

10 Green tourism alleviating poverty

Community-based ecotourism in Fiji

Dawn Gibson

Introduction

In their *Green Growth and Travelism* book, Lipman *et al.* (2012) stressed the importance of delivering local green jobs and building local livelihoods in any transformation of tourism destination into the emerging green economy in particular in least-developed countries (LDCs). The growth of tourism in these countries has led to increased interest in tourism as a development tool for alleviating poverty (Chok *et al.* 2007; Sofield *et al.* 2004; UNESCAP 2003). It has also placed focus on the need for more sustainable tourism planning, policies and programmes that consider tourist expectations of resource management as well as the needs of local communities, who, in LDCs are marginalised rural communities (UNEP and UNWTO 2012). The United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) *Tourism in the Green Economy Report* (2012) recognised that approaches to sustainable tourism may vary but in general sustainable tourism:

aspires to be more energy efficient and more climate sound, consume less water, minimise waste; conserve biodiversity, cultural heritage and traditional values; support intercultural understanding and tolerance; generate local income and integrate local communities with a view to improving livelihoods and reducing poverty.

(UNEP and UNWTO 2012: 2)

With increased concern for poverty reduction, interest in indigenous tourism and pro-poor tourism, as a tool for poverty alleviation, has also grown. Many ecotourism and community-based ecotourism (CBE) schemes have been justified by claiming their benefits to local communities; yet there is little evidence to date that substantiates these claims (Goodwin 2007). Furthermore, when considering tourism's contributions to poverty reduction, one must consider 'how, and to what extent tourism can address the wider poverty agenda by contributing to health, education, welfare and community capacity building' (Goodwin 2007: 86).

Community-based tourism

Community-based tourism (CBT) development is promoted in many developing countries, as a tool that enables the equitable distribution of economic benefits from tourism, encourages local involvement in the decision-making process and better meets the needs of local communities and indigenous peoples (Britton 1982; Brohman 1996; De Kadt 1979; Tosun 2000). In the South Pacific, CBT or CBE is promoted as a development tool for rural and marginalised areas, including remote outlying islands. It is a potential solution to poverty alleviation through sustainable economic and social development (Hyde 2006). However, some suggest that community development in tourism is just more rhetoric, and question the extent to which local residents truly share in the economic benefits of tourism (Joppe 1996; Mitchell 2003). What involvement will communities have? How will this be done? Will it just be a limited number of low-paying seasonal jobs or something more significant? Should communities be involved at all? However, despite such criticisms, for the long-term sustainability of tourism development, community involvement and support is often considered vital (Armstrong 2012; Tosun 2002). Scheyvens (2002) defined community-based tourism enterprises as

Those in which the local communities have a high degree of control over the activities taking place, and a significant proportion of the economic benefits accrue to them. They may also be characterised by local ownership and a low level of leakage.

(Scheyvens 2002: 10)

Definitions of community participation in the development process vary, but most agree that the process should be voluntary, educational and empowering. Participation exists, where grass roots people are able to form partnerships with those authorities who are able to help them identify problems and needs, and provide them with assistance to eventually take responsibility to plan, manage and control their futures (Tosun 2000). Stone (1989: 207) claimed active community participation was apparent when development was designed so that 'intended beneficiaries are encouraged to take matters into their own hands, to participate in their own development through mobilising their own resources, defining their own needs, and making their own decisions about how to meet them'.

Pro-poor tourism

Since the late 1990s, the concept of pro-poor tourism (PPT), with its potential to contribute to poverty alleviation, has received extensive support from donors, development agencies, tourism organisations and governments (Scheyvens 2009). In contrast to sustainable tourism, which focuses on protection and conservation, PPT aims at increasing net benefits to the poor whilst considering environmental

1 concerns. PPT goes beyond a community focus, by promoting strategies that spe-
2 cifically focus on the poor, although others may also benefit. PPT strategies can
3 generate different benefits to local communities, which can be divided into three
4 types: economic benefits, livelihood benefits and intangible benefits, which
5 enhance participation and partnerships amongst different stakeholders. Obstacles
6 to implementing PPT benefits may exist which include lack of understanding of
7 tourism, lack of skills, poor quality of products and limited access to markets.
8 Negative impacts can be reduced by increased consultation with the poor, espe-
9 cially when developing infrastructure and services for tourists.

10 Initially, PPT initiatives focused on niche tourism markets such as ecotourism
11 and CBT, but it is now suggested that even mass tourism could increase parti-
12 cipation of the poor, by considering alternative livelihood initiatives such as
13 handicrafts, traditional performances, tour guiding and the supply of agricultural
14 produce. The tourism industry is thought to be suitable for pro-poor initiatives,
15 because it is 'labour-intensive, inclusive of women and the informal sector;
16 based on natural and cultural assets of the poor; and suitable for poor rural areas
17 with few other growth options' (Ashley and Roe 2002: 61).

18 Scheyvens (2009) suggested that PPT, like ecotourism before it, might be
19 nothing more than a fad to maintain the credibility of tourism as a 'clean',
20 socially beneficial and environmentally-friendly industry. Others argue that
21 major 'players' in the tourism industry exist to make profits, and may not be
22 concerned with social responsibility and contributing to poverty alleviation
23 (Zhao and Brent-Ritchie 2007). Furthermore, where PPT initiatives have been
24 successful, changes may only be 'tokenistic' rather than 'transformational'
25 (Scheyvens 2009). PPT initiatives that help impoverished communities are
26 admirable, but for them to work, businesses and advocates need to commit to
27 improving the well-being of the poor. Some authors like Sofield *et al.* (2004)
28 contested the term PPT claiming the term alienates stakeholders including tour-
29 ists and investors and chose the World Tourism Organization's term 'Sustain-
30 able Tourism-Eliminating Poverty' (ST-EP) (Chok *et al.* 2007).

31 Research by Scheyvens and Russell (2010), into tourism and poverty allevi-
32 ation in Fiji, established that although the poor may not all receive direct benefits
33 from tourism, these could be more evenly spread if policies for communal bene-
34 fits were developed by businesses and government. Therefore, although local
35 chiefs and indigenous owners of CBT resorts are likely to receive the largest
36 proportion of economic benefits from tourism, socio-cultural benefits such as
37 contributions to education, church, housing, village infrastructure (water, power,
38 sewerage) may benefit a great proportion of the community at large. As the find-
39 ings of the Wayalilai case study show later in this chapter, within indigenous,
40 close-knit, communal, societies, such benefits may possibly be more appropriate
41 indicators of success and fulfil community motivations for CBT (Gibson 2013).

42 PPT is not a model or theory but 'an orientation or approach to any form of
43 tourism which focuses on the net benefits accruing to poor people in tourist
44 destination areas' (Harrison 2008: 855–6). From a development perspective, all
45 tourism has the potential to provide benefits for the poor, but government

commitment to the health and welfare of its people is necessary for this to succeed. Harrison and Schipani (2007) stated that there was little empirical evidence to show the degree to which tourism contributed to poverty alleviation.

Social capital

Studies of social capital claim it has significant influence on community participation in community development, and the potential success of community-based small medium tourism enterprises (SMTEs) (Jones 2005; Macbeth *et al.* 2004; Pretty and Ward 2001; Zhao *et al.* 2011). Social capital can be an important factor in enabling communities, in rural or peripheral areas, to transform from traditional resource-based subsistence livelihoods to entrepreneurship in tourism (Johannesson *et al.* 2003).

Within indigenous Fijian societies, social relationships exist at a number of levels (for example village, clan, tribe, province and national) and are strong and complicated. Communities, such as those in the case study, have the potential to use social capital to support their community-based tourism developments and an important determinant, in the success of community development projects including community-based tourism enterprises (CBTEs), is the level of social capital and relationship structure between project participants (Ostram 2000). In indigenous communities, physical capital alone is insufficient for economic growth, and social capital when combined with other forms of capital (physical and human), can be an essential component of development.

Ecotourism and CBT in Fiji

In Fiji, ecotourism is seen as a viable development tool that contributes to the product mix, which for Fiji is mass tourism, multi-national owned hotels and resorts (Burns 2005). For Fiji, CBE can make a valuable contribution to rural economic development. In the 1970s and early 1980s, the government implemented nature-based tourism strategies, as a form of alternative development to conventional mass resort tourism (Harrison 1998). Since then, Fiji's tourism industry has diversified, and a variety of new products has emerged. These range from conventional mass tourism hotels and resorts, to niche markets such as ecotourism, community-based tourism and budget products catering to the backpacker or youth tourism market (Eccles and Costa 1996).

Ecotourism and village-based tourism policy

In 1999, the Fiji government adopted the *Ecotourism and village-based tourism policy: a policy and strategy for Fiji*. The main objectives of the ecotourism programme were to encourage indigenous Fijian participation in tourism, facilitate employment in the private tourism sector and encourage investment and partnerships with hotels or resorts by indigenous landowners. The policy defined ecotourism as:

1 A form of nature-based tourism which involves responsible travel to relatively undeveloped areas to foster an appreciation of nature and local cultures, while conserving the physical and social environment, respecting the aspirations and traditions of those who are visited, and improving the welfare of the local people.

(Harrison *et al.* 2003: 160)

8 It recognised that ecotourism should complement other forms of tourism, be secondary to conservation and would be banned or restricted in certain areas. In addition, the policy recognised the need to develop awareness of the physical and cultural environment, and improve the quality of life in remote rural communities (Bricker 2001: 235–6; Harrison *et al.* 2003).

11 Definitions of ecotourism vary, and what is referred to as ecotourism in Fiji could be considered backpacking, budget, indigenous, village-based or CBT in other countries. A strategic environmental assessment of Fiji's tourism development plan recommended that the government concentrate on supporting modes of tourism that have lower leakages, few environmental impacts and attracted tourists whose motivations were aligned to ecotourism or CBT (Levett and McNally 2003: xviii). The benefits of ecotourism ventures for Fijians were that, given the small-scale nature of these businesses, they could be started with little capital investment, would cater for ecotourists who were interested in an educational cultural experience, be owned and operated by local people, be village- or nature-based and have fewer leakages than large-scale tourism. Other benefits were economic, in the form of contributions to foreign exchange and employment creation, minimal leakages because of local ownership and the use of locally-produced resources. Social benefits included the preservation of natural and cultural heritage and, in some cases, the revival of cultural practices. Environmentally, ecotourism development would encourage the protection of endangered species, preserve natural and cultural sites and develop an awareness of unsustainable practices such as logging or slash and burn agriculture.

31 Despite the small-scale nature of CBT and ecotourism initiatives, it can still make a valuable contribution to poverty alleviation, employment creation and socio-economic development of marginalised rural communities and villagers. Harrison and Brandt (2003: 156) noted that although village-based ecotourism would not replace large-scale resort-based tourism in Fiji, more could be done to ensure that development was based on environmentally-sustainable practices. The following case study provides an excellent example of successful indigenous-owned, community-based tourism.

40 Case study: Wayalilai Ecohaven Resort

42 Study area

44 The ethnographic case study of Wayalilai Ecohaven Resort, in the Yasawas, is an example of a participatory approach to indigenous tourism. The resort,

belonging to the province of Vuda, is located on the island of Wayalailai (*Wayasewa* – little Waya) in the Yasawa Island Group in North Western Fiji. Like most resorts in the Yasawas, it provides an adventure tropical island ‘sun, sea and sand’ holiday; with special appeal to the more limited-budget backpacker market. The well-established Wayalailai Ecohaven resort has been operating since 1996 and received government assistance, in the form of loans, and training under the Ministry of Tourism Ecotourism scheme.

Research methods

Data, mostly qualitative, were gathered (over a period of three years during visits that varied from a few days to six months) by means of a detailed literature review, together with participant observation, and in-depth and focus interviews of community groups (youth, women, men, elders and staff) undertaken at the resort and in the village, to discover their primary motivations for developing CBT and to identify potential cultural challenges and contributions the resort has made to poverty alleviation on Wayalailai.

In the context of Fiji, where strict protocols exist regarding the interaction between men and women of different ages, elders, women and youth were interviewed together and separately. For example, it is unlikely that Fijian women and youth will speak out when male elders are present, even in a group setting. Gender roles are very specific and there is little interaction between males and females (Gibson *et al.* 2012). Further, conducting a formal ‘interview’ or a ‘focus group’ among Fijians to draw out responses to a semi-structured questionnaire is alien to this cohort. In an effort to please the researcher, they are likely to provide the answer they think the researcher will want to hear rather than give their own response (Evening 2000; Gibson 2003). A more natural form of eliciting responses are *talanoa* sessions where people meet and talk informally while drinking *yaqona* (kava) around the *tanoa* (communal kava bowl). In this situation, Fijians do not perceive they are being interviewed, are more open and provide responses voluntarily (Gibson *et al.* 2012).

Namara village

Namara village is located on Wayasewa, and is adjacent to Wayalailai Ecohaven Resort. The village consists of three landowning units (*mataqalis*): Boutolu, Taqova and Yaubola which own Wayalailai and Kuata Nature Resort. Namara has a population of 127 and consists of 27 families. Thirty-five per cent of the population are under 18 years of age, with the rest evenly split between males and females (Nakalougaga 2011¹).

Education levels within the village vary. All villagers speak English, and have at least two or three years of secondary school. Children attend primary school at Naboro village, and then secondary school at Nasawa Secondary School on Waya Island, one of the local schools on the mainland, where they board with relatives. Today, though, youth are dropping out of school to

1 work in resorts and gain what they perceive as a relatively easy cash income
2 (Nakalougaga 2011).
3

4 **Historical background**

5
6 Wayalailai is the first island in the Yasawa Island Group, and is a two-hour trip
7 from Port Denarau via Awesome Adventure's (Awesome) and South Seas
8 Cruises' ferries. The resort is 100 per cent indigenous Fijian community-owned,
9 operated and located on Wayalailai Island at the southernmost tip of the Yasawa
10 Island Group. In 1996, the people of Wayalailai opened Wayalailai Ecohaven
11 Resort. It was the second resort built in the Yasawa Island Group after Coral
12 View on Tavewa Island. The resort is accountable to a Board of Directors, con-
13 sisting of elders from the villages of Namara, Naboro and Yamata. Wayalailai
14 was opened using zero outside finance. The three clans met and agreed they
15 could open the resort, using donations from each family, and volunteers to build
16 and work at the resort. For the accommodation, *bures*² were built from local
17 reeds and timber, using 'free' village labour as social capital.

18 Resort employees mainly come from the three villages of Namara, Naboro
19 and Yamata, although a few of the specialist staff such as the engineers, electri-
20 cians and chefs are from elsewhere in Fiji. Most employees come from nearby
21 Namara, with most villagers from Namara and Naboro being employed at
22 Kuata Namara Haven resort. Wayalailai is built on two levels overlooking the sea
23 and Kuata Island. It is one of the largest backpacker resorts in the Yasawas, and
24 at a stretch can sleep up to 90 guests at a time.

25 **Social capital – benefits and costs**

26
27 Without the 'free' labour provided by the community, building the resort would
28 have been extremely costly and taken much longer to complete. Wayalailai has a
29 large pool of social capital to draw from, as it is owned by three clans (five sub-
30 clans). Moreover, as Wayalailai is now well established, recent building projects
31 (such as the building of the new *bures* and sea walls) have involved payments of
32 agreed amounts to every clan. For labour the resort must rely on the goodwill of
33 the clan, and the labour, although 'free', is not guaranteed. The main contrib-
34 utors to social capital, from the clans, are women and young male clan members.
35 Male elders rarely contribute, except when ceremonial exchanges are performed,
36 but they are responsible for selecting the people to represent their family. For the
37 resort, social capital has strongly influenced the sense of ownership the clans
38 have towards the resort. As clan members built the resorts for 'free' and donated
39 their time, labour and food, they feel that, not only are they 'owners', but also
40 have the right to use the resort, and reap the benefits. This has led to abuse by
41 villagers and in response to this, Wayalailai management has implemented strict
42 regulations regarding clan access and behaviour at the resort.
43
44
45

Impacts of community-based tourism initiatives

The clans of Wayalailai opened the resort in the hope that tourism would provide an alternative livelihood for their people. Benefits included employment, much needed cash incomes, funds to help them fulfil traditional obligations, payment of church tithes and fees to educate their children. Over the years, the community has discovered that tourism has brought benefits and some negative impacts. However, the people of Wayalailai feel that, overall, tourism has been beneficial, enabled them to fulfil their dreams, participate in ceremonial obligations and compete with other community-owned resorts in the Yasawas Group (Ratugolea 2010). Interestingly, villagers consider fishing and farming as forms of self-employment, but ‘real work’ is only when you are employed by the resort. The ownership of Wayalailai has given the local clans the opportunity to participate as equals in traditional Fijian society, and substantially increased community pride (Gibson 2013).

Socio-economic impacts of CBT

Economic benefits to the clans provided by Wayalailai include employment, predominantly part-time, for villagers. The resort employs about 30 staff at any one time. There are ten full-time staff (five women and five men), and 20 part-time staff. Wayalailai schedules staff and ensures that every household has at least one person earning a cash income each week. As with most tourism resorts, employment is seasonal and the number of employees varies, depending on occupancy, new developments or maintenance requirements. These cash contributions, although only between FJ\$50 and FJ\$150 a week, can make a significant contribution to household income, and support subsistence farming contributions at the household level (Goodwin 2007: 92). Findings from employee interviews state that they have enough cash for food and luxuries, such as *yaqona*, cigarettes, mobile recharge cards and the occasional trip to the mainland, so they are satisfied.

A housing scheme, funded by the resort, built ten new houses by the end of 1996, two for each sub-clan; and this continues, with families making submissions to elders for building funds. Villagers at Namara receive free electricity between 6:00 pm and 10:30 pm, have access to fresh, running water for all households and flush toilets. A boarding school for kindergarten and primary school students was built at Naboro and operates from Monday to Friday, with parents taking turns to cook and provide meals. This also enables parents with young children to work during the week, and have children at home with them over the weekend. Secondary school students attend school on the mainland or at the neighbouring island of Waya and work part-time at the resort for money for school fees, uniforms and textbooks. Payment of the Methodist Church title of FJ\$65 a year per family, by the resort, costs Wayalailai approximately FJ\$19,500 per year.

Socio-cultural impacts of CBT/CBE

Studies show tourism has social outcomes that can have negative and positive impacts on the local community (Friday 2003; George 2004; Martin 1998). For the clans on Wayalilai, positive benefits have been: better access to health facilities on the mainland; improved housing and indoor plumbing; piped water; secondary education; and discretionary income to spend on consumer goods.

The clans on Wayalilai live a simple, frugal, predominantly subsistence lifestyle governed by strict codes of conduct and dress codes within the villages. Alcohol consumption is banned in the village, women must wear tops with sleeves (no t-shirts) and long dresses, *sulus* or skirts, covering their elbows and at least mid-calf. In the evenings men too must wear *sulus*, no shorts or long trousers are allowed. With earnings from tourism, alcohol consumption and cigarette smoking amongst young workers have increased, and *yaqona* consumption, by many, is excessive, with the resort implementing policies to regulate consumption.

In general, villagers feel that tourism has brought positive benefits to the community. However, village elders and older staff members expressed concern at the changing behaviour of young men and women in the village. Women are beginning to dye their hair, wear make-up and, when off the island, jeans, shorts, t-shirts, baseball caps and sunglasses, all of which are banned in the village. The extent to which these changes can be attributed to the 'demonstration effect',³ modernisation and access to western consumer goods, or gifts from family who have migrated overseas, is arguable (see Scheyvens and Russell 2010: 20). Village women purchase many of their items of clothing from second-hand stores, whose clothes are imported from Australia and New Zealand, so this potentially has more influence on their clothing choices than young backpacker tourists. This claim is supported by a study of demonstration effect in the Caribbean which concluded that 'non-tourist influences are more important predictors of ... consumption behaviour' (McElroy and de Albuquerque 1986: 33). Other literature notes that tourism cannot be the only aspect of cultural change (Berno 1995; Crick 1989; MacNaught 1982); local people are also influenced by examples of western lifestyles, advertisements, movies, television, magazines and such social networking sites as Facebook (Fisher 2004: 428).

People are now missing church services; some because they have to work at the resorts on Sundays, for others, because they consumed too much *yaqona* or alcohol the night before. Such behaviour is considered by elders to be disrespectful, and many fear their culture is slowly being changed by tourism. With education, young men and women are starting to question the decisions of their elders at village meetings. This is seen by elders as disrespectful, and youth do not have the right or power to speak out, or disregard the wishes of their elders. Such dissent between elders and youth has led to a gradual migration of some youth, young couples and their families to the mainland (Gibson 2013).

Elders also feel that an outcome of dual income families has been the breakdown of the family unit. Today, with both parents working either at the resorts

or on the mainland, surrogates bring up the children. Children attend secondary school at Waya, or on the mainland, where they board or stay with relatives. Husbands and grandparents are becoming caregivers as many women are employed at the resorts.

Environmental impacts of CBT

Indigenous Fijians have a special relationship with the land or *vanua*, and have a holistic world view, which sees humans as part of the environment rather than separate from the land (Ravuvu 1983: 70). Given their dependency on, and interconnectedness with the environment, they grow up caring and protecting their *vanua*, abide by the ways of the land (*vakavanua*) and see their community as a key component of their identity (Brison 2001; Nainoca 2011). Villagers feel a sense of responsibility and stewardship for their environment, which they consider precious, and important for their survival. This practice is called *mamaroi* or *maroroya*. As children, growing up in the village, Fijians are taught to take care of their *vanua*, family and resources or environment for the future.

Tourism on Wayalilai has provided a number of economic and social benefits for the community, but recently environmental impacts are emerging which need to be addressed. Such impacts may be an inevitable opportunity cost with resort and community development on small islands, and despite the community's best efforts to take care of their environment, over the years, tourism, increased visitors and village developments, e.g. flush toilets, have begun to have negative impacts on the environment. Deforestation to build the resort and village houses has led to landslides and siltation which have affected the reefs. Sand, coral and volcanic rocks have been removed for construction. Runoff from the overflow of septic tanks has led to increased nutrients in the sea and seaweed growth on rocks surrounding the resorts and villages. In 2010, the shortage of fish in the area resulted in a traditional ban or *tabu* of fishing in the waters in front of the resort and Namara village, for a period of ten years. Fishermen have to travel further to get fish, but anecdotal evidence from villagers observes that fish are now returning and more octopus and clams are spotted by divers.

Recommendations

While this resort faces many of the challenges that bedevil western SMTEs in isolated island or rural communities, it also experiences a number of culture-specific challenges. Success of indigenous CBT businesses depends on factors like balancing traditional roles and obligations, understanding customer needs and expectations, and the delivery of quality services and products. The difficulty for people entering a market that is foreign to them underlines the need for relevant training and educational support (Milne 2005). Suitably designed training programmes should enable entrepreneurs to be more flexible in balancing the modern and the traditional. They should include tools that allow entrepreneurs 'to meet clan demands and at the same time meet business goals' (Saffu 2003:

68). The clan should also be included in training so that they come to understand financial commitments and how community obligations can have a negative impact on business success. Consequent meaningful discourse with resort management and the clan could lead to agreement on limiting community obligations (Hailey 1985). By finding a balance, and agreeing on contributions to church, education, traditional obligations and community development, as well as reinvestment in the business by saving and planning for future development, the resort has a better chance at long-term success through improved financial management.

Interviews showed that the clans judge the success of the resort on the basis of their ability to fulfil traditional obligations, contribute to village developments, provide education for youth and paid employment. Whilst both western and indigenous businesses need to focus on making profits, one might argue that they differ in how the profits are spent. In this case study the clans' interests were in spending the profits to meet collectivist needs, with little interest in reinvestment in the business or savings. Wayalilai managed its finances well because every year the manager included future plans and developments in the annual accounts.

The resort has provided a number of opportunities for the poor, but greater linkages can be developed between the resort and the community. At present the resort employs staff from the local villages and women sell predominantly imported souvenirs at the Shell Market at Namara. Opportunities exist for villagers to weave mats, baskets, fans, rings and place mats and make handicrafts to sell to tourists. This would not only help maintain such local cultural practices as weaving and carving, but create a more authentic product. The resort purchases small amounts of fish and agricultural produce from villagers, but the largest proportion of food supplies is purchased from supermarkets and markets on the mainland.

Talanoa sessions at Namara village and the resort uncovered that pre-tourism, the villagers were subsistence farmers and fishermen who sold their fruit, vegetables and fish, every weekend, at the Lautoka market on the mainland. The land at Wayalilai is very rich, and if villagers resumed their farming practices and supplied local resorts, PPT initiatives for the unemployed would increase. Support by government and non-governmental organisations in providing the agricultural training and financial support to begin such initiatives would increase alternative livelihood opportunities. *Yaqona* farming could also be a potential new initiative, given the large amounts consumed in *sevusevu* for tourists and traditional ceremonies, although the returns will take longer to achieve, as the plants take five to seven years to mature. The fishing *tabu* between Wayalilai and Kuata, and the lack of boats in the village have reduced opportunities for local fishermen who now have to travel further afield at great cost. Other opportunities include interpretive tour guiding, story-telling by elders,⁴ Fijian language, dance and handicraft lessons. Apart from the summit hikes at Wayalilai conducted by an elder, the tour guides need training in interpretation, storytelling, flora, fauna and cultural history. There are many interesting

historical sites on the island, including the villages, but guides need to gain the interest of their guests by telling an interesting story based on local history and legend.

From the CBTE's perspective, lending agencies and government policy-makers should attempt to understand the cultural challenges indigenous businesses face, and develop tools and mechanisms that will support new and existing ventures (Foley 2006). As suggested by Farelly (2009: 1–2), the high failure rate of indigenous enterprises in the Pacific might be due to external stakeholders' lack of consideration of 'indigenous human-environment relationships and associated cultural values constituting these entrepreneurial endeavours'. Businesses that consider cultural values and human-environment relationships are more likely to succeed and meet community needs, because indigenous economic activities are both socially and ecologically embedded.

Conclusion

This chapter reviewed research and literature on community-based tourism and the role of tourism in poverty alleviation as a key component of the tourism sector's transformation onto a green growth pathway. Using a case study of Wayalilai Ecotourism Resort in the Yasawa Island Group, it discussed how community-based tourism can provide social and economic benefits to an indigenous community, promote green tourism and long-term sustainability of the product.

This study indicates that rather than evaluating success solely in financial or economic terms, assessment should also include such cultural dimensions as the ability of indigenous entrepreneurs to balance traditional and business obligations and maintain their status within indigenous and local society; it is, after all, their business. Overall, clan members believe the resort is a success, but place a higher level of importance on village development; livelihood impacts – housing, running water, toilets, payment of church tithes and school fees; increased living standards; and the ability to contribute to traditional obligations and ceremonies; rather than profit maximisation, saving and reinvestment in the resort. CBT at Wayalilai has provided extensive economic and social benefits for a once marginalised, remote, island community, and is an example of how, with planning and consideration of cultural aspirations, tourism potential for alleviating poverty can be more than tokenistic.

Notes

- 1 The respondent was the *Turaqa ni koro* or Village Headman who is responsible for keeping records of daily village events, births, deaths, land ownership, etc.
- 2 Thatched houses – Fiji.
- 3 De Kadt stated 'demonstration effect' 'is most easily and frequently seen in the local patterns of consumption which change to imitate those of tourists' (1979: 65).
- 4 The island has a rich cultural heritage, with traditional gods and spirits, e.g. *Ulutini* the snake god with ten heads; *Yalewa soro* – female spirits who wear *salusalus* (garlands) and like partying, local legends and archaeological sites.

References

- 1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39
40
41
42
43
44
45
- Armstrong, R. (2012) 'An analysis of the conditions for success of community based tourism enterprises', International Centre for Responsible Tourism, Occasional Paper, OP 21(2012), 1–52.
- Ashley, C. and Roe, D. (2002) 'Making tourism work for the poor: Strategies and challenges in Southern Africa', *Development Southern Africa*, 19(1): 61–82.
- Berno, T. (1995) 'The socio-cultural and psychological effects of tourism on indigenous cultures', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, New Zealand.
- Bricker, K.S. (2001) 'Ecotourism development in the rural highlands of Fiji', in D. Harrison (ed.), *Tourism and the Less Developed World: Issues and Case Studies*, Wallingford: CAB International, pp. 235–49.
- Brison, K.J. (2001) 'Constructing identity through ceremonial language in rural Fiji', *Ethnology*, 40(4): 309–27.
- Britton, S.G. (1982) 'The political economy of tourism in the third world', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 9: 331–58.
- Brohman, J. (1996) 'New directions in tourism for third world development', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 25(1): 48–70.
- Burns, P. (2005) 'Ecotourism planning and policy Vaka Pasifika', *Tourism and Hospitality Planning & Development*, 2(3): 155–69.
- Chok, S., Macbeth, J. and Warren, C. (2007) 'Tourism as a tool for poverty alleviation: A critical analysis of "pro-poor tourism" and implications for sustainability', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2–3): 144–65.
- Crick, M. (1989) 'Representations of international tourism in the social sciences: Sun, sex, sights, savings and servility', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 18: 307–44.
- De Kadt, E. (1979) 'Social planning for tourism in the developing countries', *Annals of Tourism Research*, January/March: 36–48.
- Eccles, G. and Costa, J. (1996) 'Perspectives on tourism development', *International Journal of Contemporary Hospitality Management*, 8(7): 44–51.
- Evening, E.S.H. (2000) 'A case study of investigation of the factors responsible for limiting the marketing exposure of small-scale village-based tourism schemes in Fiji', unpublished Master's thesis, Lincoln University, Canterbury, New Zealand.
- Farrelly, T.A. (2009) 'Business va'avanua: Cultural hybridisation and indigenous entrepreneurship in The Bouma National Heritage Park, Fiji', unpublished PhD thesis, Massey University, Palmerston North, New Zealand. Online. Available at: http://mro.massey.ac.nz/bitstream/handle/10179/1166/02_whole.pdf?sequence=4 (accessed 10 January 2013).
- Fisher, D. (2004) 'The demonstration effect revisited', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 31(2): 428–46.
- Foley, D. (2006) 'Does business success make you any less indigenous?' *Indigenous Entrepreneurship*, 241–57. Online. Available at: www.swinburne.edu.au/lib/ir/online-conferences/agse2006/foley_p241.pdf (accessed 10 January 2013).
- Friday, J. (2003) 'Performing authenticity: The game of contemporary backpacker tourism (Australia)', unpublished PhD thesis, Lakehead University, Canada.
- George, E.W. (2004) 'Commodifying local culture for tourism development: The case of one rural community in Atlantic Canada', unpublished PhD thesis, The University of Guelph.
- Gibson, D. (2003) 'More than smiles: Employee empowerment facilitating the delivery of high quality consistent services in tourism and hospitality', unpublished Master's thesis, University of the South Pacific, Suva, Fiji.

- Gibson, D. (2013) 'The cultural challenges faced by indigenous-owned small medium tourism enterprises (SMTEs) in Fiji. Case studies from the Yasawa Islands', *The Journal of Pacific Studies*, 32: 106–31.
- Gibson, D., Pratt, S. and Movono, A. (2012) 'Tribe tourism: A case study of the Tribe-wanted Project on Vorovoro, Fiji', in S. Fullagar, K. Markwell and E. Wilson (eds), *Slow Tourism: Experiences and Mobilities*, Bristol: Channel View, pp. 322–47.
- Goodwin, H. (2007) 'Indigenous tourism and poverty reduction', in R. Butler and T. Hinch (eds), *Tourism and Indigenous Peoples*, Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, pp. 84–94.
- Hailey, J.M. (1985) 'Indigenous business in Fiji', Honolulu: Pacific Islands Development Programme, East-West Centre.
- Harris, N. (1971) *Beliefs in Society: Problem of Ideology*, Harmondsworth, UK: Pelican Books.
- Harrison, D. (ed.) (1998) *Ecotourism and Village-based Tourism: A Policy and Strategy for Fiji*, Suva, Fiji: Government Printer.
- Harrison, D. (2008) 'Pro-poor tourism: A critique', *Third World Quarterly*, 29(5): 851–68.
- Harrison, D. and Brandt, J. (2003) 'Ecotourism in Fiji', in D. Harrison (ed.), *Pacific Island Tourism*, New York: Cognizant Publications, pp. 139–51.
- Harrison, D. and Schipani, S. (2007) 'Lao tourism and poverty alleviation: Community-based tourism in the private sector', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2&3): 194–230.
- Harrison, D., Sawailau, S. and Malani, M. (2003) 'Ecotourism and village-based tourism: A policy and strategy for Fiji', in D. Harrison (ed.), *Pacific Island Tourism*, New York: Cognizant Publications, pp. 157–70.
- Hyde, G. (2006) 'Solomon Islands Tourism Sector Strategy Plan', Honiara: Ministry for Tourism and Culture, Solomon Islands.
- Johannesson, G., Skaptadottir, U. and Benediktsson, K. (2003) 'Coping with social capital? The cultural economy of tourism in the north', *Sociologia Ruralis*, 43(1): 3–16.
- Jones, S. (2005) 'Community-based ecotourism: The significance of social capital', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 32(2): 303–4.
- Joppe, M. (1996) 'Sustainable community tourism development revisited', *Tourism Management*, 17(7): 475–9.
- Levett, R. and McNally, R. (2003) *A Strategic Environmental Assessment of Fiji's Tourism Development Plan*. Online. Available at: www.worldwildlife.org/what/wherework/coraltriangle/WWFBinaryitem7758.pdf (accessed 10 June 2013).
- Lipman, G., DeLacy, T., Vorster, S., Hawkins, R. and Jiang, M. (2012) (eds) *Green Growth and Travelism: Letters from Leaders*, Oxford, UK: Goodfellow Publishers.
- Macbeth, J., Carson, D. and Northcote, J.K. (2004) 'Social capital, tourism and regional development: SPCC as a basis for innovation and sustainability', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 7(6): 502–22.
- MacNaught, T. (1982) 'Mass tourism and the dilemmas of modernisation in Pacific Island communities', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 9(3): 359–81.
- Martin, B.M. (1998) 'Tourism as a means of economic and sociocultural adaptation in a Fijian village', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Colorado.
- McElroy, J. and de Albuquerque, K. (1986) 'The tourism demonstration effect in the Caribbean', *Journal of Travel Research*, 25(31): 31–4.
- Milne, S. (2005) *The Training Needs of South Pacific Tourism SME Owners and Managers 2005*. Online. Available at: http://csrs2.aut.ac.nz/NZTRI/nztrinew/documents/SPTO_Training_Needs_Final_Report.pdf (accessed 10 July 2013).

- 1 Mitchell, R.E. (2003) 'Community-based tourism: Moving from rhetoric to practice',
2 *E-Review of Tourism Research*, 1(1): 1–4.
- 3 Nainoca, W.U. (2011) 'The influence of the Fijian way of life (bula vakavanua) on
4 community-based marine conservation in Fiji, with a focus on social capital and tradi-
5 tional ecological knowledge', unpublished PhD thesis, Massey University, Palmerston
6 North, New Zealand.
- 7 Nakalougaga, W. (2011) *Turaqa ni koro* or Village Headman, responsible for keeping
8 records of daily village events, births, deaths, land ownership, etc. Namara. Personal
9 communication.
- 10 Ostram, E. (2000) *Social Capital: A Fad or Fundamental Concept?* 172–214. Bloomington:
11 Centre for the Study of Institutions, Population and Environmental Change,
12 Indiana University. Online. Available at: www.exclusion.net/images/pdf/778_latuk_ostrom.pdf (accessed 21 August 2012).
- 13 Pretty, J. and Ward, H. (2001) 'Social capital and the environment', *World Development*,
14 29(2): 209–27.
- 15 Ratugolea, V. (2010) Personal communication, 18 April.
- 16 Ravuvu, A.D. (1983) *Vaka i-Taukei: The Fijian Way of Life*, Suva: Institute of Pacific
17 Studies, University of the South Pacific. Reprinted 2012.
- 18 Saffu, K. (2003) 'The role and impact of culture on South Pacific Island entrepreneurs',
19 *International Journal of Entrepreneurial Behaviour and Research*, 9(2): 55–73.
- 20 Scheyvens, R. (2002) *Tourism for Development Empowering Communities*, Harlow:
21 Prentice Hall.
- 22 Scheyvens, R. (2009) 'Pro-poor tourism: Is there value beyond the rhetoric?' *Tourism
23 Recreation Research*, 34(2): 191–6.
- 24 Scheyvens, R. and Russell, M. (2010) *Sharing the Riches of Tourism*, Palmerston North:
25 School of People, Environment and Planning, Massey University.
- 26 Sofield, T., Bauer, J., DeLacy, T., Lipman, G. and Daugherty, S. (2004) *Sustainable
27 Tourism-Elimination Poverty (ST-EP): An Overview*, Queensland, Australia: CRC for
28 Sustainable Tourism.
- 29 Stone, L. (1989) 'Cultural cross-roads of community participation in development: A case
30 from Nepal', *Human Organisation*, 48(3): 206–13.
- 31 Tosun, C. (2000) 'Limits to community participation in the tourism development process
32 in developing countries', *Tourism Management*, 21(6): 613–33.
- 33 Tosun, C. (2002) 'Host perceptions of impacts: A comparative tourism study', *Annals of
34 Tourism Research*, 29(1): 231–53.
- 35 United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and World Tourism Organisation
36 (UNWTO) (2012) *Tourism in the Green Economy – A Background Report*, Madrid:
37 UNWTO. Available at: www.unep.org/greeneconomy/Portals/88/documents/ger/ger_final_dec_2011/Tourism%20in%20the%20green_economy%20unwto_unep.pdf (accessed 20 September 2012).
- 38 United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UNESCAP)
39 (2003) *Poverty Alleviation through Sustainable Tourism Development*. New York: UN.
40 Online. Available at: http://unescap.org/tdw/Publications/TPTS_pubs/Pub_2265_full-text.pdf (accessed 23 September 2012).
- 41 Zhao, W. and Brent-Ritchie, J.R. (2007) 'Tourism and poverty alleviation: An integrative
42 research framework', *Current Issues in Tourism*, 10(2&3): 119–43.
- 43 Zhao, W., Brent-Ritchie, J.R. and Echtner, C.M. (2011) 'Social capital and tourism entre-
44 preneurship', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 38(4): 1570–93.
- 45