, pers. comm. 2007
[30] Chief of Band Council, pers. comm. 2007

measures put in place by the Band Council at the management level have ensured the sustainability of the indigenous tourism sector and Essipit Enterprise in general.

4.3.6 Providing Decent Employment Benefits

According to government regulations, any person claiming unemployment benefits needed to have worked a certain number of weeks to qualify for such benefits. The tourism venture in Essipit provides the required number of work weeks and members of the community therefore can claim unemployment benefit (UB). After being employed at the reserve for four months they fulfill the minimum requirement to qualify for such benefits (see Table 14). Due to limit employment opportunities on the reserve and surroundings areas, First Nations on the reserve are entitled to 16 weeks of work compare to the 26 weeks needed for those who live in the towns and cities. However, the Essipit Enterprise, in keeping with its communal model of development and its obligation to the community tries to give at least 26 weeks of employment to its employees as long as the provision does not greatly affected the economic sustainability of the venture (Mark Genest, 2007 pers.com.).

In this way, the indigenous tourism venture in Essipit is again an initiative for enhancing the livelihoods of the community members while at the same time assuring sustainability of the operation.

Table 14: Employment Benefits for Permanent and Temporary Workers – Essipit 2007

Benefits	Permanent Worker (Reservation & Administrative Staff)	Temporary Worker (Cruise Ship& Camping)
Length of Work per Year	52 Weeks	26 weeks
Sick Leave	8 days	-
Compassionate Leave	4 days	-
Annual Leave	4-6 weeks depend on year of service	-
Private Pension fund	Two pension Funds depend on salary level (non-native only) 4.9 % deducted	Not compulsory
Medical Benefits (Medication and Dental)	Free for Natives & Non- Natives	Free for Natives
Low Season Pay	NA	4-6 % of pay deducted to be paid during low season

Source: Chamberlin March 2007 pers. comm.

The difference between these two tables of information is that the top one is the result of an interview with the Director of Human Resources who has supplied the specific number of paid days for each benefit. The bottom table has been compiled from answers provided by the employees and is general in nature. Benefits awarded to the employees will also be influenced by other factors such as status of employment, qualifications, years of service, amount of overtime work, and the season of employment.

4.3.7 Benefits for Employees

Table 15 shows all the benefits given to full-time and part -time workers with Essipit Tourism. It is noteworthy that part time employees are entitled to free medical service and low season pay (severance pay). This severance pay however comes with a 4 – 6% deduction of weekly wages and will be paid to the workers during the low season of tourism as severance pay. For instance, if a part-timer worker earns CAN$400 per week, about CAN$16 (4%) is deducted from every pay and the accumulated amount of CAN$416 will be paid to the worker as a sort of a severance pay to cushion the impact of ending work and to keep them economically stable until the arrival of unemployment benefit cheque. In this way the BC has taken a proactive measure to ensure that its part-time employees has a financial safety net to rely on once they are unemployed during the low season of tourism. At the same time the BC has taken precautionary measures during low season of downsizing its employees to cut costs.

Table 15: Employee Benefits by Status of Work – Essipit, 2007.

Employee (E)	Part-Time/Full-Time Worker	Benefits
1	PT	Other superannuation scheme
2	PT	Paid holidays, other superannuation scheme, accident cover, transport
3	PT	Paid holidays, accident cover
4	PT	Paid holidays, other superannuation scheme, maternity leave
5	FT	Sick leave, paid holidays, medical insurance, paternity leave, accident cover,
6	FT	Sick Leave, paid holidays, medical insurance, accident cover,
7	FT	Sick leave, paid holidays, medical insurance
8	FT	Sick leave, paid holidays, medical insurance, other superannuation scheme, accident cover
9	FT	Paid holidays, paternity leave, accommodation
10	FT	Sick Leave, paid holidays, medical insurance, maternity leave, accident cover

Source: Fieldwork, March 2007.

While part-time employees are not entitled to sick and compassionate leave, the Band Council ensures that they are provided with 26 weeks of work on the reserve which entitles them to receive UB. Given the proximity of the reserve from major urban areas that provide many employment opportunities, the 26 weeks provision is a wise initiative of the BC. The onus is on the individual to come and work the 26 weeks to be able to collect unemployment benefits. Therefore the Innu community member is reserved the first opportunity for employment in the Essipit Tourism enterprise above non-residents.

Especially relevant to this discussion of the employees' benefits is the provision in the Indian Act. The Act allows anything bought in the reserve to be tax free which has an added advantage to all the indigenous employees living in the reserve, as long as the individual is registered as an indigenous and possesses an ID card that facilitates these subsidies. The privilege of tax-free status for Indigenous in the reserve helps cushion the high costs of living for Indigenous Innu.

Table 16: Benefits of Living in the Essipit Reserve for Community Members, 2007

Benefits	No. of Community Members (N = 10)
Clean natural environment and surroundings	10
Living with your own Innu community	9
Better infrastructure provided by the Innu band council	9
Do not pay for the land on which house is sitting	7
Materials bought are not taxed	7

Source: Fieldwork, March 2007. Note that this is a multiple response question.

The benefits of living in the reserve (see Table 16), has also eased the burden of living in a very expensive western society like Canada. The majority (10) stated that clean natural environment and surroundings is one of the benefits of living in the reserve. Nine other community members thought that living with the own Innu community was an additional benefit for staying in the reserve and others thought the better infrastructure provided by the Band Council, non-payment of land and non taxation of materials bought were beneficial for living in the reserve. On the same note, 80% of the houses in Essipit are owned by individuals with an average value of CAN $80-$100,000 compared to CAN$160,000 one pays outside the reserve due to the cost of land and taxed materials.[31]

Out of ten indigenous workers interviewed six live in the reserve and enjoy the benefits provided by the Indian Act. This indicates positive impact of the Act on the state of well-being of the Innu in the Essipit Reserve. However, according to the Director of Economic Development, a reason that natives move out of the reserve is to establish their own individual businesses.

The indigenous worker (E9) who lives outside the reserve is the director and probably can afford the expenses for that choice. Six natives are also residents in the reserve while three are non-indigenous are non-residents as well. These non- natives were recruited due to their qualification and experience[32].

[31] Mark Genest, pers. comm. 2007
[32] Mark Genest, pers. comm. 2007

Table 17: Education and Ethnicity by Residence for Workers – Essipit Reserve, 2007

Employee (E)	Indigenous	Non-Indigenous	Resident	Non-Resident	Education Level
1	Y		Y		Secondary
2	Y		Y		Diploma
3	Y		Y		Secondary
4	Y		Y		Tech. Training
5	Y		Y		Secondary
6		Y		Y	Cegep
7		Y		Y	Diploma
8	Y		Y		Secondary
9	Y			Y	University
10		Y		Y	University
Total	**7**	**3**	**6**	**4**	

Source: Fieldwork, 2007. Note: Cegep is equivalent foundation or form seven education in Fiji

Table 17 also shows the qualifications of workers in the Enterprise: out of the seven Innu employees only one has a university qualification, four have secondary education, and the remaining two have a diploma and technical training respectively. While the Band Council wishes to recruit young qualified Innu into the enterprise, factors like tourism seasonality, low salary level and distance from the city discourage them from working in the reserve.[33] The council gives young Innu in the reserve the choice and if one needs employment the council is ready to provide one in the tourism sector.

Case-Study1 - Employee 3 and 8

Employee 3 (E3) is a 52 years old of age married Innu lady and works as a part-time cleaner for the last five years at Essipit tourism. She lives in her own house in the reserve with five other members of her family. She earns around $10,000 in the 20 weeks she is employed.

She completed her secondary education and works 40hrs a week for 20 weeks making her eligible to receive UB when unemployed. She does not save any money. She stated paid holidays and sickness compensation as her employment benefits. Employee 8 (E8) also works full time and earns around $26,000 - $30,000. She has been working for the last 18 years as a head receptionist. She has completed her secondary education. She is a divorcee and belongs to the Innu Nation and lives in a rented house in the reserve. She saves less than $50 per pay. Therefore from this case study, the longer you work (years of service) the

[33] Chamberland, pers. comm. 2007

higher the probability to achieve full-time status and higher wages despite your qualification level.

Table 18: Type and Status of Work by Weekly Wages and Savings – Essipit Reserve, 2007

Employee	Age	Length of Employment.	F/Time P/Time	Work Type	Weekly Wages (CAN$ - 00s)	UB Received	Weekly Savings (CAN$)
1	61	15	PT	In charge of cruise	$501 - $600	Y	$50 – $80
2	50	16	PT	Outfitter/guide	$700+	Y	$50 –$ 80
3	51	5	PT	Cleaner	< $400	Y	Can't save
4	30	10	PT	Boat operator	$601 - $700	Y	<$50
5	41	15	FT	Camping Assistant	$401 - $500	N	$50 -$80
6	29	7	FT	Receptionist	< $400	N	<$50
7	43	18	FT	Head Receptionist	$401 - $500	N	$81 - $100
8	45	3.5	FT	Receptionist	$401 - $500	N	< $50
9	30	NS	FT	Director Pouvoirie	$501 - $600	N	$81 – $100
10	23	3	FT	Director Human Resource	$501 - $600	N	$50 -$ 80

Source: Fieldwork, 2007

The social exchange theory can explain the decision made by the indigenous tourism's employee and the Innu community in Essipit to reside in the reserve. The view that an employee living in the reserve has less expenditure compare to those living outside the reserve has given the initiative for Innu to work and live in Essipit reserve especially in an exclusive country like Canada.

4.3.8 Savings

Nine of the ten workers interviewed are able to accumulate personal savings of various amounts every week (see Table 18). For the part time workers, three are able to save $50 - $80 per pay per week ($200 - $320 per month and $1,200 – $1,920 in the total six months they are employed in the reserve). For the full time workers, two can save $50-$80 per pay day equivalent to $2,400 - $3,830 in a working year. Another two fulltime workers saving of $81 - $100 per pay can save from $3,888 to $4,800 a year of work. Even though tourism is seasonal in nature, the employment benefits such as savings from weekly wages provides financial security for the Innu workers in Essipit.

The benefits associated with living in the reserve can be a contributing factor that enables Essipit employees to save therefore sustaining the workers economically.

Six of the workers interviewed are above the age of 40, with the oldest reaching 60. They have spent between 3.5 and 18 years working in the reserve. Despite their level of education (see Table 18), the management has recognised their experiences and length of service to the indigenous operation through decent wages and other employment benefits.

The questionnaires were not able to establish how and where personal savings were used and this could possibly be another area of scrutiny for future studies on the economic sustainability of indigenous tourism in the reserve. Further, the employees are provided with additional skills through in-house and outdoor training such as the finer skills of hunting and fishing, boat handling and guiding tours. Whether these same skills were later used to find employment away from the reserve was not established in this study and needs to be considered for further study.

Worker's mobility within the different tourism services offered within and outside the reserve is also noteworthy. Mobility of this fashion may be caused by wage differentials existing within the various job categories in the reserve. However, this is not common as wage differentials are not too significant because the Band Council tries to avoid wide salary gaps amongst the workers (see Table 18).

4.4 Conclusion

Chapter 4 discusses the six indigenous tourism initiatives in Essipit. The majority of tourism stakeholders in Essipit have construed that these initiatives are sustainable from their social, economic, culture and environment perspectives. Tourism in Essipit is more than gaining economic prosperity; it also reflects the Innu determination, as a First Nation, to regain their traditional land which for the Innu Nation is a prerequisite for prosperity, self autonomy and economic independence which they have long been deprived of due to their colonial history**.** The CMD has played a significant role in achieving and maintaining sustainability of these indigenous tourism initiatives. Butler's (1996) model and social exchange theory provided grounded explanations about the sustainability of Essipit tourism.

Chapter 5 discusses the research results and analysis on the sustainability of indigenous tourism with the two case studies in the Yasawa.

Chapter Five

Cultural and Financial Influences toward Sustainable Indigenous Tourism Ventures

'It seems to that one of the greatest obstacles facing the Fijians today is the failure to recognize that there is a contradictable; they must make the momentous choice between preserving and changing their 'way of life'. The belief that they can do both is a monstrous nonsense with which they have been saddled for so many years that its eradication may be very difficult to achieve'.

(Nayacakalou in Lawson 1996:48)

5.1 Introduction

Chapter Five discusses the outcomes of fieldwork on the socio-economic, cultural and environmental sustainability of indigenous tourism with specific references to Oarsmen Bay Lodge (OBL) and Nalova Bay Lodge (NBL) in the Yasawa. It may not apply to other indigenous tourism enterprises in Fiji and the Yasawas. The results reflect the expectations, aspirations and commitments of a Fijian clan and a Fijian family respectively to participate in a tourism operation. It ensures Ratu Epeli to fulfill his traditional obligations to the *vanua* and a decent standard of living for his *mataqali* (OBL) and for the family (NBL).

Table 19: Respondents in OBL and NBL with methods of Research, 2008

Type of Respondent	Total Number **Interviewed**	Female		Male		Methods of Research
		OBL	NBL	OBL	NBL	
Employees	25	8	3	13	1	Administered Questionnaire/ In-depth Interview
Tourists	20	9	0	11	0	Self-administered & Questionnaire
Community members	13	6	0	7	0	Administered Questionnaire
Directors	2	1	0	0	1	In-depth interview
Total	60	24	3	31	2	

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

The results are presented in a manner that reflects the respondents' views, feelings and expectations. Table 19 is a summary of the respondents by method of research at the indigenous ventures.

5.1.1 Meet the Employees

Table 20 shows the age group of the majority of the workers at OBL is between 18- 25years (9) and NBL is 16-25 years (4). Nine of the workers moved to Nacula village from another location, mostly another tourism location within the Yasawas, when they became employed there. At the time of the interviews there were 26 employees working at OBL and 5 for NBL. For OBL 18 employees are accommodated in the staff quarters and six married employees traveled daily from the village. For NBL all employees were residing in the village. Of all employees in both ventures, 11 employees have their own houses in the village while nine live with their parents and relatives and three are urban residents. Of the 22 OBL's employees who participated in the research, 7 belong to the *mataqali* Najia and 15 are non-*mataqali* members. Two employees hail from other parts of Fiji, a woman from Naitasiri and an Indo-Fijian man from Lautoka. As for NBL all the employees are non *mataqali* members and from a nearby village of Naisilisili. The marital status of employees both for OBL and NBL consists of nine single, fourteen married, one divorced and one separated. The average number of people in each household is six.

Table 20: Some Demographic Characteristics of Employees in OBL and NBL, 2008.

Indigenous Tourism Operation	Gender		*Mataqali* member	Non-*mataqali* member	In-migration	Age Group
	M	F				
OBL	13	9	7	15	9	18-25yrs
NBL	1	3	0	**5**	0	16-25yrs

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

5.1.2 Qualification

The highest qualifications for workers (Table 21) in both indigenous tourism enterprises are mainly at the secondary school level (6). Seven employees have undergone vocational training as well. Concerning tourism training the majority of the workers (5) received in-house training for their specific job. This in-house training was conducted by catering schools like New

Zealand Pacific Training College (NZPTC) and Training Productivity Authority of Fiji (TPAF). Another four workers received training at Turtle Island during the time of the partnership management. Others had their training in institutions like the Fiji Institute of Technology (2), Montfort Boys Town (1) and the Suva Vocational School (1).

Table 21: Qualification Level of Employees at the Two Indigenous Operations

PRIMARY		**SECONDARY (Forms 2-7)**		**TECHNICAL/ VOCATIONAL**		**TERTIARY**	
Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
5	-	6	6	3	4	-	1

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

Many of the young workers in these two ventures have the desire to upgrade their skills and education, but cannot afford this[34]. For that reason some look for better opportunities elsewhere (including options outside of tourism) or better paid jobs in the tourism industry. For instance one of the non-*mataqali* young employees says: '*I am working for two years now and try to save some money to further my study at TAPF so I can get better position in the tourism industry.'* Young qualified people in the *mataqali* have the choice to work in the indigenous operation, but many prefer to work on Viti Levu (the main island of Fiji) for socio-economic and cultural reasons.

Pull factors such as better remuneration and the appeal of living in an urban setting than residing in the culturally restricted village environment (Nayacakalou 1975:98) often drive young people out of the Yasawas to the mainland. As well, a majority of Nacula natives and those who are well educated are probably permanently employed and settled in urban areas. As far back as the 1960s Nayacakalou (1975:97) when studying urban Fijians residing in Suva found that third generation Suva Fijians were in the working population. Today more than half of the total Fijian population is living in urban areas than in rural areas. As for Nacula, while there is a ready pool of young people in the village to replace sacked workers, they only fill unskilled positions as most of them do not have the required qualification. Indigenous tourism operations such as OBL and NBL usually do not have many senior positions. Those senior positions available are often occupied by the chief or the owner of the operation as depicted by the two areas of studies in this research. However such indigenous tourism operations provide the opportunity for young people in

[34] Assumptions made by the researcher after interviewing young employees in both ventures

the Yasawas, where employment opportunities are few, to have full time paid employment and improve their standards of living.

5.2 The Basis for Establishing Oarsmen Bay Lodge (OBL) and Nalova Bay Lodge (NBL)

In-depth interviews with a board member and director had revealed that OBL was established by the *mataqali* (land owning unit) *Najia* with the foremost vision that the indigenous tourism operation would assist the *Tui Drola* (chief), Ratu Epeli Vuetibau Bogileka, to finance his traditional obligations to the *vanua*[35] of Nacula and also to improve the welfare of the *mataqali.* As a chief Ratu Epeli has the obligation not only to his own *mataqali*, but also to look after the welfare of the whole village.

Chiefs occupy a special position in Fijian society – the position of leadership in which they are given precedence, loyalty, obedience, authority, privilege and respect (Nayacakalou 1975:81). They live in large houses, probably eat better food and can depend on the support of their people in all the instabilities of life. These are the kinds of compliments associated with the chiefly position and to ensure their continuance the chiefs are responsible for the people. They participate in the building of commoners' houses, and initiate and sustain action in other fields to keep their people contented and provided for. The leadership qualities of a chief are crucial especially when he carries a dual leadership role as a traditional leader (chief) and (non-traditional leader (director) of a modern tourism venture as will be discussed in this chapter.

As a modern leader a chief's position is even more difficult because he is expected to lead in the new ways; to initiate programs of economic development; to foster co-operatives; to discuss problems with people and give advice where needed; to encourage independent farmers and to obtain funds from the province to assist village development (Nayacakalou 1975: 89).

The chief in this study, Ratu Epeli, was a chef by profession and had been living in New Zealand for several years. He was then approached by the *vanua* of Nacula to return to the village to be installed as 'chief' when the last title holder of *Tui Drola* died in 1970. Ratu Epeli agreed to the request of the *vanua*. Nayacakalou (1975:4)

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[35] The word itself means 'land' but in this context 'vanua' includes the people and thus indicates the way Fijians considered land, people, village and society to be an integrated whole (Ravuvu 1983:76)

commenting on traditional allegiances within the vanua, provided an insight to the stance taken by the chief and the *mataqali* Najia.

> It [traditional relations] reflects the traditional loyalties and respect associated with the Fijian chiefly system and the meticulous observance of the obligations of chiefs to people and vice versa as well amongst the people themselves'. Underlying this view is the notion of Fijian society as a communal organization where everything is done by groups which stand in specified relationship to one another and which function together through the recognition of obligations between them, as well as between the members within each.
>
> (ibid.)

Following the same sentiment of obligations, the chief's *mataqali* had to look for an economic avenue that would generate financial returns to support Ratu Epeli to sponsor his traditional obligations to his people and the *vanua.* In doing so the people of Nacula while still trying to preserve their traditional social structure see the need to engage in a tourism venture to accomplish their traditional obligations. Since independence this is an issue facing Fijians; how to find a practical means to enable them to retain essential parts of their culture at the same time play their roles in the modern economy (Nayacakalou 1975:4). Since tourism is the most viable business in the Yasawas, the *mataqali* decided to start their own tourism operation to fulfill the vision. It must be noted that there is no written record of the stated vision for the establishment of the OBL. Therefore it is to be expected that members of the community will have conflicting views on the goals and visions for this indigenous tourism venture.

The goals are inimitable because the vision can be a barrier to the success of the indigenous tourism operation. Generally, a business venture will not be prosperous if the profits are used on non productive avenues which do not generate any returns to the investment. In this context, the issue lies on how to balance traditional obligations paid for from the coffers of the indigenous venture while managing a sound business operation.

The establishment of the lodge was made possible with an interest-free loan from Richard Evanson worth about half a million dollar[36]. Evanson a renowned hotelier in the Yasawas, owns Turtle Island Resort (TIR). TIR is an exclusive up- market resort that caters for high

[36]Director OBL, pers. comm. January 2008.

class tourists visiting the Yasawas and is located on a piece of free-hold land in the *Tikina* (district) Nacula[37].

OBL has gone through two management systems since its inception - firstly, a partnership management that was in place for six years between Turtle Island Resort and OBL from 2000 to September 2006. This partnership was a pre-condition for the loan whereby Evanson would be the managing director for the indigenous tourism operation. Through this Evanson was able to have full operational control of OBL. The second management arrangement started when the *mataqali* received sole ownership of the lodge, which is now managed by board members.

It is important to note that the views about the impacts of the partnership and sole management given in this discussion reflect the indigenous operators, employees and community members in Nacula, and do not consider those views held by tourism stakeholders in TIR. This can be seen as a limitation when discussing the issue of partnership-ownership and management.

As stated in the methodology chapter, in the course of doing fieldwork the researcher realized that an important issue that needed to be addressed was *"… whether partnership management is good or bad compared to full indigenous management or vice versa"*. The in-depth interview question was propounded to 14 out of the 21 OBL's employees who have worked under both the partnership and sole ownership management (see Table 22).

[37] An unlikely land tenure arrangement that exists in a few outer islands in Fiji as a result of Fijian tribal wars in the olden days where land was given as gift to reward allies of tribal wars or as an exchange gift with white settlers.

Table 22: Comments of the Eleven Employees on the two types of Management in OBL

Employee	Age	Sex	Member/ Non Mataqali Member	Employment (Years)	Comments
11	24	F	NM	3	Partnership is very particular with spending, while indigenous ownership uses excessive spending
20	50	M	Indo-Fijian	7	Like working at OBL because Ratu Epeli is very good for me. Indo-Fijians are being paid at $5 per hr
18	35	F	NM	3	During partnership working conditions were really better e.g.over-time pay and you are paid according to your qualification and skill. One good thing about sole ownership is that our rate per hour increased from $1.50 to $2.15
21	46	M	NM	7	Partnership provide in-house training for employees
13	35	F	Naitasiri	3	Foreigner tries to improve things, over-time pay, tips given, rewarded for outstanding performance, can get loan for genuine reason i.e. funeral. So suggestion for the improvement of the operation not taken seriously. Workers are not following OBL's policies
9	32	M	MM	8	Meal deduction ($60 per week) not fair because we don't have good meals. We don't receive our monthly best-employee award anymore and the operation is controlled by one person
12	26	F	MM	5	Like last month January (2008) order for goods from the main -land were on hold because of debt. A lot of spending on traditional obligations, church commitments etc
10	47	M	NM	7	Sole ownership is good because we control everything, unlike before we [OBL] bought things from TIR at higher price. But it's good an outsider runs the business, with locals there are too many commitments that use money unnecessarily. Villagers also visit the premises any time they want
6	49	F	MM	5	Partnership with Richard is good because OBL's operation runs in a business path and everything is good - the finances, working conditions, expenditure, etc. When we run it on our own, those business rules were not followed
16	42	M	MM	7	While in partnership Richard controls everything financially, we don't know what is supposed to come here as profit. Our traditional commitments were not entertained
3	47	M	NM	5	Partnership is bad because everything is controlled by Richard and we received $ 1.65 per hr. Indigenous ownership is good more flexible and hourly rate is $2.50

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

Eleven of the employees gave their views on the two types of managements and three had no responses. The reactions of the three respondents could be explained by the sensitivity of the issue which they were being asked to give their views as the question requires comments about the chief's style of management.

5.3 Two Management Approaches and their Economic Sustainability

The fieldwork showed that the partnership arrangement is seen as a success story for the *mataqali* Najia. This was a general sentiment that was conveyed to the researcher from the administrative staff and general employees. The partnership arrangement helped to secure the *mataqali's* participation in indigenous tourism venture in three ways: firstly the management goal was entirely business oriented. It focused on the financial viability of the lodge. There is a business and operation plan that monitors the daily activities of the operation to ensure unnecessary activities are minimized helping in cutting costs[38]. For instance, one employee stated that all resources of the operation are recorded when used, such as boat trips taken and every re- fuelling is recorded on a daily basis[39]. Additionally, employees have to arrive and knock off at the right time when starting and ending a day's shift with time recorded in a time-sheet. Ratu Epeli describes the partnership this way '*the good thing we learnt was how to run tourism in a strict business way.* '(2008, pers. comm.) Being in a partnership is like a 'seeing and learning' experience to the indigenous operators and Evanson knew too well that his indigenous counterparts had a lot to learn about tourism venture operations. When asked to compare operations between partnership and full indigenous control, the outstanding remark by a majority of the workers (8) is that the partnership arrangement managed the tourism operation using sound business ethics and proper financial control. For instance, employee 6 comments:

> '*Partnership with Richard is good because Oarsman's operation runs in a business path and everything is [transparent] - the finances, working conditions, expenditure, etc and the manager knows what he is doing. When we [indigenous] run it on our own, those business rules were not followed'*
>
> (2008, pers. comm.)

Secondly, every important decision on financial, management and operational matters has been resolved by the non-indigenous partner, Richard Evanson, for the development of the venture. His experience in the tourism industry and having the essential infrastructure and technology in place played a crucial role in the sustainability of OBL during the partnership venture. For instance, marketing and reservations for OBL which are crucial elements in tourism operation have been done by TIR through their websites, tourism brochures and other marketing tools. According to the manageress at OBL marketing and advertising done by TIR substantially strengthened OBL's image as an

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[38] Manageress, pers. comm. January 2008
[39] Supervisor, pers. comm. January 2008

ideal tourist destination around the world. This sustained the operation's occupancy rate at a desired annual average rate of eighty percent[40]. Presently, OBL's marketing and advertisement is still managed by TIR. Additionally, every financial transaction such as payment of wages and other expenditure of the operation is scrutinized and authorized by TIR so there is little room for financial mismanagement. Ratu Epeli sums it up saying; 'Richard controls every important aspect of the operation, we [indigenous owners] just listen and do what he says after all he gave us the money to start OBL' (2008, pers. comm.).

Thirdly, under the partnership management, staff development and welfare as per the employer/ employee contracts and agreements were honored[41]. For instance, the management conducts random staff development both at OBL and ISR to upgrade staff skills and knowledge about providing tourism services. Additionally, recruitment of new staff depended on the needs of the operation and not for the sake of giving work to people, as was often the case in village-based enterprises. Moreover, workers were compensated for any overtime work and wages were paid according to their experience and qualifications. It is also noteworthy that in the given context of a traditional Fijian village the employees were given work leave when it was due to them. At the same time, the management was particular about discipline and workers were dealt with under the standing disciplinary guidelines of the operation and all were forewarned that any worker whose contract was terminated will not be reemployed in the future.

Lastly, the partnership management was conscious of the operation's contribution towards traditional obligations. Having run a tourism venture in an island setting for much of his life, it can be assumed that Evanson knew too well the demand traditional obligations had (and continues to have) on ordinary Fijians and especially on indigenous businesses.

This issue will need constant appraisal as OBL is located within a traditional village setting where communal work to fulfill traditional activities is an essential part of the culture. However in contemporary villages, communal work is translated to communal cash generating activities and individual contribution to fulfill obligations towards traditional ceremonies, church activities and education. In a similar sentiment, Ward

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[40] Manageress, pers. comm. January 2008

[41] Contract given to OBL's employees is in letter specifying the general employers and employees agreement regarding wages and work ethics.

(1994: 134) warns that a Fijian village is no longer free from the influences of world economy where communalism is always discouraged.

Although based on a different commercial activity and geographical setting, Rakota

(in Tupouniua et al. 1980:32) in his study about the livelihood of Fijian cane farmers in Ba, expresses that some ceremonies such as death, sickness, birth and so on can be done away with nowadays because they drain indigenous people of resources both in cash and kind. For instance, during death ceremonies, food, yaqona (kava – *piper methysticum*), and *tabua* (whale tooth) should be presented to the visitors on certain nights after the burial until the hundredth night. Items such as kerosene, bale of clothes and the like are acceptable to be used in such traditional ceremonies. Rakota (in Tuponiua et al. 1980) points out that the chiefs have the right to declare such ceremonies void because they have the sole authority to do so. Similarly, those who can afford the ceremonies should perform them while those who cannot should moderate them yet lose no face in the process.

Rika (in Tupouniua et al.1980: 51) commented on kinship and traditional obligations this way '…the closer the kinship ties the heavier the cost and contribution to the ceremonies'. As for Nacula, the expectations of the village for OBL's employees and the operation to contribute financially or in kind towards traditional obligations have remained high because of their economic status. To avoid unnecessary expenses, the management limited its scope of participation towards traditional obligations to those that directly affected the employees, such as a death in the employee's family or a member of the *mataqali.* In retrospect, Ratu Epeli acknowledges Evanson's view on traditional obligation to remind the *mataqali* that a business cannot survive with traditional obligation, as it diverts resources away from the growth of the operation.

Similarly, Rakota (in Tupouniua et al.1980:33) explains although many Fijians blame custom for their failure in commercial enterprise. In a research he under took in 1973 with 64 indigenous cane growers in Ba showed that the most successful growers were staunch supporters of traditional ceremonies because they displayed higher discretion in ceremonies: they usually had a program adhered to and this was their source of pride. If they knew they could not contribute to ceremony they would say so openly. Their unsuccessful counterparts often had no program and entered blindly into ceremonies, spending more time and resources than necessary.

Therefore, from the outset, there were two differing sets of expectations that controlled the management of the partnership. Evanson's main interest was to establish OBL and to provide it a semblance of financial security while the chief and his *mataqali* expected not only financial dividends but also getting their traditional obligations fully met. These two opposing expectations will be witnessed in the ensuing discussions.

The OBL partnership management has proven to be sustainable in the operation of indigenous tourism especially from two socio-economic perspectives. Firstly, the OBL's operation is able to remain financially stable. During the partnership management the half a million dollars loan was paid off. Paying off the loan in just six years of operation is a remarkable achievement which brought full ownership to the *mataqali Najia*.

Secondly, it was sustainable for Evanson because he was able to recoup his capital although, according to this research, he did not gain anything financially. While it might be an anomaly to have such a business partnership, Evanson's investment has earned him the respect and support of the *Tikina* Nacula. In the future, should he venture into other businesses that will require the endorsement of the people and the chief of Nacula *Tikina*, his active participation in the OBL venture stands him in good stead with the *Tikina*. Given the nature of communal land ownership in Fiji (see *Chapter Three*), Evanson can gain the support of the *Tikina* and his involvement can be seen as strategic and prudent.

Communal ownership in traditional Pacific societies means that most tourism products are communal-owned and therefore outside investors need to enter into partnership agreement with the locals to gain access to land for tourism development which ensures good benefits to local communities from tourism (Scheyvens 2004:502). The consequences of such constellations will become evident later in the chapter.

Part of the stringent approach adopted by the partnership management could be explained through Evanson's intention for the *mataqali* to repay the loan sooner. To achieve this, a strategic option taken by Evanson was having OBL purchase all its goods (food, bedding, fuel, etc) from Turtle Island Resort with a 30% marked up price. The extra cost went towards loan repayment. Additionally, a 30% commission was paid to TIR for every booking it made for tourists visiting OBL. As for the indigenous people of Nacula, the partnership also had two main perceived negative impacts. Firstly, upon inheriting the venture under indigenous management in September, 2006, they also

inherited an outstanding government tax payment worth about FJD$144,000 for 2005-2006. OBL owed tax which the partnership management headed by TIR had not paid. The *mataqali* felt that they were unfairly treated by Evanson since he was in control of all financial payments at the time. Since no evidence was produced at the time of research to support this view, there can be many explanations for this oversight. The two main explanations can be that the handover could have taken place before the end of the financial year therein releasing Evanson from paying tax obligations and the lack of a skilled accountant or financial advisor representing the indigenous partner at handover to oversee handover.

From the indigenous management's view, OBL was able to repay the loan quickly because tax was not being paid for the year and revenue generated by the operation was directed towards loan repayment. Yet, the indigenous management was able to pay a proportion of the tax and had a remaining payment of $25,000 at the time of this research in February 2008. The Director admitted the lack of qualified and skilled personnel amongst the indigenous members of OBL management to manage tourism operation might have led to the oversight.

Many scholars (e.g. Sharpley and Telfer 2002; Arinaitwe 2002) have acknowledged similar sentiments and identified factors such as lack of capital, high development costs but low returns, lack of essential skills and knowledge about tourism business as primary sources of failure for indigenous entrepreneurs. In fact for the indigenous management it is seen as a learning experience. However, from the payment rate set by the management, it can be assumed that OBL has been enjoying continuous success since the handover in 2006 and that the outstanding amount will be met shortly.

Secondly, the management did not entertain the traditional obligations of the chief and workers to be met by the venture. The majority of the indigenous employees (8) viewed the partnership arrangement negatively because the financial needs for traditional obligations in the village were not fulfilled by the non-indigenous partner. As well, four employees viewed the negative impacts of traditional commitments have on the venture. The management set strict guidelines concerning the venture's expenses towards traditional obligations. The rigid stance by the management on the issue has defeated the vision for establishing OBL as discussed earlier in the chapter. Consequently on some occasions, the chief had to find other ways to meet the demand of traditional,

educational and religion obligations such as funerals and weddings, and that he had to raise funds when his requests were not entertained by the non-indigenous management[42].

On the other hand to accommodate those traditional commitments would have undermined the economic sustainability of the operation and its capacity to repay the loan and gain full ownership in the shortest time. His traditional role as a chief as well as representing the *mataqali* as a member of the board of director in the tourism venture has put a lot of pressure on the chief to meet the needs of his people while at the same time ensuring that the venture is sustained economically.

This discussion shows that there were indeed differing expectations within the *mataqali*, the whole village, the workers, the Nacula district and Evanson. It seemed that upon the establishment of OBL, meeting the traditional obligations of the chief and the people of Nacula became secondary to that of financial gains and meeting the repayment of the investment loan.

The warring agendas also revealed the lack of clear communication over expectations, benefits to the village and *mataqali* Najia, levels of control, financial viability of the lodge and the different development phases of the operation. These are important factors that need to be considered and discussed with clear outcomes between the different stakeholders in any venture especially tourism which is dependent on many external factors and one which require partnership building and collaboration even amongst community members as in the Yasawa.

Gray (1985) writes collaboration is crucial in securing benefits and solving problems amongst stakeholders. It includes shared decision making process (Williams et al. 1998), community-private sector partnerships (Ashley and Jones 2001) and aim to bridge cultural distinctions (Robinson 1999). Also all stakeholders are interdependent and trying to solve problems alone merely frustrates others from pursuing their own goals (ibid). The need for clear communication is critical and particularly so for partnership ventures between indigenous and non-indigenous partners where there are not only cross-cultural issues to be considered but also ones inclusive of differing levels of knowledge, experience, financial power and savvy and therefore expectations.

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[42] Ratu Epeli, pers. comm. January 2008

As discussed in chapter 4, one of the successful initiatives (Initiative 5) followed by the indigenous tourism in Essipit is that all community members are active participants in all due processes of the development of the lodge however the channel of participation must be adhered to and problems must be addressed with the right individual in the enterprise.

5.4 Employees and Community's Views on Indigenous Sole Ownership of Tourism

The majority of employees interviewed (8 out of 14) indicated that the current form of management under full ownership by indigenous people has both, advantages and disadvantages[43]. Firstly, there was a sense of optimism that full ownership provides the indigenous operators total control of the operation. One employee comments '*full ownership is good because we control everything*[44]*.'* Another adds *'while Richard controlled everything financially in partnership, we did not know what was supposed to come to OBL as a profit [sic].*[45]

The views reflect that for indigenous operators (as in other business operation), the notion of control is very important in order to fulfill the objectives of the venture whether they are economic or not. The indigenous full control of OBL agrees with Butler's model (1996) on what is considered as indigenous tourism. Butler emphasized the need for indigenous control together with the indigenous culture as part of the central attractions of the operation (culture controlled) to qualify OBL as an indigenous operation (see later in this chapter).

The success of the indigenous venture is guaranteed as long as the notion of control is defined in a business ethical vein towards the betterment of the venture, the *mataqali*, community and the natural and cultural environment. This is an important consideration for indigenous venture where different groups of indigenous people have different expectations of the tourism venture. The different expectations in the modern day business may have originated from the notion of communalism and sharing in the Fijian culture where wealth or valuable resources are expected to be shared by everybody. A study to show association between ideas, norms and values of traditional communalism and the operation, success and/or failure of indigenous enterprises would reveal more on this issue.

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[43] These 14 employees were asked about the different management system in OBL
[44] Employee 6, pers. comm. February 2008
[45] Employee 12, pers. comm. February 2008

Table 23: Approximate Expenditures by OBL towards Traditional Obligations in Nacula-2008

OBL Provisions	Approx Costs Any Village Funeral ($)	Approx Costs Funeral *Mataqali* member ($)
50kg Sugar	$45	$45
50kg Rice	$65	$65
50kg Flour	$55	$55
Other food stuff	$200	$200
Cattle or pig	-	$600
Coffin	-	$300
Fuel for transportation	-	$70
Total per Funeral	$370	$ 1,315

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

For instance a positive impact of communalism for small island states, especially in regards to land tenure arrangements provides what Firth (2000: 191) has referred to as 'as informal systems of security' based on a broad range of livelihood strategies which families rely on to survive. For example, they may produce primary produces (fish, root crops, fruits) for sale, trade or consumption, manufacture crafts to sell to tourists, have wage in tourism sector and receive remittances both abroad and from the mainland. These diverse livelihood strategies, especially where there is still access to land or the sea for subsistence purposes, provide resiliency during low season in tourism.

Secondly, concerning socio-economic viability, the *mataqali's* financial and material needs for traditional obligations are being met by OBL. For instance, for any funeral in the village, Oarsmen will provide a 50 kg bag of sugar, rice, flour and other food stuff. Further, if a member of the *mataqali* dies Oarsmen will provide a cattle or pig, coffin and fuel for transportation within the islands (Table 23).[46]

This assistance was confirmed by the management of OBL. Importantly, the vision of the operation is being implemented to cater for the financial needs of the chief so that he can accomplish his traditional obligations to the *matqali* and the village of Nacula[47]. As mentioned earlier in this chapter the dual roles of a chief as traditional leader and as a director, as in this case, can put pressure both on the chief and the progress of indigenous tourism. However, the traditional undertakings by the venture need tight control as it is detrimental to the development of the lodge in the long run.

[46] Employee 8, pers. comm. January 2008

[47] His role as a chief of Nacula requires him to look after the welfare of the whole village and not only his *mataqali* members who own co-own OBL

Thirdly, another socio-economic advantage of sole ownership is the increase in hourly paid rate for employees from $1.65 to $2.25. Whether this increase is economically viable for OBL remains to be seen and is discussed in the later parts of this chapter. Another initiative taken by the indigenous management is the newly built sun deck and new staff quarters. The new addition to the tourism facilities at OBL also indicates the capacity of indigenous operators to develop a tourism operation.

On the other hand many employees also have reservations about indigenous management. Firstly, they allege that proper business ethics are not adhered to especially in terms of financial management. The majority (8) of the employees stated mismanagement of funds as one main weakness of the *mataqali* ownership as it determines the sustainability of the indigenous venture. For instance, at one point (in January 2008) OBL was not able to pay its debt to supermarkets on the mainland of *Viti Levu*. As a result OBL was not allowed new purchasing orders which directly affected the business. Workers assumed that there was mismanagement of finances because money was channeled to fulfill traditional obligations and the chief's personal engagements such as attending Great Council of Chief and provincial meetings. The views of employees showed their realization that traditional obligations are viruses to the venture's sustainability.

For the workers at OBL, the main conflict lies in how to balance the vision of the operation that was based on providing financial support to the chief (financing his traditional obligations) at one end while at the same time operating in an economically sustainable manner as a tourism business at the other end. Interestingly, while the majority (19 out of 22) of the workers support OBL's contribution towards traditional obligations; almost the same people also blame it as a source of financial mismanagement. The fickle allegiance of employees towards the management suggests that they consider their welfare important than the survival of the operation. However all agreed on the need to control traditional expenses so that it does not affect the financial sustainability of the operation.

Secondly, seven of the fourteen employees who were asked to compare the general effectiveness of the different management systems for OBL gave the impression that the standard working conditions are not honored in the indigenous management system and is fluid (see Table 24).

Table 24: Work Conditions under the Two Management Systems at OBL

Sole Management	Partnership Management
No Overtime Pay	Overtime pay
Annual Leave Awarded	Depends on the Employees Performance
Poor Food Quality	Some variety
Inconsistent in awarding bonuses	Bonuses awarded consistently i.e. monthly basis
Tips from tourist are not shared by employees	Tips are given to employees
Disciplinary procedures are not consistently applied	Disciplinary procedures are consistently applied
Rate per hour $2.50	Depends on qualification/experience

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

Inconsistency currently experienced in delivering the prescribed work conditions for workers as stipulated in the work agreement may comprise the sustainability of the lodge in the long run and can cause rift amongst villagers.

Another view given by the employees on indigenous management that is worthy of note is they feel the enterprise is entirely controlled by a single individual. Although the operation is managed by board members, the director / chief has the final say on any operational and financial matters and his traditional status alone as a chief has more weight on his decision about the management of the operation and views of other members of the board becomes secondary.

This has posed two problems; firstly, cultural obligation of respect is affecting the management of the operation because of the respect towards the director, who is also their chief. Consequently, it creates a barrier for two levels of communication, one between the director and board members and another between the director and employees especially when questioning or probing the chief's decision on matters regarding the management of the lodge and the welfare of the employees. Regarding the latter, for instance, four workers remarked that unlike the partnership management, under the current indigenous management workers are not paid any overtime work they undertake even though there is a wage increase as stated earlier. The position of the director in this instance is best described by Nayacakalou (1975:115) in the following way:

> It is important to note that chiefs are 'leaders' and not headmen. Their positions were inextricably interwoven with the structure of their groups so the goals for which the groups organize under the leadership of their chiefs remain common goals. Even when a chief 'demands' labor and tribute from his people, somewhere behind the obedience given [to] him

> is the notion that he deserves it in return for his services as the leader and as the representative of his group.

The issue however in this instance is that the chief has extended his decision-making as a traditional leader from the realm of his traditional jurisdiction into the formal work environment in which the workers have been overworked and not remunerated and therefore having their right as workers violated and may undermine the sustainability of the lodge in the future.

Additionally under partnership workers' hourly rates were paid according to their qualification and experience while under *mataqali* ownership the majority of the workers are paid a flat rate of $2.50. Another worker commented that workers' suggestions to improve service to tourists were not being taken seriously by the director and manageress and as a result there were ill feelings amongst workers which at times affected services provided to the guests. In many cases employees are not able to voice their concerns solely as a sign of respect to the chief.

Secondly, since the vision of the lodge is to help finance the chief's traditional obligation; whether the chief's financial expenditure will be sustained by the lodge or not is of secondary importance. It is noteworthy that there is little contribution and consultation amongst *mataqali* members regarding the development of the lodge. Although *mataqali* meetings may be organized regarding the development of the lodge, the chief's views and decisions are often adhered to and to oppose them is regarded as a sign of disrespect[48]. This is shown during the employees daily morning briefings with the Director, few male employees raise their views and female employees hardly contribute to the briefing.[49] Indigenous tourism managed by a chief may in some cases hinder the success of this tourism venture if traditional protocol and authority continually undermines transparency and sound business work ethics. The conflict between traditional authority and sound economic management is complicated by the belief that the power bestowed to chiefs are often seen by the indigenous community as something of divine authority and to question their authority one can expect misfortune or even death. Ravuvu (1991) in describing and defending the traditional role of Fijians chiefs, for example, states that the

[48] OBL's Employee, in-depth interview 2008
[49] OBL's employees, usually have morning briefing at 7 am with the Director to discuss the day's program

explicit model for chiefs derives directly from divine sources and that power is ascribed only to chiefs while the 'relative powerlessness of others is clear by implication.'

5.5 Cultural Ties and Indigenous Tourism Management

As in the case of many indigenous ventures in the world, OBL workers are related to each other by blood and through marriage. This can have a number of implications on the work ethics of employees and management of an indigenous tourism enterprise, parts of which have already been discussed earlier in the chapter. On the positive side for the indigenous operation, workers may have to shoulder the burden of poor indigenous management for instance with OBL, workers are not paid for overtime work especially for off-duty workers entertaining guests in the evening while having dinner. The notion of cultural ethics is being used to benefit the operation at the expense of the welfare of employees. In the interview four workers have highlighted work conditions which they regard as unfair; however they never raised such issues (e.g. the non-payment of overtime work) with the director/chief. To do so would be a gesture of disrespect and also at the risk of losing their jobs. It seems that culture has facilitated the cut costs within the operation of indigenous tourism, whether this is done intentionally or not cannot be evaluated in the research.

On the other hand, under the partnership management any overtime work was remunerated. Employee 12 also commented on the non-distribution of tips given by tourists through the designated box in the bar as a source of concern for employees at OBL. This extra cash incentive apart from sustaining the workers economically helps to motivate workers in the tourism industry in Fiji to provide quality service, but the lack of management's transparency in this matter can reduce satisfaction and self esteem of workers and therefore have a negative impact on the quality of the operation.

The above experience has shown that cultural ties can instigate poor work ethics amongst employees and employers. As a result the sustainability of the operation can be jeopardized. The director has fired workers mainly based on non-performance such as punctuality, absenteeism, prolonged leave and drinking in the vicinity of the lodge. Yet, sacked employees are re-employed under the indigenous management. For example, two workers, a 49 year old female and a 32 year old both belong to the *mataqali Najia*. One had been working at the lodge for five years and in this time has been sacked and re-employed eight times. The other employee has been working for

eight years and got sacked and re-employed 11 times. They are re-employed because they both claimed that they are very hard working. The 49 year old lady explains:

> *'I've been sacked eight times and got re-employed eight times because I'm good at what I'm doing. I'm just sacked for small irrelevant things [like late to work]. One bad thing about Fijian relation is that it's difficult to take your own relative to court like me with the boss here'.*

As illustrated by instances discussed above the cultural ties amongst workers and the management can have both positive and negative impacts on such an indigenous operation. When the partnership management was still in place, sacked workers were not re-employed.

5.6 Welfare of Employees and Indigenous Tourism Sustainability

The welfare of workers is vital to the sustainability of any tourism operation especially when there is such a close tourist-worker interaction as in the indigenous tourism operation. Twenty-two of the workers interviewed (19-OBL, 3-NBL) were happy about the work conditions in their respective work place. Those three who were not satisfied with their work conditions listed poor meals, no payment of overtime and no staff training as source of their dissatisfaction. Another six workers commented on overtime pay and poor meals as something that needed improvement. There is a general feeling amongst workers that dissatisfaction with work conditions can easily lead to poor work ethics.

Six employees raised the issue of meals, which seems to be a rather important one. One worker during an in-depth interview complained that all workers who live in and outside the quarters have $30 dollars (see Appendix 8) of meal money deducted from their fortnightly wages. Workers complained about the poor quality of the meals which consisted mainly of tea with biscuit for breakfast, rice and *dhal* [split peas] for lunch and dinner.[50] According to him the meals were much better during the partnership arrangement. He added that not having good meals could easily affect worker's performance and at time workers steal from the business because they feel they are unfairly treated.

5.7 Sustainability of Indigenous Family Owned Tourism Venture

Table 25 shows the summary of key features for OBL and NBL. As for Nalova Bay Lodge, the indigenous family-controlled tourism operation highlights some major

[50] OBL's Employee, pers. comm. January 2008

internal and external obstacles facing indigenous tourism in the Yasawas and therefore their un-sustainability. Firstly, that communal ownership of land by the *mataqali* hinders indigenous tourism operation. As in the research, the *Moceyawa* family leased the land for 99 years from their own *mataqali* Verebasaga, with the annual rental of FJD$6,000. Despite this formal land ownership arrangement, many *mataqali* members still think that they have the right to access the premises because it belongs to the *mataqali*.[51] This did not create a good atmosphere for the guests and the operation in general as it disrupts the tourists' privacy and importantly the operation of the lodge.

Secondly, part of the problem already mentioned above is the failure of the leasee to maintain rental lease payment and has created some tension amongst some members of the *mataqali* and the *Moceyawa* family. According to a former manager of the lodge the leasee had not paid the rental fees for the last two years resulting in some tourism infrastructure being dismantled by disgruntled *mataqali* members (2008, in-depth interview, 2008) not only for that reason but also because they felt alienated from their own land. Similarly, Rugendyke and Connell (2008: 275) state that conflicts over the distribution of income from tourism are everywhere but tend to intensify as the significance of tourism grows and perceptions of exclusion mount, notably where people are denied access to resources they once used and/or owned.

These internal problems affect Fijian tourism operation and often caused rifts within the Fijian community and retard any development on native land in rural areas. It also discourages foreign partners from investing in Fiji's tourism industry.

Furthermore, because of the internal differences amongst the *mataqali* and the Moceyawa family, NBL has opted not to follow regulations that govern the operation and management of tourism venture on native land (2008, Director pers. comm.). It is stipulated in the tourism policy for native land that in any tourism development where the leasee is a member of the *mataqali*, as in the case of NBL, employment opportunities should be given first to the members of that *mataqali* provided they have satisfied the normal requirements for the post (NLTB 2006:16). However, none of the five workers working at the time of the research belong to the *mataqali* Verebasaga but from a nearby village of Naisisili. According to the current manageress of NBL, the venture stopped recruiting people from the *mataqali* because 'they were incompetent and did not follow

[51] NBL's Director, pers. comm. March 2008

work ethics'. Sometimes they appeared late to work, slept during working hours and used the resort's resources for personal use. Conversely, a former worker of the *mataqali* employed with NBL and now working at OBL felt that they were underpaid and at times did not receive their wages for weeks (2008, in-depth interview).

Additionally due to personal differences on the management approach, NBL has missed a golden opportunity to be a business partner with a renowned local investor. This would most likely have had a positive impact on its operation as in the case of OBL. There was an initial plan to have a partnership with Richard Evanson, but due to different views between the two partners, the plan did not eventuate. The indigenous counterpart wanted to have major control over the operation, but Evanson did not concur. Given the success story of OBL it is fair to assume that a partnership with Evanson would have assisted in the operation of NBL compared to what is now.

Furthermore the poor performance of NBL is also due to internal differences amongst family members, who control the operation. The differences between father (manager) and son (managing director) have resulted in the resignation of the managing director, who has moved back to the mainland although he is still part of the operation. According to the managing director:

> "*I'm the Managing Director, but the decisions about the operation rests entirely with my father, he's got his own views about running the family tourism business. This may have posed a problem in the development of Nalova. We often have different visions on how to run the business. He is more ambitious, but doesn't realize that we have to make a profit before any further development can take place."*
>
> (2008)

Since his resignation, the lodge is managed by a woman from Taveuni. She oversees the daily operation of the lodge, but the important decisions are made from the owner who resides in Viti Levu.

Lastly, NBL's poor performance can be attributed also to inadequate tourism facilities (see Appendix 8). NBL does not have its *Wine and Dine Facility* and tourists have to dine in their own room or dine at the OBL dining facility which is a good cooperation between the two indigenous lodges.

On the other hand lack of tourism facilities in NBL may undermine the lodge's sustainability in the long run because it affects tourists' experience especially during high season when it is overcrowded. It can lead to poor services given to the guest at

OBL and adds more pressure to OBL workers (2008pers. comm.). NBL does not have its own boat to transport tourists to and from the lodge and for other tourists' activities and rely on village boat and water taxi to service its tourists. While the arrangement provides a source of income for villagers who provide the services, the provision of quality of services are not guaranteed and may undermine the image of the lodge for potential customers in the future.

Table 25: Key Features between OBL and NBL Operation, 20008.

Key Features	OBL	NBL
Year of Operation	1999	2000
Ownership/Management	Partnership 1999-Sept 2006 Indigenous Owned Sept 2006 onwards	Family Owned
Type of land/ Years of lease	Native land-*Mataqali* Najia, 99 years	Native land-*Mataqali* Verebasaga, 99 years
Financial contribution	Free interest loan Richard Evanson. Paid off 2006	Loan FDB Pension Personal contribution of family members. Still repaying loan
Class of service	Backpackers	Budget Accommodation
Main Attractions/ Activities	*Bure*, dorm, white sandy beach, deep blue sea, fishing trip, sun set cruise, cave visit, village visit, cultural activities, kayaking	*Bure*, white sandy beach, deep blue sea, cave visit, village visit, kayaking
Tourist Facilities	*Bure*, dorm, kitchen, dining hall, bar, pipe water, internet laundry, electricity, sea transport	*Bure*, piped water, electricity
Number of Employees	24	5
Marketing	Done by Turtle Island	Do their own

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

Another operational setback for NBL is its marketing incapacity to promote the indigenous operation world-wide. The managing director admits the expensive cost of marketing as preclusion to their promotional ability and lack of networking with other tourism stake-holders in Fiji and abroad. Several authors (e.g. Morrison and Teixeira 2004; Morrison 2002) have mentioned these as constraints facing SMTEs in tourism especially for indigenous people. Also Moscardo and Pearce (in Rugendyke and Connell 2009) raise the same constraint as facing indigenous tourism *fale* operators in Samoa.

External factors such as political instabilities of the 2000 and 2006 coups and natural disasters are barriers to indigenous operations. External factors are defined in this context as any factors that exist outside the domain of the operation as well as those factors originating from abroad. While the problems have affected the whole tourism industry in Fiji they

proved to be disastrous for the indigenous operation in NBL, already crippled by its internal problems. The managing director had mentioned that since 2000 the operation has not made any profit, but was just repaying loan and meeting rental payments. He attributed political instability and poor management as contributing factors to the poor performance of NBL. The high turnover of employees at NBL according to the managing director (2008,pers. comm.) were due to poor work ethics of employees like falsifying work hours, poor working conditions, no proper tourist support infrastructure like staff quarters and other tourist-work opportunities in the Yasawas.[52]

On the contrary, OBL does not see the 2006 political instability as its main problem, but the tropical cyclone of early 2008, when the occupancy rate went down to about 10 % low (2008 manageress pers. comm.). Fortunately, it was only for a short period of time when the occupancy rate peaked again.

5.8 Meet the Tourists

Twenty tourists were randomly selected and given a self administered questionnaire to fill (Appendix 6). Three of the respondents underwent in-depth interviews with the researcher on issues regarding tourists' expectations, tourist attractions and views on the quality of services provided by the indigenous tourism operation. All respondents selected in the research were tourists who had spent their last night at the lodge therefore their responses would be based on their total experience at OBL. Some questions required multi-answer responses and will be acknowledged accordingly.

Tourists at OBL who participated in this study are from distinct professional backgrounds such as students (2), accountants (2), retirees (2), within the tourism industry (2) and engineers (3). The tourists' patterns of travel experiences were diverse which meant Oarsmen's tourists have visited other parts of the world including Europe, Latin America, North America and Africa. Out of the 20 tourists, 13 travel with partners, four travel alone and three with friends. The majority of the tourists were from Europe (14), while most were single (13) four however were married. The tourists' age ranges are between 19-30 (11), and 31-35 (6) and three in the age group of 54-61. On the question of which category of tourist they associated themselves with, nine considered

[52]A newly married couple employee has to leave because of non availability of staff quarters.

themselves as mainstream tourists, six as eco-tourists, four as cultural tourists and one as a sports tourist.

The research suggests that Fiji has the potential to tap non-traditional tourist markets such as Europe and North America. For instance in April, 2009, the total number of tourists from Continental Europe visiting Fiji increased by 14.3% which equates to 2, 528 compared to the same period in 2008 while Fiji's main market Australia increase in March 2008, by 5.6% or 18,877 respectively (Fiji Islands Bureau of Statics 17th Sept. 2009). However there were decreases in tourist arrival from Canada and the USA in the same period. While the trend above indicates the fragility of tourist arrival, this has a direct impact on indigenous tourism because it has special appeal that attracts tourist segments that have wider taste and the desire to experience both natural and cultural attractions. While most consider themselves as mainstream tourists, they consider cultural and natural as the main attractions to experience while visiting OBL.

5.8.1 Most Appealing Tourist Attractions

The overall responses from both employees and tourists support the notion of natural and cultural attractions as the main tourists' attraction in Nacula especially for small-scale tourism. Employees were asked this question because they have daily contact with tourists at the lodge and probably know which tourist attractions appealed the most to tourists. When asked to rank which tourist attractions were preferred at OBL, all employees (25) put natural attraction - sand, sea and sun - as the most important attractions, followed by cultural attractions. Workers commented that 'tourists like natural sights such as sunrise and sunset, snorkeling in the reefs and star gazing'. Culturally, 'tourists liked the friendliness of people, desired to experience the local culture and purchase Fijian handicrafts'. The aspect of natural and cultural attractions that were most favored by the tourists according to workers, were watching the sunrise and sunset and especially the friendliness of the people. Of the 20 tourists, ten chose OBL as their destination because it is the best place to unwind and spend their summer holiday; three were searching for paradise with white beaches and beautiful people; two responded that it was cheap and two were attracted through advertisements. The other tourists chose OBL because; through word of mouth from a friend in Grenada(1); to enjoy Fiji at resort with Fijian staff (1) and one was made to come to OBL.

Likewise the above views are supported by the tourists' multiple responses to question 8 (refer to Appendix 6) regarding the main tourist's attraction they wanted to experience at

OBL. The results are as follow; the majority (15) of the tourists wanted to experience white sandy beaches and blue seas, 10 preferred beautiful sceneries and seven tourists wanted to experience the indigenous culture. When asked to comment on the first impression tourists had when arriving in OBL majority were attracted to the white sandy beaches and smiling faces of workers. Another exceptional comment worth noting is that tourists visit OBL lodge because they want to enjoy Fiji at a resort with Fijian staff.[53] Kanemasu (in Rugendyke and Connell 2009:115) supports this view saying:

> *direct service work combined with display of amiability, upon which the success of the industry depends, remain the designated role of the Fijians... the smiles of Fijians have eventually come to command the status of not only a successful advertising image but indeed a symbol of the nation proudly displayed to the world.*

From anecdotal exchanges domestic tourists will experience less of this amiability. This raises question on the authenticity of Fijian services in the tourism industry. It is an area worth future study. Fijians may continue to smile in the posters and at the resorts just as they are expected to, it is their inner emotion, private view points and everyday actions that protect as well as potentially challenge the hegemonic order in Fiji's mass tourism (ibid.).

A 54 year old fisheries Biologist comments:

> *People are friendly and my trip to the village was a very good experience. I prefer to stay in small resorts like OBL because I want to experience physical and cultural attractions and being in OBL satisfies that. I will come back to OBL if it stays that way*
>
> (2008, pers. comm.)

The last comment is worth noting because it identifies small-scale tourism with its distinct physical and cultural attractions as deciding factors for tourists returning to experience indigenous tourism. Smith and Robinson (2006: 93) explain how cultural attractions are associated with indigenous tourism in which many indigenous people cater to the demand of cultural differences between theirs and the tourists by show-casing their unique cultures as part of their strategy for cultural survival.

The fisheries Biologist adds that during dinner tourists at OBL compare notes and share their experiences about other tourist's destinations which they have visited within Fiji and therefore the quality of tourists' experiences they have at OBL can have a major promotional impact for OBL - through word of mouth alone. For instance, in this study,

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[53] OBL tourist, pers. comm. January 2008

tourists came to know about OBL through the following means of communication: word of mouth (7), tourist brochure (7), Lonely Planet Guide Book (3), internet (1) and friends (2). Only three tourists knew OBL from more than one source. From the 20 respondents, only one tourist has visited another South Pacific Islands apart from Fiji when the research was conducted.

Table 26: Tourist Ratings for accommodation, food, natural environment and traditional form of entertainment Quality for OBL – 2008

Type of service	Excellent	Good	Satisfactory	Poor	(N)
Accommodation	5	14	1	-	20
Food	3	11	2	3	20
Environment	8	10	2	-	20
Traditional Entertainment	5	12	3	-	20

Source: Fieldwork, 2008 Multiple Response Answers

When asked to rate the various services offered at OBL, a total of 21 tourists put excellent, 47 as good, another eight as satisfactory and three as poor (Table 26). On rating the overall service at OBL, six tourists rate it as excellent, eight as good and six as satisfactory (refer to appendix 6, question 12). The quality of environment received the most excellent rating (8) followed by traditional entertainment and accommodation (5). A majority of the tourists rated the various services at OBL as 'good' specifically for accommodation (14), traditional entertainment (12), food (11) and environment (10).

The social exchange theory can be used in explaining the level of satisfaction tourists receive from tourists' products offered by OBL. The theory helps to explain people's expectations in a given interaction or relationship whether at individual or group level. Homans (1961) used the theory to explain human interaction and rewards they acquire from a given interaction. In this study, the majority of the tourists are satisfied with the experiences they had at OBL and one tourist is contemplating revisiting OBL, if the natural and cultural attractions remain intact.[54]While the study cannot substantiate the number of tourists revisiting OBL, it is a good indicator of tourism service and it can be suggested that indigenous tourism ventures such as OBL need constant improvement in its provision of tourism services in order to have a share of the tourist market visiting the region.

The various indigenous attractions highlighted by tourists and the active participation of indigenous people as employees reflect the importance of cultural attractions for the

[54] OBL tourist, pers. comm. January 2008

sustainability of indigenous tourism therefore confirming Butler's model of indigenous tourism stating that the participation of indigenous people and indigenous attractions are important indications of indigenous tourism.

While the ratings above are good reflections on the quality of service provided by OBL and that indigenous tourism can be sustained, there is still a need to provide excellent service to craft a long lasting positive impression on tourist experience. Providing excellent services will guarantee expanding the market segment of tourists visiting indigenous operation with its various attractions may they be indigenous oriented or not is of secondary importance to its sustainability. Competition also demands excellent services if OBL is to stay viable in a tourist area like the Yasawas. For instance, although a male tourist rates OBL as the one of the best lodges out of the six places he had visited while in Fiji, he felt that OBL should make tourists aware of extra costs like water taxi fees and tax fees on tabs.

Table 27: Tourists' Length of Stay at OBL, 2008

Length of Stay (Nights)	Male	Female	Tourist Origin	Total
1- 3 nights	8	5	Australia, New Zealand, Belgium	13
4- 6 nights	0	5	England, France	5
> A week	1	1	Canada	2

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

From the 20 tourists surveyed, 13 stayed between 1-3 nights, five for 4-6 nights and two for more than a week. The majority (14) stayed in the *Bure*, seven are male and female respectively and six stayed in the dorm two are male and four female tourists (Table 27).

Table 28: Tourist Dollars Spent at OBL excluding Accommodation & Meals, 2008

Money Spent (FJD$)	*Male*	*Female*	*Total*
> $100	4	5	9
$101- $200	2	4	6
$201- $300	2	-	2
$301- $400	1	2	3

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

The rates of the *Bure* and dorm accommodation per night are FJD$198 and $45 respectively. The short length of stay of tourists in OBL does not affect the sustainability of indigenous tourism because of the high number of tourists visiting OBL ranging between 10-15 and 6-10 on daily basis during its peak and low seasons respectively.[55]

Nine tourists spent less than FJD$100 during their stay at OBL, six spent FJD$101-$200, three spent FJD$301-$400 and two tourists spent about FJD$201-$300 during their stay at OBL (Table 28). The expenditure excludes tourists' expenses outside OBL premises which included village and school donations. While the spinoff effect of tourist dollars often benefits the wider community both in mainstream tourism as well as other forms of tourism, the incomes and other benefits derived from indigenous tourism such as in Nacula are more consistent and sustain the socio-economic lives of villagers.

5.9 Economic Sustainability from the Employees Perspective

Like most business operations, sustainability of indigenous tourism from the workers perspective is judged mainly from the economic benefits they derived from the operation and how the economic benefits can sustain the financial obligations of the workers towards their families and the community. Traditionally the primary activities of fishing and farming demand more human labor and at times are undertaken under unfavorable weather conditions and bring irregular financial returns. With tourism, rural workers in Yasawa are able to have a 'luxury' - to work in a comfortable work environment with a steady source of income that allows them to make some long term planning about improving their livelihoods.

[55] This number is calculated from the availability of rooms and numbers of arrivals on daily basis during

Moreover the primary activities of farming and fishing in an island location have supplemented the daily needs of the family and are also sources of financial livelihoods for the workers. For example, nine of the male employees interviewed have spent an average of 1-3 hours per week in their plantations and some of them have sold their farm produce to the indigenous operation either when they are in need of money or when the operation is in need of food (especially for special occasion such as weddings). Similarly, three couples working at OBL have been selling groceries like cans of tuna, packets of noodles and biscuits, kava and cigarettes as their extra sources of income.

The economic activities of native Fijians as in the Yasawas reflect contemporary life in native Fijian villages especially with tourism as an agent of change both in economic and social terms. Ward (1994:134) comments that although it is sometimes assumed that life in a Fijian village is still 'traditional' it is in fact, very different from the life and customs of 200 years ago. Table 29 shows the take away home pay for employees in OBL and NBL with the latter paying less wages to its employees due the poor operation of the venture.

Table 29: Fortnightly Pay of Employees at OBL and NBL, 2008

No of employees		**Take away home pay (Fortnightly)**
Male	***Female***	***Fortnightly Pay (FJD)***
2	1	$100 - $150
3	1	$151 - $200
4	8	$201 - $250
1	1	$251 - $300
3	1	$301 - $350
1	-	$351 -$400

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

As for the people in the Yasawas tourism has brought rapid socio-economic and cultural changes in the village locality since the industry is responsible for income generating activities and a source of employment in the outer islands of Fiji. Table 30 shows work benefits for OBL and NBL, which include a wage given on a fortnightly basis and depend on hourly rates ranging from $1.50 to $5.00. Workers (3) at NBL are paid $1.50 per hour and the manageress earns $3.00 per hour. OBL workers receive an hourly rate ranging from $2.25 to $5.00 depending on the type of job and years' experience.

Table 30: Work Benefits for OBL and NBL, 2008

Benefits	Oarsmen Bay Lodge	Nalova Bay Lodge
Wage	Fortnightly -FJD$225- $250	Fortnightly- FJD$150
Sick leave	6 days per year	None
FNPF	Deduction made	None
Accommodation	Provided	None
Paid holiday	None	None
Electricity/Water	Free	None
Good performance bonus	Award given	None
Accident Cover	Available	Not Available

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

The majority of OBL's workers (17) received an hourly rate of FJD$2.25 to FJD$2.50. Overall there are 18 positions of work, these workers do multi-skilled tasks like dining attendance, tour guide, kitchen assistant, housekeeping and so on. The office assistant, chef and carpenter earn FJD$4.00 an hour while an Indian carpenter earns FJD$5.00. Nineteen employees at OBL and all the four employees at NBL are satisfied with the work conditions at their respective work place. OBL employees have the following benefits; six days sick leave, two weeks annual leave with pay and FNPF deduction (see Appendix 6). However, according to the interviews, implementing these benefits can be irregular because at times, implementation depends on the mood of the director and the financial status of the operation. For instance, if the Director is not happy about certain things in the OBL, benefits such as good performance awards (like a free trip to Lautoka with Yasawa Flyer) may not be awarded.

As for NBL, employees do not have any other benefits apart from their wages. To curtail expenses, workers who wish to work during low occupancy period especially when there is no tourist are not paid in cash, but they will be given free meals whenever they work. Young women workers prefer to come and do cleaning up chores in the lodge rather than staying in the village.

The majority of employees (23) have an annual income ranging from FJD$6,000 to FJD$10,000 and two employees receive an annual salary between FJD$11, 000 to FJD$14,000 respectively. By national standards the majority of the workers are below poverty line salary which is at FJD$12,753 a year in Fiji (Narsey 2007). However living and working in a village environment has enabled the workers to save since food is mostly from

their plantations and the sea and expenses on electricity and water are paid on a flat rate basis per household (FJD$2 per week per family). Twenty four of the workers stated that tourism has enabled them to meet their traditional obligations in the village, however they also stressed that the traditional obligations, can consume much of their earnings. For instance, when a colleague or a member of his/her immediate family dies or gets married, each worker will contribute FJD$10. This might even be deducted from the pay, sometimes even without the worker's consent. This is another *vakavanua*[56] arrangement that characterizes indigenous tourism way of management in OBL.

The sustainability of the employees' financial contribution towards traditional obligations is determined largely on keeping their jobs at the tourism operation. In case they discontinue working many workers need to resort to primary activities such as farming and fishing to be able to financially fulfill their traditional obligations in the village. OBL tourism has improved the financial self-reliance of island workers to meet traditional obligations without relying more on their relatives living in the mainland of Viti Levu (Table 31). As well, four employees have been sending money to their dependents on the mainland of Viti Levu. Traditional obligations constitute ceremonies and events such as weddings, funerals, church levy and school fund raising.

Table 31: Employees' contribution toward traditional obligations per month

No of Employees (N-25)	Contribution per month (FJD$)
4	$11-20
4	$21-30
4	$31-40
7	$41-50
4	$100-200
2	No response

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

Working in the indigenous tourism sector has also enabled village based paid-workers to save money (Table 32). Of the 25 employees interviewed 22 managed to save some money, with the majority (11) saving between FJD$51-$100 in a fortnight. For OBL employees' savings has been facilitated by having their wages deposited into the bank. Six of the workers who have their wages deposited in the bank are the same workers who are also able to save more

[56]Translated as the way or custom of the Vanua

money than others. However, whether savings is constant throughout the year cannot be determined by this research. The majority of young workers (4) still make arrangement to have their wages deposited in the bank because they feel it is an easy way to save money.

Table 32: Employee Savings by Gender per Fortnight - 2008

Saving per fortnightly (FJD)	Male	Female	Bank Deposit
>$50	1	4	No
$51- $100	7	4	No
$101- $150	2	1	No
$151- $200	1	-	Yes
$201 -$250	2	-	Yes
$251 - $300	1	1	Yes
$351 - $400	-	1	No
Total	14	11	

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

The manageress states workers are not paid during national holidays, except for annual leave of two weeks in which they get double of their fortnightly wage (pers. comm. 2008). Additionally, the director states there is no provision for accident cover but the indigenous operation will prepare to compensate, if the need arises. For example a worker was permanently disabled in the hip and received a year's pay as compensation. Others will receive half of their normal pay if they sustain minor injuries.

Case Study 1: Work Benefits for Miss A

Sex	Age	M/Stat.	M/Me	Edu.	Pos.	H/Rte (FJD)	N.Wage	Salary	Savings
F	42	Divorcee	Najia	Diploma	Manageress	$4.00	$222	$9,600	$200

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

Miss A is a 42-year old divorcee and belongs to the mataqali Najia. She holds a Diploma in Business Management from FIT and has worked at OBL since its establishment in 2000. She receives an hourly wage of $4.00 and earns a fortnightly net pay of $222. Her employment benefits include six days of paid sick leave, FNPF deduction, accommodation and incentives for good performance. She is very happy with her work conditions and able to save money. Her wage goes to her ANZ account and she is able to save $200 every pay day. Working at the resort has improved her standard of living and she was able to build her own house, pay for her children's education and buy a water tank. She was saving money to go to Australia that year. As

an employee of an indigenous tourism operation, Miss A is able to accomplish all the above while residing and enjoying the village environment and not having to relocate to urban areas.

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, close traditional ties amongst workers and the management have cushioned conflicts that may have arisen from extreme decisions such as laying-off of workers. For instance to address low occupancy rate during the cyclone of January 2008, five male workers volunteered to take two weeks off without pay. Four of the workers have used the laid off period to work on their plantations, which had been neglected due to their work schedule. This arrangement had benefited the laid off workers while at the same time was sustaining the indigenous operation. By the time of the research four of the workers had resumed work and perhaps the 'free life' style in the village has aided the four men during unemployment.

5.9.1 Economic Sustainability of Indigenous Tourism from the Community's Perspective

According to the village nurse, Nacula has a population of 378 and 78 households. From the financial sustainability of indigenous tourism as seen by the community, all 13 people interviewed when giving multi-response answers agreed that Oarsmen tourism has diversified their income sources in the village through employment (13), entertainment (12), selling art and craft (6), selling marine resources (4), selling root crops (3), selling fruits (3), and providing boat transport (2). When asked about which tourism undertaking brings most money to individuals, eight of the community members stated Oarsman tourism (OT), three for Blue Lagoon (BL) tourism and two community members regarded tourism earning being varied depending on factors such as the tourists' nationality, age, travel experience and pattern and financial status.

Apart from the reason stated above, tourist source for Oarsmen is constant because tourists visit the village twice a week and sometimes thrice a week generating more economic activities, while Blue Lagoon tourists can visit once or twice in a month. OT tourist activities also encourage longer and more frequent contact with villagers through activities such as village visits. Although their sales earnings vary over time, villagers are guaranteed a steady source of income.

Furthermore, OT operation has provided the community of Nacula a convenient market for marine and farm produce (Table 34). Six members of the community interviewed indicate that OT generates additional economic activities such as operation of small

canteens and individual selling of kava, cigarettes, canned tuna, phone cards, noodles, and similar items.

However a negative impact is that individual or co-operative shop operators often sell their items at prices higher than what is stipulated under the Co-operative Act[57] (Table 35). The cost of livestock has also increased because of tourism. For instance, cattle costs FJD$700-$800 and a pig can fetch a price of FJD$500 or more depending on its size. The increases in price of store items and live animals have been noted compared to the time when OT was not established[58]. Having a steady source of income at their disposal, OBL employees have given individual entrepreneurs in the village the opportunities to take financial advantage by increasing the prices of manufactured goods, fresh foods and livestock.

Overall income from tourism has given the villagers of Nacula more purchasing power. The upward spiral economic impact of tourism is associated more with indigenous tourism located in a village space where any little earning is enough to make ends meet. A woman explained that if she earned just FJD$5 it was enough to buy sugar, salt and oil for their daily consumption (pers. comm. 2008). The village has organized market vending time to improve sales for vendors serving OT. One part of the village holds sales on Tuesday and the other on Friday. This is to allow all vendors the opportunity to sell their produce and earn something from tourists.

However, one villager explained that Oarsmen tourists are mainly backpackers and as such are budget conscious. They visit many places in the Yasawas and their spending is spread out in all those areas accordingly. This is different with Blue Lagoon, where tourists come directly from overseas and can spend more in one visit in the Yasawa. For instance the previous week before the study, the community member interviewed earned FJD$60 from Blue Lagoon tourists.[59]

On the same note he acknowledged, that OT provided a market for their marine and farm produce an alternate source of income whenever they needed money. For instance, a bag of cassava can be sold for FJD$40 to OBL (see Table 33). Financial needs arise especially to cater for students' education and traditional obligations. Eight of the people interviewed sell marine and/or agriculture produces to OBL.

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[57] Village Church Minister, pers. comm. 2008
[58] Villager, pers. comm. 2008
[59] Villager, pers. comm. 2008

Table 33: Some Marine and Farm Produce Sold to OBL by Villagers, 2008

Produce	*Bag of Cassava*	*Bag of lemon*	*Fish (1 kg)*	*Octopus (Depend on size)*	*Fruits (1kg)*
Cost (F$)	FJD$30-$40	FJD$10-30	FJD$3-$4.40	Small- FJD$10-$15 Big-FJD$20-30	FJD$3 -$4.50

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

Tourism has reduced villagers' mobility out of the village as they do not have to look for work outside the village as in the past. A 66 year old man recollected that before tourism development in the village, villagers had to rely on marine resources and coconuts for cash income, which villagers' sold to markets in Viti Levu. Similarly people from the village and other islanders used to go to other parts of Fiji to work on coconut and sugar plantations to earn money for their families' needs and village projects. Now according to the old man, tourism has brought money to their door steps (pers. comm. 2008). In the same vein, Nayacakalou (1975) highlighted the new initiative of village organization as a new method adapted by some Fijian villages since independence to mobilize and use village labor in exchange of cash for the betterment of the whole village especially towards improving village infrastructure.

While it cannot be substantiated in the research whether tourism has contributed to urban –rural migration of Yasawans, it can be said that tourism in general plays a role in attracting people to the village. Six of the community members interviewed moved back to the village when they retired and have since engaged and benefitted from diverse tourism activities, such as art and craft vendors, entertainers and one as OBL's board member. Tourism therefore also contributes to the financial security of the older generation who have retired and returned to the village of Nacula and whose traditional skills are of relevance to tourism such as traditional entertainers and producers of traditional art and craft. Nine of the workers interviewed moved to the island from Viti Levu and other parts of the Yasawas when they were offered employment at OBL.

Table 34: Cost of some items in the village store

Items	Village Price FJD$	Normal Retail Price FJD$
Tin of corned beef	$4.00	$3.35
Can of tuna	$1.00	$0.75
1kg of sugar	$1.40	$0.70
1 pkt of salt	$1.20	$0.95
1 litre of kerosene	$1.75	$1.15
1 packet of noodles	$0.50	$0.30
1 bottle of salad oil	$ 3.75	$2.35
1 X $3 recharge card	$5.00	$3.00
1 packet of cigarette	$3.00	$2.35

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

Likewise, the indigenous tourism operation has diversified tourism activities and earnings for the community members compared to the arduous activities of farming and fishing. Before the establishment of Oarsmen Tourism (OT), Blue Lagoon Cruise was the main tourist supplier for the community of Nacula. In the past, villagers still had to travel off-island to work and sell produce for an income since tourism earning was insufficient and irregular.

Since the establishment of OBL, there are more tourists' sources in Nacula and as well have strengthened the earning capacity of community members and contributing to financial sustainability of villagers. Accordingly, community members routinely travel to Lautoka and other parts of Fiji to look for employment or to sell their agricultural and marine produce.[60]

Tourism has enabled a constant source of income to sustain the villagers especially to buy basic rations like sugar, salt, oil, kerosene and canned food especially during adverse weather conditions.

[60] Community member, pers. comm. 2008.

Table 35: Types of Assistance Given by the OBL to the Village of Nacula

Sector	*Types of Assistance offered by Tourism*
Education	Provides market for village's marine and farm produces to cater for educational financial needs of families. Construction of the school's flush toilets. Catering school representatives during meet in Nacula Village. Ratu Epeli has agreed to forfeit the payment for the lease's royalty for the land where the school is located for the last 5 years. Individuals or groups of tourists often send educational materials to the village's school. Village major's wage is sponsored by OBL whose duty include the school's ground and furniture maintenance.
Health	Provides fuel for transportation of health workers to visit other villages in the Nacula Tikina. Provide emergency evacuation for villagers who need urgent treatment.
Environment	OBL in conjunction with health workers at the Nacula health center sponsor prizes and organize village cleanliness competitions. Organization and hosting conservation groups who conduct environmental awareness trainings in the village. Villagers during village meetings are constantly reminded about important environmental issues such as the dangers of bush fires, the need and benefits of coral farming and reforestation. Surroundings village seas have been declared under marine protected areas for the next 10 years - an initiative by OBL.
Church	Financial contributions from tourists during church visits pay for church renovations, including construction of its wash rooms and toilets, provides fuel for maintaining the church's lawn, provide financial contribution when Nacula village hosts church functions for the whole of Yasawas

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

OT has contributed to the overall village development including proper housing, water, education, and health (Table 35). For instance OT had constructed flush toilets for the school and provided fuel for a lawn mower to maintain the school compound. It has also contributed to the construction of a village hall and the church's toilet and wash room. Additionally the school mayor's wage is paid by the OT at FJD$100 per week. Such development makes a huge positive difference in the livelihood of villagers.

Rugendyke and Connell (2009:276) comment on small-scale tourism in the Asia-Pacific region that 'exceptionally local people have exerted greater control of the industry at the price of external interventions by tourists'. At OBL tourists have contributed to building of schools and supplying of education resources, and refurbishment of the church and health centre. In those ways the intervention of tourists have sustained the livelihood of the community and in doing so, have strengthened the control of the locals over their tourism venture. The community perceives the operation positively and thus acceptance of the tourism development in their midst especially the emerging indigenous tourism operations in the Yasawa.

As well, case studies of particular countries where small-scale tourism provides an important part of tourism product have often been very positive. For example Duval (in Rugendyke and Connell 2009:44) 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 managements issues' and 'positive socio-cultural interactions between hosts and guests'

Table 36: Employee Responses on Environmental Protection Initiatives by OBL, 2008

Means of Environmental Protection	*Employees' Responses N=25*
create a no fishing go zone in some part of the seas	16
reforestation of in- land and coastal areas	14
create awareness of the important on the natural environment	12
breeding of endangered marine species such as turtle	3

Source: Fieldwork, 2008 Note: This is a multi-response question.

The question about tourism and environmental sustainability from the employees' view reflect a positive relationship between indigenous tourism and environmental protection. Twenty-two of the workers agree that indigenous tourism in Oarsmen has contributed to environmental protection (see Table 36). The majority (16) of the workers agreed that OT has contributed to the protection of the environment by creating a no-go fishing zone on part of the sea surrounding the village and the lodge for the next 10 years since 2006.

The initiative taken by the chief/director of OBL is necessary for the protection of marine resources to benefit the people of Nacula and has increased its value as a natural attraction for tourists. Yasawas is one of the most visited tourism areas in Fiji and this is further boosted by conservation activities mentioned here. Being the high chief has facilitated the implementation of the conservation activity as the chiefly title commands the respect of the people. In addition specific parts of the sea surrounding the lodge have been allocated for tourist activities to minimize coral bleaching.

Tourism has contributed to more awareness about village cleanliness and environmental protection. Twelve workers also identified tourism as a means to create more village awareness about the environment. Many workers for the first time realized the important relationship between the environment and tourism through workshops on conservation organized by OBL and conducted by environmental groups. Workers in return share this

knowledge with people in the village. One worker commented that tourists have assisted village people on the importance of coral reefs and the need to protect them.

As well tourism has enhanced proper rubbish disposal at the lodge and in the island ecosystem of Nacula. For instance, recycle items are taken to the mainland and kitchen waste is used to feed livestock like pigs and composted for the vegetable farm. At NBL most rubbish is buried.

These sentiments are supported by Mathieson and Wall (1982:96-101) who argued that dependence on tourism can be a positive force for environmental protection and enhancement by the destination tourism industry. Particularly in the case of small islands such as the Yasawas, where because of their limited size the question of sustainability becomes critical.

The director of OBL comments that Oarsmen Tourism assists in environmental conservation through tree planting, coral farming and prevention of bush fires. Before OT, villagers had used fires to clear bushes for farming especially on the hills. Now tourism is encouraging reforestation. The operation has a tree planting program where a guest pays FJD$5 to plant a tree. Five percent of the money collected from this program goes to the school, ten percent to the children's welfare and five percent to the OBL (Director, pers. comm. 2008). Village awareness about life cycle of marine life such as coral reefs is initiated by OBL to supplement the knowledge villagers have. Many villagers and workers are amazed to learn the life cycle and complex functions the coral ecosystem plays in the entire ocean biodiversity and realize the need to protect them. The traditional knowledge on marine resources is enriched by the new facts gained from tourism initiatives towards environmental conservation.

When asked if tourism contributes to the destruction of the environment, seven employees agreed, fourteen did not agree and four workers were not sure. The three most common type of environmental destruction identified by workers are disposal of sewage and untreated water into the sea from tourists' accommodation (4), destruction of coral reef and marine habitat (3) and increase of non-biodegradable products in the village surroundings (2).

It is important to note that tourism in Nacula has increased the volume and quality of goods purchase by village stores because of the income from tourism. Individuals have

high purchasing power and buy products that are packed in bottles, cans and plastic materials that are non-biodegradable. There is no proper disposal of these materials in the village except for burial which is not environment-friendly given the fragility of the island ecosystem. Even in the vicinity of the lodge bottles are sometimes broken into pieces and buried which is not safe in the long run.[61]

5.9.2 Cultural Sustainability of Indigenous Tourism

When asked whether tourism positively affects the culture of Nacula, 15 employees agreed, eight disagreed and one was not sure. The three common factors in which culture is positively affected by OT are revival of cultural entertainment activities (14), the creation of people's awareness about their culture and its significance (6) and maintaining the production of traditional arts and crafts (5). Some cultural initiatives taken by OBL and strengthened by the villagers include performing the traditional welcome ceremony and providing entertainment for tourists. These are performed two to three times a week. Performing cultural items has helped to revive traditional entertainment activities like '*meke' (traditional dance),* and singing. Tourist visits have encouraged the creation of hand-made art and crafts such as hand fans, shell necklaces and dress skirts. Many tourists prefer to buy them as souvenirs.

At the lodge, specific days are allocated for cultural night entertainment where guests and workers are asked to demonstrate aspects of their cultures. For example, workers will dress up in their traditional attire and demonstrate a yaqona ceremony. It is important to note that the director has instructed employees to wear a traditional skirt called *keke* made from *voivoi* (pandanus) leaves during cultural entertainment. This type of skirt was used by the people of Nacula only in the olden days. One of OBL cultural activities is art and craft lesson at the lodge or in the village and tourists pay to learn the tourist cultural activities and encourage more cultural interaction between tourists and the host community.

The promotion of indigenous culture as a central attraction in this study supports Butler's (1996) model of what constitutes indigenous tourism. However whether cultural attractions as part of tourists' attraction will help to sustain traditional culture in the long run remains a debated issue and it is problematic to gauge the sustainability

[61]Employee 5, pers. comm. 2008

of culture when cultural change is inevitable. In this regards, Harrison (in Briguglio et al. 1996: 82) writes the culture of a people or a community is highly flexible and few criteria exists for assessing which elements of a culture or a social structure should be sustained. Therefore assessing tourism impact on traditional culture needs detailed monitoring and analysis to avoid making generalizations.

On the other hand employees also agree that tourism negatively affects the culture of Nacula. The three most mentioned negative impacts refer to changing life styles, such as changes in dressing and eating habits (15), spending less time in the plantation and concentrating on serving tourists through employment and entertainment (7). It was also mentioned that various traditional aspects of their culture were not presented in their original form (3). One employee commented that music used for traditional *meke* no longer consists of traditional songs and chant but of modern songs and chants. Rojek and Urry (1997:10) reflect on the complex relationship between tourism, travel and cultural identity in a world increasingly featured by mobility, not only of people but also of objects and the authors personify the complex relationship that 'cultures' travel too. These sentiments have been evident in this study. Ancient cultural norms and traditional values of Nacula are being gradually changed to not only accommodate tourist experiences but to fill in the cultural unknown or forgotten – that which has not survived the passage of time for the people of Nacula.

A common sentiment voiced by the employees and villagers is that money earned from tourism has increased kava consumption in the village and people have spent less time in the plantation and fishing and inevitably are eating more manufactured food. In addition gone are the days when there was respect for the elders from amongst the youth and the middle aged in the community. Cultural change is inevitable but through tourism, culture is changing rapidly right in the village environment which is supposed to be the safest cultural haven, safeguarding the Fijian culture. This observation can challenge Ward's (1994:134) argument that the strength of Fijian society in retaining much of its coherence in the face of almost 200 years of contact with the outside world is often said to stem from the maintenance of the village economy, social organization and lifestyle. In Nacula increasing contact with tourists has largely changed the village economy and lifestyle. Tourism has generally contributed to the rapidly changing culture of the people from day to day things such as dressing and eating habits to other more complex issues such as questioning chiefly authority, loss of respect accorded to the chief and village elders amongst others. The

changes are not only confined to young people but are also evident amongst the middle aged population of the village. One irony is that while tourists dress up in *sulu* in the village, villagers wear long pants, three quarters pants and hats (pers. observation, 2008). Many OBL employees have become role model to follow with new ways of dressing, hair style and body make up.

5.9.3 Community Views on Cultural Sustainability of Indigenous Tourism

The majority of the community members interviewed regard OT as having a positive impact on culture. The two common positive impacts are the revival of art and craft (10) and revival of traditional dances (9). Nine of the respondents also said that Oarsmen tourists have no negative impacts at all on the culture as they are very respectful (since they are briefed by tour guides at OBL about village protocol before visiting the village). One villager sums it up between the attitude of tourists from the OBL and Blue Lagoon cruises this way. '*Tourists from OBL are respectful when they come to the village they wear proper clothing. Unlike some BL tourists they wear clothes that do not [bolster] the village dress conduct'.* It shows that tourist conduct in the village will depend on the instruction given to them by local tour guides. Tourists will follow village protocol if they are briefed on the expected code of dressing and conduct while in the village, a sentiment voiced by OBL's tourists who are most happy to wear proper Fijian attire especially the *sulu* when visiting the village.

The most common negative impact of tourism is the erosion of traditional values (4). The same four respondents believe that more community awareness and providing tourist with a code of conduct will help to minimize negative impacts of tourism on the culture of the host community. The majority of the respondents have identified changes in dressing, hair style and loss of respect as some major cultural changes in the village. Tourists are also partly blamed for the increase of marijuana use in the islands.[62] Villagers may be tempted to sell marijuana to prospective customers/tourists at OBL especially to the young tourists who are adventurous and active.

5.9.4 Environmental sustainability

All 13 community respondents agree that OT has contributed to the protection of the natural environment in Nacula. The two most common ways are that OT creates more village

[62] OBL Director, pers. comm. 2008

awareness about the need to protect the environment (11) and that OT has set aside a reserve area for conservation (10). This reserve area is referred to as the no – go fishing zone and was initiated by the high chief and director of the indigenous operation. OT tourists have especially contributed to the village clean up and proper disposal of non-biodegradable rubbish. One respondent commented that 'OT actually contributed to the beautification of the place.'

On the question whether Oarsmen Tourism contributes to environmental degradation four respondents agreed, five respondents said that tourism contributes to the alteration of landscape, while two individuals mentioned sea pollution from oil spills, waste disposal and the destruction of marine breeding grounds.

5.10 Social Benefits of Indigenous Tourism

All 13 respondents have benefited from OT in various ways (Table 37). Six of the respondents have one member of the family employed at OBL, another five were former employees of OBL.

Table 37: Socio-Economic Benefits of OT towards the Livelihood of Villagers

Benefits	Built houses	Bought boats	Bought furniture	Meeting daily basic needs	Bought electrical appliances	Payed educational needs	Generate own business
Respondents (N=13)	2	1	2	13	6	6	3

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

Oarsmen Tourism has enabled all 13 community members to meet their daily needs and other expenses. About six of the respondents are able to meet educational needs of the family and another six have identified that OT has improved their standard of living by buying electrical appliances such as DVD, stereo, generator, TV, kitchen appliances such as gas stoves, etc. Many have access to mobile phones and this has improved communication to relatives abroad and on the mainland. Three villagers are now able to generate their own business through tourism; one has been able to sell processed foods such as cans of tuna, packets of noodles, packets of biscuits and others. Two respondents have been able to buy livestock such as cattle and pigs and raise them for commercial purposes.

Socially, OBL has assisted the community tremendously in areas of payment of education, meeting traditional obligations, and facilitating health and community development.

All the villagers interviewed are able to meet the traditional obligations because of money specifically earned from OBL (Table 38). Accordingly, the village of Nacula has been able to adequately meet and finance its cultural obligations within the village and cater for those of other villages to which it has traditional ties. By fulfilling the financial traditional obligation towards weddings, funerals and fund-raising activities, the village is able to sustain itself and for a change, it has not relied on relatives residing in urban areas. Ward (1994:134) described Fijian village as despite the changes being witnessed in villages, the village is still commonly seen as a place of tradition, where traditional values are upheld, and economic existence for those who cannot find it in the formal sectors of the towns, commercial life and public service. However as mentioned earlier, in Nacula tourism has brought rapid changes to the village something that Ward failed to take into account.

Table 38: Responses to whether tourism has enabled to meet traditional obligation of villagers financially

Has tourism enabled you to meet financial traditional obligation of villagers?	Sex		Total
	Male	Female	
Yes	7	6	13
No	0	0	0
Total	7	6	13

Source: Fieldwork, 2008

The village school also benefitted from tourism. Tourists are attracted by the respect shown to them by students when they visit the village school, and in return tourists are motivated to donate financially or in kind to the school. Some tourists have sent items back to the school or to individual families whom they met while being a guest at OBL. This is an added advantage of the indigenous tourism - it brings the host community and tourist closer together and long term friendships are bonded and the host community has benefitted tremendously. Therefore the social exchange theory (1975) applies to the tourists and host community's interaction in general. While the socio-economic benefits derived by the host community is significant, tourists may regard their kind gesture as genuine contribution towards the well-being of the people of Nacula whose economic status are far lower than the tourists. The good gesture by tourists can be assumed as the sign of satisfaction towards the tourists' services provided by the indigenous operation and the host community. Secondly, it exposes the core-periphery development differences and the tourists' view on the need to assist in improving the livelihoods of the community in the periphery such as Nacula village.

The social exchange theory explains the benefits the indigenous community derives from interacting amongst themselves as a community, with the employees, and between the community and tourists in the village space where any cultural and natural experiences are shared. Many respondents (community members) have identified the village to be a better place to reside because people live within their communities in which important resources such as land is owned collectively and to reciprocate is part of the culture. In addition life is cheaper compared to living in urban areas. Tourism in general has helped the respondents at the individual, family and village level. A community member spells out that 'without tourism things will not be as good as it today'. Another advantage of living in the village of Nacula is that they all have access to basic government service like the police post, health centre and own primary school. The other bonus is that OT also considers giving employment to people who need it to support children attending school.

5.11 Theoretical Stance

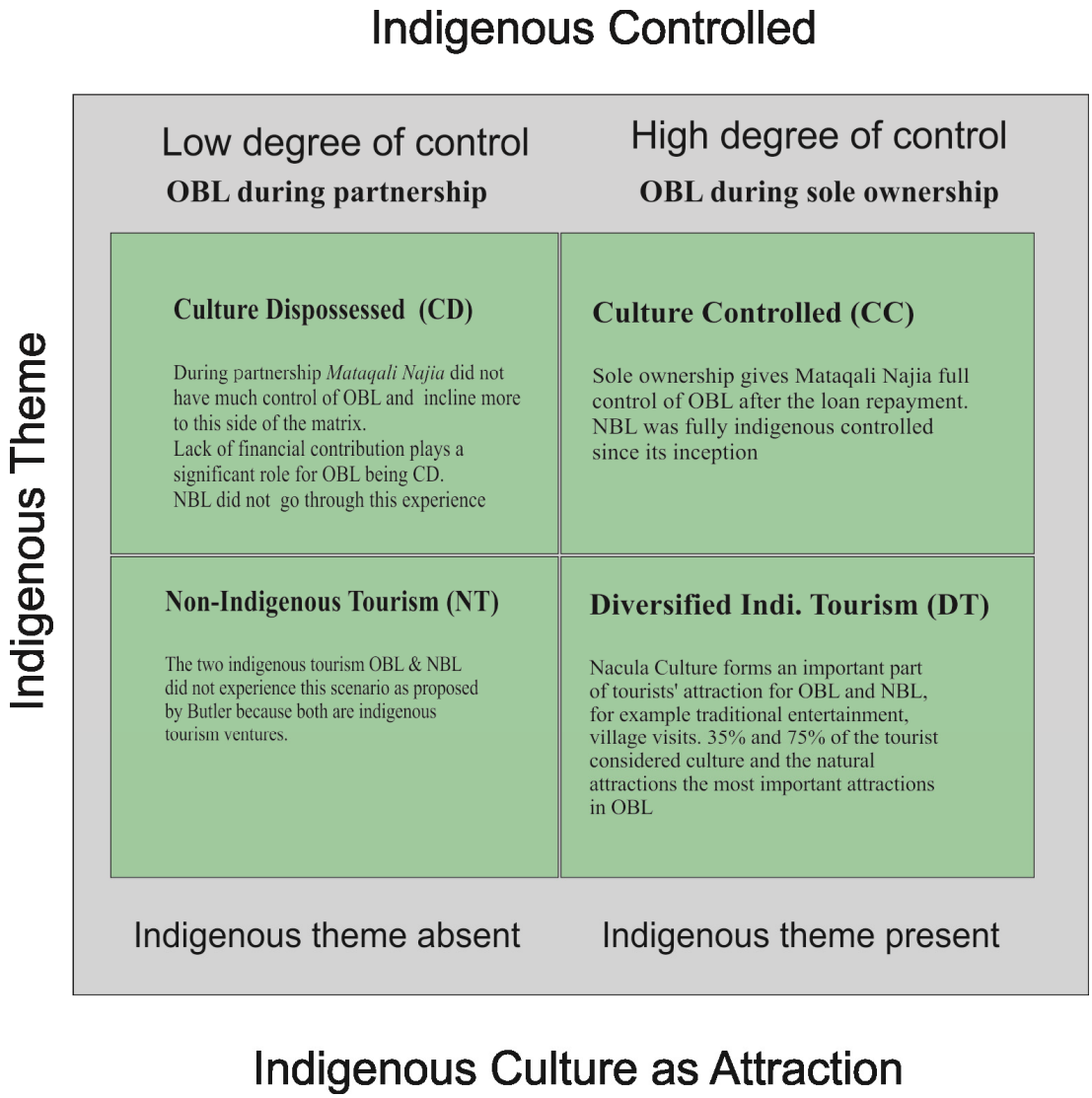
Butler and Hinch's 1996 model was considered for this study, it focuses on indigenous control and attraction as the main criteria that constitute an indigenous tourism venture. During the partnership management the *mataqali Najia* had limited control on the operation of OBL and the level of indigenous participation was confined largely to people being employees (Figure 2) therefore OBL's position was in the middle along the horizontal axis.

Although the *mataqali* Najia was represented at the management level, Evanson held total financial control of the operation. Butler and Hinch's 1996 model fails to emphasize the importance of financial contribution in determining indigenous control over a tourism venture, especially those managed by a partnership arrangement as in the case of OBL, i.e. where outside capital / control is an important feature. In this instance, the indigenous partner had little control since Evanson provided all the finance for its establishment and the *mataqali* contributed virtually nothing financially. Although the land belongs to the *mataqali*, without financial capital it could not have been developed for tourism.

On the other hand, OBL operation agrees with Butler and Hinch's (1996) model in terms of attractions. Indigenous culture is an important part of tourists' attraction of OBL both during the partnership and later when the indigenous owners took over. This has indeed made the operation an indigenous one. OBL became a fully indigenous tourism enterprise (i.e. Culture Control) in character (according to Butler's model) when the ownership of the operation was transferred to the *mataqali* Najia after the loan repayment. During the

partnership arrangement, OBL status as indigenous tourism weighed more towards the left of the continuum of the model where indigenous attraction was an important tourists' feature, but the indigenous people had little control of the tourism venture.

Figure 2: Adaptation of Butler and Hinch's 1996 model to OBL and NBL - 2008



Source: adapted from Butler and Hinch, 1996

Both OBL & NBL have indigenous culture as one of the main tourism attractions. They include village visit, participating in traditional entertainments and ceremonies and socializing with villagers.

The operation of NBL as an indigenous tourism confirms with Butler and Hinch (1996) model in the sense that it is control by indigenous people. Although cultural

attractions are part of the tourist's attraction, it is not the central attraction and therefore cultural attraction is more diversified.

Social exchange theory reaffirmed previous research findings on the expectation of different stakeholders in a tourism venture especially in the context of traditional social setting. While the economic expectations of the host community remain the priority for operating the venture, social and environmental goods have also impacted on decision-making whether to continue support tourism.

As for the social exchange theory, NBL indigenous operators decide to invest in the venture after the 'cost- benefit' analysis of the indigenous operation that the venture will benefit the family economically. However due to unforeseen circumstances prior to the research, the research outcomes cannot verify the theory as far as the expectation of tourist-community, tourist-tourist and community-community level are concern. It can be concluded however that the indigenous family has incurred a financial loss from participating in the tourism venture.

5.12 Conclusion

The chapter has provided a detailed discussion of the results outcomes on the socio-economic, cultural and environmental sustainability of indigenous tourism in the case study areas. The results reflect views of community members, employees and board members on the sustainability of indigenous tourism. On the roles of the two types of management it can be fairly justified that partnership management has given more sustainability to the operation of indigenous tourism. On the other hand indigenous sole ownership has exposed some management constraints that arise from business's vision that are culturally oriented and can compromise the sustainability of indigenous tourism. Overall according to the different section of respondents in the research Oarsmen Tourism has contributed positively towards the socio-economic, cultural and environmental sustainability of the people of Nacula and the operation as a whole. Conversely, the experiences with NBL have highlighted some major problems that affect indigenous family owned tourism especially on marketing and operational incapacity to meet tourism needs.

Chapter Six – Conclusion

Communalism – a critical element of indigenous communities – dictates the Success or Failure of Indigenous Tourism Ventures.

6.1 Introduction

The concluding chapter revisits and answers the important objectives of the thesis and provides recommendations to problems that are identified in the fieldwork.

From the outset one must note that the research problem did not consider the social element of communalism within its research boundaries. However the research itself and its findings have raised awareness that communalism is a critical element for consideration in any indigenous commercial venture including indigenous tourism.

Communalism is one of the main foundations of indigenous culture and it can dictate the survival or downfall of a community. This research has considered the nature of communalism with regards to indigenous individual participation, general resource allocation, decision-making, and distribution of benefits or wealth gained from development of resources for tourism. It has been evident in this study that there are various natures of and approaches to communalism by the indigenous people themselves; and these have seeped into their tourism ventures and influencing the operation's failures and successes.

Essipit - The communal benefits are paramount with the recognition that when the community benefits, the individual does too. Therein, individual benefits become secondary and are subsumed beneath that of the whole community. Therefore, development at that level seems more inclusive.

Fiji – while communal benefits are evident, this is achieved at the expense of the tourism venture. The economic and socio-cultural benefits gained from the venture are not reciprocated – either in equal value or kind – to the detriment of the sustainability of the venture. It may be deduced in retrospect that while the Fijians are aware that their demands on the venture has been met (benefits), the idea of sustainability has not been considered or may be well understood.

As discussed in Chapter Four the sustainability of indigenous tourism initiatives of the Innu Nation in Essipit is perceived as sustainable because of the communal

development model pursued by the Innu Nation despite the promotion of privatization by governments, private institutions, and international organizations. As long as the welfare of the community is measured from within the community themselves and they remain the focal point of tourism development the sustainability of indigenous tourism initiatives are guaranteed stability. On the other hand Chapter Five has extensively discussed and has shown the two sides of the coin of indigenous tourism – one which can be sustainable and the other which is un-sustainable and leads to its ultimate failure. Chapter Six concludes this research by re-examining and summarizing the initial questions of this research including the problem statement, the objectives and as well as the relevancy of the theories and model used in this research. The chapter also contains a list of policy implications and recommendations arising out of this research and closes with a few suggestions on other areas that need to be considered for further research.

6.1.1 Re-visiting the Objectives of Research

There were five objectives for the research (Chapter One) each of which is revisited here. The explanations for whether each of those objectives was fully achieved are also given below. To avoid repetition and replication of work, indications are provided for the location of the same work within this chapter.

The **first objective** was to identify the indigenous tourism initiatives in Essipit, Canada and how these initiatives may help improve tourism initiatives in Fiji. This study has established that there are six indigenous tourism initiatives implemented by the Innu Band Council for Essipit Tourism (Chapter Four).

Those initiatives include communal ownership of tourism, communal acquisition of land, incorporating traditional hunting and fishing grounds as tourism attraction, diversifying tourism activities with non- tourism activities, humane approach to organizational and leadership structure and lastly to provide a decent employment benefits for employees.

The initiatives are sustainable because they evolve around communal ownership of the indigenous venture through which every stage of the indigenous tourism development echoes the whole community's views, aspirations and expectations from tourism. The very nature of communal ownership and development together with stringent business ethics has ensured the sustainability of these initiatives. Overwhelmingly, the majority

of the stakeholders have supported the communal development model and the initiatives taken to improve the socio-economic, cultural and environmental well-being of the people which many view as sustainable.

The initiatives adopted by the Innu had multiple positive impacts that saw the community benefitting directly or indirectly many times over. For instance, initiatives such as the communal acquisition of land employed by the Innu Nation looked at realizing the long term aspiration of the First Nation (as indigenous people of Canada) to re-gain long lost traditional lands and re-establish self autonomy. Thus, in the process of establishing the indigenous tourism venture, the Innu community was also able to fulfill those other aspirations.

From the study, there are three specific ways that the indigenous tourism initiatives in Essipit can assist in the sustainability of resource-owner tourism in Fiji through; i) the total contribution of the whole community; ii) indigenous tourism in Fiji should diversify its tourism activities with non- tourism activities; iii) provision of decent employment benefits packages for the employees.

Firstly, as seen from the study of the Innu community, the communal development model or ownership of indigenous tourism can only be sustainable if the venture operates with the total contribution of the whole community from the initial planning stages to the final evaluation process. This active participation immensely contributed to the members taking full ownership of the activity and therein the motivation to make the venture a profitable and sustainable one.

The communal land tenure system differs (see Chapter Three) between the two countries. In Essipit reserve land belongs to the whole community and cannot be leased or sold; in Fiji each *mataqali* is entitled to a share of land that constitutes the whole village and it is the prerogative of the *mataqali* and not the whole village, to lease its share of the land for any development such as tourism development. Generally in Fiji, communal development - via indigenous tourism and whether by the whole village or *mataqali* – will still be achieved with differing rates of success. Yet, the sustainability and profitability of the indigenous venture will only be realized if there is a clear business plan and goal, if there is active community participation and where there has been a careful analysis of the community projects undertaken for the well being of the community. These have been clearly shown to work in the Essipit

tourism venture. For instance, the successful accomplishment of the first project in 1982 by the Essipit Enterprise (opening of the Innu community hall), illustrated the transparent processes and focused commitment and management of the council towards the project and this served as impetus for continued support of the community towards the progressive projects of the community. The indigenous tourism ventures in Fiji could adopt these strategies for their success.

The second lesson learnt from the Essipit Enterprise is that indigenous tourism in Fiji should diversify its tourism activities with non-tourism activities especially with the abundant cultural and natural resources available in a given area. For example, indigenous tourism in the Yasawas can tap on commercial copra, seaweed farming and fishing to operate concurrently with tourism operation. Through diversification the fragility of tourism earning is cushioned by other commercial activities of the tourism operation. However, these other commercial activities must be integrated under one business plan so the performance of each operation is closely monitored and they complement each other given the seasonality of tourism, Fiji's cyclone-prone geo-proximity, as well as the prevailing uncertain political and economic climate of Fiji as a whole. Diversification is preferable to having one commercial activity upon which the sustainability of the whole business operation will depends. Further to diversification, the venture should invest in other business sectors such as housing and construction, trade in shares and others depending on the magnitude of the indigenous tourism operation (in terms of size and earning) and the viability of the business in the long term.

Thirdly, indigenous tourism in Fiji should provide decent employment benefits package for the employees to ensure positive and sustained contribution from the workers. Basic employment benefits such as overtime pay, social security (Fiji National Provident Fund deductions), and provision of decent meals or meal allowances, annual leave, tips and bonus pay should be awarded to deserving employees. Such benefits will promote good work ethics and ensure the sustainability of the operation as was evident in the Essipit Enterprise.

The **second objective** was to evaluate the economic, social-cultural and environmental sustainability of indigenous tourism in Fiji. The study has scrutinized the sustainability of Fiji's indigenous tourism under two different forms of management - partnership and sole ownership. The study showed that management which operated as a

partnership between indigenous tourist ventures and non-indigenous ones proved a success for both partners from the socio-cultural, economic and environmental perspective (see Chapter Five). Economically, the OBL venture was able to repay its loan to TIR to gain full control of the tourism operation. The general opposition expressed to partnership in this study arose mainly from those segments of the indigenous society who thought TIR was not sensitive to their cultural obligations.

There is skepticism about the economic sustainability of the OBL which is now operating under sole ownership management. The management has acknowledged the need to have technically qualified people to run the operation to ensure its sustainability. It also admits the need to control contribution towards traditional obligations. However, at the time of this research, no concrete measures have been taken to address this issue. There is also silent opposition from some members of the *mataqali* and some employees on how the operation is singularly handled by one individual and that business ethics are not adhered to. Additionally, there is mixed response on the question regarding the operation's commitment to traditional obligations which some employees view as good while others have indicated that having more resources directed to traditional obligations compromises the sustainability of the OBL. There is a need to balance attaining the vision of the lodge and the economic viability of the lodge.

From the employees' perspective, OBL has improved their standard of living in the village, provide them a stable source of income and enabled them to meet traditional obligations. The same sentiments are given by community members and significantly, OBL's contribution to generate economic activities in the village. There is a positive outlook regarding the environmental sustainability of OBL from all the stakeholders especially the general awareness about environmental conservation such as reforestation, coral farming, marine protected areas, waste recycle and village cleanliness.

NBL, the family owned indigenous operation has failed because of managerial differences about the operation, lack of capital and marketing and poorly developed tourism infrastructure. Failing economically, the indigenous operation was not able to keep track of their loan repayment which ultimately led to its closure. On August 1st 2009, the property was advertised in the Fiji Times for sale with Fiji Development

Bank as Mortgagee. A significant difference may occur if there is partnership between NBL and TIR as experienced by OBL.

The **third objective** was to identify the major challenges facing indigenous tourism in the two countries. This objective is very important for the research as it is directly related to the problem question of the thesis. This objective has been adequately answered in detail in *Chapters Four* and *Five* of this work. The study has established that the main challenges facing indigenous tourism in Essipit is the short period of high season consisting of four months. The period is too short for Essipit which affects the tourists' arrival and the diversification to other non-tourism activities have addressed this negative impact. In OBL and NBL, lack of management skill and knowledge of tourism behaviors, internal family differences, shortage of capital, insufficient publicity and traditional commitments constitute the major challenges facing indigenous tourism operators in the Yasawas. The challenges are hurdles whose impacts can close down the ventures. Short and long-term solutions need to be designed to effectively address the challenges for the sustainability of the two tourist ventures in this study.

The **fourth objective** was to identify the kinds of assistance provided by government towards indigenous tourism in the two countries, the study has established that as for Essipit and OBL there were no government contribution towards indigenous operators. As for NBL the government through the ministry of tourism offered grant of $25, 000 as part of its promotional program for indigenous people to participate in tourism venture. There is a need for specific training specifically designed for indigenous operators in tourism venture. Proper management and staff training are important to sustain the quality service deliver to tourists as it will keep the indigenous venture competitive.

The **final objective** was to recommend policy measures that are based on the findings from the research. This has also been fulfilled. The policy measures have arisen out of the field work and literature findings; therefore the recommendations suggested herein are designed to foster supportive economic, cultural, social and environmental avenues that would enhance the sustainability of indigenous tourism.

6.2 Recommendations:

6.2.1Communal Lands

One particular recommendation is related specifically to the need to amend the Land Act in both countries to facilitate both individual and communal-owned tourism. For example in Fiji, the Native Lands Trust Board, the Native Lands Commission together with the Ministry of Lands, Provincial Offices, the Department of Town and Country Planning and other relevant stakeholders need to reevaluate *mataqali* ownership of land and development plans concerning those lands in villages since development of communal land has resulted in socio-economic inequalities and conflicts amongst villagers within the village boundaries.

6.3 Re- visiting the Research Problem

After discussing the outcomes for the objectives raised in this study, the explanation to the main problem question- the basis of this research - is discussed below

Research Problem

Are there certain pre-requisites towards the sustainability of indigenous tourism ventures?

Why should indigenous tourism's initiatives and its socio-economic, cultural and environmental sustainability be agents of its success?

Indigenous tourism ventures have been held to be an important answer to the development problem of indigenous communities seeking to stay connected with their lands and culture at the same experiencing a decent standard of living. But while there is increasing demand for such indigenous ventures from tourists the problem has been in providing a sustainable industry. The explanation has been unclear but such explanations usually depend on some cultural factors- a fundamental tension between indigenous culture and sustainable indigenous ventures in tourism.

The particular case for Fiji seems to bear out the observation of the difficulty of achieving sustainable indigenous tourist ventures. In a country where tourism is the number one industry and where most Fijians still live on communal land the importance of achieving such sustainability is paramount.

Understandings of this Fijian case have thus far been rather limited. It is the starting point for this thesis that an explanation of the prerequisites for Fijian indigenous ventures may have something to learn from the explanations of successful cases of indigenous tourism in Canada.

Thus the key research problem considered by this thesis is 'what are the pre requisites for sustainable indigenous tourism in terms of its socio-economic, cultural and environmental impacts in Fiji and how might we learn from the Canadian case?

The thesis also considers a related follow-on question which is whether successful indigenous tourism venture could be an agent of success.

As discussed earlier, the socio-economic, cultural and environmental sustainability of indigenous tourism in the Yasawa and indigenous tourism initiatives in Essipit are essential to the sustainability of indigenous tourism in the two countries. As for Essipit the six initiatives adopted by Essipit Tourism are mostly shaped by the communal nature of reserve land in Canada and the cultural aspect of the Innu Nation. The various initiatives have evolved around communal decision, participation, and acquisition of tourism properties for the benefit of the whole community rather than individual. The development goal is centered on community well-being and therefore the indigenous tourism venture has the support of the whole of the community and provides little room for internal dispute. Part of the success of indigenous tourism in Essipit is its engagement to other non-tourism economic activities this has enabled to sustain the livelihood of the Innu community during the low season.

The study in the Yasawas has established that the socio-economic, cultural and environmental sustainability of indigenous tourism can be assured through partnerships with experienced non-indigenous partners operating tourism ventures in the same locality such as the Yasawas. Sole ownership of tourist ventures is sustainable as long as there are clear guidelines to the management of the venture. This can be applied specifically to the case of OBL in which the cultural goal of the indigenous operation can be barrier to its sustainability.

In strict economic term, the demand from cultural obligations as in OBL is a constraint to the sustainability of the venture as resources are diverted to cultural uses which are not productive to the growth of the operation. On the other, the cultural entertainment,

traditional life styles and arts and crafts are part of the main cultural attractions that draw tourists to OBL. The demand to fulfill traditional obligations is greater in an island setting because the indigenous venture is located within the communal land where every member of the *mataqali* has a sense of ownership to the land and therefore traditional commitment to the *vanua*. As such indigenous tourism ventures have to face this challenge of communal ownership with different expectation from indigenous members, while trying to compete with other tourism ventures as in the case of OBL and NBL.

Community participation in decision making and the daily running of the venture is crucial for the socio-economic, cultural, and environmental sustainability of the indigenous venture in Fiji. When the community experiences the improvement of their livelihoods by indigenous tourism people will give their support on any environmental and cultural programs initiated by the venture.

The experiences both in Essipit and OBL have shown that successful indigenous tourism can be the agent of success to the community especially in improving their standards of living. In Essipit the acquisition of the Innus six hunting grounds was possible with the success of the tourism venture.

The study has also established the failure of family-owned indigenous tourism mainly due to lack of capital, poor tourism infrastructure and management deficiencies. One significant difference between OBL and NBL is that the former has free interest loan compared to the latter. The *Moceyawa* family lacked ready funding to establish its own tourism venture and therefore had to secure loan from financial institutions to start the tourism business. Accordingly, repayment of loan was almost impossible due to poor tourism turnover due to factors already stated above.

6.4 Theorizing the Sustainability of Indigenous Tourism in Yasawa, Fiji and Initiatives in Essipit, Canada – an evaluation.

The theory and model selected from *Chapter Two* for consideration in this study were ones that discussed the expectation of community members, employees, tourism operators and tourists in a given socio-economic, cultural and environmental experience exchange and finally the criterion that make up an indigenous tourism operation. The theory and model are namely the social exchange theory and Butler's indigenous-controlled and indigenous attractions-controlled model. An evaluation of

the theory against the results produced from this study shows that the social exchange theory and indigenous controlled and indigenous attractions controlled model provide the closest description to what was on the ground in this fieldwork. These are discussed briefly below.

6.4.1 Social Exchange Theory

Social exchange theory expresses that human interaction is dictated by careful cost-benefit analyses from such interactions. In the case of the Innu in Essipit the community after careful deliberation of the costs and benefits derived from tourism chose to follow the communal development model (CDM) and to manage the indigenous tourism venture because the benefits derive from it are shared by the whole community. CDM is similar to their cultural belief system of gift giving and care for others.

Social exchange theory establishes how significant communalism is to the Innu, it dictates the expectations of the Innu Nations towards developing the indigenous tourism. Communal Development brings more community participation and interaction amongst themselves and with the tourists as well. Indirectly, tourism has ignited the need to revive communalism especially in the developed nations where individualism is favored. In Essipit, indigenous tourism may not be as successful as it is without communalism as shown by the failure of other indigenous tourism in other reserves of the First Nations.

The research also established that the expectation and acceptance of tourism by the community members, employees, and the management increased as the indigenous tourism brings development to the community as discussed in *Chapter 5* and facilitated by the CDM. The positive perception of the Innu in Essipit towards tourism reaffirms previous research findings on resident perceptions towards tourism development. For the Innu the perceived benefits from tourism outweigh the costs hence the support rendered to indigenous tourism. For instance, the acquisition of *pouvourie* through indigenous tourism has more cultural significant than it is economical. The aspiration of self-determination and land acquisition are fulfilled through indigenous tourism something which may prove difficult to accomplish by other form of tourism.

At the individual level, social exchange theory has offered explanation for the support towards indigenous by employees and members of the community through the benefits gained from indigenous tourism, for instance, gaining the required time of employment of 26 weeks to qualify for the unemployment benefits. Additionally, income from

indigenous tourism has enabled people in the reserve to build their own homes within the reserve.

As for the tourists, their satisfaction and the increased interest shown for the need to provide a unique less-disturbed environmental attractions such as game hunting and fishing and whale watching substantiate the validity of the theory in this research. The decision to visit Essipit tourism was made after weighing the cost such as long distance that consumes time and money. As for the community the cost includes environmental pollution and overcrowding especially during the high season, however these problems are short term and strategies are being implemented to address them such as decentralizing the accommodation sites to isolated areas within and outside the reserve.

While the level of interaction cannot be observed during the research between tourists and the community members due to the low season, the various tourist attractions such as hunting and fishing, cultural shopping centre and the community's positive perception towards tourists despite being outnumbered by tourists during high season indicate acceptance and interaction between tourists and community members. The socio-economic, cultural, and environmental sustainability of the initiatives taken have given more benefits to the Innu Nation than the cost incurred.

As for the OBL, social exchange theory applies to the careful cost-benefit analysis undertaken by tourists and host community. Firstly, The *mataqali* Najia chose to venture into tourism after a careful cost-benefit analysis of tourism on whether it will fulfil the vision of the lodge (see *Chapter Five)*. Secondly, the community members and employees have accepted tourism because the socio-economic benefits derived from it also outweighed the costs.

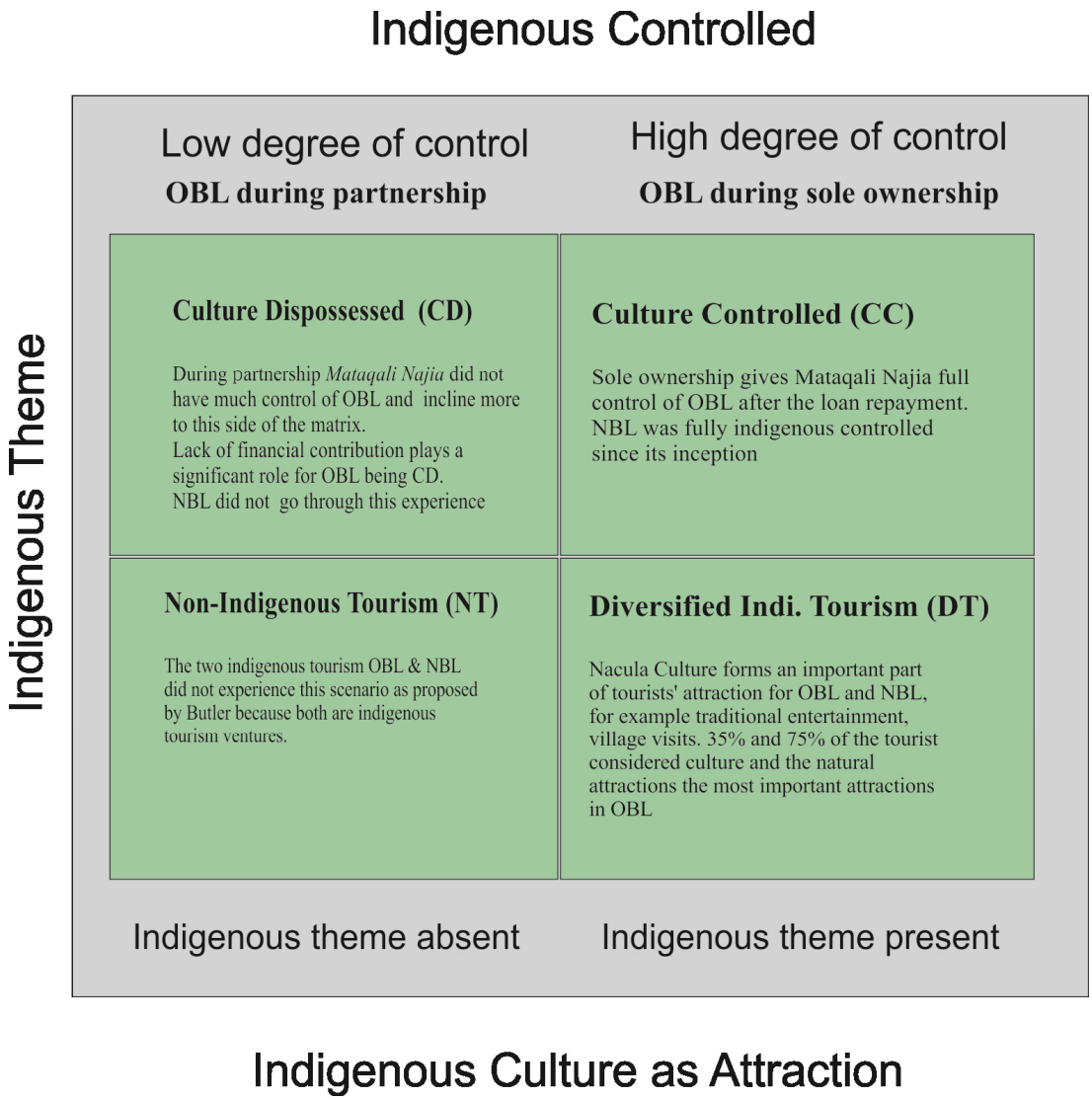
Apart from making thorough cost-benefit analysis of their trip prior to departure, tourists' understanding of the culture and standard of living of the host community are some of the unintended experiences tourists have during their stay at OBL . It is only when tourists arrived at the destination and interact with local community that they fully grasp the socio-economic status of the host community and react by gift giving and promises of futue collaboration. As well, the host community only realised the environmental benefits of tourism (conservation measures and village cleanliness) during the venture's operation as it was not part of the cost-benefit analyses prior to the establishment of the lodge.

6.4.2 Indigenous-Controlled and Cultural-Controlled Model

Butler and Hinch 1996 model used a matrix format to show two key aspects of ownership – control and indigenous attractions – and to discuss the characteristics of indigenous tourism. For Butler, if indigenous people have control they can determine such critical factors as the scale, speed and nature of development in tourism. Similarly, as long as indigenous culture is a central attraction, the tourism venture identifies as indigenous tourism. The model provides solid explanations to the two areas of studies in Canada and Fiji as a genuine indigenous tourism operation.

While research has established the importance of indigenous control-ownership and indigenous culture as indicators of indigenous tourism, these two criteria do not gurantee the sustainability of the indigenous operation. The case of Essipit tourism has demonstrated that collective, and not individual control leads to the sustainablility of the various tourism initiatives undertaken. The indigenous culture becomes an important attraction in the later part of the operation qualifying it to be an indigenous tourist venture. However other attractions are equally important in strengthening the marketability of the operation. The theory qualifies for the study of indigenous tourism in Essipit.

Figure 3: Adaptation of Butler and Hinch 1996 model to OBL and NBL – 2008



Source: adapted from Butler and Hinch, 1996

Accordingly, Butler and Hinch (1996) model places OBL more towards the left of the continum during partnership because they have less control of the indigenous operation although the *mataqali* Najia own the tourism venture (see *Figure 3 above)*. OBL becomes a fully indigenous tourism when it moves to the upper right hand corner of the vertical axis in which they take full control of the ownership of the tourism venture and the indigenous culture remains an important attraction.

Even though Butler has identified the level of indigenous control over a tourism venture, he did not take into account a factor such as finanacial contribution that may

determine the level of control of indigenous people over a tourism venture as in the case of OBL. In PICs, many potential indigenous tourist operators have little capital to start off a tourism venture and resort to foreign partnership to address that need and in the process they have less control of the tourism venture. A good example is that of OBL, where the indigenous partner had less control since Richard Evanson provided the total finance for its establishment.

With regards to cultural attraction, OBL uses traditional entertainment, traditional activities and village visits as part of the main attractions therefore identifying OBL in what Butler termed as being 'cultural dispossessed', meaning an indigenous tourism venture with little indigenous control but having indigenous cultural attractions as the main attraction. OBL fulfilled Butler's criteria of indigenous tourism when the *Mataqali* succeeded the ownership and control of the tourism venture. However Butler failed to consider some ways in which indigenous culture and control can determine the success and failure of indigenous tourism. For instance, NBL fully satisfies Butler's model of an indigenous-owned venture which uses indigenous cultural attractions. The venture failed as an indigenous tourism venture (see Chapter Five*)* and the circumstances around its failure may provide some explanations to the issue raised above.

The lack of management skills and internal differences amongst the indigenous family and between the *mataqali* for instance had posed the main threat to the sustainability of indigenous tourism as in the case of NBL. Also the reluctance of the indigenous operator to form partnership with Richard Evanson when given the opportunity could have a positive impact on NBL as in the case of OBL.

As for NBL, the two theoretical frameworks of the research could not be substantiated because; firstly, there was no tourist in NBL interviewed because the only family lodging at the tourism venture left before the researcher could interview them. Secondly, due to a death in the village, it was impossible to interview community members from Naisisili where the five workers in NBL are from. As a result, certain aspects of the theories such as interaction and expectation of tourists and community members as part of the social exchange theory cannot be tested. However it can be concluded that NBL has fulfilled the two criteria (indigenous controlled and prevalent indigenous cultural attraction) characterizing indigenous tourism as put forward by Butler and Hinch (1996).

For the purpose of clarity, the application of the theory and model in Essipit indigenous tourism had already been discussed concurrently with the discussion of the results in Chapter Four. There are some important points worth mentioning here. Firstly, the sociological theory has given insight to the aspirations and expectations of the Innu Nation. Firstly, the need to undertake communal ownership as one of the main initiatives of managing the indigenous tourism in the reserve and ensure its sustainability. Secondly, the theory has explained that the benefits derived from the interaction and indigenous tourism is not only economical but also encompasses the cultural, environmental and political aspirations of the Innu Nation (although each of these might have been unconsciously achieved). Relevant examples of the theory in this study are evident in: a) the community decision that indigenous tourism would be communally owned; b) the communal acquisition of land outside the reserve for tourists' activities: c) the aspiration towards self autonomy of the Innu Nation; and d), the tourists' desire to experience natural attractions provided by Innu Tourism. The expectations of the tourists and Innu community towards tourism and the desired effort channeled towards fulfilling these expectations have sustained the indigenous tourism venture in Essipit despite the short duration of the peak season.

6.5 Research Implications and Recommendations

6.5.1 General

The research has revealed some of the strengths and weaknesses of indigenous tourism in both countries. The most important issues of indigenous tourism venture are the sustainability of the operation and the benefits it generates to the local community. The following recommendations therefore suggest new approaches to the participation of indigenous people in tourism, the ownership and management tourism venture, safe guarding the environment and cultural resources of the local people and distribution of wealth amongst indigenous people from any tourism development. The policy recommendations will be most useful to government ministries and departments, NGOs, Indigenous People Association, NLTB, prospect indigenous tourism operators, researchers, academia and other stakeholders who take interests in the participation of indigenous people in tourism.

6.5.2 Communal Ownership of Tourism

The Essipit experience implies that the various initiatives taken by the Innu Nation can sustain the indigenous operation with active participation of the community throughout the development and progress of the venture. The most central aspect of the indigenous tourism venture is the well-being of the people.

As well the communal ownership of tourism venture by the *mataqali* in the Fiji context shows the important roles that indigenous tourism plays in socio-economic, cultural and the protection of the environment of the indigenous people in a specific geographic location. While native land in Fiji is owned by individual *mataqali* that comprise a village, for the First Nation the reserve or village land is owned by the whole community and administered by the Band Council. The differences in the land owning system therefore can determine the sustainability of the indigenous tourism. The communal ownership has proved the sustainability of indigenous tourism in Essipit and the Indian Land Act, see *Chapter Three*, plays a major role in the decision by the Innu to follow the communal model. On the contrary in Fiji, for any development like tourism development on native land, the Native Land Act in Fiji allows the lease of native land to: a) the *mataqali*; b) any member/family of the *mataqali* who wants set up tourism venture on their own land; c) member/family from the same village; d) any local and any overseas investors who is interested in the establishing business on native lands. The venture can be solely owned by the *mataqali* or non-*mataqali* members or owned jointly by the *mataqali* and non-*mataqali* members including foreign investors. The problem with the land owning system in Fiji is that a *mataqali* which engages in any development in the village land benefits more than other *mataqali* in the same village sharing the same geographical area. This can create conflicts amongst members of the *mataqali*, other *mataqali* and other villagers and between the *mataqali* and foreign partners for instance. The Native Land Policy therefore can create a wide socio-economic gap amongst people in the village because of development such as tourism in which any financial payment benefits the *mataqali* members and not the whole village. However any environmental problems created by such development will affect the whole village and not only the specific *mataqali* whose land has been developed. There is a need to amend the current Native Land Act to accommodate the changes that exist in the contemporary Fijian society. There is a need for a provision that caters for the welfare of the whole village by any development initiated on any native land.

It also reflects the need for the diversification of tourism business to other economic activities to cushion the fragility of the tourism industries. Additionally, Essipit tourism shows the importance of domestic markets for the sustainability of the indigenous tourism. Furthermore, tourism development can achieve economic, social and political autonomy of a particular indigenous group. Indigenous tourism has a lot of implications for the positive impacts it has on the socio-economic, cultural and environmental sustainability of the host community. The major obstacle to the sustainability of indigenous tourism in Essipit is the short duration of the high season and diversification to other economic activities has addressed the problem and allows the sustainability of the tourism venture.

On the other hand, the experiences in the Yasawas reflect that indigenous tourism can be sustainable through genuine partnership with experienced non-indigenous investors and fully indigenous owned tourism. With regards to the former, there is a need for qualified and experience indigenous people combined with proper management skills in order for the venture to be sustainable. There is a need for proper management of resources of the tourism venture to ensure sustainability, especially controlling resources diverted towards traditionally obligations.

6.5.3 Upgrading Skills and Qualification

The research has also revealed the need to improve the qualification and skills of employees in the tourism industry as a whole in which indigenous tourism is the subset. The Yasawa experience has substantiated that many young employees have the motivation to further their career path either within the tourism industry or other industries. Financial difficulties however are the barrier to the young employees to further their professional aspiration. Indigenous tourism and the *mataqali* can provide financial initiatives to their members for this purpose, because by providing assistance, indigenous tourism is grooming a skilled and qualified indigenous workforce that will contribute to individual well being as well as the *vanua.* Other stake holders such as the Ministry of Tourism and Indigenous Affairs and Indigenous Business Association can provide assistance towards this course. This initiative would promote the participation of indigenous people not only in tourism but other businesses.

As well, ongoing in-house training in conjunction with established nearby tourism operators must be encouraged in-order for indigenous tourism to keep up with changes occurring in the tourism industry and especially in reinforcing the idea of providing

quality service to tourists. Apart from improving the overall service, the training will help the older employees keep track of changes in the tourism industry as well.

In general most of the recommendations above evolved around the improvement of the livelihoods and participation of indigenous people in tourism through initiatives drawn by indigenous stakeholders themselves. The same sentiment can be employed for indigenous people's participation in other development activities especially on native lands.

6.6 Areas of Further Research

6.6.1 General

Some other related issues have risen out of this research that needs further examination. These include the provision on Native Land Act about development on native land, the failure of indigenous tourism operation and the impact of traditional obligations on indigenous tourism.

6.6.2 Native Land Act

As previously highlighted, there is a need for revising the Native Land Act especially on provision that state the distribution of payments to *mataqali* land owners whose land has been utilized for any development purposes. Two questions need to be addressed here; are the rest of the *mataqali* in the village satisfied/happy with current provision in Native Land Act that states only the members of the *mataqali* are entitled for monetary payment from any development on their land? What are the consequences of the current provision on the Native Land Act on the socio-economic, cultural and environment of the indigenous community? These questions need proper analysis since the land is an important issue for the indigenous people. Without addressing these issues, instabilities in Fijian villages are bound to happen since it can create tribal conflict in the village.

6.6.3 The Failure of Indigenous Tourism

The experience with NBL shows the need for detailed study about the operational and management style of indigenous tourism in Fiji to assist the indigenous people participating successfully in the tourism industry. Particular attention needs to focus on marketing and promotional capacity of indigenous tourism to ensure its sustainability. Partnership with other stakeholders as in the case of OBL shows that indigenous tourism can be successful if the tourism business's ethics are adhere to. Accordingly, Essipit Tourism shows that

indigenous tourism can be successful under full indigenous ownership and management with appropriate management practices and initiatives.

6.6.4 Impact of traditional Obligations on Indigenous Tourism

This study has shown the impact of traditional obligations on indigenous tourism which regards traditional obligations as part of its vision. While the study shows that OBL remains sustainable with its traditional commitment to members of the *mataqali* and the village, there is a need for specific study on traditional obligations and their demands on indigenous tourism operators.

6.7 Chapter Conclusion

The various tourism initiatives in Essipit have proven to be sustainable as long as the welfare of the community is the focal point of tourism development. However there is a need for stringent measures toward the management of the indigenous operation, financial control and diversification strategies to cushion the seasonality in tourism. Indigenous tourism is not immune from the problems affecting the whole tourism but it has the resiliency to overcome these problems because of its small size in terms of operation and carrying capacity. In the Yasawas the experiences of the two lodges have shown that indigenous tourism can be either a success or failure depending on the management of the operation. OBL depicts the success of an indigenous operation because of its partnership management and full indigenous management has the potential to succeed if proper business principals are adhered to. Specifically, there is a need to control the operation's commitment towards traditional obligations because they yield no economic returns.

Conversely, NBL depicts the lack of capital, management skills and management differences that ultimately led to the failure of indigenous operation. Also the research has shown that tourists visiting small indigenous operation are both young and old therefore indigenous tourism venture must cater for the needs of the age groups in term of tourists' services and attractions in order to maximize revenue for the venture. As noted earlier in the chapter small indigenous tourism has the potential to attract tourists revisiting the venture if services are improved and natural and cultural attractions are conserved and properly represented. The research shows that indigenous ownership of tourism venture can be a window to the promotion and revival of indigenous culture.

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Appendix 1: Questionnaire for Essipit Employees, 2006

Respondent Confidentiality:

Thank you for participating in this research. Please note that all your answers, ideas and opinions shared with the researcher for this project will remain confidential. Your express permission and authorisation will be sought should your answers be used in the final report.

Circle and write the correct response(s) where it is applicable.

1 a. Gender: _____

b. Age: _____

c. Marital status: _____
   - c1 Single
   - c2 Married
   - c3 Common union
   - c4 Divorced
   - c5 Other specify

d. Ethnicity (specify native group) _____
   - d1 Native
   - d2 Non-native

e. Position: _____

f. Place of residence: _____
   - f1 Resident (living in Essipt reserve)
   - f2 Non- resident (living outside Essipit Reserve)

g. Number in the family: _____

2. How long have you been working in Essipit?_____

3. What is your qualification?
   a. primary education
   b. secondary education
   c. cegep
   d. technical training
   e. university
   f. other _____

4. Do you work full time or part time?_____

5. If you work part time, what other paid employment you engage yourself with?

_____

6. If you are part time employee, how many weeks do you work? _____

7. Do you receive unemployment benefit when you are out of work?

   Yes _____
   No _____

8. How many weeks or hours of work do you need in order to get unemployment benefit?_____

9. Are you happy with your working condition at Essipit?
   Yes_____
   No _____

   9a. Please explain, _____

10. Do you own a house in the Essipit reserve?
    Yes_____

    No_____

11. Have you received any type of training for this job?
    a. Yes
    b. No

    11a Please explain your answer above._____

12. How regularly do you receive your wages?
    A. Weekly
    B. Fortnightly
    C. Monthly
    D. Other specify_____

13. How much do you receive weekly/fortnightly etc. Please place a tick beside the duration on how often you receive your wages.
    A. $400
    B. $401 -$ 500
    C. $501 -$ 600
    D. $601 - $700
    Other_____

14. What is your salary per annum?
    A. $ 15,000 - $ 20,000
    B. $ 21,000 - $ 25,000
    C. $26,000 - $ 30,000
    D. $31,000 - $ 35,000
    E. >$ 35,000

15. Please tick the benefits listed below that are provided by your employers?
    1. sick leave _____
    2. paid holidays _____
    3. Canada Provident Fund _____
    4. medical insurance _____
    5. other superannuation schemes _____
    6. maternity/paternity leave _____
    7. accident/sickness compensation _____
    8. performance bonus and incentives _____
    9. accommodation_____
    10. transport_____

16. How much of your wage you can put a side as your saving per pay-day?
    A. <$ 50
    B. $ 50 - $ 80
    C. $ 81 - $100
    D. $101- $ 120
    E. $121 -$ 140
    F. Other specify, _____

17. Do you think tourism in Essipit has contributed to the protection of natural environment?
    A. Yes
    B. No
    C. Don't know

17 a.Explanation_____

_____

_____

18. Do you think the natural environment has been negatively affected because of the development of tourism facilities in Essipit? Please explain your answer in the space provided.

    A. Yes ____
    B. No _____
    C. Don't know _____

18 a.Expalnation_____

_____

_____

19. Do you think tourism in Essipit has negatively affect the culture of Innu Nation in Essipit?
    A. Yes _____

    B. No _____

C. Don't know _____

19a. Explanation_____

_____

_____

20. In your view, what tourist attraction do you think tourists like most while visiting Essipit?
    A. Natural attraction ie landscape, whale watching, river, view et
    B. Cultural attraction ie natives traditional dance, artefacts, historical site etc
    C. Type of accommodation provided
    D. Other specify, _____

Thank You

Appendix 2: Questionnaire for Essipit Community, 2006

Respondent Confidentiality:

Thank you for participating in this research. Please note that all your answers, ideas and opinions shared with the researcher for this project will remain confidential. Your express permission and authorisation will be sought should your answers be used in the final report.

Circle or write the correct responses where applicable.

1 a. Gender: _____
b. Age: _____
c. Marital Status: _____
d. Ethnicity: _____
e. Profession: _____

2. How long have you been living in Essipit?
A. < a year
B. 1- 5 years
C. 6- 10 years
D. 11- 15 years
E. 16- 20 years
F. > 20 years

3. What are some of the advantages of tourism in relation to the cultural aspects of the Innus? (You may tick more than one answer.)
A. Revival of traditional dances
B. Maintenance of traditional values
C. Revival of art and craft
D. Maintenance and conservation of historical sites
E. None at all
F. Other specify, _____

4. What are some of the disadvantages of tourism in relation to the cultural aspects of the Innus? (You may tick more than one answer.)
A. Erosion of traditional values
B. Traditional forms of entertainment are faked and lose their originality and significance
C. Mass production of artefacts using machines
D. Destruction of historical sites and scared grounds
E. Other - specify, _____

5. What are some ways in which the problem (s) mentioned above can be avoided or minimised? (You may tick more than one answer.)
A. Limiting the number of tourists
B. Creating more community awareness
C. The provision of a tourist's code of conduct
D. Consultation for any development must include community members
E. Establishing strict guidelines on the use of traditional forms of entertainment
F. Other specify, _____

6. In what ways have tourism contributed to the protection of the natural environment in Essipit? (You may tick more than one answer.)
   A. Creates public awareness of the environment needs to the community
   B. Sets aside reserve area??
   C. Contributes financially to environmental conservation
   D. Other specify,_____

7. In what ways have tourism contributed to the destruction of the natural environment in Essipit? (You may tick more than one answer.)
   A. Destruction of vegetation
   B. More waste in the environment i.e. plastics, cans, bottles
   C. River pollution from oil spill, waste disposal, etc
   D. Destruction of marine breeding grounds
   E. Alteration of landscape
   F. Other specify,_____

8. What are some of the economic benefits of tourism in Essipit? (You may tick more than one answer.)
   A. Provides employment
   B. Provides a steady source of income
   C. Generates other economic activities
   D. Other specify,_____

9. What are some of the improvement in terms of living standard that tourism in Essipit has contributed to your family?
   A. Built or buy own a house
   B. Buy car, furniture etc
   C. Pay children's education
   D. Pay health insurance
   E. Investment
   F. Other specify, _____
   _____

10. Do you prefer the current model of 'communalism' of development in Essipit reserve?
   1. Yes ____
   2. No ____

10a. GiveReason,_____

_____

11. What are some of the benefits of living in the reserve? Can tick more than one item
   a. Do not pay for the land
   b. Live with your own Innu community
   c. Clean natural surrounding
   d. Materials bought are not taxed
   e. Better infrastructure provided by the band council
   f. Other_____

12. What is your current occupation? _____

13. Do you own your own house in the reserve?
    1. YES ____
    2. No _____
    3. Living with parents _____
    4. Living with relatives _____

14. What are some of the disadvantages of living in the reserve?
    a. Lack initiatives to run your own business
    b. Lack of privacy
    c. Far away from the main urban city
    d. Other,_____

15. Do you think tourism in Essipit helps in the improvement of the socio-economic well-being of the community?
    1. Yes _____
    2. No_____

15a. Please explain, _____
_____

Thank You

Appendix 3: Questionnaire for Essipit Tourists, 2006

Respondent Confidentiality:

Thank you for participating in this research. Please note that all your answers, ideas and opinions shared with the researcher for this project will remain confidential. Your express permission and authorisation will be sought should your answers be used in the final report.

Circle or write the correct responses where applicable.

1 Personal Profile

a. Gender: _____
b. Age: _____
c. Marital Status: _____
d. Ethnicity: _____
e. Profession: _____
f. Region _____
g. Country of Residence _____

2. How did you know about tourism service in Essipit?

A. word of mouth
B. internet
C. tourist brochures
D. TV advertisement
E. friends
F. other, _____

3. Is this your first trip to Essipit?

A. Yes
B. No, write the number of visit,_____

4. Did you come alone in this trip?

A. yes
B. no, I'm with my partner
C. with the whole family
D. with friends

5. If you are from Canada, have you visit other countries as a tourist?

A. Yes, Name the countries you had visited, _____
B. No

6. Which group of tourist you associate yourself with?

A. eco-tourist
B. sports-tourist
C. cultural-tourist
D. mainstream tourist
E. other,_____

7. Why did you choose to come to Essipit? You can choose more than one item.
   A. short distance
   B. cheap
   C. closer to Tadoussac
   D. best place to relax during spend summer holiday
   E. other, _____

8. What is the main tourist attraction you come to experience in Essipit? You can choose more than one item.
   A. whale watching
   B. pourvoiries
   C. beautiful sceneries
   D. Innu culture
   E. other, _____

9. Which type of accommodation you staying in?
   A. condo
   B. cottage
   C. campground
   D. home-staying
   E. other**,**_____

10. How long will you stay in Essipit?
   A. 1- 3 days
   B. 4-6 days
   C. 1 week
   D. Other,_____

11. Approximately, how much money you will spend while in Essipit?
   A. <$100
   B. $100-$ 200
   C. $300-$ 400
   D. >$400
   E. Other,_____

12. How do you rate the tourism service in Essipit?
   A. Excellent
   B. Good
   C. Satisfactory
   F. Not good
   G. Other,_____

Thank You

Appendix 4: Questionnaire for OBL & NBL's Employees, 2007

Respondent Confidentiality:

Thank you for participating in this research. Please note that all your answers, ideas and opinions shared with the researcher for this project will remain confidential. Your express permission and authorisation will be sought should your answers be used in the final report.

Circle and write the correct response(s) where it is applicable.

Section 1 Personal Profile:

a. Gender: _____
b. Age: _____
c. Marital status: _____
   1 Single
   2 Married
   3 De-facto
   4 Divorced

d. Ethnicity (specify native group) _____
e. Place of residence: _____
   1 Living in the village
   2 Living in quarters

f. Do you own a house in the village?
   1. Yes_____
   2. No____

g. Number in the family: _____

Section 2: Employment profile

1. Work Position: _____
2. How long have you been working in Oarsman Lodge?_____
3. Do you move to the village when you come and work here?
   1. Yes _____
   2.No_____
   If yes, name the last place of residence _____
4. What is your qualification?
   1. primary education
   2. secondary education
   3. technical/ vocational training
   4. university
   5. other _____
5. Do you work full time or part time?
   1. Full time _____
   2. Part-time _____

6. If you work part time, what other paid employment you engage yourself with?
   1. selling marine products
   2. selling root crops and vegetables
   3. shelling arts and crafts
   4. provide entertainment for tourists
7. If you are part time employee, how many weeks do you work in a year?
   1. > 4 weeks
   2. 5 - 9 weeks
   3. 10- 19 weeks
   4. < 20 weeks

Section 3: Employment Benefits

8. Have you received any type of training for this job?
   1. Yes _____
   2. No _____
9. If yes which training institution?

   _____

10. How regularly do you receive your wages?
    A. Weekly
    B. Fortnightly
    C. Other specify_____
11. What is your hourly rate? _____
12. What is your take away home pay? _____
13. What is your salary per annum? _____
14. Please tick the benefits listed below that are provided by your employers?
    1. sick leave _____
    2. paid holidays _____
    3. Fiji National Provident Fund Provident Fund _____
    4. medical insurance _____
    5. other superannuation schemes _____
    6. maternity/paternity leave _____
    7. accident/sickness compensation _____
    8. performance bonus and incentives _____
    9. accommodation_____
    10. transport_____
15. How much of your wage you can put aside as your saving per pay-day?
    A. $ 10
    B. $ 11 - $ 20
    C. $ 21 - $ 30
    D. $31- $ 40
    F. Other specify, _____
16. Are you happy with your working condition at Oarsman?
    1. Yes_____
    2. No _____

17. If your answer in question 16 is Yes, then why?
    A. low wages
    B. no overtime pay
    C. no medical benefits
    D. no loan facilities
    E. other,_____

Section 4: Environmental Impact

18. Do you think tourism in Nacula has contributed to the protection of natural environment?
    A. Yes
    B. No
    C. Don't know

19. If your answer in 17 is Yes, how is it so, through… (Can tick more one answers)
    A. reforestation of in- land and coastal areas
    B. usage of environmental friendly products
    C. create awareness of the important on the natural environment
    D. create a no fishing go zone in some part of the seas
    E. breeding of endangered marine species such as turtle
    F. proper disposal of rubbish water and solid products
    G. Other _____

20. Do you think tourism in Nacula has contributed to the destruction of natural environment?
    A. Yes
    B. No
    C. Don't know

21. If your answer in 20 is Yes, how is it so, through… (Can tick more than one answers)
    A. destruction of in-land and coastal vegetation for tourist development
    B. destruction of coral reefs and marine species habitats
    C. disposal of sewage and untreated water in seas from tourists accommodation
    D. increase level of non-biodegradable products in the village surroundings
    E. increase level of oil spillage due to frequent visit and use of inboard and out-boat motor to transport tourists to and from
    F. increase noise pollution from tourist activities
    G. Other _____

Section 5: Cultural Impacts

22. Do you think tourism in Nacula has positively affected the culture?

    A. Yes _____
    B. No _____
    C. Don't know _____

23. If your answer in 19 is Yes, then how it is so, through…
    A. revival of cultural entertainment activities like traditional meke
    B. maintaining production of traditional arts and crafts like necklaces,
    C. create awareness for the local people of Yasawa about our own culture
    D. Other, _____

24. Do you think tourism in Nacula has negatively affected the culture of the local people?
    A. Yes
    B. No
    C. Don't know

25. If your answer is Yes, then how? through…
    A. changing ways of life of the people like dressing, eating habits, smoking, drinking alcohol etc
    B. people have spent less time in their plantation and concentrate on serving tourists through employment, entertainment etc
    C. different cultural aspects of the people are not presented in their original form
    D. Other, _____

26. In your view, what tourist attraction do you think tourists like most while visiting Nacula?
    A. Natural attraction ie sand seas and sun, vegetations, marine species etc
    B. Cultural attraction ie natives traditional dance, artefacts, historical site etc
    C. Type of accommodation provided
    D. Other specify, _____

Section 6: Social Impacts

27. Has tourism contribute to the improvement of standard of living in your house hold?
    1. Yes
    2. No
    3. Don't know

28. If yes, through …
    A. Building a new house
    B. Buy water tank
    C. Buy own boat and engine
    D. Pay for education for my kids
    E. Other, _____

29. Do you think tourism has enable you to meet your financial contribution towards traditional obligation
    1. Yes
    2. No
    3. Sometimes

30. Approximately how much of your wage can you spend towards traditional obligations per month?

A. >$ 10

B. $ 11-$ 20

C. $ 21-$ 30

D. $ 31-$40

E. $ 41-$50

F. Other _____

Any other comments.

_____

_____

Thank You

Appendix 5: Questionnaire for Nacula Community, 2008

Respondent Confidentiality:

Thank you for participating in this research. Please note that all your answers, ideas and opinions shared with the researcher for this project will remain confidential. Your express permission and authorisation will be sought should your answers be used in the final report.

Circle or write the correct responses where applicable**.**

Section 1: Personal profile

1 a. Gender: _____
b. Age: _____
c. Marital Status: _____
d. Place of origin: _____
e. Profession: _____
f. Number of children _____
g. Do you have your own house _____

2. How long have you been living in the village? _____

Section 2: Economic Activities

3. What is/are your main source/s of income before tourism was developed in your village?

A. selling marine resources ie fish, beach-de-mer
B. selling coconuts
C. operate a small canteen
E. selling *yaqona* and cigarettes
F. other, _____

4. Do you earn anything from Tourism?

A. Yes

B. No

5. How do you earn your income from tourism? Through

A. selling art and craft
B. provide entertainment
C. as a tour guide
D. selling fruits and fresh coconut
E. provide boat transport
F. other,_____

6. How long have you been doing the activities mentioned above? _____

7. Do you think tourism activities in the village have improved your financial earning?

    1. Yes_____
    2. No._____
    3. Don't know _____
    4. Not sure_____

8. Which tourists' source contributes more to your income?
    1. Blue Lagoon cruises
    2. Oarsman's Bay Lodge
    3. Overseas cruise ship
    4. Varies

9. What are some of the economic benefits of tourism in Nacula? (You may tick more than one answer.)
    A. Provides employment
    B. Provides a steady source of income
    C. Generates other economic activities
    D. Other specify,_____

Section3: Cultural Activities

10. What are some of the advantages of tourism in relation to the cultural aspects of the Nacula? (You may tick more than one answer.)
    A. Revival of traditional dances
    B. Maintenance of traditional values
    C. Revival of art and craft
    D. Maintenance and conservation of historical sites
    E. None at all
    F. Other specify, _____
11. What are some of the disadvantages of tourism in relation to the cultural aspects of the people in the village? (You may tick more than one answer.)
    A. Erosion of traditional values
    B. Traditional forms of entertainment are faked and lose their originality and significance
    D. Mass production of artefacts using machines
    E. Destruction of historical sites and scared grounds
    F. Other - specify, _____
12. What are some ways in which the problem (s) mentioned above can be avoided or minimised? (You may tick more than one answer.)
    A. Limiting the number of tourists
    B. Creating more community awareness
    C. The provision of a tourist's code of conduct
    D. Consultation for any development must include community members
    E. Establishing strict guidelines on the use of traditional forms of entertainment
    F. Other specify, _____

Section 4: Natural Environment

13. Do you think Tourism in Nacula has contributed to the protection of natural environment in Nacula?
    A. Yes
    B. No
    C. Don't know
    D. Not sure

14. In what ways have tourism contributed to the protection of the natural environment in Nacula? (You may tick more than one answer.)
    A. Creates public awareness of the environment needs to the community
    B. Sets aside reserve area??
    C. Contributes financially to environmental conservation
    D. Other specify,_____

15. Do you think Tourism has negatively affected the natural environment of Nacula?
    A. Yes
    B. No
    C. Don't know
    D. Not Sure

16. In what ways have tourism contributed to the destruction of the natural environment in Nacula? (You may tick more than one answer.)
    A. Destruction of vegetation
    B. More waste in the environment i.e. plastics, cans, bottles
    C. Sea pollution from oil spill, waste disposal, etc
    D. Destruction of marine breeding grounds
    E. Alteration of landscape
    F. Other specify,_____

Section 5: Social Benefits

17. What are some of the improvement in terms of living standard that tourism in Nacula has contributed to your family?
    A. Built or buy own a house
    B. Buy boat, furniture etc
    C. Pay children's education
    D. Pay health insurance
    E. Investment
    F. Other specify, _____

18. What are some of the benefits of living in the village? Can tick more than one item

    A. Do not pay for the land
    B. Live with your own community
    C. Clean natural surrounding
    D. Other_____

19. Do you think tourism has enabled you to meet your traditional obligation financially?

    A. Yes
    B. No
    C. Don't know
    D. Not sure

Appendix 6: Questionnaire for OBL & NBL Tourist, 2008

Respondent Confidentiality:

Thank you for participating in this research. Please note that all your answers, ideas and opinions shared with the researcher for this project will remain confidential. Your express permission and authorisation will be sought should your answers be used in the final report.

Circle or write the correct responses where applicable.

1 Personal Profile
   A. Gender: _____
   B. Age: _____
   C. Marital Status: _____
   D. Ethnicity: _____
   E. Profession: _____
   F. Country of Residence _____

2. How did you know about tourism service in Oarsman?
   A. word of mouth
   B. internet
   C. tourist brochures
   D. TV advertisement
   E. friends
   F. other, _____

3. Is this your first trip to Oarsman?
   A. Yes
   B. No, write the number of visit ,_____

4. Did you come alone in this trip?
   A. yes
   B. no, I'm with my partner
   C. with the whole family.
   D. with friends

5. Have you visited other countries as a tourist?
   A. Yes, Name the countries you had visited, _____
   B. No

6. Which group of tourist you associate yourself with?
   A. eco-tourist
   B. sports-tourist
   C. cultural-tourist
   D. mainstream tourist
   E. other,_____

7. Why did you choose to come to Oarsman? You can choose more than one item.
   A. short distance
   B. cheap
   C. best place to relax during spend summer holiday
   D. previous good experience

8. What is the main tourist attraction you come to experience in Oarsman? You can choose more than one item.

   A. accommodation
   B. white sandy beaches and blue seas
   C. beautiful sceneries
   D. native culture
   E. other, _____

9. How do you rate quality of accommodation?

   A. excellent
   B. good
   C. satisfactory
   D. poor

10. How do you rate the quality of food?

   A. excellent
   B. good
   C. satisfactory
   D. poor

11. How do you rate the quality of the environment at Oarsman?

   A. excellent
   B. good
   C. satisfactory
   D. poor

12. How do you rate the traditional form of entertainment at Oarsman Lodge?

   A. excellent
   B. good
   C. satisfactory
   D. poor

13. Which type of accommodation you staying in?

   A. bure
   B. campground
   C. home-staying
   D. other,_____

14. How long will you stay in Oarsman?

   A. 1- 3 days
   B. 4-6 days
   C. 1 week
   D. Other,_____

15. Approximately, how much money you will spend while in Oarsman?

A. <$100
B. $100-$ 200
C. $300-$ 400
D. >$400
E. Other,_____

16. How do you rate the overall tourism service in Oarsman?

A. Excellent
B. Good
C. Satisfactory
D. Not good
E. Other,_____

Thank You

Appendix 7: Pay slip for OBL Employee

PaySlip: Oarsman Bay Limited

Date:
Code:
Name:
Dept: Oarsman Bay
FNPF No:

Gross:	$512.00	**YTD Gross:**	$992.00
PAYE:	$19.84	**YTD PAYE:**	$32.32
FNPF:	$40.96	**YTD FNPF:**	$79.36
Deds:	$332.00	**NonTaxable:**	$0.00
Net:	$119.20	**Taxable:**	$471.04
Details:		**Rate:**	$4.0000

Type/Cod		Description	Qty	Rate	Total
T	01	Normal Time	128	4.0000	512.0000
D	02	ANZ Fixed Deposit	1	300.0000	-300.0000
D	18	Staff Meals	1	-32.0000	-32.0000
					180.0000

Paid To: CASH

Appendix 8: Excerpt of Business Plan for Nalova Bay Lodge

NALOVA BAY RESORT LTD
BUSINESS PLANS

Executive Summary

The Company's Business Plans, as presented briefly through the pages of these documentations, endeavor to articulate as precisely as they can, the practical arrangements that need to be put in place, to help the company to grow its Sales Revenue, above the extremely low levels reached in the past four years.
To ensure that the plans are problem–oriented, there is the need to clearly identify the latter, and also to clearly understand its precise forms and manifestations, before proceeding to put in place, suitable arrangements and strategies that are designed to eliminate them effectively.

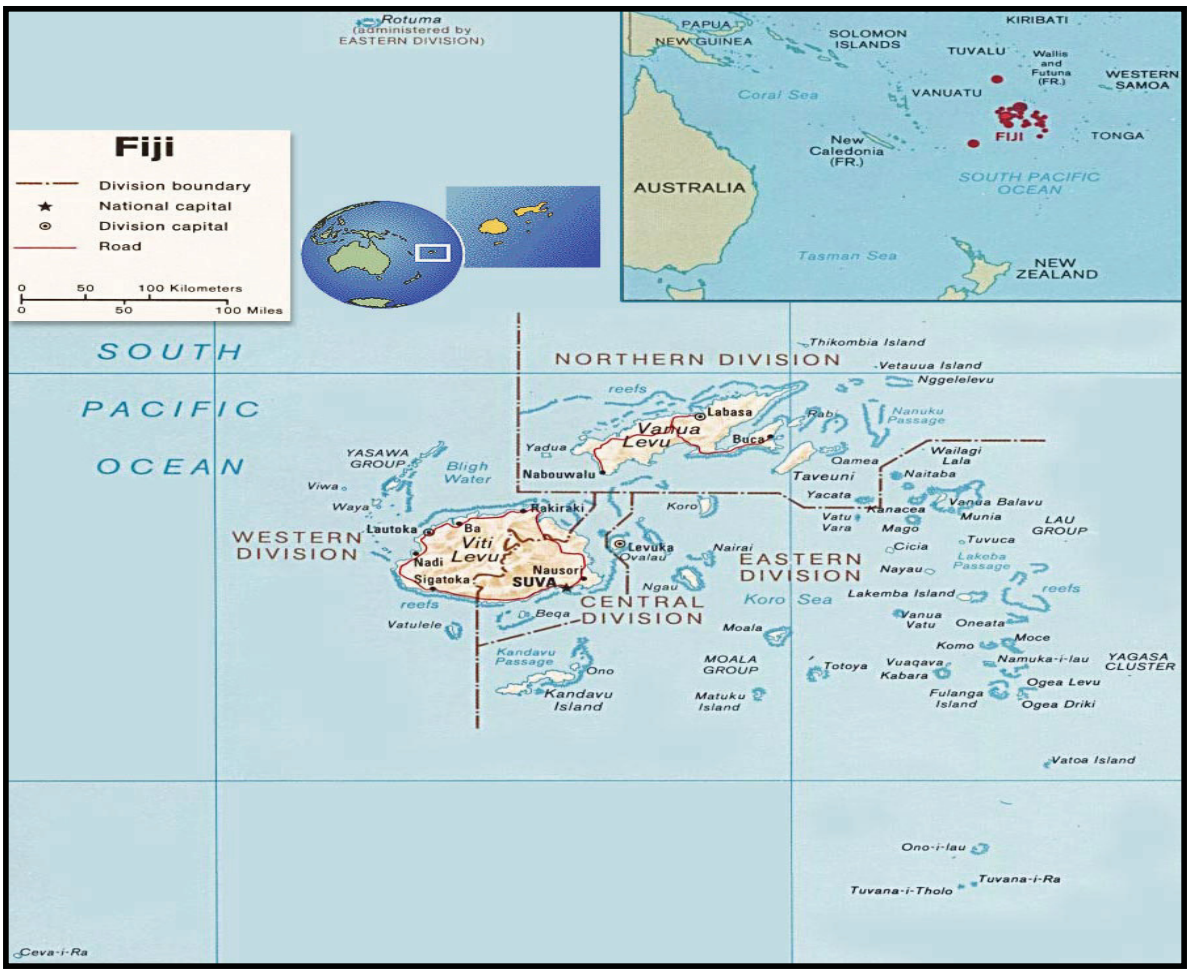
Problems Identification.

As an attempt is made to identify this Company's problems, it is important to point out that it is never easy to put ones finger on the 'problem per-se', and that one may have no choice but to discuss this matter around its periphery, by discussing its possible causes and effects and its manifestations.
Not to be deterred by this difficulty, it is important for clarity of perception and thoughts, to constantly remind ourselves that in our particular context, High Accommodation Rates and the Lack of Kitchen and Dining facilities and Bar services are the CAUSES, the Low Occupancy Levels are the MANIFESTATIONS and that Operational Difficulties, Lack of Profitability, High Levels of Arrears in Loan Accounts and Consistency in Over-Trading, collectively constitute what we might otherwise term, "Our Problem"

That there is clear and positive correlation in our particular context, between the causes, the manifestations and the effects of our problem is proven beyond doubt in the truth of the following assertions:

5

Appendix 9: Map of Fiji



Source: Fiji Visitor Bureau 2007