Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of
the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
by
Apisalome Movono
October 2017
Na Irevurevu: Exploits, Resilience, and Tourism Development in Vatuolalai Village, Coral Coast, Fiji

Apisalome Movono

BA, GCTT, MA (S. Pac)

Department of International Business and Asian Studies
Griffith Business School
Griffith University

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

October 2017
Abstract

It is suggested that once development begins in an area, its Social and Ecological Systems (SES) endure varying patterns and extents of change. Such changes depend on the livelihood activities of people as well as the adaptive and reflexive capacities of the SES components. Since tourism development in Fiji relies largely on indigenous land, customary marine resources, and native culture, indigenous people are major stakeholders. As a result, indigenous Fijian communities have been exposed to many opportunities and challenges that require understanding and proper management. This research is, therefore, an attempt at improving understanding of indigenous Fijian social and ecological systems, their links to livelihoods activities, and the adaptivity of communities. Essentially, it endeavors to shed light on how the people of Vatuolalai village recognize, exploit, and create opportunities that arise as a result of development and participation in tourism.

This thesis will review the literature on tourism development, sustainable livelihoods, complex adaptive systems, and resilience and tourism in Fiji; highlight significant gaps, and raise the key questions that will guide this empirical research. This research used ethnographic techniques by employing localized paradigms and operationalizing a bundle of predominantly qualitative methods tailored specifically to suit the indigenous Fijian context. The findings will be presented as four published papers that will shed light on the experiences, adaptivity and the resilience of villagers in the hope of contributing to knowledge and offering directions for the integrative planning of tourism development in the Pacific and the world.

The findings of this empirical study will fill a significant void in the literature and provide evidence of the complex, multi-layered, and interrelated nature of indigenous Fijian society. It will suggest that because villagers have adapted to tourism as a primary livelihood source, issues of resilience and vulnerability have arisen. The following chapters will show that indigenous communities are not mere spectators in development, but are active agents who cope and evolve with the challenges associated with tourism. This thesis will demonstrate that indigenous women have become empowered through a process initiated by participation in tourism employment and enforced through entrepreneurial success. Essentially, this research will add to understanding about social capital and the emergence of other capitals in the adaptive process, emphasizing that financial capital alone does not create development, but tourism and other forms of capital does.
Ultimately, this study is intended to act as a platform for which indigenous communities involved in tourism can be better understood. It adds to conversations regarding the validity of using indigenous methodologies and confirms that the use of localized paradigms by indigenous researchers improves the quality of phenomenological inquiry. Perspectives gained from this study can increase synergies between various stakeholders and be a propellant, encouraging genuinely holistic approaches towards tourism development.
Statement of Originality

Statement by Author

This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.

Signature… ………………Date…10th October 2017……………………

Name…Apisalome Movono……………….. Student ID….s2955444…………………….

Statement by Supervisors

The research in this thesis was performed under our supervision and to our knowledge is the sole work of Mr. Apisalome Rakarawa Naisoso Movono.

Professor Heidi Dahles
Principal supervisor

Professor Susanne Becken
Associate supervisor
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract ........................................................................................................................................... 2  
Statement of Originality .................................................................................................................. 4  
Acknowledgement .......................................................................................................................... 8  
Dedication ......................................................................................................................................... 9  
Thesis-Related Research Outputs to Date ....................................................................................... 10  
Acknowledgement of published papers included in the thesis ...................................................... 11  
List of Tables .................................................................................................................................. 12  
List of Figures .................................................................................................................................. 12  
Chapter 1.0: Introduction ............................................................................................................... 13  
1.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................................... 13  
1.2 Rationale .................................................................................................................................... 15  
1.3 Purpose of the study ................................................................................................................... 19  
1.4 The problem at hand .................................................................................................................. 20  
1.5 Objectives of this research ....................................................................................................... 20  
1.6 Organisation of the thesis ......................................................................................................... 21  
Chapter 2.0: Research methods ...................................................................................................... 23  
2.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................................... 23  
2.2 The research area: the Coral Coast ............................................................................................ 23  
2.3 The case study: Vatuolalai village .............................................................................................. 25  
2.4 Decolonising research paradigms: The Vanua Research Framework ........................................ 26  
2.5 Research strategy ...................................................................................................................... 30  
2.6 Data collection ........................................................................................................................... 32  
2.10 Methods .................................................................................................................................... 35  
2.20 Analysis ..................................................................................................................................... 41  
2.21 Ethical considerations ............................................................................................................. 44  
Chapter 3.0: Conceptualising destinations as a Vanua: An examination of the evolution and resilience of a Fijian social and ecological system .................................................... 46  
3.1 Introduction ............................................................................................................................... 47  
3.2 Resilience and Complex Adaptive Systems ............................................................................. 47  
3.3 Methods ...................................................................................................................................... 51  
3.4 Background: tourism in Fiji ...................................................................................................... 52  
3.5 The research area ...................................................................................................................... 53  
3.6 The case study: Vatuolalai village .............................................................................................. 53  
3.7 Vanua: a complex and adaptive social and ecological system ............................................... 54  
3.8 Economic system ....................................................................................................................... 55  
3.9 Social system ............................................................................................................................ 57  
3.10 The ecological system ............................................................................................................ 59  
3.11 Conclusions ............................................................................................................................ 63
6.10 The 1990s–2000s: Causeway construction: Awareness, saturation, and consolidation..........................................................................................................................................................121
6.11 The 2000s: Realisation, adaptivity, and coming full circle ..............................................................124
6.12 Discussion and conclusions .................................................................................................................125

Chapter 7.0: Conclusions and recommendations .........................................................................................129

Appendices.......................................................................................................................................................137
Appendix A Interview guiding questions .........................................................................................................137
Appendix B Household survey questionnaire .................................................................................................140
Appendix C. Status and details of female entrepreneurs of Vatuolalai village ............................................151
Appendix D .......................................................................................................................................................153
Appendix E Research timeframe ....................................................................................................................155

References.........................................................................................................................................................156
Acknowledgement

At this point, I would like first to indicate my acknowledgement for the guidance of my God, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, the almighty God of the Israelites, the King of Kings, and the only one who deserves all glory and credit for my everything.

“A man’s heart plans his way, but God, the creator, directs his steps” (Prov. 16:9).

This thesis will indicate that I am the sole author of this work. However, there are numerous individuals who must be acknowledged for their unrelenting support and inspiration, which has made possible the completion of this thesis. All errors and flaws identified in this work are mine alone.

I would first like to extend my appreciation for the guidance provided by my supervisors, Professor Heidi Dahles and Professor Susanne Becken, who have supported me through the course of my study. I am fortunate and deeply honored to have studied under your guidance and leadership. The depth and detailed nature of direction that you have provided have considerably developed my research and academic skills, and for this, I am forever indebted to you.

I also extend my gratitude to the Turaga na Tui Davutukia and the people of Vatuolalai for granting me access to your community and treating me as one of your own. Apakuki Tasere and your family, dreu, vina’a va’alevu for your support. “Vakadomobula”, thank you for your hospitality and foresight in initiating the ideas for this research and foremost for providing me with valuable information about your vanua.

Additionally, I would like to thank my relatives and friends in Brisbane. Kuku Serevi and Nau Kathy Temo, thank you for opening your hearts and home to us. To the Turaga Mainacoqumu and your family, vinaka vakalevu for your support. To the Christian Mission Fellowship community, Talatala Kuilamu, Pastor Stan and the Brisbane CMF family, thank you for your kindness and acceptance. To my comrade and brother in arms, Apisai Naiyabo, vina’ava’alevu kai noqu for your brotherhood, and for being my loyal friend and through all the difficult times since the year 2000. FLOREAT VITI! Nepolian Rema, Brent Whitting, and Buka Sokovagone, thank you for introducing me to Queensland and for making me feel at home. To Avito Nakalevu, Saki Kabakoro, Asi Laqai, Dan Waqairatavo, Seci Tuiwai,
without your friendship, I would not have endured. To my blood brother, Lipe Verebasaga, thank you for taking the time and making long journeys to visit me and my family in Brisbane. To all the QVS Old Boys back in Fiji, Class of 2004, NSDIE brothers and my Kai Noqu’s, TuTi and TuJope Caucau in the USA thank you for your backing.

To the people of Sovatabua, the yavusa Kama, and Mataqali Salia. In my time away from “the bay of always nice” I always long to return and to make my vanua proud. Let this thesis be my contribution to the vanua for the many years away from home.

To my in-laws, the Bolaitamana family. My mother-in-law Lilieta Bolaitamana, Marica, Mike (and the Bemana girls), Jone, Eliki, Simione, and Eparama Jeremaia, thank you for your prayers and support for Elizabeth and me. Our daughters and family are grateful to you for your help. Lastly, to my family at the “White House” in Buca village, Taveuni, and in Tagimoucia Place, to my late grandmother Bubu Lice, Lice (Esther, Jacob and family), Liku, Norman, Nana, and Tata. Vina’a va’alevu for your unrelenting support; this thesis is a culmination of our family’s effort and the values and lessons taught and learned at home.

**Dedication**

To my dear parents, Apisalome and Ilisapeci Movono.

For their indefatigable struggle in carrying me, my siblings and our family this far: to you both, I am indebted for everything you have provided to us, your children and grandchildren. You have set an excellent example and have shown us that nothing is impossible if our hearts are willing and our spirits obedient to you, our Gods on earth. Vina’a va’alevu na veituberi vakalou, e bau lagilagi, cecere ka uasivi dina ni drau bula taka na bula rarama ka kena utodei tu na “loloma” – sa ikoya na iyau vaka mareqeti duadua vei ira kece. All my achievements are the result of your labor, sacrifice, toils and love for our family.

and

To my precious daughters, Lois, Kuru, Lilieta and my loving wife, Elizabeth Bolaitamana Movono. Thank you for the continuous love, support, and enthusiasm. Thank you for your loyalty, for being accepting of my many flaws, understanding my many weaknesses, and for always being by my side despite my shortfalls and many hours away from home. Vina’a va’alevu
Thesis-Related Research Outputs to Date

Work published


Refereed conference presentations


Awards and grants

1. First Runner-up - Griffith University, Three Minute Thesis Competition Finals.
2. First Place – Griffith Business School, Three Minute Thesis Competition.
3. First Place – Department of International Business and Asian Studies, Three Minute Thesis Competition.
4. Special Distinction Award – Griffith University HDR Poster Competition
5. GGRS HDR Conference Travel Grant.
6. Australian Leadership Awards Scholar/Australia Awards Scholarship (DFAT).
Acknowledgement of published papers included in the thesis

Included in this thesis is a book chapter in Chapter 3 for which I am the sole author. Additionally included in the thesis are journal articles in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, which are co-authored with other researchers and for which I am the lead author. My contribution to each co-authored paper is outlined at the front of each relevant chapter.

(Signed) Apisalome Movono

(Date) 10th October 2017

(Countersigned) Supervisor: Heidi Dahles

(Date) 10th October 2017
List of Tables

Table 1 Research Objectives and Related Chapters .......................................................... 21
Table 2 Resilience Characteristics of the Vatuolalai SES Before and After Tourism Involvement ......................................................................................................................... 61
Table 3 Pre- and Post-tourism Community Characteristics of Vatuolalai Village ..... 78
Table 4 Research Objectives and Summary of Outcomes ............................................. 131

List of Figures

Figure 1. Map of the Fiji Islands. Source: SBK, 2016. ................................................. 16
Figure 2. Map of the District of Korolevu-i-wai, Coral Coast. Source: SBK, 2016 .. 24
Figure 3. Vanua social and ecological systems and resilience model ....................... 55
Figure 4. Vatuolalai village. Source: Department of Lands 2009 ............................ 71
Figure 5. Vatuolalai society post-tourism structure .................................................. 80
Figure 6. Map of Fiji. Source: SBK, 2016. ................................................................. 110
Figure 7. Pre-existing social–ecological system ......................................................... 114
Figure 8. Vatuolalai village, 1978. Source: Fiji Department of Lands, 1978 ......... 117
Figure 9. New tourism-shaped social and ecological system .................................... 120
Figure 10. Vatuolalai village 2009. Source: Fiji Department of Lands, 2009 ........ 123
Chapter 1.0: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Many small island developing countries perceive tourism to be an invaluable tool that can help realise their national aspirations and development ambitions (Movono, 2012). Tourism in its many forms has been supported for its ability to promote national growth, improve local standards, and encourage conservation and sustainable development of communities (Ayres, 2000; Harrison, 2010). Pacific Island countries including Fiji embrace tourism for its economic contributions, opportunity-creating potential, and as a provider of diversified livelihoods for its people. Many indigenous communities have taken advantage of its socio-economic and environmental potential and have created new businesses, created natural protected areas, gained formal employment, and have adapted to tourism as a means of creating a living (Movono, Harrison, & Pratt, 2015; Scheyvens & Russell, 2012). It is argued that once development of any sort begins in a geographical area, its Social and Ecological Systems (SES) presumably endure varying intensity and patterns of change depending on the flexibility of the system components and their ability to adapt (Strickland-Munro, Allison, & Moore, 2009). Though this view may only be limited to specific examples, it provides an idea of the many complex ways in which communities can respond, cope, and deal with issues originating from development; in particular, those that are tourism-based. This thesis is, therefore, an attempt to foster greater understanding of how indigenous Fijian communities respond, adapt, and develop as a result of their participation in tourism.

In Fiji, tourism stands out as the most logical of economic alternatives because it fits well within the apparent challenges faced by island nations in the Pacific in attaining industrial economies of scale. Fiji, as with many of its Pacific Island neighbours, has limited resources, land-based capacities, and finite alternatives for traditional forms of development (Harrison and Prasad, 2013). Historically, much of the Pacific has been supported by primary industries that featured production of copra, sugar, bananas, logging, and fisheries, all of which have been in decline over the past decades (Prasad, 2014). Although much of the Pacific has gained independence, most islands have become more dependent on overseas aid and rely on either agriculture, logging, fisheries, and tourism as key industries. Tourism is
prominent in the trade accounts of a handful of countries, which include Palau and Cook Islands (50%); and Vanuatu, Samoa, Tonga, Solomon Islands, and Fiji (with over 30% of GDP derived from tourism) (South Pacific Tourism Organisation, 2013). As such, Fiji lends itself to being an ideal area in which to conduct tourism research because of its ranking in the region and, more importantly, because of its value in yielding findings that will be of relevance to policy directions at the national level and the greater Pacific region.

The United Nations Declaration on Indigenous Rights, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs, 2005), and the more recent Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), as well as the general international stance on sustainable development and climate change action have all highlighted the need to act aggressively for the protection of biological diversity and indigenous peoples. Tourism in its many forms has been promoted by the Fijian government, education institutions, and by the private sector as an industry with the potential to help achieve improved quality of life, cultural preservation, and increased wealth for the most marginalised indigenous communities. However, there remains much ambiguity about whether tourism provides benefits or risks because there is little empirical evidence to support assumptions made about indigenous Fijian communities and tourism. Much of the literature is fragmented, or focused on specific elements of indigenous society, and rarely acknowledges the complex roles played by indigenous people as actors in their holistic development. Moreover, previous studies in Fiji have overlooked the complex nature of social and ecological systems, a key feature of any society, focusing instead on the impacts of tourism on communities, poverty, and development, and their perceived influence imposed on these “dependent” communities (Douglas & Douglas, 1996; Mbaiwa & Sakuze, 2009; Movono, 2012; Ravuvu, 1987; Tao & Wall, 2009). It is, therefore, the role of this thesis to shed light on the social and ecological nature of Fijian community systems and provide insight into how key components interact with, respond, and adapt to the opportunities and challenges that originate from tourism. For this purpose, this research has established a case study of a Fijian community, Vatuolalai village, located along the Coral Coast, a pioneering tourism area in the Fiji Islands.
1.2 Background

The Republic of Fiji is an archipelago of 333 islands with a land mass of about 18,274 sq km. Located 175 degrees east longitude and 18 degrees south latitude, Fiji enjoys a warm, tropical climate, suitable for resort-based tourism all year round (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2010). Its proximity to the major source markets of Australia and New Zealand, its good destination image, and the relatively cheap nature of Fijian holiday packages make it an ideal tourist destination in the Pacific. In 2007, the Fiji Population Census indicated that Fiji had a population of some 843,000 people, who are concentrated on the main island of Viti Levu, where the nation’s capital, Suva, is located. Viti Levu, meaning “Big Fiji”, is the largest (10,390 sq km), most populated, and most developed island. In contrast, the island of Vanua Levu is smaller (5,538 sq km), more sparsely populated, and economically less developed (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2010). In Fiji over 87% of all land is classified as “native land” and is communally owned by clans (mataqali). The land ownership has been a central and sensitive political issue throughout Fiji’s history as an independent state. Over a quarter of the population is concentrated around its capital city of Suva, as well as Lautoka and Nadi towns, all on the main island of Viti Levu (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2015). This island is also where the majority of Fiji’s economic interests are located, with Suva being the main industrial hub, and the western part (Nadroga and Baravi?) where sugar, gold, and more importantly, the bulk of Fiji’s tourism resources are situated (Figure 1).
Fiji has throughout its history maintained itself as a leader in economics, trade, and social influence among its Pacific Island neighbours. Its geographic location, colonial past, history as a central trading port, and place as a pioneer of regional cooperation has further enforced Fiji’s role as a major political actor in the Pacific (Harrison & Pratt, 2010). Fiji has been named as the hub of the region, and it is where most of the regionally owned institutions such as the Pacific Islands Forum, The University of the South Pacific, and the South Pacific Tourism Organisation are based. Regarding development, Fiji is relatively well endowed with social and public infrastructure, yet notoriously unstable in political terms. Once a powerful sugar producer for the British Empire, Fiji now experiences high unemployment, high levels of foreign debt, sluggish economic growth, and the high levels of poverty that are typical of developing island states. Its socio-economic policies, industrial capacities, and its volatile political landscape have contributed to its current state of affairs.

Although it boasts some key industries, Fiji has been classified as having a Migration Remittances, Aid and Bureaucratic (MIRAB) economy (although this is debatable), which
indicates that development is driven by high levels of overseas and, rural-to-urban migration, remittances, foreign aid, and a high level of debt and employment in the civil service. Economists consider such situations as fragile because a small industrial base supports economic stability and sustains long-term development (Rao, 2002). Figures provided by Fiji’s Ministry of Economy (2017) indicate that the Fijian economy is being supplemented on a yearly basis (from 2007 to 2017) by between FJD$50 million to FJD$150 million (AUD$23 to AUD$50 million) in foreign aid, which comes in the form of development grants and (more often) in the form of loans (Fiji Ministry of Economy, 2017). Remittances are also significant sources of foreign injections as Fijians living and working overseas continue to send money back to their relatives. Capital investments from 2004 to 2014 have not been strong and hovered at just over 10.4% of GDP, and they are attributed largely to increased infrastructure investments and private sector investments in industries such as property development and tourism. The majority of investments recorded from 2007 to 2014 have come mostly by way of the tourism industry through investments in Fiji’s hotel infrastructure and, more significantly, in Fiji’s revamped airline industry (Fiji Ministry of Tourism and Trade, 2016). Although tax revenue remains an important driver for development, exports and revenue derived from its major industries are considered essential in providing much-needed investments, foreign exchange earnings, and GDP contributions. Of these industries, tourism is the most significant.

In 2014, Fiji’s overall Human Development Index (HDI) ranking was 0.724, which places Fiji favourably in the relatively high human development group and above the average for countries in the East Asia and Pacific region (UNDP, 2015). Despite this ranking, the HDI masks inequality in the distribution of development and obscures the extent and nature of social problems; it also makes little mention of the development needs of specific communities. At present, large disparities exist between the major ethnic groups (indigenous Fijians or iTaukei and ethnic Indians) and the urban and rural populace in Fiji. Figures from the 2007 census reveal that the majority of rural dwellers are indigenous Fijians engaged in mainly semi-subsistence activities, and are living in poverty (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2015). Data from the overall figure of employed people in Fiji indicate that while most of the salary-based work remains in government, the majority of employed people in Fiji still earn an average of FJD$2.68 or around USD$1.26 an hour. The majority of Fiji’s workforce is involved in semi-casual employment outside the government, most of which is in tourism or a tourism-linked sector (Fiji Ministry of Tourism and Trade, 2016). With a decline in sugar
production, textiles, and divestments from mainstream agriculture, and with the decline in mining and limited opportunities elsewhere, tourism has been established by the government as a key driver for Fiji’s future development (Belt Collins, 1973; Fiji Ministry of Tourism and Trade, 2016). Specific national attention to tourism is prevalent because tourism is perceived to be able to provide sustained benefits, stimulate multi-sectoral growth, and encourage greater participation by indigenous people in productive economic activity.

Indigenous people collectively own 87% of all land and customary fishing areas (qoliqoli) in Fiji and are therefore key stakeholders of tourism development (Harrison & Prasad, 2013). However, they are rarely the main beneficiaries. Proponents of sustainable tourism argue the need for more symbiotic relationships between tourism stakeholders and the need for more local control and retention of tourism benefits. Tourism, as with other industries in Fiji, is mostly top-driven and therefore largely controlled by multi-national companies (MNCs) and wealthy local interests. However, unlike other industries (with the exclusion of agriculture and mining), tourism in Fiji relies heavily on indigenous land and customary marine resources, as well as indigenous Fijian culture as a product. Indigenous participation in tourism development in Fiji is mostly confined to the leasing of their land to developers under special arrangements brokered (by a statutory body) in the best interests of landowners. This land administration process used to be exclusively handled by the iTaukei Land Trust Board (the trustee of all native Fijian land) but is now also handled by the Fiji Land Bank, an initiative of the Prime Minister’s office.

Recently, new government policies and legislation such as the Land Use Decree (2010) have been introduced to fast-track the development of native land, and promote rapid development and economic growth. In the majority of tourism-based land arrangements, landowners are recipients of lease payments, employed as workers in hotels, and rarely included or considered as active participants in decision-making, development, or hotel ownership processes. A study on poverty in Fiji revealed that a majority of indigenous Fijians live well below the poverty line, do not participate in business, and are well below the national average regarding secondary and tertiary education (Fiji Ministry of National Planning, 2005). Despite an appreciation for the underdeveloped nature of indigenous Fijian lifestyle, very little is known about how notions of development are perceived, interpreted, measured, or pursued at the communal level. Even fewer studies have ever been undertaken to understand how indigenous Fijians respond, develop, or are adapting to development.
Tourism is Fiji’s most important industry, main foreign exchange earner, the largest employer, and is dependent on mostly indigenous resources (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2015; Fiji Ministry of Tourism, 2009; Harrison and Pratt, 2010; Rao, 2002). In 2016, Fiji received a total of 680,000 visitors, about 53% of whom were from Australia, 22% from New Zealand, and the rest distributed among the United States, Europe, and Asia. Tourism contributes to about 32% of Fiji’s GDP, employs both directly and indirectly around 60,000 workers, and is one of the major users of the natural environment and indigenous culture as resources (Fiji Ministry of Economy, 2017). It is estimated that over 76% of all of Fiji’s tourism resources (assets other than land) are owned or managed by a multi-national or foreign company, fostered in part through government incentives to encourage even more foreign ownership of Fiji’s tourism resources (Harrison & Pratt, 2010). This move towards increased foreign ownership and consequent alienation of locals from development makes this study about of how indigenous communities can best benefit from tourism even more urgent. As Samy (1980) explained, indigenous communities are mere recipients of crumbs from the master’s table and that more must be done to increase benefits for local communities.

Tourism has, over the past 50 years, grown to become the primary source of economic wealth in indigenous communities in Fiji’s rural and coastal regions, including Nadi, Yasawa, and the Coral Coast. Specific communities have (through involvement in tourism) improved housing and village standards and used tourism as a source of increased wealth, thereby cementing tourism’s image as the ideal industry for the development of indigenous Fijian communities (Harrison & Pratt, 2010; Movono, 2012; Prasad, 2014). Essentially this study has employed the required immersive and in-depth community-based engagement needed in order to understand better the issues and the social realities often ignored by front-stage quantitative studies. As such, this thesis contributes to understanding how indigenous Fijians exploit opportunities, develop, and are adapting to over four decades of tourism-related development.

1.3 Purpose of the study

This thesis seeks to understand how indigenous Fijians face challenges, respond to, and create opportunities that occur as a result of tourism development. It also endeavours to further knowledge about the processes of change and adaptation experienced by these communities. The study will broaden our understanding of how the social-ecological systems
of indigenous Fijian communities affect and are affected by tourism development, using Vatuolalai village as a study site.

1.4 The problem at hand

Tourism development is encouraged and pursued by the Fiji government as a means to attain improved economic stability and to generate wealth for its dependent communities. In 2015, the Fiji government declared that it would continue the expansion of the tourism sector through new investment legislations to encourage foreign investors and promote rapid utilisation of land (Land Use Decree, 2012; Investment Decree, 2014). Such policy directions will undoubtedly affect indigenous communities and encourage processes that may result in irreparable changes that can be avoided or reconciled through better understanding and planning. There is a dearth of knowledge on how indigenous Fijian social and ecological systems respond to tourism development, and little understanding of the subsequent socio-ecological changes endured by indigenous systems as a result. For a small island developing state such as Fiji that has become highly dependent on tourism, it is vital to have an accurate understanding of how major stakeholders such as indigenous people participate, affect, and are affected by tourism development. An understanding will broaden perspectives and provide relevant directions for improved sustainable policy formulation (Movono, 2012).

This thesis, therefore, seeks to answer the question of how indigenous Fijian communities respond to tourism development and how they are adapting to changes and challenges. Essentially, this raises further questions that are translated into the aims, objectives and methodological orientation and findings of this study. Hence, questions such as how indigenous Fijians create opportunities, how they respond as a society, and what changes if any have occurred as a result of tourism development become relevant.

1.5 Objectives of this research

The title of this research is adopted from the Fijian term na irevurevu, which translates as “the responses, impacts, reflexes, and changes that may occur as a result of something”. In the case of this research, its title encapsulates its purpose: “Na irevurevu: experiences, adaptivity, resilience and tourism development in Vatuolalai village, Coral Coast, Fiji”.

Following from this, the goals and objectives are as follows:
(a) to formulate a conceptual model (using the social-ecological system framework) conceptualising Vatuolalai village as a social-ecological system;

(b) to examine how tourism affects the vulnerabilities and the resilience of the community;

(c) to identify and analyse locally defined socio-economic measurements of development and relevant development structures within the community;

(d) to examine and analyse the roles of women, in opportunity-creation entrepreneurship and communal development;

(e) to understand local perceptions about the nature and causes of social and ecological change occurring over 40 years; and

(f) to generate findings that can enhance the role of local communities in sustainable tourism development and sustainable policy formulation.

1.6 Organisation of the thesis

This thesis is comprised of seven chapters, of which four are presented as a series of published papers. The following chapter will provide an outline of the methods used in this study, and discuss in detail how the data were collected and analysed. The findings of the study are then presented as individual papers that shed light on the key themes and issues which immerge from the data and respond directly to the objectives above.

Table 1 outlines the general layout of the thesis and highlights the links between the objectives and each corresponding chapter.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objectives</th>
<th>Corresponding chapters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>To formulate a conceptual model (using the social-ecological system framework) conceptualising Vatuolalai village as a social-ecological system</td>
<td><strong>Chapter 3.0:</strong> Conceptualising Destinations as a Vanua: An Examination of the Evolution and Resilience of a Fijian Social and Ecological System</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>• To examine how tourism has affected the vulnerabilities and the resilience of the community</strong></td>
<td><strong>Chapter 4.0: Social capital in the Pacific: A Tale of a Village, Two Tribes, and a Resort in Fiji</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>• To identify and analyse locally defined socio-economic measurements of development and relevant development structures within the community</strong></td>
<td><strong>Chapter 5.0: Female Empowerment and Tourism: A Focus on Businesses in a Fijian Village</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>• To examine and analyse the roles of community members in opportunity creation entrepreneurship and communal development</strong></td>
<td><strong>Chapter 6.0: Fijian Culture and the Environment: A Focus on the Ecological and Social Interconnectedness of Tourism Development</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>• To understand local perceptions about the nature and causes of social and ecological change occurring over 40 years</strong></td>
<td><strong>Chapter 7: Conclusions and Recommendations</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>• To generate findings that can enhance the role of local communities in sustainable tourism development and sustainable policy formulation</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Chapter 2.0: Research methods

2.1 Introduction

This research explores the development of indigenous Fijians and their responses and reactions to tourism. The research questions, design, and methods are bundled specifically for their applicability and suitability in achieving the aims of this study. This study has utilised qualitative methods with a strong focus on ethnographic and indigenous techniques. The methodological orientation is designed to emulate good practice in the conduct of empirical research within indigenous Fijian communities. Existing literature strongly suggests that if community-based research is to be effective in supporting informed decisions, it must be tailored to suit the specific community, culture, and people being researched (Gibson, 2014; Mbaïwa & Stronza, 2010; Scheyvens, 2000; Tao & Wall, 2009; Wu & Pearce, 2013). In Fiji, much of the literature is dominated by studies that have paid little consideration to and made little recognition of, localised sensitivities. Quantitative studies and their use in indigenous research in the Pacific have been criticised for their lack of consideration for the often complex and embedded local contexts. Community-based research demands that people’s stories are heard and that appropriate discussions are held to extract the true meaning regarding specific phenomena. Indigenous Fijians, like many indigenous communities, are highly embedded, multi-layered, and require genuine immersion, engagement, and in-depth data collection to gauge specific truths. This research has recognised the need for communities to be placed at the centre of research, for placing indigenous people as the focus of inquiry, and for contributing to the decolonisation of tourism research in Fiji.

2.2 The research area: the Coral Coast

Tourism in Fiji began in the early 1900s and was characterised by small-scale hotel developments that served mainly early white settlers and early colonial interests. The Belt Collins Report first identified key areas suitable for tourism development in 1973. Although the report outlined areas in most of Fiji’s 14 provinces as tourism hotspots, the government focused development on the western part of Viti Levu Island. As a result, tourism development is largely confined to the western areas of Nadi, the Coral Coast, and the Yasawa group of islands. Proximity to the Nadi International Airport, as well as the clustered
nature of tourism facilities, are an influential factor for tourism’s dominance in these areas (Ministry of Tourism, 2009).

The Coral Coast is Fiji’s oldest tourism area and is where resort-based tourism was pioneered. Located in the south-western part of Viti Levu, the Coral Coast is an area of unique cultural attributes and year-round tropical climate, and is one of Fiji’s most environmentally diverse and sensitive regions (Movono et al., 2015). Comprised of five principal districts that are made up of varying numbers of villages and resorts, the Coral Coast remains a leading tourism region in Fiji.

Figure 2. Map of the District of Korolevu-i-wai, Coral Coast. Source: SBK, 2016.

The Coral Coast’s reputation as a tourism development hotspot was affirmed following the recommendations of the Belt Collins Report were made known. The Belt Collins Report (1973) identified the Coral Coast as a high-value tourism region partly because it where relatively large-scale tourism was initiated in 1968 through multi-million dollar projects that included The Warwick Resort and Spa (Originally the Hyatt Regency),
Naviti Resort, Shangrila Fijian Resort, and many other smaller resorts recently valued at around USD$50 million dollars collectively (Fiji Ministry of Tourism and Trade, 2016). Such significant interest from the private sector prompted the government to prioritise essential infrastructure projects, such as sealed roads, electricity communications, and water supply, benefiting both the private sector and local communities.

The Coral Coast adds the required dimension necessary for this inquiry because it provided a unique opportunity to revisit previous studies and examine changes that have occurred over a particular time frame. This region is characterised by a vast array of tourism resources ranging from boutique operations and relatively large-scale resorts, to the various indigenous-owned small-to-medium enterprises that are also a focus for this thesis. Examining the Coral Coast was deemed appropriate because it is the oldest tourism region in Fiji and best reflects the diverse experiences, responses, and adaptive strategies of indigenous communities over 40 years of tourism development.

2.3 The case study: Vatuolalai village

The case study chosen for this thesis is the village of Vatuolalai, located in the district of Baravi, Nadroga. This village was specifically selected because the researcher has had a long-term relationship with this community through its use as a case study as part of a Masters of Arts research study conducted in 2010 (Movono, 2012).

The researcher is an indigenous Fijian with specific cultural ties to and knowledge about Vatuolalai village, its people, and their stories. The researcher has access to data and documentation from previous studies, and envisions that the selection of this community will provide invaluable long-term data and provide answers relevant to the questions that guide this study. It is the view of the researcher that the use of Vatuolalai village, employing the selected research design, has allowed for vital contributions to the literature on indigenous communities and tourism development to be made.

From observations undertaken during previous research that began in 2009, Vatuolalai stood out from other villages in the province and the country because of the high standard of housing, and high level of development and development-related schemes, as well as a good relationship with the hotel (Movono, 2012). Vatuolalai village is a three-minute walk from the Naviti Resort, which leases land that is owned by one of the three
mataqali, or clans, in Vatuolalai. Figure 2 shows the geographical area that encompasses the Vatuolalai social and economic system and illustrates the many complex ecological elements that exist among people who share this area.

There are 32 households in Vatuolalai village, which equates to just over 230 people, the majority of whom are below the age of 30 (Movono, Harrison, & Pratt, 2015). This study has revealed that the gender distribution is relatively balanced, with a slightly higher percentage of males compared to females. There is a high percentage of people involved or who had been involved in some form of tourism (Movono et al.). Vatuolalai village is one of the oldest tourism-related indigenous communities in Fiji, with a long history of involvement in the tourism industry. The people of Vatuolalai are relatively well endowed regarding development and enhanced standards of living. There are some individual small–medium tourism enterprises that provide waterfall tours, jet ski rentals, and even a massage service for tourists (these will be discussed in following chapters). Additionally, the villagers collectively run and share benefits from village tours, and host international student groups and entertainment at the resorts. Vatuolalai village has its own marine park, protected through the Fiji Locally Managed Marine Areas Network (FLMMA) and its people are relatively well versed on issues about conservation and sustainability. The complex nature of communal development in Vatuolalai has been special, because it is reflected in village life and political structures with specific committees established to encourage dialogue on development, conservation, and youth and women’s affairs (Movono et al. 2017). These points add to the uniqueness of Vatuolalai and its suitability to applying and further advancing the SES and SLA approaches. As such, it was imperative that the research paradigm selected conforms to the specificities of the community and ensures that empirical research is conducted with the focus on placing Vatuolalai villagers at the centre of research.

2.4 Decolonising research paradigms: The Vanua Research Framework

The past decade has seen a growing movement of scholars calling for the improvement and decolonisation of indigenous research. Much of the research about tourism in the Pacific has been undertaken by foreigners using mostly quantitative methods to examine indigenous communities (Smith, 1999). It is argued that although such pursuits have provided valid and useful insights, they have been fraught with many deficiencies and have fallen short of addressing the true nature of indigenous communities (Hau’ofa, 1993; Nabobo-Baba, 2008; Smith; Swisher, 1996; Thaman, 1997). It is acknowledged that
indigenous communities in the Pacific are multi-layered, multidimensional, and involve much sensitivity and embrace many protocols that cannot be captured by quantitative methods alone. Nabobo-Baba in her study of indigenous Fijian communities suggested that it is critical to unearth realities by using a process that acknowledges society, earns people’s trust and includes immersive conversations to facilitate accurate perspectives.

Swisher (1996) agreed that some quantitative applications in indigenous communities are neo-colonial because these studies do not acknowledge or appreciate the multi-pronged and very social nature of indigenous interactions. This suggests that there is immense value in the study of indigenous communities through the use of immersive studies undertaken primarily by indigenous people in their communities. Indigenous scholars who have researched communities in the Tongan, Samoan, and Maori communities in New Zealand, in concurrence with Nabobo-Baba (2008), have paved the way for decolonising research in the Pacific. Studies conducted by Smith (1999), Thaman (1997), and Nabobo-Baba have all called for the revisiting of research design, approaches, and methods to ensure that indigenous communities are not exploited but respected and placed at the centre of research.

An essential characteristic of the movement to decolonise Pacific research is that of conducting empowering, emancipatory, engaging, and beneficial research that respects indigenous communities. This thesis has supported the decolonisation of research in indigenous studies through its operationalisation of the Fiji Vanua Research Framework (FVRF) (Nabobo-Baba, 2008) as a central paradigm that has guided methodology. This paradigm was chosen as a set of beliefs that has provided sound guidance and structure for the proper conduct of empirical research which has informed this. Research on tourism and indigenous communities is different to traditional mainstream research in that the subjects are multidimensional, requiring multiple methods and reflexive researchers. Indigenous researchers “study people, their problems, and their challenges in the subjects’ settings” (Walsh, 2003, p. 67) in the hope that a certain phenomenon is understood. Therefore, this study is aligned to post-modernist approaches in its use of the FVRF to guide the methodological orientation of this study.

The FVRF is an indigenist framework that was developed specifically for use when researching indigenous Fijian communities (Nabobo-Baba, 2008). Carson and Koster (2012) suggested that the adoption of both western and localised research paradigms improves the conduct of research while ensuring cultural sensitivity. As in other qualitative approaches, the
constructive–interpretive, modernist paradigm offered through the FVRF is well suited for this study because it dovetails qualitative and ethnographic techniques and allows the researcher and the participants to co-construct the research process and its findings through interactive engagement and dialogue (Nabobo-Baba, 2008) Additionally, the FVRF has enabled the participants and the researcher to relate and interact in a localised setting to understand their experiences and the meanings they ascribe to them (Grant & Giddings, 2002). Neuman (2003) identified this paradigm as Interpretive Social Science (ISS) and described the researcher as wanting to learn about meaningfully relevant everyday life experiences from his or her participants. As an indigenous Fijian researcher dealing with indigenous communities as participants, the use of interpretive social science and the FVRF was justified as a means of enhancing knowledge. The unique skill sets, and the internal knowledge about heuristics, traditions, and cultural insights has enabled the researcher to accurately interpret what was observed. So it is not only the process that was an enabling factor but the researcher himself who was uniquely qualified to extract the insights. This is not to say that the findings cannot be replicated by other non-indigenous researchers as alluded to by Nabobo-Baba, but rather that special attention to the community being researched and a focus on good qualitative practice was essential. The FVRF paid specific attention to indigenous Fijian society and allowed this study to tailor methods and principles with which to effectively study the Fijian context. In essence, this study has validated Nabobo-Baba, who suggested that “by situating indigenous people at the centre of research and using their systems of knowledge and understandings as the basis for inquiry and investigation, opens the possibilities of extending the knowledge base of indigenous people and transforming their understanding of the social-cultural world” (p. 141).

The FVRF emerged as a response to the dominance of western paradigms, worldviews, and methods in Pacific indigenous research. Nabobo-Baba (2008) reported a dire need “for more research to be done by indigenous researchers, using culturally appropriate framings and methodologies that recognise Fijian world views, cultural knowledge and epistemologies, grounding the research and providing it with methodological integrity” (p. 143). The Fijian vanua research framework provided a theoretical approach that is embedded in indigenous Fijian worldviews, knowledge systems, experiences, representations, and values, giving power and recognition to all things Fijian (Nabobo-Baba). The theoretical attention of this study on social and ecological systems and the sustainable livelihoods
theories blended well with the use of FVRF in its application in research. What Smith (1999) initiated as an attempt to decolonise research in the Pacific has highlighted the shortcomings of Western approaches providing direction for the current study. This has encouraged the employment of new techniques and paradigms that are also being used in indigenous community research in Hawaii, New Zealand, and the Pacific (Hau’ofa, 1993; Nabobo-Baba; Smith; Swisher, 1996; Thaman, 1997).

The term *vanua* includes all the elements of the indigenous Fijian (or *itaukei*) social and ecological system and recognises all the relationships that exist within this system. The concept of vanua is integral to this research and although ontologically connected, his used interchangeably to refer to the village, tribe and the physical land. Through the use of FVRF, this thesis has identified the interconnectedness between indigenous Fijians and their natural and supernatural environment, which includes culture, relationships, the spirit world, beliefs, knowledge systems, and social values (Nabobo-Baba, 2008). The FVRF was developed using the indigenous Fijian context, and its application in this study has legitimised Fijian social and political structures ensuring that indigenous Fijians are no longer objects of research, but have become part of the research process—from the research design and implementation to the dissemination process (Nabobo-Baba).

The principles of the Fijian vanua research framework that were employed in this study are emphasised below according to how they guided the course of this research.

1. Research that is carried out on Fijians needs to benefit people, especially the researched community.
2. It should focus on indigenous peoples’ needs, and must take into account indigenous cultural values, protocols, knowledge processes, and philosophies, especially those related to knowledge access, legitimation, processes of ethics, indigenous Fijian sanctions, and clan “limits or boundary/boundaries”, all of which influence knowledge and related issues.
3. The researcher should be fluent in the Fijian language and dialect of the researched community. This recognises the importance of language in understanding, critiquing, and verifying indigenous concepts, and in documenting aspects of their lives appropriately.
4. Indigenous persons should be involved in the research team as principal researcher(s) in team research situations. On the role of insider indigenous researchers, Swisher (1996, p. 9) noted that they should be given the principal role in research that focuses on native peoples and their issues. He further points out that “insider” views enhance passion and commitment as well as ask new and different questions. This is in line with Smith (1999, p. 184) who suggested that “Kaupapa Māori research needs Māori researchers who regard themselves and their research as fitting within a Kaupapa Māori Framework”.

5. Respect and reciprocity: researchers need to acknowledge and affirm existing elders and vanua structures and protocols. Regarding reciprocity, researchers must ensure there are sufficient means to show appreciation to people, so that people’s love, support, time, resources, and knowledge freely given are duly reciprocated. Fijian gifting is appropriate here (gifting of food or other traditional items).

6. Researchers need to ensure as far as possible that local people in the research setting are co-opted as members of the research team. This is a means of building local capacity and ensures benefits in multiple ways to the research community.

7. Researchers need to build accountability into their research procedures through meaningful reporting and meaningful feedback to the relevant people and community.

8. Vanua chiefs, as well as village chiefs and elders at all levels, must give permission to all “researchers” (research) done in the vanua.

(Nabobo-Baba, 2008, p. 144–145)

2.5 Research strategy

Given the embedded characteristics of indigenous Fijian communities and the integrative nature of the SES and SLA theories, a qualitative approach was deemed most appropriate. This study employed the use of case study and ethnographic research techniques to accomplish the following aims and objectives:

(a) to formulate a conceptual model (using the SES framework) conceptualising Vatuolalai village as a social, ecological system and to perform an analysis of its system components;

(b) to identify and analyse locally defined measurements and institutions of development;
to examine and analyse the roles of community members in opportunity creation, entrepreneurship and communal development;

to understand local perceptions of the nature and causes of ecological and social change; and

to generate findings that can enhance the role of local communities in sustainable tourism development and sustainable policy formulation.

Given the nature of the research objectives, this study has employed a case study method for its suitability in conducting societal investigations on indigenous communities (Veal, 2006). Case studies are one of many types of social science methodologies that allow for multiple data collection methods to be employed and triangulation to be conducted to strengthen the findings of a study (Stake, 2000). Case studies are considered a popular way of conducting a qualitative inquiry, especially when the study is of particular communities or areas of interest (Stake, p. 435). Advocates of this research method claim that case studies allow the study of “social processes in their appropriate context” (Hartley, 1994, p. 208). Stake proposed that the main advantage of the case study approach was that it was a “study of the particular” (p. 438), which encompassed “the natural, physical and historical settings as well as socio-cultural contexts of a specific case” (Xiao & Smith, 2006, p. 739). Qualitative case studies are useful when the goal of the inquiry is to get as close as possible to the actual experiences of people (Pryzwansky & Noblit, 1990). Neuman (2003) highlighted that the use of case studies adds focus to a specific issue, allows for linking abstract ideas in specific ways, and allows calibration of the researcher’s own sets of beliefs to actual lived experiences and widely accepted standards of evidence. This study was designed to interpret phenomena occurring in the community of Vatuolalai as well as their social reality through their words; the case study methods provided the flexibility yet focus to achieve this (Yin, 1984).

The research also employed an ethnographic approach to research. Tedlock defined ethnography as the way data is transformed and written to combine “research design, fieldwork, and various methods of inquiry to produce historically, politically, and personally situated accounts, descriptions, interpretations, and representations of human lives” (2000, p. 455). Ethnographic studies required the researcher to immerse himself in the fieldwork and to engage in close, long-term interaction with people to gain an understanding of their beliefs, motivations, and behaviour (Tedlock). The researcher studied all its facets, allowing
penetration into the embedded constructs of the community. In doing so, he verified the richness of the data and the validity of employing ethnography in indigenous research. Ethnography involves data generating, recording, analysis, and writing, and was appropriate in applying and testing the conceptual frameworks selected for this study. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983, p. 2) described the ethnographer as one who “participates, overtly or covertly, in people’s daily lives, watching, listening and collecting whatever data is available to throw light on the issues with which he or she is concerned”. It (ethnography) bears a close resemblance to the routine ways in which people make sense of the world in everyday life (Palmer, 2001). An ethnographic approach to research has allowed for rich interpretations and deep reflections to be made on how the people of Vatuolalai respond, adapt, and live as a result of tourism development.

2.6 Data collection

The data for this study was collected using various methods and techniques that are aligned with the recommendations and requirements established through earlier studies and directions provided by the FVRF. The specific methods used will be outlined in the latter parts of this chapter. The data collection phase of this study was structured using directions from literature and the researcher’s previous experience as a Master’s student and researcher at the University of the South Pacific (Movono, 2012; Movono, Harrison, & Pratt, 2015). These experiences dovetail with suggestions to decolonise research by ensuring that people and the interests of communities are placed at the centre of inquiry. Because this study involved indigenous Fijians, data collection was tailored to respect villagers and their beliefs, and to yield benefits, emancipatory knowledge, and exemplify good practice and standards (see above).

This study used Vatuolalai village as a case study and employed predominantly qualitative methods that included fieldwork, participant observation, conversations or talanoa method as formal and informal semi-structured interviews, group interviews, and a survey. The essential research questions outlined in previous sections were embedded in each method to focus data collection, check for bias, and also allow for triangulation of methods to be conducted. The fieldwork was conducted in two phases, both consisting of two to three months, with the total data collection stretching over a period of 120 days or 16 weeks. Between each phase, a four- to six-week reflection period was taken. This involved the researcher returning to Griffith University to reflect on, analyse, and report on the data
collection process and other experiences. Data collection involved total immersion in the village, with the researcher engaging with villagers, observing activities and all aspects of situations—being one with the community. Such intimate interactions and unlimited access to the community required special traditional considerations. Any research involving an indigenous Fijian village or community will require the recognition, appreciation, and practice of specific traditional Fijian protocols as a token of respect and to gain access to, and the trust of, villagers. This study was no exception.

The researcher, an indigenous Fijian from a different province, shares traditional and personal ties to the case study community of Vatuolalai. The researcher still assumed the role of an outsider despite having cultural ties to the community. The researchers’ role is best described as being a part of the community, but not a member because his links to the community are not by blood but by association. Although having the possibility of bias, the role of the researcher in relation to the villagers is clear, allowing for objectivity to be maintained throughout the study.

2.7 Traditional protocols

During this study, traditional Fijian protocol was adhered to at all stages and observed at all levels of society, from initial entry through to the day-to-day events in the village. Indigenous Fijian culture is highly reciprocal, and involves exchanges of kava and other gifts as a sign of respect for each other. Fijians place immense value on conformance to tradition, respect for kinship ties, and relations that are contextualized in the use of the kamunaga or tabua (whale’s tooth) and yaqona or kava. A whale’s tooth is the most valued object, and is mostly used in more formal or special occasions and as a show of emphasis and immense respect. The researcher offered a whale’s tooth to request the participation of the community in the initial stages and also used it at the end of the fieldwork to thank the villagers, and in particular, the family who hosted the researcher. The use of kava, food items, and groceries as tokens of appreciation are more commonly used at the community level and were provided by the researcher when seeking access to people’s homes and as a sign of respect when joining various groups for collective discussions.

The researcher performed the iseivusevu ceremony upon arrival to seek the blessings and the approval of the community, through its elders and the village chief, to conduct the study. This was performed in the main village hall in the presence of the whole village and involved the exchange of kava, accompanied by a sombre exchange of words explaining the
researcher’s traditional lineage and intentions in seeking the blessing of the Vatuolalai community. This ceremony was reciprocated by the village elders and entry was granted for the researcher to be a part of a family, clan, and the village. When fieldwork was completed, a similar ceremony with similar protocols, the itatau, was conducted to thank the villagers and to seek their blessings and approval to leave the community.

2.8 Traditional living

The researcher lived in Vatuolalai village as part of the Tasere family, with whom he had stayed as part of a previous research study. Fijian culture and tradition encourages immersion via the development of relationships and long-term friendships through one’s loyalty to their family or kinship. In this study, the researcher lived as part of a household comprising three generations in order to strengthen the relationship forged in previous encounters and to continue the process of immersion. By being a part of the Tasere family, the researcher was made aware of the traditional status, relationships, and special links between specific individuals and families within the village—information often shared only through close kinship. The relationship with the Tasere family was cordial and allowed the researcher to truly weave himself into the fabric of Vatuolalai society. The researcher, upon arrival, assumed the roles and responsibilities of an ordinary member of the family and participated in daily household and community chores, and donated money, effort, and time to the family, clan, and village obligations. Enabling the researcher to achieve genuine engagement allowed for unobstructed observations and participation to take place.

2.9 Village institutions

Data collection involved working with a total population of about 220 people spread across 32 households. With the village comprised of two clans and various sub-groups, understanding the specific institutions within the village was essential and was made possible through immersion and significant investment in trust and relationship-building with the cohort. Data collection involved engaging with specific people and groups within the village, the details of which are explained in following sections. Vatuolalai village has a number of internally established and mandated institutions and committees that represent key stakeholders and interest groups within the community (details in following chapters). Each committee has an elected or appointed leader and members who meet, make decisions, and report to the community at regularly held village meetings. For instance, every month these committees meet to discuss issues pertaining to village development, youth issues, culture,
conservation, women, and youth, to name a few. Such committees allowed for targeted group interviews to be conducted, providing useful insights and facilitating triangulation of data that have resulted in the findings outlined in following chapters.

2.10 Methods

2.11 Field work

Field work was conducted in two separate stages, both lasting between two to three months, and allowing for a month for reflection, analysis, and reporting between the first and second phases. This was done to ensure that data collection was strengthened, follow-ups made, interviews revised, and design improved during the second phase. Four to six months was sufficient for proper rapport to be developed, relationships forged, and all necessary data collection to be completed. A longer period could have yielded even more depth of data, but was not possible due to financial and time constraints. Prior experience with this region and the community allowed for substantial knowledge to be gained on the nature and characteristics of Vatuolalai society. This has provided direction regarding which methods to employ, the necessary traditional protocols, and which groups to target to ensure that field work was efficiently conducted. Each method employed during field work sought answers to each of the essential questions that guided this study. The research questions were embedded in the interview schedules and survey questionnaires (Appendices A and B), and were used to guide the conduct of data collection.

2.12 Literature review

A literature review was conducted to gather and analyse information and theoretical views on tourism development and its contributions to communities, and their resilience, complex systems, and sustainable livelihoods. The literature on tourism development in the Pacific, in Fiji, and in particular along the Coral Coast was effectively pursued and is translated in the literature review sections of Chapters 3 to 6 of this thesis. Relevant development and tourism journals were reviewed, and the articles and texts gathered were essential in understanding the links between etic and emic knowledge (refer to the reference list). These materials were accessed from the University Library, online databases, South Pacific Regional Environment Program, South Pacific Commission, Tourism Fiji, the South Pacific Tourism Organisation, and the University of the South Pacific Library.
2.13 Sampling

This study employed purposeful, maximum variation sampling, meaning that participants were chosen from a broad range of participants to fit the parameters of this study and to represent the whole community (Tracy, 2013). The data set included men, women, and youths who belong to the tribes of Davutukia and Jubai and are established as having a connection to the village. Each household in the village was approached to complete the surveys and in order to gather the views, opinions, stories, and perspectives of each household. *Talanoa* or conversational-based semi-structured interviews were held with villagers when specific opportunities were presented and through intentional encounters and conversations. Some individuals and groups were revisited after the initial data collection phase for verification and clarification, especially when triangulating essential content information. All interviews were conducted in the Fijian vernacular as well as the English language.

2.14 Complete participant observation

The unique nature of this study required that specifically designed and adapted ethnographic techniques were used to match the objectives of this research, the attributes of the researcher, and the nature of community being researched. Tracy (2013) explained there are different approaches to participation observation and that it is essential to select an approach that best suits the objectives of the study. In this particular study, the researcher assumed the role of a complete participant observer, providing the researcher with multiple opportunities to study contexts of which he is already a part. Tracy implied that participant observation, in whatever form, must be accompanied by various techniques that match the field work being conducted. This entailed immersion and required the researcher to participate in daily activities and adapt to life in the village (Tracy).

Swisher (1996) suggested that complete participant observations are ideal when researching indigenous communities because of the ready access to available data and the often obscure front and back stages of communities. In this study, complete participation provided the researcher the ability to identify subtle cultural and social associations that may otherwise go unnoticed and not interpreted (Tracy, 2013). When using complete participant observation, the researcher became one who sought to embrace and practice the values of the group under study. This provided deep background knowledge about the different elements of society, culture, and the environment, and is aligned with the focus of this study on the
SES elements within Vatuolalai village. Complete participant observations—when well-planned and appropriately applied through engagement, prior consent, and focus on indigenous communities all yielded rich data about the ecological, social, economic, political, and cultural phenomenon occurring within the community (Wu & Pearce, 2013).

2.15 Talanoa

*Talanoa* in the Fijian cultural context refers to the process where two or more people converse, and share ideas and stories, and is often the process by which communication is established between two or more parties. These *talanoa* sessions were conducted at various levels and contexts to gather the views of community members on issues about their livelihoods activities, vulnerabilities, society, and changes, and also perceptions about resource use, to name a few. These *talanoa* sessions were ideal for facilitating deep discussions and layering more accurate and detailed responses onto the key research questions. The pre-established groups representing youths’, women’s, and conservation groups, to name a few (detailed in previous sections), were targeted in order to hold individual and group *talanoa* sessions.

The contexts and levels of formalities between *talanoa* sessions varied depending on the importance and priority of the issue at hand. Some *talanoa* were more formal than others, with the most formal being conducted along with a prayer and often complemented by the consumption of kava, or *yaqona*. Informal *talanoa* sessions were more cordial, required very little protocol, and often yielded more depth and personal sharing. *Talanoa* rather than interviews were used to request the responses being sought by the researcher. Hence, a *talanoa* or *veitalanoa* is an interview, but is more attuned to a semi-structured interview (Nabobo-Baba, 2008). *Talanoa* is an appropriate approach to Fijian research because it embodies Fijian protocol in the sharing of information, allowing for trust to be gained and exchanged via guided dialogue and conversation.

This study employed *talanoa* within each household during the administering of the survey, individually (with specific persons) and with pre-established groups to extract a holistic data set that provided the best possible data representing the views of the community. These conversations were about livelihoods activities, resource vulnerabilities, experiences, and they included discussions focused on issues relating to ecological and cultural change, opportunity creation, and social changes, to name a few. This research also focused its observations, interviews, and conversations on pre-existing community-based committees.
and groups that represented the interests of specific segments of the community. These included the various clan groups and sub-clans, women’s groups, youth groups, conservation committee, sports committee, development committee, and a few others that were specifically targeted to engage in *talanoa* and to provide answers to the key questions of this study.

As an indigenous Fijian researcher who is aware of indigenous Fijian protocols and familiar with its use in recent publications, *talanoa* stood out as a vital part of this study’s data collection strategy (Movono, 2012; Movono, Harrisona, & Pratt, 2015) This technique worked well by fostering a conducive and cordial environment that enabled rich exchanges, reflection, and genuine engagement with the cohort. The *talanoa* sessions were informal, semi-formal, or formal when required, and usually necessitated varying the elements of the traditional protocol. A similar technique called “yarning” was first used by Russell-Mundine (2010, p.20) in her study of indigenous communities in Australia, but very few studies have employed *talanoa* as a method of inquiry. This technique enabled in-depth findings of the issues at hand and complemented the applications of the conceptual frameworks guiding this study.

### 2.16 Semi-structured formal/informal interviews - *talanoa*

Veal (2006) suggested that interviews guided by a framework or structure have immense value in measuring complex variables and interwoven relationships across various contexts. Unstructured interviews are not as rigid as structured interviews but require a list of probing questions that are prepared (refer to Appendix A) to allow for conversation and deeply layered discussions to take place (Tracy, 2013). These probing questions were reflective of the key research questions and were designed to achieve the objectives of this study. The participants (74 in total) included the heads of various committees, groups (conservation committee, youth, women, church, and development) and administrative bodies, including the village headman (*Turaga ni Koro*), youths, women, and village elders of Vatuolalai.

Semi-structured questions were used to guide the exchange and discussion between specific, influential leaders and persons directly involved in development in Vatuolalai who were observed as having authority on specific issues. Questions about historical events, specific experiences, processes endured, and development were raised as key talking points. *Talanoa* were also held with tourism operators within the village, clan leaders, committee heads, and both formal and informal *talanoas* were held with other key individuals who were
identified as being able to provide credible information relevant for this study. Also, some external stakeholder groups that have close relations with the community, including government-paid provincial administrators, conservation groups (part of the Locally Managed Marine Area Network), international student groups, tourists, and village administrators were also interviewed through the course of this research.

2.17 Semi-structured group interviews - talanoa

Using the talanoa technique, semi-structured group interviews were conducted with existing community groups in Vatuolalai to determine the collectively defined measures of development, ascertain commonly shared views, and identify themes specific to certain segments. Wu and Pearce (2013) highlighted the value in the use of group interviews as a means to thoroughly understand community aspirations and collective points of view and to identify patterns. The findings from the group interviews were a critical starting point that allowed key participants to be selected and key issues identified. Group interviews were conducted with all of the village subcommittees, which include the women’s committee (Soqosoqo vakamarama), development committee (Veivakotoriocaketaki), conservation group (Yaubula), youth (Tabagone), and the religious committee (Lotu). Focus group discussions were also held with members of the two clans as well as within random groups as a means of triangulation and to check for bias of responses.

2.18 Data recording, coding and transcription

The free-flowing, immersive, and engaging nature of this study required that data recording tools such as digital recording devices (phone and recorder), digital camera, laptop, and notepads were used to record data. Ethnography demands that researchers have an organised and logical approach to data recording, transcription, coding, and analysis, and which this study adopted. The researcher used multiple recording instruments for this study depending on the context and situation in the field. For instance, a mobile phone voice recorder was ideally used to record the outcomes of group or individual interviews because it could be kept out of sight but still able to record lengthy exchanges. The phone recording medium was most suitable and effective in recording and preserving the raw data extracted via the various methods employed during data collection. This is because of the high prevalence of mobile phones in all areas within the community, making recording interviews a seamless and unobtrusive endeavour.
Data from these conversations were then transcribed into the Fijian language and coded before meaningful categories and themes were regularly organised, every two to three days. This was done to allow for regular and consistent processing of data, which enhanced opportunities for deep reflection and preliminary analysis of data. From time to time (every three to four weeks), the researcher detached himself from the community for between two to three days to allow a “breathing period” and reflection on work done. These breaks of about three days were appropriate since the researcher was not completely detached, and his absence from the village was not noticed, maintaining momentum and local rapport. Tracy (2013) stated that regular breaks must be taken by the researcher when using complete participant observations to allow for deep reflections as a researcher, to make sense of the data, and to eliminate bias. These detachment periods facilitated clear perspectives and allowed for the examination of the links between empirical knowledge and theoretical knowledge by the researcher (Tracy).

2.19 Household researcher-administered survey

Household researcher-administered surveys were used to gather valuable demographic data, information about livelihoods, and views and perceptions about resilience from each household in the community. The surveys were developed and designed to suit the demographic characteristics of the community and to assess various variables using indicators related directly to the research questions. The key research questions detailed in previous sections were used to arouse responses and engage with participants. The researcher administered the surveys on site and resolved any further questions or issues at the time, probing and encouraging dialogue and engagement on specific questions related to this research. Walsh (1996) affirmed that the use of surveys allows for measuring of population samples as well as permitting flexibility when questioning various activities, and arousing discussions is justified for this research. Although the sample of 32 households is relatively small, a researcher-administered survey was conducted to achieve a more comprehensive view of a few key variables that included demographic details, household information, and community-wide perspectives, and to triangulate the interviews and understand the context. Tracy (2013) listed the disadvantages and advantages of using questionnaires and added that questions will often arise during the survey, requiring instant clarification by the researcher. For this particular research, the researcher administered the questionnaires in each household, tending to queries and arousing discussions in the Fijian language, paving the way for a more holistic approach to collecting the views and responses of locals on specific issues.
The surveys were designed to measure economic activities, resource use, dependency, and employment in tourism, lifestyle changes, attitudes, and other related issues. The use of researcher-administered questionnaires according to Hancock (1998, p.12) was justified for the following reasons:

- data collection method is relatively simple;
- data collection over a large area is rapid and efficient;
- data can be collected from a widely scattered sample;
- relatively inexpensive;
- respondents have time to consider each question;
- data analysis can be done quickly; and
- the method can be used to collect data on a wide range of topics and attributes.

The researcher administered the survey in two phases and collated and coded the responses in Excel software where simple analysis was conducted.

2.20 Analysis

Qualitative and ethnographic research involves a continuous interplay between data collection and analysis and requires the researcher to become intimate with the data (Stake, 2000). In fact, analysis began from the literature review stages of this research and extended to the conclusion of the thesis write-up. For the current study, the process of proper “data analysis” commenced at the end of the first day of fieldwork, immediately following the first conversations, interviews, and observations. This was done to ensure that from the outset, a rigid routine was established to ensure that the data collected was consistently analysed to identify emmerging themes and to keep the researcher connected to what was to become a rich set of qualitative data.

On the site, the researcher established a two-hour time slot from 6 pm to 8 pm every evening to transcribe interviews, take notes, and reflect on the data collection activities that took place during the day. This routine ideally fitted within the normal program of the village, which requires that family devotions and “quiet times” for each family be observed every evening. Such routines are essential since qualitative analysis is a form of intellectual craftsmanship where the researcher is relied upon to establish processes and procedures to ensure that meaningful outcomes are effectively derived from the data (Esterberg, 2002). Qualitative data analysis is a creative process where the researcher plays a central role in
siphoning meaning while capitalising on ordinary ways of making sense. Therefore, there is no one, fixed way of analysing qualitative data.

However, this study has adhered to Esterberg (2002) and Stake’s (1995) view, which suggests that qualitative researchers must immerse themselves in their observations, experiences, and interview transcripts by loading up computer and human memory with the collected data. In particular, this study followed the data analysis and coding procedures set out by Creswell (2009) and Esterberg (2002), who suggested the use of open coding. Open coding is where the researcher works intensively with the data line-by-line, identifying themes and categories while allowing the codes to organically emerge during the data analysis process. Once the data from this study was analysed through the open coding process, the immerging codes were reviewed for themes in the data. This study also used Creswell’s six step data analysis process to guide what later became a recursive, non-linear, and interactive practice in data analysis. In general, the following steps were used to guide the data analysis process of this study.

Step 1: Prepare and organise the data. During this process, the researcher meticulously organised data collected from conversations and observations on a day-to-day basis, keeping a record of all participants who informed this study. At the end of each day, the researcher reviewed audio recordings from the interviews and transcribed them into Microsoft Word format, making sure to add side notes (featuring emotional pointers and feelings of participants) taken from on-site field notes. The researcher also reviewed notes taken from observations made and reflections of his experiences as a participant in the data collection process. These observations and notes were also transferred onto a Word document on a daily basis to supplement interview transcripts. Additionally, the researcher recorded personal reflections on audio files that were also converted into Word format in preparation for detailed analysis. These included reflections of his observations, interviews conducted, and the researcher’s views and perceptions of how the day unfolded. These reflections were useful in identifying his own biases and allowing the researcher to objectively interpret participants’ accounts independent of his views.

Step 2: Read through the data. This section is where the research became intimate with and extended his knowledge about the data collected. Here, the researcher uncovered the finer details of the conversations and observations made through the data collection process through extensive reading and re-reading of the transcripts and notes. This process also
involved the researcher immersing himself in recordings to adequately familiarise himself with conversational interviews held with participants. This enabled the researcher to familiarise himself with the tone, feelings, emotions, and meanings communicated by participants and at times replay the recordings and add side notes to highlight the meanings communicated by the participants.

Step 3: Begin detailed analysis using the coding process. Using Creswell’s (2009) suggestions, the researcher organised the materials collected into meaningful categories by segmenting sentences, which were then labelled accordingly based on the emotion and language communicated by the participants. This process was done on a daily basis, which allowed the researcher to methodically organise and categorise the contents of interviews and observations into codes and appropriately segmented categories.

Step 4: Use the coding process to generate a description of the setting as well as categories for analysis. In this step, the researcher used the detailed analysis conducted in step three to ascribe codes with more detailed descriptions to each category of data. Given the embedded nature of Fijian society, this process allowed the researcher to focus on generalising a smaller number of themes, which were then easier to isolate and analyse. This step also allowed the researcher to ascribe a greater level of detail and meaning to each data set, and this facilitated directions for further probing and triangulation.

Step 5: Advance how the description of the themes will be represented in the narrative. In this stage, the researcher placed the emergent themes into narrative passages indicating the logical immersgence of findings from participants’ responses. The storytelling nature of indigenous Fijian exchanges allowed the researcher to represent the themes within a narrative without much complication, allowing for the interpretation of the data in a more meaningful manner.

Step 6: Interpret the meaning of the data. Creswell (2009) and Tracy (2013) attributed the role, expertise, and experience of the researcher as having a significant impact on how qualitative data is interpreted. Creswell in particular recognised that the researcher’s fidelity to a particular theoretical orientation is just as important as his background in the meaning-making process, and the fidelity is bound to have an impact on how data is interpreted. For the current study, the researcher’s background as an indigenous Fijian informed his understanding of participant accounts and stories. The researcher’s extensive experience
within the case study community and his knowledge about the kinship connections and
relations between villagers further enhanced his ability to decipher meaning from the
accounts of participants. The researcher’s reflection of his observations and experiences in
the community allowed him to triangulate further and verify the stories of participants,
facilitating a greater depth of knowledge and understanding of the data. The researcher
focused not only on what participants were saying, but also paid attention to how words were
said, including the tone and the body language that accompanied conversational interviews.
These subtle variations in communications with the cohort allowed the researcher to
accurately interpret the emotions of participants, and they added to the meaning-making
process involved in qualitative data analysis.

Indigenous Fijians are often culturally reserved when conversing with outsiders. Therefore, the analysis of data for this study involved much more than the line-by-line stages
of analysis suggested by Creswell (2009). Data analysis in this study considered the feelings,
emotions, and cultural orientation of participants interviewed by the researcher. Such
attention to detail allowed the researcher to not only efficiently record and collect data but,
more importantly, to accurately analyse and interpret the data collected. As a result, the
subsequent themes that emerged from this study directly came from the researcher’s
awareness of the active tension between the researcher’s biases and the participants’
meaning-making processes.

2.21 Ethical considerations

All data from the case studies are void of any real names to protect the privacy of the
person and the community. The researcher also gained official approval from the university’s
ethics committee, which required that ethical considerations, where individuals or specific
groups identify and sensitivities are concerned, were acknowledged and all efforts to conceal
their identities undertaken. Through the observance of traditional protocols, access to the
entire community was sought and access granted. The whole community was also advised
both verbally and through written consent forms that the researcher was researching for his
PhD thesis in Tourism Management, and that Vatuolalai village was being used as a case
study. Villagers were also advised that all data collected during the research will be
confidential, and that recordings may be conducted covertly and if for any reason they were
not comfortable with being part of this research, their wishes were respected. When this study
is completed, key stakeholders would be given an oral presentation, and a copy of the
findings of this study for their comments and consultation to make them fully aware of the results of this research thesis. The researcher has also committed to returning to the community to oversee how the outcomes of this study could be implemented and realised for the benefit of villagers. All comments or aspects of confidentiality that the villagers insisted on were also respected.

The following chapters present the findings of this research and are nestled within the contents of a book chapter and three journal articles that have been peer reviewed and published. In essence, the following chapters respond to the aims and objectives of this study and outline the findings and results of the research process undertaken for this thesis.
Chapter 3.0: Conceptualising destinations as a Vanua: An examination of the evolution and resilience of a Fijian social and ecological system

This chapter includes a pre-publication copy of a book chapter. The bibliographic detail of the chapter, with the author description, is


**My contribution to the paper**

I generated the basic research idea through an extensive literature review. I then developed the theoretical framework and identified the research models and relevant data. I also collected the data and conducted the analysis, interpretation, and discussion of the results.

However, my supervisors helped me to improve the overall research by providing their valuable comments and suggestion from the beginning of the chapter.

Signed:

Date: 10th October 2017
Apisalome Movono

Countersigned:

Date: 10th October 2017
Corresponding author of paper: Apisalome Movono

Countersigned:

Date: 10th October 2017
Principal supervisor: Prof Heidi Dahles
3.1 Introduction

Tourism has become an invaluable tool that has helped many Small Island Developing States (SIDS) to realise their national aspirations, and it is promoted in the Pacific region as an industry with the potential to develop communities (Prasad, 2014). In Fiji, tourism stands out as the most logical of economic alternatives because it fits well within the deficiencies typical of island states in the region (Movono, Harrison, & Pratt, 2015; Prasad). However, there remains much ambiguity because the bulk of literature about Pacific communities and tourism is fragmented and rarely acknowledges the complex roles played by indigenous people as actors in their own development. Previous studies in Fiji have overlooked the complex and adaptive nature of its indigenous communities, ignoring their unique relationships with the biosphere. Issues related to resilience and to complex adaptive systems, a key feature of indigenous Fijian society, have seldom been discussed, and this is an area to which this chapter will contribute.

This chapter will first provide a review of the literature before offering some background to Fiji, its tourism industry, and the study area. The chapter will then outline the research methods employed and present the findings and conclusions of this study. The findings of this research will unpack the elements of the vanua as a complex and adaptive social and ecological system, highlight its historical developments and perceived changes, and propose the use of the vanua, SES, and resilience model as tools to operationalise resilience in related indigenous Fijian communities.

3.2 Resilience and Complex Adaptive Systems

Founded in the natural sciences and ecology, the notion of resilience emerged as “a measure of the persistence of systems and their ability to absorb change and disturbance and still maintain the same relationships between populations and state variables” (Holling, 1973, p. 14). Recent academic literature has reflected the development of resilience from a predominantly scientific term to one that shows increasing recognition for the complex relationships between society and the environment (Cretney, 2014; Folke, 2006; Gailard, 2010; Holland, 2006). More recent definitions have focused on the varieties of elements and their capacities as a communal system to resist or change so that they may obtain an acceptable level of functioning and structure (United Nations Strategy for Disaster and Risk Reduction, 2005). However, there is still much debate regarding its definition, measurement,
and application, brought about by the non-homogenous nature of communities and the reality that each community and each system is different (Neely, 2015). Each system is exposed to different perturbations and is, therefore, subject to varying levels of socio-political, economic, and ecological conditions that determine their levels of resilience (Manyena, 2006). Hence, it is important that the contextual components of a complex adaptive system be identified, and its non-homogenous social and ecological components examined, to better understand resilience within indigenous Fijian communities involved in tourism.

There are many classifications of resilience in different disciplines that have emerged from the theoretical breakthrough of Holling (1973). Holling’s work challenged the previous, dominant engineering-based definitions of resilience that imply a return to an original equilibrium. In doing so, Holling established that ecological systems do not have one static point of equilibrium, but rather a zone of stability that allows for the reorganisation of a system to maintain survival. This process of reorganisation is of particular interest to the current study because it examines an indigenous community as it adjusts to more than 40 years of tourism involvement. The literature revealed that most scholars have neglected to separate the notion of stability from resilience, causing confusion between the two terms as being part of one holistic definition (Coetzee, Niekerk, & Raju, 2015; Paton, 2006; Rose, 2007). Gaillard (2010) pointed out that a resilient system is not always stable, and in the case of communities, they cannot return to their former, equal state. Unlike engineered structures, societies are changing, continually responding to both internal and external pressures, rendering it with a safer equilibrium. Coetzi, Niekerk, and Raju (2015) asserted that stability is not necessarily needed to attain resilience, but adaptability is. Despite this, many scholars still maintain that the underlying idea behind resilience is not necessarily “bouncing back” to the same state, but that resilience must focus on adaptation and the processes of change that a system and its components can undertake while maintaining critical thresholds (Walker et al., 2006).

It is, therefore, important to consider that there are crucial elements essential to understanding the different interpretations of resilience theory within communities; these include notions of adaptive capacity, transformation, and social capital (Gallopin, 2006; Hammer, Edwards, & Tapinos, 2012; Neely, 2015; Walker et al., 2006). In resilience studies, adaptive capacity refers to the processes and patterns of behaviour that change in order to maintain a system within critical thresholds (Holling, 1973). Such changes have been
modelled in the form the Resilience Cycle (Holling, 2001). Also referred to as the Holling Loop, the model illustrates the ability of systems to flip between different domains and regain stability. The cycle typically begins with the reorganisation that leads to exploitation (new systems are created), conservation (building for a more stable state), and release (next disturbance event) (Holling, 2001). The resilience cycle makes it possible to focus on specific elements and “zoom in” on community capacities. This includes the capacity to learn, adapt, and prepare for future perturbations, and it normally entails self-organisation and taking action to ensure that the system is able to cope with any unforeseen circumstances (Folke, Colding, & Berkes, 2003; Gunderson & Holling, 2002). On the other hand, transformation consists of a more serious path involving a shift or collapse of a system, causing it to be transformed into an entirely new system (Holling, 1973; Holland, 2006). Cretney (2014) added that this potential for change (dependant on willingness, capacity, and ability to change) demarcates resilience from general capacities, suggesting that community capacities or social capital should be empirically examined in communities to measure and better understand resilience. He argued that social capital is part of a wider framework that includes other forms of capital but focuses on the social aspects of communities (Cretney, 2014). Furthermore, community capacities, as an alternative to social capital, recognise all aspects of social life and are well suited to this study. Cretney (2014) emphasised that despite differences in the way resilience is understood or applied, “the concepts of community capacities, alongside the integration of social and ecological systems, adaptive capacity and transformation are important to the theoretical base of resilience” and must therefore be incorporated in empirical research.

Gallopin (2006) reviewed the concept of resilience in detail and elaborated on the differences and interrelationships between vulnerability and adaptive capacity as academic concepts. Both Gallopin and Folke (2006) hinted that if adaptability is important to attaining improved resilience, then emerging frameworks must endeavour to holistically encompass the prevalent ecological and socio-political contexts. Emphasis on specific contexts may address the shortfalls of resilience and increase focus on the intimate connections between components of social and ecological systems that affect it (Walker, Carpenter, Rockstrom, Crepin, & Peterson, 2012). Folke (2006) provided further clarity to the notion of social-ecological systems by emphasising that the resilience approach should promote non-linear dynamics, thresholds, and uncertainty, and examine how such dynamics interact across spatial and temporal scales. The subsequent increased awareness on the complex
relationships between society and environment has helped catapult resilience into the mainstream via the significant theoretical advancements in social and ecological resilience. Adger (2000) acknowledged social and ecological systems as being interrelated, linked, and dependant on one another through connections between livelihoods, wellbeing, and environmental conditions. Folke et al. (2003) agreed that these links between system elements can either work against one another or for mutual benefit and, in the process, affect the overall resilience of a system. As such, when studying resilience within communities, adopting a systems approach is essential.

In considering complexities within indigenous Fijian society and the dynamic nature of resilience, it is imperative that the case study, an indigenous Fijian community, be considered as a system. Essentially, a systems approach focuses on the human and environment interactions as part of an interrelated and interacting system. Systems thinking provides a pathway for adoption by this paper through a specific variation of systems thinking referred to as Complex Adaptive Systems (CAS) theory. CAS presents an interesting tool for studying dynamic systems and concepts such as resilience (Coetzee et al., 2015; Manyena, 2006; Neely, 2015). With roots in the natural sciences and ecology, CAS focuses on understanding non-linear dynamics and attempts to show how simple interactions at the micro level can lead to very complex implications at the macro level (Gunderson & Holling, 2002; Holland, 2006). Buckley’s (1968) work opened opportunities for communities to be examined in their totality, allowing for examination of specific system elements and focusing on how micro level activities such as tourism employment can have a wider-ranging impact on the broader elements and resilience of a human-driven system.

Hammer, Edwards, and Tapinos (2012) considered any human system as a CAS because the systems are a set of diverse, interacting individuals that have the ability to self-reorganise and respond organically to any influence to the system. For this particular study, the indigenous Fijian community of Vatuolalai is presented as a CAS that has a specific set of social and ecological components which interact with internal and external systems, including tourism. CAS theory is based on complex behaviour that emerges as a result of interactions among system components and among system components and the environment (Zhou, Wang, Wan, & Jia, 2010). Through interacting with and learning from its environment, a complex adaptive system modifies its behaviour to adapt to changes in the environment (Coetzee et al., 2015). CAS also has been referred to as complex systems, complex
responsive processes, complex evolving systems, or intelligent complex adaptive systems. It is also said to be characterised by panarchy, which can be dynamically influenced internally or externally, and is an ideal tool to examine communities that are always changing (Gunderson & Holling, 2002). By examining the resilience of a community as a CAS places emphasis on understanding individual components and capacities and how they interact to generate resilience. CAS concepts, such as non-linearity, aggregation, emergent behaviour, feedback loops, adaptation, and contextual-based responses become relevant for this study. The use of CAS paves the way for a more targeted and holistic approach to be taken when assessing the resilience of indigenous Fijian communities that are involved in tourism.

3.3 Methods

Research in indigenous Fijian communities is a multidimensional activity requiring immersion, careful engagement, and use of carefully selected methods and localised paradigms (Nabobo-Baba, 2008; Walsh, 1996). A case study approach and ethnography determine the nature of data collection (Veal, 2006). Fieldwork for this study was conducted in two phases, the first phase of 11 weeks and the second phase of five weeks, with the total data collection stretching over a period of 120 days (16 weeks). The researcher fully immersed himself during fieldwork and, through access to all parts of the community, engaged in close, long-term interaction with villagers to gain an understanding of their beliefs, motivations, and behaviour (Tedlock, 2000; Tracy, 2013).

A total of 32 household survey questionnaires were administered, one to each household, with questions covering socio-economic variables focusing on resilience. These were used as a means to triangulate and quantify some of the parameters of this study. This research also employed conversations (talanoa) as a principal tool to harness information and complement the ethnographic nature of this study (Nabobo-Baba, 2008). A talanoa (or veitalanoa) is an interview, and more. The techniques of semi-structured or unstructured interviewing are employed, encouraging consistent flow and deep discussions through conversation, adding more layers of detailed responses to the key research questions (Nabobo-Baba). Talanoa, rather than traditional interviews, were used to request the responses sought by the researcher, and this provided challenges that required the researcher to be adaptive and self-reflective. Respondents were observed to be more forthcoming when interviews were conducted in a relatively unstructured manner and respondents preferred that interviews were conducted in natural and comfortable settings such as a talanoa. As a result,
over the course of the study, the researcher developed a routine that contextually employed the Pacific Island art of “massaging”. This massaging of conversations involved skilful and dynamic engagement with respondents through boundary setting and probing that established the platform for rich dialogue which was gradually built on by multiple encounters and progressive questioning on issues related to system components and community resilience.

This study interactively engaged with a total of 25 individuals, who were its key participants. These individuals included the village headman, chairman of the village meeting, heads and elders of respective clans, current and retired hotel workers, heads of respective village committees, graduates with diplomas and degrees, and church representatives. The participants varied in age, experience, and status. They were considered authorities on village issues and were relied on for advice and follow-up interviews. Their views and perceptions are presented in the findings section of this chapter, which uses pseudonyms to maintain anonymity.

3.4 Background: tourism in Fiji

The Republic of Fiji is an archipelago of about 333 islands with a total land mass of 18,274 sq km located 175 degrees east longitude and 18 degrees south latitude (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2015). Fiji has a population of some 843,000 spread across its 14 provinces, over a quarter of whom are concentrated on its main island of Viti Levu (Fiji Population Census, 2007). The island of Vanua Levu and Taveuni are smaller (5,538 sq km), more sparsely populated, and economically less developed.

Tourism began in Suva in 1920 with the establishment of the White Settlers League, a body comprised of early European settlers who marketed Fiji to passengers disembarking from ships that crossed the Pacific (Scott, 1970). The White Settlers League evolved into the Suva Tourism Board, later becoming the Fiji Visitors Bureau and then Tourism Fiji, the national tourism organisation. Despite its early beginnings, tourism only really developed after the Second World War, prompted by the rise of disposable incomes in Australia and New Zealand (Fiji’s main source markets), and by developments in hotel infrastructure and transportation that made Fiji more accessible (Movono, Harrison, & Pratt, 2015). By 1982, tourism was coined the “new sugar” when it replaced sugar production as the main source of foreign exchange, and it continued to grow into Fiji’s most significant industry (Narayan, 2000, p. 15).
Despite numerous coups, floods, and cyclones, tourism remains Fiji’s most important industry, main foreign exchange earner, and the largest employer (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2015; Ministry of Tourism, 2009; Rao, 2002). In 2014, a total of 680,000 tourists visited Fiji, of which about 53% were from Australia, 22% from New Zealand, and the rest from the United States, Europe, and Asia (Fiji Bureau of Statistics, 2015). Data on tourism’s economic contributions vary depending on the source. According to figures released by the Fiji Ministry of Tourism and Trade (2016), the tourism sector contributed to 32% of Fiji’s GDP, employing directly and indirectly around 60,000 workers in 2013 and providing much-needed relief for Fiji’s large appetite for foreign earnings.

3.5 The research area

The current study is set in Vatuolalai village, which is located along Fiji’s Coral Coast, Fiji’s oldest tourism area where resort-based tourism was pioneered in 1952. Located in the south-western part of Viti Levu, the Coral Coast (one hour by road from the Nadi International Airport) is an area of unique cultural attributes and is one of Fiji’s most environmentally diverse and sensitive coastal regions (Movono et al., 2015). Comprised of five principal districts and made up of villages and resorts, the Coral Coast remains a leading tourism region in Fiji, receiving 18% of Fiji’s visitors annually (Fiji Ministry of Tourism and Trade, 2016).

3.6 The case study: Vatuolalai village

Vatuolalai village was specifically selected because the researcher has had a long-term relationship with the community, which began with visits in 2007 as an undergraduate student, and then later continued as part of a Master of Arts research project (Movono, 2012). The researcher is an indigenous Fijian with cultural ties and long-term links to the village and has accumulated a good depth of knowledge about Vatuolalai, its people, and their stories. There are 32 households in Vatuolalai, which equate to about 224 people, the majority of whom are below the age of 35. The 32 households are divided into two tribes (yavusa): Jubai (48%) and Davutukia (52%). Each tribe has one mataqali (clan) and two tokatoka (sub-clans). The gender distribution is relatively balanced with a slightly higher percentage of females (54%) compared to males (46%), and a high number of people (over 94%) are involved or have been involved in one form of tourism activity or another.
Vatuolalai village is relatively well endowed in terms of housing and infrastructure, with all homes built from concrete, with flush toilets, and with around 86% having access to modern goods such as television sets, sofas, flat screen TVs, refrigerators, and gas stoves (Movono et al., 2015). About 92% of households rely on paid work as a means of a living, of whom around 88% are directly related to the resort and tourism business. People rely on the supermarkets and urban centres for their daily food requirements, and because they have access to regular wages, they regularly participate in the formal economy. Also, 14 individual, small-to-medium tourism enterprises provide waterfall tours, jet ski rentals, handicrafts, and massage services for tourists, 11 of which are owned by women. Collectively, the villagers run and share the benefits from village tours, hosting international student groups and providing entertainment in the form of kava ceremonies and dances at the resorts. Vatuolalai village has its own marine park, protected through the Fiji Locally Managed Marine Areas Network (FLMMA), and villagers are well versed in issues of conservation and sustainability. There are some internal institutions such as a youth group, a women’s club, and development and religious commitee that meet regularly to discuss village-based issues.

3.7 Vanua: a complex and adaptive social and ecological system

Unlike other indigenous communities in the Pacific, Fijians have legally recognised systems that not only reflect their traditional patterns of social organisation but also indicate the interdependance between humans and the biosphere. The Vanua SES model illustrates these realities and proposes the conceptualisation of a destination as a CAS in order to better understand community resilience in Fiji. The term *vanua* means “land” in the Fijian vernacular. For indigenous Fijians, however, the term means much more, and refers to a sacred overarching structure that has multiple dimensions (Ravuvu, 1983). Classical Fijian scholars have defined the *vanua* as an amalgamated entity having physical, social, economic, and ecological components that are interrelated (Ravuvu; Nayacakalou, 1975). Ravuvu (p.70), for example, stressed that

*It (vanua) does not mean only the land (qele) area one is identified with, and the vegetation, animal life, waters and coasts (qoliqoli) and other objects on it, but it also includes the social and cultural system. The people, the traditions and customs, beliefs and values, and the various other institutions are established with the aim of achieving harmony, solidarity, and*
prosperity within a particular social order. Its social and cultural dimensions are a source of security and confidence as it provides a sense of identity and belonging. To most Fijians, the idea of parting with one's vanua or land is tantamount to parting with one's life.

Figure 3. Vanua social and ecological systems and resilience model.

The Vanua SES and resilience model illustrates the case study as a CAS that has complex social, ecological, and economic components. The model shows that the three major components of the system are dependent on one another and are linked through the wide combinations of livelihood activities which in turn affects levels of vulnerability and resilience. The following sections will unpack elements of each system component and highlight how an emphasis on tourism livelihoods creates disturbances and shifts within the system, ultimately affecting levels of resilience.

3.8 Economic system

The people of Vatuolalai were first introduced to the formal economy through copra and sugar, which later included fisheries and then tourism in 1952 when the first resort hotel
was constructed some five kilometres from the village. What seemed like an initial or temporary intrusion into the *vanua*, the tourism system became cemented as part of the Vatuolalai SES in 1972 when the Naviti Resort was constructed on land next to the village. The construction of the resort (and its subsequent influences) is highlighted in this paper as an initial disturbance to the organic and traditional system that had prevailed prior to this time. The construction of the resort introduced new opportunities such as employment and new forms of livelihoods for the villagers. The positioning of the economic system at the outermost layer of the SES components reflects CAS thinking, which indicates how participation in the form of tourism employment (at the micro level) creates adjustments in society (macro level), ultimately influencing resilience. A period of over four decades of tourism employment, diversification, and adaptation have elapsed, and the results indicate a significant level of participation in, and focus and reliance on, tourism and its economic outputs.

Today, although land lease payments are received exclusively by the Davutukia tribe, all villagers have access to employment at the resort, assured through a lease arrangement that guarantees first preference is given to them. As a result, the majority (92%) of adult villagers work at the hotel and in other tourism-related businesses for their livelihood. Each household has, on average, two to three members employed at the resort, with at least one other member engaged in some form of tourism-related work. The average weekly income for each household is around FJD$125, with incomes ranging from between AUD$80 and up to AUD$1100 per week for those who run their own small business. Money from tourism has provided villagers the means to afford better housing and better healthcare; they can send their children to better, well-known schools in Suva, and can even afford the latest electronic gadgets (normally purchased on a hire or rent-to-own basis). Vatuolalai villagers also admit that because they have steady incomes, they have become somewhat accustomed to the modern conveniences of supermarkets (Movono et al., 2015). Women, who make up the majority of people employed at the hotels, are becoming affluent, choosing convenience and practicability when making decisions concerning the household. In some households, women are the sole breadwinners and drivers of the Vatuolalai society.

The findings above indicate that the old, internal complex adaptive system (*vanua*) is complemented by a new, spatially larger complex adaptive system (global tourism economy), which in this case is shown as part of the economic system within the *vanua.* This inclusion
of tourism as a key livelihood activity within the vanua creates adjustments within systems components, and in the process, affecting levels of resilience. Resilience in this case may be weaker in the long term for individuals participating in the new tourism-driven system compared to the old system. Indigenous Fijian communities are observed to be quick to discard the more traditional activities because of the social status that comes with having a paid job. This, along with the promise of wealth and acquired elevated standards, has encouraged people to adapt to and rely more on tourism as a source of livelihood. Ayers (2000) noted that without proper planning, communities with little economic diversification can easily fall into the trap of tourism dependency. Overdependence on a single source of livelihood is counterproductive to the ability of the system to respond to the volatilities exclusively attached to tourism (Cochrane, 2010; Strickland-Munro et al., 2009). Furthermore, a heavy dependence on economic activities reduces participation and interest in traditional activities that not only add to the diversity of livelihood portfolios of villagers but also enforce connections between humans and their biosphere. The data has shown that the majority of villagers are “placing all their eggs in the tourism basket”, reaching a point of possible overdependence on tourism, causing shifts and adjustments in the natural and social setting, and creating increased vulnerabilities (Walker et al., 2006; Zhou et al., 2010).

3.9 Social system

In Vatuolalai, the social system can be defined as having two key components that include (1) observance of kinship relations and (2) the practice of traditional norms. Over the years, the adherence and conduct of specific cultural protocols (such as the kava ceremonies) and the practice of kinship taboos (such as sibling taboos and marriage between kin) are quickly fading, due in part to modernisation and the extensive social exchanges that have taken place between villagers and tourists. Traditional norms, such as the banning of hats, alcohol, and shorts worn by women on village grounds are loosely adhered to by youths. These changing practices are now, to an extent, acceptable to villagers. Another example is the disappearance of authentic Vatuolalai mekes, or traditional dances; villagers now only perform the mekes from other parts of Fiji (and the Pacific) that are more popular with tourists but void of the authentic significance, chants, and costumes unique to Vatuolalai. When asked, villagers state that the “loss of appreciation” for cultural norms, “adapting to tourists behaviours”, “having access to money”, and “modernisation” are key reasons for the breakdown in these social norms. Respondents also raised matters of diminishing respect for
elders, disobedience, and the reluctant participation of youths in traditional activities as other key changes that have occurred in society.

In Fijian culture, the observance of customs and traditions are conducted through presentations of gifts of food, kava, mats, oil, and other gifts during events such as births, deaths, and weddings (Ravuvu, 1983). These cultural observances are “what makes a Fijian a Fijian” and are considered essential to the preservation of culture (Nayacakalou, 1975, p. 32). Any cultural event will involve the presentation of traditional gifts, followed by a feast also involving consumption of large quantities of kava. According to Etonia, a clan elder, “over the past four decades, the size and yield of farms have shrunk considerably; this is the same for our fisheries, which means we have to buy what is needed for a traditional event . . . sometimes we have two funerals one after the other, followed by another wedding; it gets quite difficult to bear”. Kado (2007) recognised that employment opportunities come at the cost of participation by locals in traditional activities, community work, and cultural practice. Highly valued crops such as yams, dalo (taro) and kava are seldom planted because it is considered “easier” or “cheaper” to purchase depending on the alternatives (cassava, noodles, imported potatoes and rice) available at the Maui Bay Supermarket some five minutes walk from the village. In effect, the data can be interpreted as showing that hotel work, by replacing traditional activities, has compounded the cost of carrying out traditions. Because villagers are unable to produce a greater variety of food and traditional items, they have to purchase what they need to not only survive, but also to meet their traditional obligations.

SES and CAS theory become relevant in identifying the interconnected and non-linear relationships between elements. The empirical evidence discussed above indicates how initial tourism employment and continued involvement in the tourism system has drawn attention away from conformance to cultural practices and traditions (Coetzee et al., 2015; Cretney, 2014). To an extent, the findings prove how, 40 years since the introduction of tourism as a livelihood alternative, it has influenced how villagers interact with each other and with their natural environment. In essence, the connectivities between villagers and their culture and environment have become loose since embracing the tourism system. Despite the improvement of economic resilience, the resilience of culture and indigenous knowledge is in many ways diminished as the society adapts to tourism and economically driven lifestyles.
3.10 The ecological system

The Vatuolalai ecological system can be broadly classified as having a land and marine component referred to as *qele* (all soil or dry land) and *qoliqoli* (waterways, coasts, and springs) (Ravuvu, 1983). Land and marine resources are communally owned along patrilineal lines by *mataqali*, or clans. Each villager is registered to a *mataqali* in a national register (the *Vola ni Kawa Bula*, VKB), which guarantees legal access to resources (Ravuvu). In Fijian society, ecological resources such as *qele* and *qoliqoli* are referred to as one’s *kanakana*, meaning from where sustenance is derived. Indigenous Fijians interact with their biosphere through culturally established livelihoods practices as well as totemic connections, which are a source of traditional knowledge, pride, and identity. People of the same tribe are united through their totemic affiliations (through the sharing of a totem tree, totem fish, and totem bird), forming a cultural bond that links people, links people to the *vanua*, and links the *vanua* to the people. Totems are also geographically unique for each tribe. For example, totems represent plants, trees, and fish unique to Vatuolalai, adding a uniqueness of place. These unique totemic connections enforce links between an individual and their natural surroundings, imparting custodianship, responsibility, and confidence in relying on the *vanua* as a system in which they can coexist with nature.

Nowadays, villagers describe their relationship with their natural environment as “distant” because of the minimal interaction and decreasing dependence on their *kanakana*. Villagers attribute this “distancing” from their natural environment to their newfound wealth, tastes, and commitment to tourism-related work, allowing villagers to lead more affluent lifestyles. This creates further isolation from their traditional knowledge and skills, which are often only transferred through these traditional activities. Surveys reveal that 32% of the population have stopped planting altogether; others (38%) have small gardens either for their consumption or are planting for a specific function. In Vatuolalai, only 11% of the population owns livestock and only 12% still go fishing regularly, indicating an increasing reliance on non-traditional sources of protein (sausages, chicken, tinned meat, and fish) and cassava (a staple). The absence of sweet potatoes, yams, and plantains are also cause for concern because these crops are traditionally grown for their longevity and suitability during the cyclone seasons. Alivate, a lay preacher, said, “people have adapted to the taste of ‘easy’ food because we don’t have time to work the land, because our priority has become work and not living, as nature intended”. Villagers were observed to be relying primarily on cassava, which historically was reserved as an animal (pig) feed and only consumed during adverse
weather conditions, such as during droughts and cyclones. The lack of variety in the crops planted is in direct contradiction to traditional ideologies not only affecting traditional knowledge but affecting nutrition and increasing risks associated with a lack of food security.

The people of Vatuolalai often refer to themselves as *kwai baravi*, meaning coastal people. Being so close to the sea, villagers have always used the ocean and its resources as a source of food, medicine, and economic income for villagers. However, because of the resort, villagers now have to share their land and marine resources with tourists who use the same *qoliqoli* for water sports and snorkelling. Avid fishers, such as Epiuta, said that “it’s challenging to catch fish because the activities of tourists chase fish away”. Conversations with fishers suggest that construction of a causeway (Figure 3) and a man-made island in the late 1990s had also caused the disappearance of fish. Of particular interest is the noticeable disappearance of seasonal bait fish, last seen in 1997 before the causeway was constructed. Another key ecological change noted by villagers is the scarcity of prawns in their streams, which they believe was caused by the construction of a water dam used to supply water to the resort. Villagers perceive these three physical constructs (dam, causeway, and man-made islands) as the cause of changes experienced in their *qoliqoli* and as demonstrations of how coastal tourism affects the ecology of an area, causing further adjustments within a system.

Respondents from this study value their links to the natural environment and confirm that changes, such as loss of fish species and a decline in ecological productivity, are having serious social implications on food security. Any reduction in connectivity or loss of traditional knowledge and learning systems diminishes diversity and redundancy and, in the longer term, may be highly detrimental to the resilience of the system (Stockholm Resilience Centre, 2014). Ultimately, as suggested by Veitayaki, Breckwoldt, Sigaruva, Bulai, & Rokomate (2015), Fijians need to reinvigorate their links with the natural environment to better manage their natural resources effectively. Then they may be able to practice their customs, live with strengthened capacities and fewer vulnerabilities, and cope with external stressors. The findings above have shown the main components of the Vanua SES and have shown that tourism, a CAS in its own respect, has become an integral part of the *vanua* (Neely, 2015). Its introduction as a means to diversify opportunities has stimulated adjustments and reorganisations within the various system components, and in the process, affected the levels of economic, ecological, and social aspects of community resilience (Gunderson & Holling, 2002). The table below, adapted from the Stockholm Resilience
Centre principles of resilience, provides a summary of the discussion above as it relates to the principles of resilience, offering insight into the changes in levels of resilience brought about by involvement with and subsequent dependence on tourism.

Table 2

*Resilience Characteristics of the Vatuolalai SES Before and After Tourism Involvement*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Resilience characteristic</th>
<th>Pre-tourism system</th>
<th>Post-tourism system</th>
<th>Resilience implications</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diversity and Redundancy</td>
<td>Broad range of livelihoods activities</td>
<td>Heavy dependence and focus on tourism-based livelihoods</td>
<td>Diminished resilience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Diverse range of traditional skills and knowledge</td>
<td>Loss of traditional skills and knowledge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wide range of known contextual connections between system elements enforced through cultural practice</td>
<td>Reduced connectivity between system elements due to mono focus on tourism activities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Learning and traditional knowledge</td>
<td>Preservation of traditional skills and knowledge pertaining to fishing, farming, hunting, and cultural etiquette</td>
<td>Increased attention on tourism-based skills</td>
<td>Diminished resilience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Continual practice of traditions that connect people with the biosphere</td>
<td>Increasing shifts away from traditional activities and skills</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transference of knowledge through practice, dances, and crafts</td>
<td>Loss of cultural knowledge about arts and dances</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Firm understanding and practice of seasonal agriculture and fisheries, ensuring preparedness during cyclone season</td>
<td>Erosion of traditional skills and techniques</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managing connectivity</td>
<td>Highly connected system</td>
<td>Loss of connectivity between villagers and their</td>
<td>Diminished resilience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Interrelationships and interdependencies between system elements are strong.</strong></td>
<td><strong>natural environment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Knowledge about system connections and relationships are clear.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Increased affluence has increased dependency on purchased goods as opposed to locally sourced components.</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Sustainable resource management techniques are employed.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Reduced connectivity between villagers</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Broadening participation</strong></th>
<th><strong>Participation in leadership and politics is generally gender-based and participation in community and governance issues is male-dominated.</strong></th>
<th><strong>Empowerment of women and youths has led to increased participation in newly established committees and clubs.</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Participation in a broad range of activities, from fishing to multi-cropping, by a broad spectrum of the population</strong></td>
<td><strong>Greater participation in community-wide development issues</strong></td>
<td><strong>Improved resilience</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Fostering complex systems thinking</strong></th>
<th><strong>The pre-tourism system is one that emulates CAS theory.</strong></th>
<th><strong>Greater emphasis and participation on the tourism system</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Culture reinforces connections between communities and the biosphere.</strong></td>
<td><strong>Reduced complex systems thinking</strong></td>
<td><strong>Diminished resilience</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Slow variables and feedback through internal channels</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rapid changes and significant disruptions to pre-existing links between elements</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.11 Conclusions

This chapter has shown that destination communities such as Vatuolalai are complex social and ecological systems that have diverse and interrelated non-homogeneous components. The Vanua SES and resilience model captures the fluidity and complexity of indigenous communities by incorporating social and ecological systems concepts within the bounds of the *vanua* to allow for a broader range of focused analysis to be conducted on this community (Folke, 2006; Gallopín, 2006; Holling, 1973). The chapter has defined a clear pathway where resilience is operationalised by adopting SES as a platform for empirical studies in tourism-based indigenous Fijian communities. It has also generated outcomes beyond purely academic discussions, providing empirical evidence to support resilience theory. This study incorporates resilience by assessing human interaction with the biosphere, identifying resource use patterns and issues of vulnerabilities, and providing focus on the elements of a system that need to be strengthened to increase adaptive capacities.

This chapter has also shown that there are two adaptive cycles: the *vanua* system and the tourism system. It can be argued that tourism grew from within the economic system through “exploitation” to a stage of “consolidation” where the traditional *vanua* system went through a stage of “collapse” and is now in the midst of “reorganisation” (Holling, 2001). Based on the resilience cycle model, the tourism system is likely to experience a “collapse” at some time in the future, while the *vanua* system is likely to experience “reorganisation”. A resilience approach would help villagers be aware of this and plan for both of these future stages to develop. However, this study has shown that this society is highly reflexive, and its non-homogenous components have the potential to self-organise as it adjusts to the initial disturbances brought about by tourism. More important, this paper acknowledges that tourism itself does not lead to a loss of resilience. The community’s resilience in this particular study was reduced by the diminishing attention to traditional values and knowledge over the long term, which could have been prevented with proper forethought, and might be recoverable with proper restoration. CAS theory hence becomes useful in indicating how micro level influences such as tourism employment can stimulate changes and adjustments in the overall system, therefore affecting levels of resilience.
The findings of this empirical study fill a significant void in the literature and provide clear evidence of the complex, multi-layered, and interrelated nature of indigenous Fijian society. This chapter has shown that because villagers have adapted to tourism as a primary livelihood source, issues of resilience and vulnerability have arisen (Movono et al., 2015). Ultimately, this study has shown that the Vanua SES and resilience model may be useful in identifying vulnerabilities and has immense potential as a tool for initiating targeted action and achieving strengthened economic, social, and ecological capacities. Actions such as reinvigorating cultural practices, integrating planning, reducing economic dependence, diversifying livelihoods activities, and using resources efficiently are some essential recommendations that must be considered in reducing vulnerabilities in a tourism-related destination community. Despite its findings, this case study (although a fair representation of Fijian communities) is nowhere near enough to adequately understand resilience in Fiji. Much yet remains to be done.
Chapter 4.0: Solesolevaki as social capital: A tale of a village, two tribes, and a resort in Fiji

This chapter includes a co-authored paper. The bibliographic detail of the co-authored paper, including both authors, is


My contribution to the paper

I generated the basic research idea through an extensive literature review. I then developed the theoretical framework and identified the research models and relevant data. I also collected the data and conducted the analysis, interpretation, and discussion of the results.

However, my supervisors helped me to improve the overall research by providing their valuable comments and suggestion from the beginning of the chapter.

Signed:

Date: 10th October, 2017
Apisalome Movono

Countersigned:

Date: 10th October, 2017
Corresponding author of paper: Apisalome Movono

Countersigned:

Date: 10th October, 2017
Principal supervisor: Prof Heidi Dahles
4.1 Introduction

Tourism has been acknowledged as a driver of development in much of the developing world. For some countries, tourism is the only feasible option for development, and widely promoted for its potential in raising standards of living and increasing development opportunities (Movono & Dahles, 2017). In Fiji, as in many other island states, tourism is a key contributor to the national and local economies (Harrison & Prasad, 2013). This paper aims to validate perceptions held about tourism development and examine its impacts using the indigenous Fijian village of Vatuolalai as a case study. The paper will highlight the experiences, voices, and perceptions of villagers in order to understand the complex changes endured by locals resulting from their involvement in tourism. This study draws from complex adaptive systems (CAS) and Social Capital theory to conceptualise and empirically examine the interconnected and embedded constructs within indigenous Fijian communities. The focus is on the two clans that comprise Vatuolalai village and highlights how their involvement in tourism has altered their practice of solesolevaki, or communal collaboration. The paper proposes that money alone does not create development, but social solidarity and people’s access to various forms of capital do.

In the following section, a review of the literature is provided before introducing the case study area in Fiji. The paper then outlines the research methods before discussing the findings and conclusions of this study. This research demonstrates the complex and adaptive nature of indigenous Fijian communities, and asserts that tourism involvement has triggered behavioural changes which have led to shifts in social processes that affect social capital and community solidarity.

4.2 Complex Adaptive Systems and Social Capital

When examining the literature on indigenous communities and tourism (Whitford & Ruhanen, 2016), one cannot ignore the void in knowledge about the roles of indigenous peoples as actors in their development. Most studies describe indigenous communities as homogeneous entities, assuming them to have rigid elements that are exposed and vulnerable to the “impacts” of the outside world (Kitoilelei & Sato, 2016; Movono et al., 2015; Whitford & Ruhanen). The literature lacks empirical evidence that illuminates the embedded and multidimensional nature of indigenous society, resulting in a significant gap in knowledge
that this paper seeks to address. Indigenous communities are multifaceted, and thus their study requires a theoretical framework that acknowledges these complexities.

A specific approach to systems thinking, CAS theory, is therefore appropriate as a means to understanding the complex sociocultural, ecological, and economic elements embedded in the nature of communities (Buckley, 1968; Neely, 2015). CAS as a theoretical framework facilitates the examination of non-linear and multi-levelled relationships and development dynamics between elements within a community, in their environment, and with the outside world (Holland, 2006). Understanding these system dynamics then provides pathways to uncovering how interactions at the micro or household level can lead to very complex implications at the macro or village level, and vice versa (Gunderson & Holling, 2002; Holland). CAS theory is essential for the current study to uncover how preferential access to tourism benefits at the tribal level has created shifts in the values and social structure of the whole community.

CAS theory seeks to explain complex behaviour that emerges from interactions among and between system components and their environment (Coetzee et al., 2015; Holland, 2006; Holling, 2001). Elements of a complex system can modify their behaviour and adapt to internal and external changes in the environment. These changes are best understood through the concept of panarchy (Coetzee et al.; Gunderson & Holling, 2002), which describes a nested set of adaptive cycles operating at discrete ranges of scale (Allen et al., 2014; Holling). Examining panarchy is integral to the systems approach focusing on embedded communities, because it emphasises hierarchical structuring, cross-scale, and multi-levelled linkages. Panarchy acknowledges that processes or shocks that occur at one scale have the potential to affect the dynamics of a complex communal system, triggering adaptive cycles and emergent patterns at various other scales (Diedrich & Aswani, 2016; Holland; Neely, 2015).

Panarchy theory has seldom been used in the social sciences but is employed in this study to address the manner in which tourism is conceived for long-term development and sustainability within tourism-dependent indigenous Fijian communities. Examining the development of a community as a complex system draws empirical attention to individual system components and allows specific focus on the structures and processes occurring within communities. CAS concepts such as non-linearity, emergent behaviour, adaptation, and contextual-based responses become relevant for this study.
Another theory that is highly relevant when analysing communities relates to social capital. Social capital originates from the early work of Bourdieu (1986) in social anthropology and extends to other areas in international business, and more recently in climate change and adaptation research (Warrick, Aalbersberg, Dimaru, McNaught, & Teperman, 2017). Bourdieu described social capital as “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition” (p. 248). According to this definition, social capital access depends on the number of network connections and the type and amount of capital (cultural, financial, natural, and human) that each network member possesses. Other scholars such as Coleman (1988) and Putnam (1995) expanded social capital theory by focusing on social connections, and emphasised that investment in interpersonal relationships creates social capital. This presents a suitable platform for empirical studies in communities with pre-existing societal structures that enforce social connections (Adler & Kwon, 2002; Kwon, Heflin, & Ruef, 2013). These connections often embody specific relationships that harness trust and emphasise reciprocity, which are key components of social capital and therefore become an essential part of this study.

Communities comprise territory or place, social institutions, and social interaction (Green & Haines, 2007). Thus, the inherent basic types of capital embedded within a typical community are natural, cultural, human, and financial (Bourdieu, 1986; McGehee, Lee, O’Bannon, & Perdue, 2010). Unlike other forms of static capital, social capital is productive because it can increase levels of trust, respect, and cooperation in society, allowing for a broad range of socio-economic and political exchanges to take place (Hwang & Stewart, 2017; McGehee et al.). As a concept, social capital leans on the core intuition that the goodwill that others have towards us has some value (Kwon et al., 2013; Putnam, 1995). Although not always quantifiable in monetary terms, social capital—like other forms of capital—can be converted into financial capital (Bourdieu; Park, Lee, Choi, & Yoon, 2012). Social capital is, therefore, a useful mechanism for promoting collective action and supporting action to adapt to changing socio-economic and environmental situations—at all societal levels, including individual, family, and community. Accordingly, everything (rules, norms, social order, and customs) that brings a community together for cohesive action should be included in the examination of social capital.
Examining social capital at the community level also emphasises its function as a public good (Coleman, 1988; Kwon et al., 2013). Putnam (1995) referred to the public nature of social capital as having permeating abilities, alluding to how benefits from social capital “diffuse” through a community, influencing individuals as well as the broader social structures. This spillover of social capital is often referred to when describing benefits such as community cohesion and information flow that spread to other members of the community who may not have high levels of personal social capital themselves (Kwon et al.). It has also been suggested that social capital flows internally and externally through relationships held between people, particularly so when a united approach is taken (Brondizio, Ostrom, & Young, 2009). Importantly, social capital is credited with having the capacity to influence development, promote entrepreneurialism, and build adaptive capacity, thereby providing the mechanism that allows access to other forms of capital (Coleman; Kwon et al.; Putnam; Warrick et al., 2017).

While the general meaning of social capital is intuitive, there has been conceptual ambiguity. As a result, few studies have applied this concept to the context of tourism in indigenous communities. The applications of social capital within complex and adaptive tourism systems are even fewer (Brondizio et al., 2009). Hwang and Stewart (2017), upon examining communities in South Korea, indicated that the quality of one’s social network is relevant to the propensity to participate in tourism. Their findings encourage community leaders to reach out to actors within their network if tourism involvement is to be increased. Furthermore, Mura and Tavakoli (2014) stated that tourism is influential in strengthening social relationships within Malaysian society regardless of ethnicity, indicating how tourism as an experience can enhance social networks and capital across diverse groups. Taylor’s (2017) findings, focusing on community-based indigenous tourism, drew attention to the non-homogeneous nature of communities, raising valuable questions about governance systems, kinship relations, and power relationships and associated dynamic changes. In essence, tourism-related indigenous communities depend on high levels of social capital to develop and sustain tourism in an integrated and sustainable manner (Jones, 2005).

4.3 The Research Area

This study is set in Vatuolalai village, on the Coral Coast of Fiji. It is an area of signifigant geo-cultural attributes and is Fiji’s oldest tourism region, where resort-based tourism was pioneered in the 1950s. Comprised of five principal adminstrative districts
consisting of interrelated villages and a diverse tourism product, the Coral Coast remains one of Fiji’s leading tourism regions, receiving around 27% of Fiji’s visitors annually (Ministry of Tourism and Trade, 2016). In 1972, the Naviti Resort, a relatively large-scale, all-inclusive resort, was built on land next to the village, ushering in a new era of change and development for the community.

4.4 The case study: Vatuolalai village

Vatuolalai village is primarily comprised of two clans, known as mataqali, who occupy each side of the village, and who are separated by an invisible line that indicates the upper village grounds and lower village grounds. Each clan is further divided into smaller sub-clans or tokatoka, consisting of groups of families united through common ancestry. Each clan collectively owns, and has rights and access to, land and customary marine resources commonly known as their ikanakana and iqoliqoli. There are 32 households equating to about 220 people in the village, the majority of whom are below the age of 35. The gender distribution is relatively balanced, with a slightly higher percentage of females (54%) compared to males (46%), and a large number (over 92%) of people are involved in some form of tourism (Movono et al., 2015). Vatuolalai village is relatively well endowed regarding infrastructure.
Of specific relevance to the current study are the two key clans, described as Mataqali A (52% of the population) and Mataqali B (48%) (anonymised for the purpose of cultural sensitivity). Members of each mataqali are registered in a national register known as the Volanikawa Bula, based on patriarchal lines. This ensures their membership in the community and, more importantly, access and rights to land and marine resources. Despite both clans owning land and access to customary fishing grounds, only one clan owns land that is home to the Naviti Resort. As a result, members of Mataqali A (land-owning clan) are provided with preferential access to jobs, contracts, and land lease payments of up to AUD$3,000 per person annually. This amount is usually deposited directly into a bank account or issued as cash cheques every three months. Members of Mataqali B, although having land for semi-subsistence purposes, do not receive lease payments from the resort. Their benefits are of an indirect nature and rely on the “spillover” from shared access to employment, and hotel-funded infrastructure such as free water, the community hall, and the church, and through entrepreneurial opportunities from tourism.

On the surface, the community appears homogenous, masking the complex elements and processes occurring within the complex socio-ecological system of this particular village.
CAS provides a framework to penetrate the embedded constructs of the community and to better learn how indigenous communities respond to tourism development.

4.5 Methods

The Fiji Vanua research framework (FVRF) is adopted to guide the methodology (Nabobo-Baba, 2008). The FVRF is an attempt to localise research methods, recognise indigenous Fijian society, and decolonise research in the Pacific (Nabobo-Baba). This paradigm is likened to interpretive social science (ISS), which describes the researcher as wanting to learn about meaningfully relevant everyday life experiences from their participants. Nabobo-Baba stated that

situating indigenous people at the centre of research and using their systems of knowledge and understandings as the basis for inquiry and investigation, opens the possibilities of extending the knowledge base of indigenous people and transforming their understanding of the social-cultural world. (p. 141).

This approach appropriately integrates the CAS theory and social capital concept in its focus and allows examination of the interrelated and embedded features of this community.

4.6 Data collection

A case study approach was selected for its suitability in conducting in-depth investigations into indigenous communities because it allows the investigation of “social processes in their appropriate context”, paving the way for ethnographic-based studies to be conducted (Hartley, 1994, p.208). Ethnography combines “research design, fieldwork, and various methods of inquiry to produce historically, politically, and personally situated accounts, descriptions, interpretations, and representations of human lives” (Tedlock, 2000, p. 455). The lead researcher (an indigenous Fijian) fully immersed himself in village life, engaging in close, long-term interaction with villagers in order to gain an understanding of their beliefs, motivations, and behaviours (Tedlock). The fieldwork was conducted in two phases stretching over a period of 120 days. Ethical considerations, where individuals or specific group’s identity and sensitivities were concerned, were acknowledged and all efforts to conceal identities were undertaken. All names expressed within this paper are pseudonyms.
The current study relied on complete participant observations, household-administered surveys, and the culturally appropriate adaptation of traditional research interviews as conversations or *talanoa* as key tools for data collection. *Talanoa* in the Fijian context refers to the process where two or more people converse, and share ideas and stories. It is an effective means by which communication is established between two or more parties (Nabobo-Baba, 2008). Hence, a *talanoa* is a semi-structured interview, but more, because it provides an ideal platform from which rich historical data and recollections of specific events can be harnessed (Nabobo-Baba).

*Talanoa* were conducted with the participants at various levels and in various contexts to gather their views on community and personal issues. In total, 72 *talanoa* or conversations were held with individual participants and with specific interest groups, of which 20 were simultaneously conducted with individual members of both clans who were deliberately selected as key participants in this study. Selection criteria related to levels of reputation, standing in the community, education, experience, and authority. The key participants were selected from broad strata of the community, with their ages ranging from 18 to 72 years old and with equal representation from both clans and both genders. An additional ten interviews were held with pre-existing interest groups, including the women’s group, mother’s club, youth groups, the conservation committee, the development committee, men’s group, church elders, and some smaller committees that oversee issues related to health, education, culture, and wellbeing.

While relying primarily on the key participants, data from household surveys helped to ascertain demographic information and gauge community perceptions on key issues related to community development. Complete participant observations of daily life and encounters, as well as specific events such as weddings and funerals, were recorded for the duration of this study. The lead researcher observed exchanges between villagers, patterns of village organisation, and communication between individuals and kin, as well as the roles of institutions within the village. The researcher used a smartphone voice recorder to record observations as well as written notes to record important details. Recordings of observations were transcribed and summarised in the researcher’s daily reflections. The information was analysed at two-day intervals to highlight key observations relevant to this study. Reflexivity was possible because the researcher was continuously triangulating data from various sources and revisiting the data and specific individuals for on-site clarification (Mundine, 2012).
4.7 Findings

Immersion has granted the current study access into the inner workings of the community. Over the course of fieldwork, the lead researcher was able to understand and record the details of each household and map out the relationships between each member of the community. Vatuola village, like the majority of indigenous Fijian communities, is comprised of interconnected webs of related individuals who are linked by marriage or blood. As such, it is appropriate to assume that any changes introduced to one section of the community are likely to affect the broader community. The following sections discuss how, for the people of Vatuola, the introduction of tourism has been both a “blessing and a curse” that has enhanced livelihoods but also weakened solidarity, and led to a regrouping and restructuring of society.

4.8 Solesolevaki as social capital

The saying “everyone knows everyone else” is commonly used to describe networks in small and tight-knit communities, reflecting their interrelated and connected characteristics (Buckley, 1968). Adopting a CAS perspective has allowed specific focus to be placed on the social networks, relations, and subtle interactions within the Vatuola community. This study has determined that internal bonds exist within the formal hierarchical structure of the community, linking each household to a sub-clan or tokatoka, tokatoka to a mataqali, and mataqali to a yavusa or tribe that in turn is connected to a greater vanua or tikina (district) (Brondizio et al., 2009; Ravuvu, 1987). Known as veiwekani, social relations act as bonds that connect individuals to others in the community. These bonds were observed to structurally enforce indigenous Fijian norms and philosophies such as veivakaturagataki, veidokai, and solesolevaki, which guide appropriate behaviour and conformance and maintain solidarity within the community (Coffe, 2007). Veivakaturagataki and veidokai can be translated broadly as humility and respect, whereas the third term, solesolevaki, is the slightly more embedded term, referring to the direct opposite of individualism.

Solesolevaki, or collective community effort, manifests in the communal nature of Fijian society, where everyone is related, and all are obliged to work together (Ravuvu, 1987). Whether it involves planting root crops for an upcoming wedding or building a new house, study participants and indigenous Fijians in general rely on solesolevaki as a means to
meet all ends. *Solesolevaki* closely mirrors Putnam’s definition of social capital presented earlier. As Epeli, a village elder explained,

> we people of Vatuolalai are all connected. Our responsibility as individuals is to ensure that we know how we are related, why we are related, and we are obliged to appreciate and respect those relations by behaving in a chiefly manner, which is what brings unity and prosperity to our village.

His wisdom illustrates the significance of *solesolevaki*, not only as a feature of social-life networks but as a feature of indigenous culture that enables villagers to effectively pursue shared interests and attain unity and solidarity within their community as a collective (Buckley, 1968; Ravuvu, 1987). Everyday life and communal collaborations are highly reciprocal and support the development of social capital.

*Solesolevaki* mirrors social capital as a vehicle to promote development for people in Vatuolalai, and entails obligations that encourage the exchange of goodwill, trust, reciprocity, respect, and unity among community members. A connected and united community reflects high levels of cooperation, good leadership, social capital, and solidarity (Coleman, 1988). This is reflected by the majority (82%) of key participants who acknowledged *solesolevaki* as a “glue” that connects people, providing them with a common purpose and identity as members of an interrelated and socially bound community. *Solesolevaki* as social capital is appropriate because it allows contexts of indigenous society to be examined in localised terms. As a result, Vatuolalai society and, in general, Fijian culture and values, promote the strengthening of internal bonds through continual social interaction based on the values of *solesolevaki*.

The outcomes of these internal bonds are evidenced by the community’s ability to come together to raise a significant volume of funds through their shared sense of responsibility and obligation to *vakaligaliga*, or “to contribute” to their *vania* (village) and church. Participants noted that reciprocity and adherence to cultural etiquette were strong motivators for practicing *solesolevaki*, with Eroni (a hotel bar worker) stating that “the load is lighter when we work together and we are instinctively prompted to act and contribute, whatever the goal may be, because it’s our culture”. The village headman revealed that *solesolevaki* is entrenched within cultural norms and explained that
villagers are not told what to do—if a relative from one part of the village is building an extension to a home or if kin from the next village is planning to raise funds for their church, we will contribute. The least we can do is help out wherever we can, even if it means cooking a pot of fish to feed the builders or setting aside a few dollars to help with fundraising—its just the way we are.

Ravuvu (1987) first brought this point to light, confirming the collective and reciprocal nature of Fijian society, and alluding to the fact that communalism is a key defining feature of the Fijian ethos.

4.9 Social capital and tourism development: An evolving and dynamic system

To better understand how the Vatuolalai system has responded to tourism development, the study specifically sought the views of older respondents who were able to provide their recollections and describe levels of solesolevaki and community unity before, during, and after 40 years of tourism involvement. A former lay preacher and respected elder of the community, recalls

When I was a young man, in my early 20s, (before the resort opened in 1972), we lived as one community. We would do everything together to plant root crops, clear fields. Back then building bures (thatched huts) was a communal affair; even children were given tasks of scraping bark or braiding lashings. Sundays were always the best day to see togetherness and sharing. After church, we would do what’s called vei takici, whereby women would dish a plate of food from their kitchen, and we would send our kids to offer it to our neighbours. Back then, everyone shared everything, from our food to the burdens of everyday life. We faced challenges together as a united village.

Pre-tourism recollections portray a united community with strong social bonds and high levels of social capital. Respondents stated that solesolevaki is still observed, but is weaker because of tourism involvement, modernisation, and development. Senimili, a 68-year-old grandmother and matriarch of the village, made specific reference to the resort as a cause for the changes in how people behave and interact in the village:
We were quick to embrace the hotel and the new lifestyle it brought because we could earn money and make better lives for our families. The impacts of tourism was almost immediate; one moment we were working together for the betterment of the community and the next we were working for our interests and that of our families—turning more individualistic. At least that’s how I see it. One day we are fishing together with the catch shared equally and the next it was every fisher for herself.

Elenoa, another female elder and former resort maid, provided more clarity, stating that what happened to our village was that some people had cash directly handed to them for their land (referring to Mataqali A) and we were left to fend for ourselves. This changed social relations and interactions because people were not only being driven away from communal work to focus on paid work, but overnight one tribe became wealthier than the other. In my view, this is where we went wrong. We allowed money to determine our *veiwekani* or relationships with each other; this is how we were split. Nowadays we build our homes on our own and sometimes have to deal with our traditional functions in our clans or as individual families; we don’t have the genuine communal unity we used to enjoy.

The accounts above reflect the views of villagers who have identified tourism involvement, employment, lease money, and non-adherence to cultural values as the main causes for weakened bonds between community members (Ooi & Mair, 2015). Key participants (52%) clearly stated that the endowing of only one tribe with cash payments for the lease of their land initiated the process of dividing the community. This ultimately created incremental socio-political and economic disparity within the community. The introduction of tourism promoted individualistic tendencies among the cohort, leading to adopting new behaviours, ignoring cultural values and, eventually, leading to diminishing the levels of community unity, reciprocity, trust, and social capital (Innes & Booher, 2007). Table 3 summarises respondents’ perceptions of community characteristics before and after tourism involvement.
Table 3

Pre- and Post-tourism Community Characteristics of Vatuolalai Village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Pre-tourism community characteristics</th>
<th>Post-tourism community characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Communal focus</td>
<td>Increasing individualism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conformance with cultural etiquette and values</td>
<td>Complacency and use of own discretion</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appreciation and understanding of internal links and relations</td>
<td>Obscure appreciation for internal links and relations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minimal disparity between tribes and households</td>
<td>Noticeable financial, social, and political disparity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strong trust and social bonds</td>
<td>Diminishing trust and weakened social bonds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High levels of community social capital</td>
<td>Social capital building confined to smaller social groups</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High level of community solidarity</td>
<td>Weak level of solidarity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High levels of community-wide collective action</td>
<td>Lower levels of community-wide collective action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High levels of harmony and unity</td>
<td>Mistrust and divisions within the community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.10 Weakened social capital and social reorganisation

As alluded to above, the majority of participants (62%) indicated that disparities in tourism benefits derived by the two tribes have led to the erosion of social capital of the community. The increased wealth of one tribe has led to significant economic and socio-political disparities. These disparities created feelings of discontent, mistrust, and abandonment, leading to conflicts and marred relations between the two clans. When asked, 56% of participants attributed conflicts to behavioural changes such as pride, alcohol abuse, extra-marital affairs, and conflict between kin. Another 86% of participants affirmed that their involvement in tourism introduced individualism and “ignorance of cultural values” to their community.

As the people of Vatuolalai responded to the changes brought by their involvement with tourism, a new system emerged. In the post-tourism development system, internal bonds between the main tribes and between kin have withered because of decades of inequality, leading to weakening of bonds through diminished levels of community social capital. The majority (87%) of participants agreed that it was “difficult to work together as a community” citing “vakasavuili” (15%) or non-participation by some, “unequal distribution of responsibilities” (22%), and “distrust” as the main reasons for the lack of social cohesion. In the same breath, 62% of participants also stated “it is better if we organise things in our
mataqali or tokatoka first and then pool our resources as a village”. This is important because it shows the adaptation of villagers and panarchy in that social capital development per se has moved from a broader, village level to the clan and sub-clan level.

Despite affecting the macro level community, solesolevaki and collective action continued to be harnessed, although they were noticeably stronger within certain segments of lower levels within the community. The weakened macro level unity had prompted community members, in particular in Mataqali B, to “retreat and regroup” into their sub-units, where they could focus on collective action and building social capital within their clans or sub-clans (Gunderson & Holling, 2002). This reorganisation into smaller groups is a response to growing divisions and evidence of the adaptive nature of system elements to cope with changing circumstances induced by tourism involvement. The greater cohesion and social capital at the lower communities levels created opportunities for new internal institutions such as female entrepreneurs and youth groups, which did not exist before the late 1990s (Glanville & Bienenstock, 2009).

The research shows that these new groups are predominantly linked to the efforts of the less privileged Mataqali B. However, positive spillover of social capital was evidenced as the institutions initially established by Mataqali B members have extended membership and benefits to include members of the entire village. Thus, adaptation within Mataqali B has spurred reorganisation by Mataqali A, leading to strengthening of social capital of the entire system. The new structure means that collective efforts are increasingly initiated at the clan levels where decisions are debated first before collective discussions and action are executed for the whole community (Figure 5. Vatuolalai society post-tourism structure).
4.11 One village, two separate paths

The reorganisation of sub-community groups can be understood by focusing on how members of each tribe have adapted to tourism development. The section below outlines the observations of the researcher and perceptions of participants about their development pre- and post-tourism development. The conversations probed the views of participants about their tribe and each other, and sought to clarify the complex and panarchial nature of indigenous Fijian social systems (Holland, 2006).

4.12 Mataqali A

In total, there are 17 households within Mataqali A, and each member of this mataqali receives around AUD$850 every three months as payment for the lease of their land by the resort. Eight households hold exclusive contracts with the resort, providing transportation, entertainment, and handicraft selling to the resort, while three households own small tourism businesses. To date, no-one from this clan has graduated with a university degree, with the majority of youths dropping out of school immediately after form six or earlier to work either at the resort or in other locally run tourism businesses. As part of the lease agreements, 15
homes were entirely constructed by the resort and are recognisably the larger and better houses in the village. The village community hall was built from money loaned by the resort and deducted from lease payments, and the village church was partly funded by the resort. Both buildings were deliberately constructed on Mataqali A’s side of the village.

The nature of involvement that Mataqali A has with tourism is one of privilege and preferential treatment. Members were observed to have superior status in community negotiations, wielding significant political power over others. Elders from both clans stated that this was not always the case since neither clan is traditionally subservient to the other. Village leadership was always rotated between elders from the two tribes, who would take turns in being elected or “chosen” as the village chairman. However, respondents noted that since tourism was developed 40 years ago, members of Mataqali A have continually asserted their dominance over the village chairmanship, at times ignoring elders of Mataqali B.

Observations revealed that members of Mataqali A were more relaxed, “laid back”, and less inclined to attend village gatherings or contribute to communal duties compared to Mataqali B. There was also a higher prevalence of uxorilocal families (6) (females who have returned with their husbands and children to the village) among women from Mataqali A, causing rifts between them and women who wedded “properly” into the village. Mataquali A youths were observed loitering around the community, with few engaging in farming or fishing, nor did they contribute to village discussions. Etonia, a 26-year-old male, amplified the views and attitudes of most youths interviewed (38%), proudly claiming that “my people have little to worry about; every three months there’s money in the bank. If we want work, it’s there waiting for us … so we can afford to live the dream here” (Movono et al., 2015). Bose, a 62-year-old former resort worker, offered an alternative and mature perspective. He stated,

I notice that my people have little interest in going beyond the status quo; we seem content with the life that the resort has given us, good homes, the steady and regular flow of money, and our youths have adapted to this. They do not appreciate the need to farm or fish because they know that all they need to do is go to town and buy what they need. That is why very few youths know the “proper way” to fish and farm; they are only smart in using the ATM and spending their money.
Thus, villagers appeared happy and relaxed and did not have to strive for more success; others recognised that the sole dependence on the tourism income source presented a risk, especially considering that most community members lacked the skills to revert to traditional livelihoods. Their resilience to change is therefore limited (Coetzee et al., 2015). Social problems were surfacing; for example, Eleni, a 56-year-old female entrepreneur, reflected on the social changes:

it’s sad to see our people become extremely dependant on money to live. It was different when we grew up. Today, most of our youths burn through their money in a few days on alcohol and then live on debt until the next lease payment comes out. This is common among many people in our tribe; some live in debt for months until the lease money is paid, then we start the same cycle for another three months.

Amelia, an active member of the mother’s club, lamented the future of her children:

I worry about my children because they have lost interest in school; they can’t wait to leave school and work at the hotel (where they have preferential access to work). I do not want them to go through the same process we endured.

As indicated by respondents, lease money and preferential agreements with the resort have been a double-edged sword. Although current arrangements generate monetary flows into the community, they have done little for the long-term sustainable development of the people of Mataqali A. Instead, members have adapted by becoming extensively dependant on tourism income. Other livelihood sources, such as farming and fishing, have been neglected (Movono et al., 2015). The level of socio-economic comfort provided through the resort has fostered a “relaxed” attitude, undermining community resilience.

4.13 Mataqali B

Mataqali B comprises 15 households, the majority (13) of which have at least one member involved in hotel work, and eight households own their own small tourism-based business. There are only two uxorilocal families in this clan, which can be linked to fewer instances of quarrels among the women of the tribe. To date, six members of this clan have graduated from university with degrees and diplomas, with two members graduating from
overseas universities. Fourteen individuals are employed either at the resort or in other locally run businesses. Because of the lack of regular lease payments, members of Mataqali B have developed strong internal bonds and systems; for example, to raise funds and finance projects. Examples include the construction of their community hall, an education fund, and a “slush” fund that members can access for special projects such as business start-ups. Mataqali B members were observed to be entrepreneurial and assertive in their pursuit of development, evidenced by their high involvement in small businesses and diversified livelihood combinations attained through their collective actions (Glanville & Bienenstock, 2009; Zhao, Ritchie, & Echtner, 2011). The cases below exemplify the views of members of this tribe.

Esira, a former resort carpenter, recalls the early years of tourism and personifies the views held by the majority of tribe members:

We saw change happen instantly because we were a united community one day, living in the same standard of housing, cutting the same copra and fishing the same streams and reefs. The next day that our relatives in Mataqali A were getting new homes, receiving large sums of money, eating like kings, and drinking like a fish while we had to contend with the leftovers. This is not to say that we didn’t benefit, no, we did, we benefited immensely, but differently. The resort brought to us the opportunity to work, which was fair, but, when they (Mataqali A) started to swell with pride, we lost a sense of respect for each other and, sadly, this is what the resort did to our relationship with each other.

Epiuta, a clan elder, emulates how most respondents adapted, stating “we knew we had to find other means to catch up, so we invested in education and imparted to our children the need to break free and seek opportunities elsewhere”. This is complemented by the views of Selina, a leading female entrepreneur:

my family is important to me, so I knew I had to start my own business to supplement my income from the resort. Now I am retired, my kids have graduated from university, and I am still running my moneylending business from home. For me, it was a blessing to be in this clan because the growing disparity between the two tribes motivated us to seek out our destiny.

This view was echoed by Setareki:
we are much better off than others in the village because of we still fish, have farms, and are connected to our land. I encourage my kids to excel in school, but I also teach them how to live off the land. We don’t have the same opportunities as others, so we have to work together and help each other move forward.

This sense of competition and the feeling of not wanting to be “left behind” motivated members to strengthen internal ties and “employ solesolevaki” (as expressed by a female entrepreneur). The fruits of their newly built social capital have materialised in other forms of capital: entrepreneurial opportunities, diversified livelihoods, and resilience (McGehee et al., 2010; Zhao et al., 2011).

4.14 Conclusions

This research demonstrates how members of an embedded indigenous Fijian community have adapted to tourism development. Indigenous Fijian communities are complex systems that respond in a non-homogenous manner to external influences such as tourism. Involvement in tourism has triggered behavioural changes and shifts in values and social relations that, in turn, have altered levels of social capital and community solidarity. By focusing on complex and embedded constructs of the community, the paper has shown that tourism involvement led to an adaptive cycle that has weakened overall community social capital and brought with it the reorganisation of existing societal systems. These changes have affected community links at the lower level, forcing respondents to retreat and regroup. By adopting a focus on social systems, the findings indicate panarachy as a heuristic to understand multi-level changes occurring within the community because of processes externally sourced via tourism. It will be interesting to see whether this regrouping will, in turn, affect how the community interacts with the tourist resort—thus feeding back to the change factor.

Indigenous communities are not mere spectators in development, but are active agents who cope and evolve with the challenges associated with tourism development. This study has shown that communities are constantly in transition, and what may appear to be a homogenous community on the surface is a complex and highly adaptive system. Understanding social capital and the emergence of other capitals in this adaptive process is important, especially given that financial capital alone does not create development, but
solesolevaki does. In essence, the study has shown that solesolevaki is social capital—but much more. The findings discussed above serve to inform other indigenous communities of the detrimental impacts that tourism can have, especially when there are selective arrangements with parts of the community. Ultimately, the study informs tourism stakeholders of the need to understand the intricate mechanics of a given community so that improvements are made in the design and conduct of tourism. A better-informed approach will ensure that indigenous people not only benefit economically, but are also socially and culturally protected. Much work remains to be done.
Chapter 5.0: Female empowerment and tourism: A focus on businesses in a Fijian village

This chapter includes a co-authored paper. The bibliographic detail of the co-authored paper, including all authors, is:


My contribution to the paper

I generated the basic research idea through an extensive literature review. I then developed the theoretical framework and hypotheses, and identified the research models and relevant data. I also collected the data and conducted the analysis, interpretation, and discussion of the results.

However, my supervisors helped me to improve the overall research by providing their valuable comments and suggestion since the beginning of the chapter.

Signed:

Date: 10th October 2017
Apisalome Movono

Countersigned:

Date: 10th October 2017
Corresponding author of paper: Apisalome Movono

Countersigned:

Date: 10th October 2017
Principal supervisor: Prof Heidi Dahles
5.1 Introduction

Tourism has been endorsed as an essential contributor to the development of many small island developing states (SIDS) in the Pacific, and in particular as a tool to stimulate entrepreneurship and empower local people (Sofield, 2003). Although widely acknowledged, empirical evidence linking women’s participation in tourism and business to female empowerment is scarce. The current article will contribute to this field of study. It will be argued that over four decades of tourism involvement has provided Fijian women with the confidence and skills to seek out opportunities, take risks, and successfully improve their status within their community. Women have attained empowerment, are leading business owners, and have successfully negotiated recognition and increased decision-making power in all realms of life. Their entrepreneurial success and empowered status have disrupted pre-existing cultural systems that would otherwise limit their autonomy, further inspiring innovations in how people behave, think, and live in a cultural setting.

The article will first provide a review of the literature on empowerment as it relates to women’s involvement in tourism businesses. The next section will briefly describe the research setting, highlighting pre-tourism and post-tourism scenarios before presenting the methodology employed. The subsequent presentation of findings will provide the empirical foundations for the inference that women’s participation in tourism business opens a plethora of opportunities for empowerment, recognition, and control by women over their own affairs and the destiny of their community.

5.2 Conceptualising empowerment

As a concept, empowerment has undergone decades of evolution to suit fields ranging from psychology to tourism studies. Commonly used as a potential remedy for social injustice, empowerment has become “a vital construct for understanding the development of individuals, organizations and communities” (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995, p. 571). Its origins can be traced to the early work of Boserup (1970), Freire (1973), Rappaport (1981), and Friedmann (1992), who have all used the term as a yardstick for measuring the outcomes of development. Empowerment is accepted as an ongoing multidimensional process involving the progression of people from a state of helplessness and deprivation to one where, particularly the most marginalised, have greater influence, power, and control over their resources (Boley & McGehee, 2014; Scheyvens, 2000 Simons & de Groot, 2015;
Sofield, 2003). However, for lack of a universally accepted definition, empowerment as an area of inquiry remains fuzzy. Over time, empowerment has become a loosely used concept salient in the strategies of many community development programs and used as common vernacular in much of the related literature (Boley & McGehee; Simons & de Groot; Sofield). For the purpose of this article, it will be unwise to delve into a comprehensive empowerment debate because of its enormity. Instead, the current study draws from the relevant tourism-based literature to conceptualise and define the concept of empowerment in the context of women’s participation in tourism and business in a Fijian village.

5.3 Female empowerment and tourism

Many studies have commented on female empowerment since Boserups’s (1970) introductory work, reflecting concerns (at the time) with gender development and gender discrimination in the workplace (Torri & Martinez, 2014). By the 1990s, attention had turned to the empowerment of women which, it is argued, occurs when they mobilise themselves and assume leadership positions in a work or community setting (Torri & Martinez). Moser (1989) linked female empowerment to the notion of autonomy and amplified Freire’s (1973) theory on the emancipation of the oppressed to project the finer (and often excluded) details of what empowerment must achieve. Empowerment must be emulated through a level of involvement beyond participation where residents are not only included in the planning process but have control over it as well (Boley & McGehee, 2014). In much of the tourism literature, participation is often mistaken for empowerment, resulting in an evident gap in the literature. Hence, it is important that more immersive studies are conducted to define and identify the dimensions of empowerment within local contexts.

Scheyvens (2000) provided the seminal work in this area and set the frames by which empowerment in tourism can be explored and categorised in specific dimensions. She added more clarity in this regard, proposing that empowerment comprises four dimensions: economic, psychological, social, and political, and emphasised the importance of local communities having some control over and sharing the benefits of tourism development at the local level (p. 249). Scheyvens’ conceptualisation of empowerment provides a pathway for more focused assessments of specific marginalised groups, particularly women within tourism-based indigenous communities. This has resonated with the work of scholars, reiterating that empowerment should emulate extension of personal agency and reflect realities faced by women within their communities (Kabeer, 2003; Thachuk, 2007).
In the case of women in the developing world involved in tourism or other forms of paid work, autonomy, activism, and leadership are elusive, and progress in this area depends on the sociocultural context of society (Zimmerman, 1995). The work of Boonabaana (2014) on women’s lived experiences in Uganda contributed to the area, expanding on how women must “navigate” gender relations in order to access opportunities in tourism. Studies conducted in Bangladesh and Botswana further revealed that women may own, run, and manage small businesses, but still depend on their spouses for “the final say” (Kabeer, 2003; Mbaiwa & Stronza, 2010). This, as Kabeer stated, does not meet the requirements of empowerment and suggests that in some contexts, social and cultural norms support inequalities of power, preventing dialogue and debate and further constraining the process of female empowerment, particularly within tourism employment. In these culturally embedded communities, women’s groups emerge as effective vehicles for promoting empowerment and collective action (Kabeer, 2001; Torri & Martinez, 2014). Women’s collective action in specific tourism-based communities in South East Asia has resulted in increased opportunities, improved welfare, and economic and social empowerment (Kabeer, 2003). The findings of the current study demonstrate that women’s groups serve as “empowerment platforms” where women’s issues are brought to the forefront, discussed, and acted upon in a communal setting.

Annes and Wright (2015) liken women’s empowerment to the creation of space, or “a room of one’s own” where women can pursue their personal interests and make decisions in the absence of interference from other actors in the community. Their work, which focuses in particular on agritourism, questions the material dimensions of empowerment and suggests that empowerment is an exercise in the expansion of personal agency or, in other words, a threefold process of power to, power with, and power within. Female empowerment in tourism therefore involves women making decisions and acting on them by exercising creativity (power to), acquiring new capital and skills, and creating one’s personal space (Annes & Wright; Eyben, Kabeer, & Cornwall, 2012; Kabeer, 2003). Women’s empowerment also includes being able to organise collectively to reach goals (power with), identify sources of oppression, and build self-esteem (power within) to mitigate challenges (Annes & Wright).
5.4 Tourism business and women

Despite the overwhelming evidence that women are important producers of goods and services in the tourism industry, female involvement in tourism businesses has always been an understudied area. Overall, rigorous academic interest in the relationship between tourism, work, and gender seems to have fizzled out when scholarly writings, including Sinclair (1997), Kinnaird, Kothari, and Hall (1996), and the 1995 *Annals of Tourism Research* special issue edited by Margaret Swain and its follow-up publications (Swain & Momsen, 2002) began to build the sub-field. While the focused interest in this area lost momentum after the mid-1990s, there were notable exceptions, among which Apostolopoulos, Sönmez, and Timothy (2001), and Ferguson (2011) are acknowledged.

There is broad consensus that tourism development enhances income opportunities for women (Boonabaana, 2014). It enables women to gain increased income and, in some cases, alters prevailing gender norms and traditional power relations (Castelberg-Koulma, 1991). In general, however, female employment in tourism, as in other sectors of the economy, is structured along gender lines and conforms to dominant gender norms (Cukier, Norris, & Wall, 1996; García-Ramón, Canoves, & Valdovinos 1995; Kinnaird, Kothari & Hall 1994; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995). It commonly occurs in spaces defined as “women’s work” and reflects women’s domestic caring and mothering roles, such as cooking, cleaning, washing clothes, providing beauty services such as hairstyling, massage, and manicure, or performing sexual acts (Momsen, 1994; Gentry, 2007). Employment opportunities for women often occur in low-skilled and low-paid jobs and casual work within the tourist sector (Levy & Lerch, 1991). However, these jobs are often the only employment available for women or, conversely, may offer higher wages than similarly low-ranking non-tourism occupations.

Women’s entrepreneurship, on the other hand, is rarely studied in its own right. The literature on women’s work in tourism typically fails to distinguish between employment and entrepreneurship as distinct modes of income opportunities for women in tourism (Dahles, 1999). Research on female entrepreneurship in tourism is packaged as the gendered impact of tourism in host communities, acknowledging that tourism development affects men and women differently. The area of female entrepreneurship, however, includes research on the potential that tourism holds for “women’s activism and leadership in the community and political life and for women’s entrepreneurship” (Figueroa-Domecq, Pritchard, Segovia-
Entrepreneurship is viewed as an agent of social change and is an area to which the current study will attempt to expand. Given the complex dimensions of entrepreneurship, a broader multi-disciplinary application of the term is required that recognises local contexts and moves beyond the product or innovation debate. Since no two communities are the same, notions of “empowerment” and “innovation” per se will also be different (Kabeer, 2001). What may be considered an “industry-disrupting” innovation in one context may not necessarily have the same impact in a community that is less developed yet highly embedded. As such, tourism entrepreneurship, whether characterised by high or low innovation, is bound to create shifts that may lead to further innovations in culture and society. It is these adjustments, triggered by women’s involvement in tourism businesses that give rise to innovations that can disrupt cultural barriers, inspire shifts within social processes, and contribute to the empowerment of women. In essence, this study moves beyond the entrepreneur and the product to also consider innovations that are occurring within elements of Fijian society.

5.5 Research Setting and Methodology

This particular study is set in Vatuolalai village, located on Fiji’s Coral Coast, Fiji’s oldest tourism area where resort-based tourism was pioneered in the 1950s. Located in the south-western part of Viti Levu, the Coral Coast is an area of unique cultural attributes and is one of Fiji’s most environmentally diverse and sensitive coastal regions. Comprised of five principal districts and made up of varying number of villages and resorts, the Coral Coast remains a leading tourism region in Fiji, receiving around 27% of visitors annually (Fiji Ministry of Industry & Trade and Tourism, 2016).

Vatuolalai villagers were among the first native Fijians to embrace tourism development and can best represent the long-term experiences endured by a tourism-based Fijian community (Pratt et al., 2016). There are 32 households in the village, which equates to about 220 people, the majority of whom are below the age of 35. The gender distribution is relatively balanced with a slightly higher percentage of females (54%) compared to males (46%), and there is a high number of people involved or who have been involved in some form of tourism or another (over 92%). Vatuolalai village is relatively well endowed regarding infrastructure (Movono et al., 2015). About 92% of households rely on paid work
as a means of a living of which around 88% is directly related to the tourism sector (Pratt et al.).

Of specific relevance to this paper are the 12 individual small- and medium-scale tourism enterprises that provide waterfall tours, jet ski rentals, handicrafts, and massage services for tourists that are exclusively run by women (Movono et al., 2015). Regarding the cause of studies in Vatuolalai, the first author has taken a specific interest in the elevated status, recognition, and dominance of women in this community. Their success in business and their amplified voice in the community has prompted the aims of this study in seeking answers to questions about how women were able to establish themselves and succeed given the many perceived cultural and gender-based impediments to becoming successful tourism entrepreneurs.

The roles of Fijian women, their empowerment, and involvement in tourism and business have seldom appeared in the literature. Before tourism, women were confined to the fringes of the decision-making process, having to depend entirely on their husbands for control and overall decision-making in the home and the community (Ravuvu, 1987). Today, most Fijian villages have their own women’s groups facilitated through respective Christian denominational structures that promote the voice and opinions of women in the social settings. The Vatuolalai women’s group, known as the Sorosoro Vakamarama or Women's Development Committee (WDC) has served as the primary platform for women to take action on community-wide issues since the mid-1980s (Movono et al., 2015). Other smaller committees that oversee education, health, and welfare are also prevalent in communities and are often dominated by women. Today, in the Coral Coast, women are leading the drive to economic sustainability, meeting financial and cultural obligations and, in most instances, are thriving, small-scale business operators.

5.6 Methods

The Fiji Vanua Research Framework (FVRF) is adopted by this study as a central paradigm to guide its methodology (Nabobo-Baba, 2008). The FVRF is an attempt to localise research methods, recognise indigenous Fijian society, and decolonise research (Nabobo-Baba). Neuman (2003) identified this paradigm as interpretive social science (ISS) and described the researcher as wanting to learn meaningfully relevant everyday life experiences from his or her participants. As stated by Nabobo-Baba (p.41), “by situating indigenous
people at the centre of research and using their systems of knowledge and understandings as the basis for inquiry and investigation, opens the possibilities of extending the knowledge base of indigenous people and transforming their understanding of the social-cultural world”. This approach dovetails the empowerment discourse that encourages a bottom-up approach, placing the most marginalised at the centre of development concerns.

To complement its indigenist orientation, the current study has selected case study methodology for its suitability and applicability in conducting in-depth investigations into local community (Veal, 2006). Advocates of the case study method assert that this allows the investigation of “social processes in their appropriate context”, facilitating properly oriented ethnographic study to take place (Hartley, 1994, p.208). Ethnography is defined as an approach that combines “research design, fieldwork, and various methods of inquiry to produce historically, politically, and personally situated accounts, descriptions, interpretations, and representations of human lives” (Tedlock, 2000, p. 455). The first author (an indigenous Fijian) immersed himself in village life engaging in close, long-term interaction with villagers to gain an understanding of their beliefs, motivations, and behaviour (Tedlock).

This study has predominantly relied on participant observation, household-administered surveys, and conversational interviews or talanoa as key tools for data collection. Talanoa in the Fijian social context refers to the process where two or more people converse, and share ideas and stories. It is the process by which communication is established between two or more parties and is further enhanced through researcher-guided conversations held at a variety of settings within the community (Nabobo-Baba, 2008). Hence, a talanoa is similar to an in-depth interview “in context”, yet is closer to semi-structured interviews in practice (Nabobo-Baba). Talanoa as a conversational form of semi-structured interviews were conducted with the entrepreneurs at various levels and contexts to gather their views on community and personal issues. In total, 72 talanoa or conversations were held with participants (from July to November 2015), of which 12 were conducted with female entrepreneurs aged between 34 and 68 years of age. Reflexivity was made possible because the researcher triangulated data from various sources, revisiting the information and specific individuals for on-site clarification.

The fieldwork was conducted in two phases with the total data collection stretching over a period of 120 days or 16 weeks. Between each phase, a four- to six-week reflection
period was taken and involved conducting of preliminary analysis, allowing for key patterns to be examined, and highlighting areas that were followed up in the second phase. Ethical considerations, where individuals or specific groups identity and sensitivities are concerned, were acknowledged, and all efforts to conceal their identities undertaken.

5.7 Tourism involvement and female empowerment in Vatuolalai

The women of Vatuolalai began their involvement in tourism when the Naviti Resort opened in 1974. Women were among the first from the village to receive full-time employment, working in various sections of the resort. Steady incomes provided women with increased independence, power, and the means to meet personal as well as community obligations (Torri & Martinez, 2014). Elders described the first 20 years as a time of “reckoning”, where they “got to know what it was like to participate in tourism”. This period included the passing of three significant cyclones as well as Fiji’s first and second military coups that adversely affected tourism flow, leading to reduced hours and layoffs for the majority of villagers who worked at the resort. Respondent recollections reveal that the first 20 years brought much social and economic change in the community that “was both good and bad” (Movono et al., 2015). More people left farming and fishing altogether to focus on paid work, increasing affluence within the community, and quickly leading to changes in livelihood activities. Regular wages brought increased purchasing power, improved access to better healthcare and education, and enhanced economic opportunities (Castelberg-Koulma, 1991). The more business-savvy villagers took full advantage of the economic upturn, building new homes, and setting up small canteens. One individual, in particular, took advantage by opening a “black market” to meet the increased demand for alcohol.

Respondents also noted that they “became more dependent on work at the hotels” and that their dependency on tourism income “was extremely trying”, especially after the cyclones and coups and during the low seasons when workers were laid off and “many were forced back to the land”. Epeli, the village chairman, makes an interesting statement, stating that “work at the hotel, to us, brought status, and going back to plant crops or to fish viewed as a step backward, a demotion perhaps”. The older respondents agreed that layoffs were not received well by the villagers and that “made us (villagers) realise that there were limits to what hotel work can offer” (Levy & Lerch, 1991). Respondents perceived social issues such as alcoholism, mismanagement of finances, behavioural and cultural changes, and domestic violence to be directly linked to the hotel. Jesoni, a clan leader, said, “it took us two decades
to realise that we were losing much more than our land and that we were not being paid enough to meet our growing needs”.

5.8 Realising oppression and taking action: paving the road to empowerment

The “realisation” of the inadequacies and volatility of tourism can be linked to Sofield’s (2003) work, which explains that the realisation of deficiency becomes a starting point from which to commence the empowerment process (Narayan, Narayan, Prasad, & Prasad, 2010). As a result, in 1994, after much discussion and lobbying with the resort management, the villagers negotiated a deal to host village tours in order to earn more money for the community (Narayan et al.). These village tours (once a week) remained the only form of tourism involvement (apart from employment and lease money) until 1999 when a group of women, through the WDC, lobbied for approval to sell their crafts to tourists who went on the village tour. By 1999, women were already established as the economic movers in the community and had accomplished many projects, setting up various sub-committees to discuss and act on issues such as health and education (Thachuck, 2007). Respondents stated that “our participation and the will to act was possible due to our growing economic influence and recognition by the community”. This sense of economic empowerment opened the door for women to continue their journey of empowerment.

In November 1999 the women were granted access to sell handmade handicrafts, paving the way for collective and individual involvement in tourism enterprise. All income earned by these women went directly into their pockets and “gave us a taste of what we could earn from tourism” said Eleni, a pioneer handicraft seller. Here, we are shown that the realisation of deprivation had led to collective discussions and action for women to find new ways to earn more. This experience is reflected in much of the empowerment literature discussed in previous sections (Boley & McGehee, 2014; Cole, 2006; Sofield, 2003). The establishment of village tours in Vatuolalai was a breakthrough, providing the initial platform enticing women's participation and providing the drive to strengthen pre-existing institutions to encourage further collective action on development.

Respondents stated that “as time progressed the WDC became the main forum for creating discussions and lobbying for more liberties and participation of women in village activities”. Collective action helped propagate tolerance for new ideas and, over time, women in the village grew in their influence and power to the extent where they were confident to
venture out and partake in business. The WDC became a space for women to voice their concerns, discuss key issues, and plan on ways to deal with challenges (Annes & Write, 2015). The success of pioneering business projects gave women the recognition, confidence, and the “push” needed to recognise, create, and exploit different opportunities from tourism.

The following case studies expand the experiences of three of the 12 female entrepreneurs, who have assumed pseudonyms to maintain their anonymity. These case studies were specifically selected because the women were among the first to venture into business and best demonstrate the experiences of the majority of female entrepreneurs. The discussions will show that despite the many impediments, women were empowered to partake in business, and in doing so, initiated a complex process of internal, women-based collaboration, consultation, and partnership, eventuating in entrepreneurial success.

**Case 1: Amelia – The pioneer**

Having only reached Year 10-level education and after having worked eight years at the resort, Amelia recalls her beginnings, venturing into business when she realised that the opportunities and money from the hotel were limited and could not fulfil her ultimate desire to provide the best for her family, which entailed sending her four children to the best boarding schools in the country. “At first, community members and women, in particular, would oppose me, maybe for reasons of veiqati or jealousy and doubt related to the general unfamiliarity of what I was doing”. She states that the establishment of her small homestay and laundry business had caused rifts between kin opposed to her activities “because running a business was not for women, and it was new to everyone”.

To mitigate these challenges,

I negotiated recognition by enticing fellow women’s interest to take part in earning what I called ‘easy money’… A few months into operations and after much convincing, women started buying into the idea and started helping me out. As my clientele grew, I began referring my customers to others whom I had trained, giving them that taste of how easy it was to earn extra money.

Amelia undertook a crucial step to initiate the process of empowering others by “showing them that they too can do it”.
Amelia became a voice of reason in the community and earned a reputation as “the women's spokesperson” in her negotiations with the male elders on women-specific issues. She later added massages to her services and continued to operate from her home until 2004, when she saved enough money to build a dedicated structure where she now runs a massage parlour, hair braiding salon, and handcraft business. Amelia states that “I manage all the affairs of the business independent from my husband and also employ six full-time employees”.

**Case 2: Setaita – The trendsetter**

Setaia, 56, began her involvement in tourism in 1982 after leaving high school in Year 10. She recalls

In 1980s Fiji, it was a rare privilege for girls to have opportunities to earn an income. It was an even bigger privilege to work in an industry such as tourism. In 2002, after conversations with fellow women at WDC meetings, I set out on a series of negotiations to lobby support from my family, clan, and the tribe for their blessings and support for my new venture … The village received my idea with much enthusiasm and support, providing a piece of land right next to the resort to build on.

Setaita also recalls “that the invaluable support and united voice of women during discussions greatly influenced the outcome of my request”.

“I started my massage parlour and hair braiding salon in 2002 using savings I had accumulated to build a wooden and corrugated iron structure with four massage tables and three employees”. Today, Setaita has eight full-time employees and has recently returned from the United States where she had completed training, becoming an accredited Ayurvedic Spa Provider.

Since starting my business, I have diversified into owning a 15-seater tour bus, 17 heads of cattle, 22 pigs, a fiberglass boat with the outboard motor as well as a seasonal vegetable stall … I earn between AUD$150–$350 a day from my business and I now make all exclusive financial decisions in my family.
After operating for a year, she began training her staff and partnering with the WDC and other external NGOs to enrol them in small business workshops, always encouraging them further. Between in 2004 and 2005, four of her employees left and, with her blessings and guidance, set up small businesses of their own in the same area.

**Case 3: Selina - The money lady**

Selina is another female entrepreneur of Vatuolalai, with a story similar to the rest of the women. She was among the first women from Vatuolalai to work at the resort when it opened in 1973. “At only 18, I joined the hotel as a maid and during my 30 years with the resort worked at various departments until I became supervisor Food and Beverages before I retired”. However, since 1988, Selina has been a money lender or “loan shark” in the village and is today one of the area’s biggest village-based money lenders. Selina has been lending money to villagers, hotel workers, and many others, including those in the urban areas, at a rate of 20% interest on all transactions.

Today she is retired from the hotel and continues to run her money-lending business from her home in the village, providing loans ranging from AUD$25 to AUD$4,000 mostly to hotel workers in the seven or so large hotels along the Coral Coast. According to Selina, she earns on average around AUD$3000 a month on interest, which has allowed her to support her daughters through high school and university and has set up savings accounts for each of her three children, which they can access when they start families. Selina is credited with having helped villagers financially in times of need and has also played an essential role in providing easy access to aid the establishment and day-to-day financial requirements of local small businesses.

Appendix C summarises women’s involvement in entrepreneurship in Vatuolalai and provides details of each entrepreneur, their age, the number of their children, marital status, type of business, the number of employees, estimated weekly income, element of control over finances, affiliation, institutional membership, and work history.

The economic returns derived from participating in tourism employment have provided women with the capital, experience, and confidence to take risks to establish their businesses. Appendix C demonstrates that all respondents previously worked at the hotels and used their savings to set up their own business. Their sense of economic empowerment derived from hotel work provided the necessary tools for expanding their horizons and
seeking out opportunities for themselves and their families. Although some government assistance was given in the form of training workshops, the entrepreneurs established their businesses using their savings and, partially, through loans sourced from relatives or from Selina, the local money lender. These women now earn more than AUD$650.00 per week, compared to the hourly rate of around AUD$1.80 that they would have earned at the resort. Respondents state that “the money is good, and the working conditions are better”, affirming that money from their businesses has allowed them to employ people in the community and meet religious, cultural, and personal obligations.

Appendix C also shows that the entrepreneurs are diversifying their businesses. The longer-established businesses have evolved and diversified to include multiple services and products to suit the volatility of tourism supply. Some women have diversified their businesses, investing in fishing boats, livestock, and vehicles, emphasising that diversification reaches beyond the tourism sector. Appendix C also indicates that women are active members of the WDC, the mothers club, and the Entrepreneurs Association. This indicates their participation in collective action and demonstrates that conversations are being held by women in these specific groups to discuss ways to improve their lives (Simons & de Groot, 2015). The findings show that the majority (83%) of women entrepreneurs (participants) have exclusive control over their finances. They reveal that this state of control was “not initiated overnight” and involved “many fights” and “serious negotiating” to prove their capability and to gain recognition for their families and the greater community.

5.9 Realising opportunities and taking action

The literature shows that empowerment is either kick-started by outsiders or commenced through a process of reflection and realisation of deficiency (Sofield, 2003; Narayan et al., 2010). In this particular case, the majority (80%) of participants agreed that after having experienced many years of depending on tourism they “realised” that they could get more. Entrepreneurship literature confirms this as opportunity recognition and, as revealed by respondents, was motivated by concerns about the many issues that accompanied tourism. The idea of diversifying economic activities, however, came via government-sponsored workshops facilitated by the WDC, providing the necessary “external push” to kick-start involvement in business and furthering the process of empowerment (Sofield; Scheyvens, 1999).
As the cases above have shown, women within the community worked together and used cultural philosophies such as *solesolevaki* as a means to empower each other on many levels and to further their cause. The concept of *solesolevaki* is at the heart of indigenous Fijian culture, which is communal in nature (Ravuvu, 1987). *Solesolevaki* demands that community members share responsibilities and work together to reach common goals, and, as witnessed through interactions with the cohort, also influences the success of female empowerment within the community. Their economic involvement and subsequent empowerment have influenced internal networking, expanding empowerment to include psychological, social, and political dimensions. The literature is particularly void of examples where women take specific actions to empower others as a means to meet perceived challenges or impediments. In the current study, the women of Vatuolalai deliberately organised themselves using their internal networks and institutions such as the WDC, then discussed their experiences and consciously empowered each other to further their socio-economic ambitions.

### 5.10 Tourism entrepreneurship as an agent for facilitating empowerment

The findings of the current study concur with studies on female-led business initiatives, such as in handicraft production (Swain, 1993; Cone, 1995), souvenir retail (Bras & Dahles, 1998), beauty services, small-scale accommodation establishments, or restaurant businesses (Castelberg-Koulma, 1991; Fairbairn-Dunlop, 1994; García-Ramón et al., 1995; Wilkinson & Pratiwi, 1995) and in rural and farm tourism (e.g., McGehee, Kim, & Jennings, 2007). The current study also supports the case of Western Samoa, which also provides fascinating examples of leadership roles of women, including the establishment of hotels, restaurants, handicraft production, and retailing, in a context of equal rights of access to family resources for women and men (Fairbairn-Dunlop).

While most of these enterprises described in previous sections are small and micro-businesses, driven by the sole aim to contribute to the livelihoods of families, they also show that women entrepreneurship in tourism is not confined to spaces defined as “women’s work”, reflecting solely women’s domestic caring and mothering roles. Instead, as illustrated in the findings, women entrepreneurs lead business development in niche markets, such as in eco-tourism, cultural and heritage, adventure, and nature and community-based tourism (Gentry, 2007), which represents important innovations in tourism development. Women entrepreneurs playing significant roles in these new forms of tourism may, therefore, be
viewed as Schumpeterian champions of sustainable tourism development. It has been argued that the increased income is positively reflected in women’s status and has generated new occupational opportunities, increased decision-making power in the household and even in the public sphere. In short, entrepreneurship in tourism champions empowerment for individual women, their families, and communities.

The current study has shown that participation in tourism enables economic empowerment that expands through women’s involvement in business to include social, economic, cultural and political empowerment. The findings have demonstrated that women deliberately seek out opportunities, negotiate, create change, and, in doing so, have disrupted cultural barriers that may otherwise confine their participation to household and gender-based tasks. The findings acknowledge the economic and social risks these women have undertaken, putting their reputations and, maybe, the only foreseeable pathway to empowerment “on the line” as they ventured into unexplored territories. Although at the lower end of the innovation spectrum, the case studies have clearly shown that success in tourism business leads to new ways of behaving and inspires innovation that impacts culture and society and is not confined to the individual products.

5.11 Fruits of the empowerment tree

The process of empowerment is triggered through tourism participation and is strengthened by the entrepreneurial success and involvement of women in community leadership. Steady incomes initially influenced economic empowerment that in turn has influenced psychological, social, and political empowerment that is evidenced by the phenomenon observed in the current study (Scheyvens, 1999). An illustration is an inclusion and representation of women within the inner circle of decision-making during the village meeting. Women sit alongside their male counterparts and are given equal opportunities to voice their concerns, which they use to their full advantage. Their position as office bearers in the village council, heads of respective development committees, and advisory roles at the provincial level demonstrates that women in Vatuolalai are no longer “living in the shadows”, but are well placed in positions of authority and control over their affairs and that of the greater community.

Although females comprise the majority of villagers, 42% of them are the sole breadwinners in their families, with another 28% of households being managed exclusively
by women who are either widows or divorcees who have returned to live in the village. Their enhanced visibility, power, and amplified voice in village affairs are uncharacteristic and relatively unheard-of in indigenous Fijian society (Cole, 2006; Scheyvens, 2000 Sofield, 2003). Observations and interactions with respondents have reaffirmed this view because women were observed to be noticeable decision-makers, vital economic providers, managers, organisers, and leaders at all levels of the community. From individual households to the weekly village meetings, women were observed to wield significant power and influence in discussions on wide-ranging issues and in community-wide decision-making. Women not only have a voice but have become accepted as an essential part of the overall decision-making structure of the community, again, uncommon in traditional Fijian culture.

5.12 Conclusions and recommendations

The findings have shown that women in Vatuolalai village have become empowered through a process initiated by participation in tourism employment and enforced through entrepreneurial success. In essence, empowerment and its attainment began with economic empowerment, gradually growing to include social, psychological, and political empowerment (Scheyvens, 1999). Their ability to identify oppression and inadequacies prompted actions that have led to the building of self-esteem and confidence to venture into business (power within) (Simons & de Groot, 2015). The findings also indicate that women are key decision-makers, exercising creativity and acting on their plans (power to) (Annes & Wright, 2015). Through solesolevaki, women have gained new forms of capital (social, political, personal, and economic) and have created their own personal space (the Entrepreneurs Business Centre). Women have gained greater autonomy and control over their affairs, which they currently manage without interference from their spouses or others within the community (Annes & Wright, 2015; Simons & de Groot; Thachuk, 2007).

However, the empowerment of women has also led to a set of outcomes described here as consequences of empowerment. A major consequence of empowerment, apart from the liberation and emancipation of women, is the changes in the roles of men and their perceived impact on the traditional Fijian power structure. This study reveals that the roles of men have also expanded to include child rearing, cooking, and daily household chores normally associated exclusively with females. Men were also observed to have less interest in farming or fishing and were observed to spend a reasonable amount of time engaged in kava consumption. These changes within indigenous Fijian society challenge views of a patriarchal
society as being rigid and difficult to change. This study shows that the concept of culture, like empowerment, is a negotiated process, involving consultation, gradual adjustments, and development.

From the lessons derived above, useful strides must be made in focusing on pre-existing village-based institutions to promote empowerment. Strategies such as peer training must be initiated through pre-existing structures to initiate discussions and negotiations to promote small business development and empowerment among indigenous communities in the Pacific.
Chapter 6.0: Fijian culture and the environment: A focus on the ecological and social interconnectedness of tourism development

This chapter includes a co-authored paper. The bibliographic detail of the co-authored paper, including all authors, is


My contribution to the paper

I generated the basic research idea through an extensive literature review. I then developed the theoretical framework and identified the research models and relevant data. I also collected the data and conducted the analysis, interpretation, and discussion of the results.

However, my supervisors helped me to improve the overall research by providing their valuable comments and suggestions since the beginning of the chapter.

Signed:

Date: 10th October 2017
Apisalome Movono

Countersigned:

Date: 10th October 2017
Corresponding author of paper: Apisalome Movono

Countersigned:

Date: 10th October 2017
Principal supervisor: Prof Heidi Dahles
6.1 Introduction

Tourism is encouraged in much of the developing world as a tool for attaining long-term prosperity and development (Ayres, 2000). Often, however, little consideration is given to the changes that tourism involvement may create and how such changes affect local communities. Although the impacts and typical life cycles of tourism destinations are well documented, very few studies conceptualise communities as complex and adaptive social and ecological systems (Butler, 1980; Hall & Page, 1996; Movono et al., 2015; Prosser, 1994). As a result, there is a void in understanding the multifaceted and interrelated nature of indigenous communal systems and how tourism development affects these embedded constructs. The current paper will contribute to this area by demonstrating that, over time, tourism has contributed to incremental ecological changes that have stimulated complex, non-linear responses from various elements within Vatuolalai, an indigenous Fijian village.

The paper will first provide a review of the relevant literature, focusing on tourism development, sustainable livelihoods, and complex systems theory. Following this, the methods will be outlined, and some background to the culture and traditional practices of indigenous Fijians will be provided, establishing a baseline understanding of the case study’s pre-tourism context. The findings will then detail the ecological impacts associated with the construction of the hotel, water catchment dam, causeway, and man-made island. The results will demonstrate the complex social and cultural responses of the community to these ecological changes, and use aerial photographs to support participant accounts of the non-linear connections within the Vatuolalai social–ecological system (SES). The discussion will focus on the links between tourism-induced changes and their influence on traditional knowledge structures, livelihoods diversity, and the weakening of the sociocultural links that connect villagers to their environment. Ultimately, it will establish that although tourism has been a catalyst for economic development, its ecological impacts have created shifts that have affected the culture, uniqueness of place, and sustainability of livelihoods within the community.

6.2 Tourism and socio-ecological change

Many development theories mention tourism as an advocate, driver, and important factor in the creation and diversification of livelihood opportunities (Ayres, 2000; Croes, 2012; Harrison, 2010). As a perceived “non-extractive industry”, tourism is favoured by
many resource-deprived states such as Fiji as a development tool (Ayres, 2000; Harrison & Prasad, 2013; Prasad, 2014). Since tourism’s beginnings in the 1950s, the Fiji government embraced the development of hotels without due consideration for tourism’s potentially diverse and far-reaching implications (Belt Collins Report, 1973; Scott, 1970). The Coral Coast, where the case study community is situated, is also where tourism-based resorts were pioneered, with Vatuolalai villagers among the first native Fijians to be involved in tourism. The rise in tourism impact studies in the late 1970s and the 1980s illustrates the growing academic response to the perceived impacts of tourism development in many areas of the world, including Fiji (Harrison, 2010; Movono et al., 2015). Most studies within the development discourse critiqued the influence of tourism development on the environment and destination communities (Ayres, 2000; Harrison; Kerstetter & Bricker, 2009; Movono et al.). However, the body of literature is compartmentalised, focusing on tourism’s impact on ecology, the economy, and society as separate entities, with few studies identifying the complex connections and relationships that exist between these domains.

The literature on the ecological impacts of tourism is well established (for an overview see Becken, 2010). Seminal work was provided by Butler (1980), Prosser (1994), and Hall and Page (1996), who expressed the view that tourism propagates its own destruction. Depending on the type and scale of development, tourism has the potential to cause immense ecological disturbances, from the construction stage through to its daily operations, particularly in coastal systems (Bidesi, Lal, & Conner, 2011). Coastal and island regions are acknowledged for their natural beauty, rich biodiversity, and high species endemicity. At the same time they are highly vulnerable ecosystems (Kitoilelei & Sato, 2016). Tourism has been empirically linked to marine pollution, habitat degradation, disturbance of wildlife, and a loss of place and ambiance in many tourism destinations (Croall, 1995; Hall, 1996; Prunier, Sweeny, & Green, 1993). These ecosystem disturbances often become an accepted cost, as resort-based development replaces a pre-existing ecological setting (Hall). Butler, in particular, described how a typical tourism destination develops from a pristine baseline setting to a fatigued system, often following a predictable pattern. However, much of the earlier literature did not incorporate local beliefs or value systems of indigenous communities as being part of a larger socio-ecological system (Holland, 1992; Holling, 2001). As a result, only a few tourism studies have explored the intricate connections between people and their environment, and even fewer have questioned
how these connections may be affected as a society that adapts to tourism development (Diedrich & Aswani, 2016; Liu & Lu, 2014; Simpson, 2007).

MacNaught (1982), while studying tourism impacts in the Pacific, argued that tourism development leads to changes in the sociocultural and political structures of indigenous communities. He suggested that behaviours adopted from exchanges with tourists, as well as the tourism work setting itself, are often carried forward into local villages, triggering behavioural changes within society (MacNaught). Bolabola (1981) observed such changes, proposing that hotel workers in Fijian resorts were becoming more reliant on processed and tinned foods as opposed to locally sourced food. Bolabola attributed such dietary and gastronomical changes to shifts in livelihood activities as women become increasingly engaged in shift work at the hotels, spending less time on and giving less emphasis to traditional food collection and production. Movono et al. (2015) noted that because villagers received regular incomes at the resort, and had better living standards with increased purchasing ability, there was little motivation for engagement in other (more traditional) forms of livelihood activities. For most communities, the pursuit of economic development via tourism has introduced a plethora of changes in quality of life, attitudes, economic conditions, behaviours, and culture (Bolabola; Douglas & Douglas, 1996; Hall & Page, 1996; Movono et al., 2015). Although these impact-based studies contributed extensively to knowledge on tourism and development, they overlooked the multi-spectral, interconnected, and adaptive nature of indigenous communities (Harrison, 2010; Veitayaki et al., 2015). This has left a void in the body of literature because the complex social and ecological change processes that a destination community undergoes as a result of prolonged tourism involvement are not adequately captured.

6.3 Sustainable Livelihoods Approach and Complex Systems Theory

When research is conducted at the communal level, communities and indigenous peoples must be examined as equal actors in the process. Indigenous communities respond and adapt to development in many ways, and it is important that the approach adopted in this present study encapsulates the complex nature of indigenous Fijian society. Chambers and Conway (1992), Chambers (1995), and later, Scoones (1998) and Mbaiwa (2010) initiated debates that aroused a greater appreciation for the value of sustainable livelihoods research in rural development. Today, livelihoods-based studies have expanded beyond their origins in rural development and human ecology to include applications in indigenous communities that
deal with tourism (e.g., Scoones, 2009). Tao and Wall (2009) emphasised the need to utilise the sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA) to guide studies conducted on indigenous communities. This approach will make the current study better able to quantify and validate tourism’s holistic contribution to development.

The SLA is a people-centred approach focused on community-level actions that considers the inherent capacities and knowledge systems of indigenous communities (Wu & Pearce, 2013). Consensus built around the notion of SLA recognises that it is critical to understand livelihoods security as a starting point in any communal development. Tao and Wall (2009) considered the concept of livelihoods as more tangible than development because it is easier to describe, discuss, observe, and quantify for rural indigenous communities. Accordingly, Mwaiba and Stronza (2010) expressed that the SLA is the most appropriate tool to guide research design because it allows for the complex multi-sectoral nature of tourism and communities to be appropriately examined and accordingly translated. Livelihoods are comprised of activities, assets (capital, human, physical, natural, social), and entitlements. It is proposed that only the combined use of these livelihood components (Chambers, 1995) makes it possible to adequately understand the very functions and alternatives that the community combines to attain the desired outcome. Furthermore, Helmore and Singh (2001) and Mbaiwa and Sakuze (2009) proposed that a people-centred approach requires an integrative approach that must capture the embedded characteristics of society, allowing for the most marginalised in the community to be assessed.

The SLA promotes the use of adaptive strategies, loosely defined as adjustments that people make in their livelihood systems to allow difficult circumstances to be endured or overcome (Tao & Wall, 2009). Helmore and Singh (2001) express that adaptive strategies are often based on local knowledge and are attained by combining traditional and less traditional knowledge systems. Adaptation can be better understood if the SLA is employed by examining socio-ecological systems that are inclusive of the cultural assets, social benefits, and non-monetary activities of communities in making a living. However, Wu and Pearce (2013) stated that the SL framework is too static and needs to include a mechanism that translates the fluidity and long-term changes which occur within indigenous communities. There is a risk that because of the comprehensive nature of the SLA, some dynamic issues such as the complex non-linear relationships within a community may be treated
superficially. This is because there may be too much emphasis on the technical nature of livelihoods and development (Wu & Pearce, p. 444).

The complex adaptive systems (CAS) theory is therefore proposed to complement sustainable livelihoods approach and compensate for its perceived weaknesses (Shen, Hughey, & Simmons, 2008). CAS provides a theoretical framework to better understand the dynamics of an indigenous Fijian communal system exposed to both gradual and sudden changes (Morse, McLaughlin, Wulfhorst, & Harvey, 2013). CAS is suitable for studying constantly evolving concepts and processes, such as communal development and the multiple, interrelated, and interacting entities within an embedded system (Holland, 2006). CAS is a specific variation of systems thinking, adopted in this paper as a means to help understand the elements, structures, and processes within the indigenous Fijian communal system (Byrne, 1998). In this way, specific societal processes such as livelihoods activities, traditional knowledge, and totemic connections subject to tourism disturbance are considered in a cohesive manner (Holland, 1992). Addressing some of the shortcomings of sustainable livelihoods approach, CAS theory creates understanding about non-linear dynamics, aggregation, emergent behaviour, feedback loops, adaptation, and contextual-based responses. CAS has the potential to show how simple interactions at the micro, ecological level can lead to very complex implications at the macro, communal level, or vice versa (Gunderson & Holling, 2002; Holland, 2006).

CAS theory is founded on the view that complex behaviour emerges as a result of interactions among system components (Holland, 1992; Holling, 2001; Morse et al., 2013). Proponents of CAS theory argue that elements of a complex adaptive system modify their behaviour and respond to both internal and external changes in the environment, which are characterised by panarchy (Coetzee et al., 2015; Gunderson & Holling, 2002). Panarchy is termed as a nested set of adaptive cycles operating at discrete ranges of scale, emphasising vertical and horizontal structuring, cross-scale, and multi-levelled linkages, and focusing on the processes and relationships between these connected elements (Allen et al., 2014; Coetzee et al., 2015; Holling, 2001). The concept of panarchy implies that processes, such as tourism development, which occur at one scale of the system, have the potential to affect the overall dynamics of an indigenous community (Folke et al., 2003). Panarchy is concerned with identifying emergent patterns, connections, and responses of elements to processes or activities that are introduced to the system (Holland, 1992; Holling). Panarchy theory has
seldom been used in the social sciences, and is adopted here to support the aims of this study in understanding the complex social and ecological changes that have occurred in the Vatuolalai system as a result of over 40 years of tourism involvement. This is essential for the current study as it attempts to shed light on the links between tourism-influenced ecological disturbances and shifts in the values and cultural processes within society.

6.4 The Research Area

The case study, Vatuolalai village, is set along the Coral Coast, Fiji’s oldest tourism region where resort-based tourism was pioneered in the 1950s (Belt Collins and Associates, 1973). Comprised of five districts consisting of interrelated villages and a diverse tourism product, the Coral Coast remains one of Fiji’s leading tourism regions, receiving around 27% of Fiji’s visitors annually (Movono & Dahles, 2017). Vatuolalai village is comprised of two clans or mataqali who live communally in highly embedded and interrelated kinship networks. There are 32 households equating to about 220 people, the majority of whom are below the age of 35 and with a slightly higher percentage of females (54%) compared to males (46%). A high number of people (over 92%) are involved in or have been involved in some form of tourism (Movono et al., 2015).

Figure 6. Map of Fiji. Source: SBK, 2016.
In 1972, the Naviti Resort, a relatively large-scale, all-inclusive resort, was built on land next to the village, ushering in a new era of development for villagers. The close proximity of the resort, which leases land from villagers, has provided them with new opportunities and new ways of life. It has now influenced complex social and ecological changes for over four decades. The highly embedded nature of the community makes it necessary to employ research methods that adhere to local contexts and effectively yield data that accurately interpret phenomena occurring within the community.

6.5 Methods

The Fiji Vanua research framework (FVRF) is an attempt to localise research methods, recognise indigenous Fijian society, and decolonise research (Movono & Dahles, 2017; Nabobo-Baba, 2008; Smith, 1999). Neuman (2003) identified FVRF as interpretive social science (ISS) and described the researcher as a person who wants to learn about meaningful and relevant everyday life experiences from the participants. The FVRF is adopted as a central paradigm to guide the orientation and methodology of the current research because it promotes localised methods and a focus on the embedded nature of indigenous society (Nabobo-Baba). This approach also dovetails the SLA and complex adaptive theory discourse, which encourages a bottom-up approach and places people and their values and belief systems at the centre of analysis. The FVRF is ideal for this study as it encourages the researcher to be adaptive, reflexive, and considerate of the holistic and interconnected nature of society.

6.6 Data collection

To complement its indigenist orientation, the current study has employed a case study methodology for its suitability and applicability in conducting in-depth investigations, particularly within an embedded communal setting (Veal, 2006). Advocates of the case study method assert that it allows the investigation of “social processes in their appropriate context”, facilitating the incorporation of ethnography within qualitative research (Hartley, 1994, p.208; Movono & Dahles, 2017). Ethnography is defined as an approach that combines “research design, fieldwork, and various methods of inquiry to produce historically, politically, and personally situated accounts, descriptions, interpretations, and representations of human lives” (Tedlock, 2000, p. 455). The lead researcher (an indigenous Fijian) immersed himself in village life, forging relationships and engaging in close, long-term
interaction with villagers to gain their trust and confidence in order to yield a deep understanding of their beliefs, motivations, and behaviours (Tedlock).

This study has predominantly relied on complete participant observations and the modification of semi-structured interviews as conversations, or *talanoa*, as key tools for data collection. Although the study also employed researcher-administered surveys as a means to gather demographic data, conversations prevailed as a data rich method. *Talanoa* in the Fijian cultural context refers to the process where people converse, share ideas and stories, and where dynamic communication and dialogue are established between two or more parties (Nabobo-Baba, 2008). Hence, a *talanoa* is similar to an in-depth interview “in context”, yet is more attuned to semi-structured interviews “in practice” (Nabobo-Baba). *Talanoa* method served as a dynamic platform that allowed for participants to consciously recall specific events and contemplate and reflect on their experiences. The researchers’ role as catalysts for developing meaningful conversations through the *talanoa* framework has allowed the study to generate historical data and capture the thoughts, feelings, and stance held by participants regarding their involvement in tourism over four decades. In total, 72 *talanoa* were held with participants from a broad segment of the community, and 15 of these were conducted with key individuals. Conversations were also held in groups and with individuals from all segments of the community aged from 18 to 72, including youths, young mothers, special interest groups, and community leaders. Specifically, the older population and village elders aged between 45 and 72 years primarily informed this study. The key participants (Appendix D) were selected for their influence and position within the community, and for the frequency and depth of encounters as well as their knowledge about the community and its development.

Although not strictly longitudinal, the data obtained via the *talanoa* technique were used to establish a historical account of about four decades of tourism development and change in the village. Although this may be different to a strictly longitudinal perspective where data would be collected over a long period at different points in time, it is nonetheless appropriate given the rich information derived from participants. The approach required essential on-site reflection and action to ensure the reliability of “remembered” information, because memories are influenced, filtered, and often distorted by individual experiences (Veal, 2006). This study ensured the stories told reflected “real” changes through consistent and systematic data and source triangulation, conferring with other individuals, raising...
questions, and continually validating the data (Tracy, 2013). The analysis also included the triangulation of village narratives and interview quotes with aerial photographs, retrieved from the Fiji Department of Lands map repository. Reflexivity (Berger, 2015) is the modus operandi in all facets of this study, with the researcher regularly reflecting on the research process, participant accounts, observations, and data collection in an integrative manner. Consideration was also provided to the social location, emotional responses, social biographies, and interpersonal and academic contexts of both the participants and the lead researcher.

The fieldwork was conducted in two phases, with the total data collection stretching over a period of 120 days or 16 weeks from July to December 2015. In between each phase, a four- to six-week reflection period was taken, allowing for preliminary data analysis and for identification of patterns that warranted following up in the second phase. Data from this study were analysed manually and incrementally throughout the duration of the study in order to cope with the large volume and richness of qualitative data. Participant interviews were periodically transcribed, translated, coded, and thematically organised into key categories, the results of which have been presented in a number of publications, including the current paper (Movono, 2017; Movono & Dahles, 2017). Ethical considerations, where an individual’s or a specific group’s identity and sensitivities are concerned, were acknowledged, and efforts were made to conceal their identities, including with the use of pseudonyms.

6.7 Findings: Indigenous Fijian Social and Ecological Systems

Movono and Dahles (2017) argued that indigenous Fijian communities are in essence complex, adaptive systems that have a unique set of social and ecological elements linking to people through traditional knowledge and customs, livelihoods activities, and specific totemic connections. Traditional indigenous knowledge is transferred both orally and in a practical process through observances of specific cultural and daily activities (Ravuvu, 1987; Ravuvu, 1983; Seruvakula, 2000). Customary livelihoods practice facilitates traditional knowledge exchange and also preserves specific techniques and skills unique to a particular village that have been passed down from generation to generation (Derrick, 1957; Nayacakalou, 1975; Seruvakula). Cultural knowledge and totemic associations also govern the activities and interactions between indigenous Fijians and nature, and these are entrenched within indigenous Fijian notions of time and place. The Fijian lunar calendar—the Vula Vakaviti—provides an overarching framework that envelops livelihoods activities, providing structural
support for the observance of totemic connections, customs, and traditions at specific stages throughout the year (Ravuvu, 1987; Seruvakula). The Fijian calendar follows a 12-month system that is based on the yam cultivation cycle. Each stage in the yam cycle, from planting to harvesting, is attached to other naturally occurring phenomenon, such as fish spawning, turtle nesting, and migration of birds, which all indicate the months of the year. The Fijian calendar not only serves to inform people of what the new month brings, but it also guides daily livelihoods activities by providing a platform for people's continued symbiotic relationship with their natural surroundings (Scott, 1970). In essence, the cultural philosophies of indigenous Fijians serve as “sociocultural links” that guide behaviours, connecting people to each other and to the ecological and social elements within their systems.

*Figure 7* below illustrates the connections between people and their natural resources, indicating the role of culture, traditions, totemic associations, and traditional knowledge and livelihoods activities as connectors that link people’s interaction with nature. *Figure 7* further demonstrates that the custodianship functions, intergenerational concerns, and the adaptive and opportunity-seeking nature of people are operationalised through their cultural systems. This allows people to utilise and interact with nature, and gain valuable learning platforms, sustenance, pride, and sense of identity from their natural resources.

*Figure 7*. Pre-existing social–ecological system.
Before the construction of the resort, economic opportunities were limited, and Vatuolalai villagers lived semi-subsistence lifestyles governed by a communal livelihoods framework that emphasised synergies between sociocultural values and ecological custodianship (Nayacakalou, 1975). Elders were considered authorities, because they had extensive knowledge and skills relevant to survival. The men would engage in communal work, and mainly tend to gardening, building, hunting, and fishing for consumption and to meet traditional obligations. Some copra production complemented these livelihoods. The women would oversee the administration of household affairs and partake in craft-making, mat weaving, coconut oil production, and food preservation, as well as tending to vegetable gardens, foraging, and fishing the streams and uphill creeks (Scott, 1970; Seruvakula, 2000). Children would accompany their parents and elders, observing, partaking, and gaining invaluable knowledge and skills involved in traditional livelihoods activities. Village elders describe the pre-tourism setting as a time when the community had a “variety” of skills, and knowledge with which to utilise the vast array of natural resources available to them. This way of life enabled villagers to plant, fish, build, create, and hunt without much exposure to the volatilities of the external market. Aminiasi, a village elder and former lay preacher, recalls that his elders planted “everything, every day, including root crops, fruit-bearing plants and trees of all kinds, and they also harvested a variety of food to depend on day in day out”. Although villagers had limited economic options (confined to copra and some fishing), they partook in a wide variety of traditional livelihoods activities, owned a wealth of traditional knowledge about their natural environment, and lived mainly self-sustaining, diverse, and resilient lifestyles.

6.8 The 1970s: Hotel construction, communal euphoria, and systemic disturbance

The hotel development heralded a new era for the villagers of Vatuolalai, opening economic opportunities and initiating an ongoing process of change and development (Butler, 1980). Villagers recall greeting tourism with much enthusiasm and euphoria, eager to embrace the promise of economic prosperity. From the outset, elders recall the introduction of tourism as having created sudden disturbances because “they have never witnessed anything like it before”. The construction of the hotel was the first time for villagers to experience land clearing, construction, and the inward flow of people from all parts of the world on an industrial scale. Participant accounts echo sentiments that the resort had an
almost “overnight effect” on their lives as it literally “replaced” what once existed. Invaluable natural resources, traditions, and livelihoods activities were substituted with new opportunities and lifestyles that have over time influenced shifts within the embedded constructs of the community.

Koro volivoli, or Sandy Village, and which includes their ancestral beach, was the first obvious example and an indicator of the replacement processes (Bulleri & Chapman, 2010). Referred to as their vanua ni gagade or foraging and leisure grounds, Korovolivoli beach and its adjacent land (an area of some 14 hectares) was well known for its biological diversity, and was embedded with many cultural associations before the Naviti Resort was constructed in 1973 (Butler, 1980; Prosser, 1994). This area is described by elders as their “classroom” because it was where villagers would learn about the trees, birds, shrubs, and natural resources that they depended on for daily consumption and specific traditional events. Participants describe that the hotel had replaced this area, not only providing them with attractive and lucrative economic opportunities but also taking away key ecological, cultural features associated with the area (Liu & Lu, 2014). Elders describe the removal of their sacred Ivi or Polynesian chestnut (Inocarpus fagifer) tree totem during land clearing as a sad and emotional experience, with Eleni, a clan matriarch and handicraft operator, likening the loss of her totem tree to “having her limbs removed”. Villagers also noticed the disappearance of some endemic birds, which include the Soqe or Peals Pigeon (Ducula latrans), Kikau or Fiji wattled honeyeater (Foulehaio taviunensis), and Manulevu or Fiji Goshawk (Accipiter rufitorques). The decline in large winged seabirds that would use the foliage as nesting areas and as a sanctuary during bad weather was also noted (e.g., Prunier, Sweeny & Green, 1993).

Participants also describe how turtles (Chelonia mydas) drastically dwindled in number because the resort complex removed important habitats and nesting grounds, leading “to an almost instantaneous decline in sightings”. Etonia, a former public servant, states that the last witnessed turtle nesting occurred in 1998. Villagers also note the abrupt disappearance of land crabs, which were an important food source for cultural events in the latter parts of the year and preserved for consumption over the cyclone season (Bolabola, 1981; Bulleri & Chapman, 2010). Participants note that the resort had an immense impact on specific organisms which not only defined the ambiance and character of the area but were also their totemic emblems (Jennings, 2004; Liu & Lu, 2014). Key participants state that the
resort had replaced a vital area where their totem bird, Dilio, or the Pacific Golden Plover (*Pluvialis fulva*), would flock in large numbers, feeding on the once-abundant fiddler crabs (*Uca perplexa*) in the mid-to-latter parts of the year. Elders state that “no other village in the province would accommodate so many dilio in one area—only in Vatuolalai because we had a lot of fiddler crabs; that’s why it is our bird . . . this place is their home, too”. Participants emotionally maintain that despite introducing better standards of living, their “sacred values, beliefs, and interests were forfeited” in pursuing tourism development. Figure 8 shows the extent to which the resort changed the ecological character of the area within the first five years of tourism development. It also demonstrates the sheer scale of the resort, providing a visual reference of how it has replaced the pre-existing ecological setting, thereby affecting river processes and spurring the disappearance of Korvolivoli beach and leading to the creation of two new sand bars.

Following the hotel construction, villagers observed a marked decline in Saqaleka, or Giant Trevally (*Caranx ignobilis*), their totem fish, catch, and size within their customary fishing area. The nearby river (Halama) was a known spawning ground for the totem fish that disappeared over the first decade, arousing feelings of despair and helplessness among the cohort. Villagers note that the high siltation occurring at the river mouth impeded the ability of trevally to travel upstream to spawn, and regularly affected corals because debris would be washed out during heavy rain (Bulleri & Chapman, 2010; Prunier et al., 1993). Despite acknowledging the many socio-economic benefits derived from the resort, villagers lament the loss of “much more than their totemic emblems” because they had to look elsewhere to source traditional materials and medicines and they no longer had free access to their ancestral grounds. The observed losses within the first ten years of the hotel’s existence served as an indicator for villagers that their *yaubula* or natural resources had been substituted by a new resource that they and their future generations must now contend with. This perception of replacement raises awareness about the immense value villagers place on their culture, indicating their conscious realisation of changes within their community. Women, in particular, were very forthcoming during conversations and made recognisable contributions to knowledge about how female-specific traditions have been disrupted.

Creeks and streams are often acknowledged within Fijian society as a domain over which women have significant authority (Seruvakula, 2000). In Vatuolalai, women are considered custodians of their river systems and resources, because they would primarily be responsible for harvesting their totem freshwater prawns (*Macrobrachium rosenbergii*), river fish, and eels. Women would go out in groups to harvest river resources, and also forage for ferns and wild yams that grow along the river banks and the upper creeks (Seruvakula). Women describe this as a time where they would connect with their daughters and impart the knowledge, skills, and legends of their ancestors. Girls were taught knowledge about the weather, climatic conditions, ideal fishing spots, and the best time to find prawns and certain fish during these encounters, which served as platforms for imparting traditional knowledge. Ana, a female entrepreneur and former hotel maid, mentions that these communal activities provided women with the “space” to freely discuss specific issues among themselves, a rare opportunity in the close confines of the village (Annes & Wright, 2015). The women state that changes in their freshwater resources, coupled with new opportunities to work at the hotel, had an immense and almost permanent effect on their way of life, drawing them away from traditional practices. Setaia, the local church deaconess, states that in adapting to
tourism, women forfeited specific knowledge and skills related to mat weaving, oil making, pandanus cultivation, trap making, and other traditions that were no longer practiced in Vatuolalai. Over time, the shift away from traditional beliefs and livelihoods structures has forced villagers to abandon the structures, beliefs, and traditional practices that define them as a people. Here, the case study findings confirm the views of theorists Adger (2000) and Holling (2001) by showing that changes introduced in one part of a system can initiate change processes and internal adjustments which cause shifts in the entire societal system.

6.9 The 1980s – 1990s: Change processes and internal adjustments

Participants accept that the construction of the hotel and dam influenced the disappearance of totemic emblems, which previously were an identifying feature of their village (Hall, 1996; Jennings, 2004; Liu & Lu, 2014). “Today, our totems are almost becoming our legends; stories that we only tell our grandchildren. Before the hotel, prawns, trevally, ivi, and dilio were always in abundance—we saw and connected with totems every day”, Ilimeleki (clan elder) states. Totems are natural objects adopted by a particular society as their emblem because of specific spiritual and societal significances that indicate ancestry, and they are sacred within local belief systems. Totems are a means by which the members of the community also differentiate themselves from other tribes and villages in Fiji, because they act as a symbol that links them to each other and their resources. Elders of the community romanticise memories of a bygone era and lament the disappearance of their identity through their totems (Ravuvu, 1987; Seruvakula, 2000). Participants indicate that the loss of specific ecological resources has weakened the traditional processes and relationships embedded within those resources, and so demonstrating panarchy (Holling, 2001).

Villagers have adapted to work at the resorts, earning steady incomes, and in doing so limit their opportunities to engage in other livelihoods activities. This further contributes to the weakening and overall decline in community valuing of, and appreciation for, traditional activities (Tao & Wall, 2009). For most participants, the loss of totemic emblems symbolises the culling of their identity, leading to a declining association with, pride in, and valuing and appreciation of their elements of culture and tradition. Emori, the village chairman, sums up these facts, stating that “Vatuolalai is no longer known for its traditional totems; we are now known for tourism”. Emori’s statement is indicative of the changing perceptions of villagers, and it draws attention to the far-reaching and complex implications of tourism development on embedded indigenous communities. Triangulation of participant accounts further indicated
how the perceived costs of tourism development extend beyond the visible impacts, thereby permeating totemic associations and influencing shifts in how people identify with their community.

![Diagram](image)

**Figure 9.** New tourism-shaped social and ecological system.

*Figure 9* above illustrates the emergence of tourism as a powerful and dominant force disrupting the pre-existing and embedded social and ecological structures of the system. Figure 9 further indicates how the hotel, in replacing ecology, has led to the disengagement and weakening of the people–ecology interaction. As demonstrated above, involvement in the resort creates shifts within society and leads to the redundancy of traditional knowledge and activities. By 1989, resource use patterns in the village had changed dramatically. Participants observe that they had fewer communal farms, were more focused on individual concerns, and had experienced a notable decline in the practice of traditional livelihoods activities (Movono et al., 2015). Villagers began building new homes made of concrete with iron roofs, and phased out the use of traditional thatched huts along with the building skills they entail (Bolabola, 1980). Villagers note that their behaviours and everyday routines in the
village changed as they adapted to “new ways of life” introduced through the resort (Hall, 1996). Participants state that they began to observe that villagers were minimising their involvement in communal activities and focusing instead on individual household interests and economic prosperity (Helmore & Singh, 2001). Elders state that by the late 1980s, a large number of village youths had grown up in a new setting, where there was minimal practice of traditional activities. Villagers would seldom practice traditional construction methods, food preservation, mat weaving, fishing, or yam or kava cultivation which, according to Avitereki, an elder and the longest-serving village headman, contributed to the incremental and systematic decline of indigenous traditional knowledge and skills within their community.

6.10 The 1990s–2000s: Causeway construction: Awareness, saturation, and consolidation

By the early 1990s, villagers had endured over 20 years of tourism involvement, with the majority (87%) of villagers gaining new skills and employment at the hotel, and the village becoming well-endowed regarding infrastructure and standard of living in comparison to other non-tourism villages in the area (Movono et al., 2015). The rise in socio-economic standards was also accompanied by the weakening of traditional knowledge and values, reaching a consolidation or saturation point in the late 1990s (Butler, 1980). By the mid-90s villagers had observed a clear wedge between the new and the older generation regarding traditional knowledge and skills. Participants attribute the shifting values of the younger generations to the loss of interest in and appreciation for the significance of traditional activities, as youths had now become more committed to enhancing knowledge and skills applicable to their new livelihood source; namely, hotel work (Helmore & Singh, 2001; Tao & Wall, 2009). Most youths were dropping out of school as early as Year 9 in anticipation of joining the hotel workforce. This behaviour might indicate their eagerness to join what seems the only logical economic alternative and embrace a modern lifestyle partitioned from the “old” traditional livelihoods framework (Movono et al.). Villagers observe that people were moving away from variety planting, instead focusing on crops easier to grow, such as cassava and sweet potatoes. Some families left farming entirely to focus on tourism work, and consequently chose to purchase food, rather than hunt, fish, or plant (Bhandari, 2013; Movono et al.). This demonstrates that although at the outset, tourism encourages diversified livelihoods activities, it also has the potential to replace pre-existing livelihoods frameworks and reduce the diversity of activities within a communal setting. This has significant socio-
economic implications regarding vulnerabilities, resilience, and long-term sustainability of livelihoods within the community.

Villagers state that by 1995 they were no longer supplying seafood such as lobsters to the resort, and large reef cod and other prime fish had dwindled in volume as they observed the significant decline in the health of their reefs and scarcity of marine resources. Participants attribute the disappearance of fish to the effluent runoffs from the hotel and golf course, which led to increased algal growth in the area, killing corals and decimating customary fishing grounds (Hall & Page, 1996). In 1996 the resort built a concrete causeway to link the hotel to the sandbar, which they had turned into a man-made island. This, according to the chairman of their conservation committee, heavily restricted the natural tidal flows within the area and led to the observed decrease in fish numbers, increased volume of sargasm (seaweed often associated with high nutrient levels) and loss of migratory baitfish (Jennings, 2004). Villagers observe that fish had moved to deeper waters, rendering traditional hand-thrown spears and traditional casting nets obsolete. This prompted people to adapt to new technologies such as gillnetting and freediving, using spear guns and night diving techniques. As a result, the younger men grew unaccustomed to the craft of traditional fishing. Key participants mention that over time, fewer and fewer people went out to fish, and for those who were fishing, predominantly modern approaches were used. Participants recall that they reduced farming and fishing because these activities “became chores”, and were “getting too difficult”, with the majority of households (82%) stating it is “easier to purchase fish and meat” using tourism-derived income (Lasso & Dahles, 2017; Movono et al., 2015).

Involvement in tourism has continued to have a cascading effect on the interconnected elements within the community. The involvement has prompted people to constantly adapt to not only economically prospering from tourism but also to forfeiting invaluable cultural practices and techniques that may be particularly useful in reducing dependency on tourism.
Figure 10 triangulates participant accounts of changes and specific impacts that have occurred within the area over three decades. Figure 10 identifies specific siltation effects, the causeway, and a man-made island, and supports cohort accounts related to the river impacts and reduced agricultural activities that are a result of the hotel development. Participants note that by the late 1990s, fulfilling traditional obligations had become a very costly affair because most of the food, mats, oil, and crafts formerly produced by villagers had to be purchased because they had either lost the skills or had little time or opportunity to make traditional items (Bhandari, 2013; Bolabola, 1980; Chambers & Conway, 1992). Women were no longer weaving and producing traditional crafts and men were not planting or rearing enough livestock to fulfil obligations associated with death, birth, and marriage. As a result, traditional obligations have become more of an economic exercise as villagers have to raise as much as AUD$5,000 for a single wedding or funeral. Socio-ecological changes created through the resort have led to the emergence of a new cultural system that is increasingly dependent on monetary support, as opposed to locally sourced and locally produced food and cultural items (Gunderson & Holling, 2002). The majority of key participants indicate that
the changes became too obvious for them to ignore in the 1990s. Marica, a pioneering female entrepreneur and auravedic spa operator, states, “We finally saw that we could lose everything and decided it was time to find ways to improve our situation, so we started to talk about it”, spurring adaptive responses from within the community. Here, the current study reveals the reflexivity of the community, their awareness of specific changes, and their conscious actions to “rescue” themselves from their situation. The dynamic responses and adaptive nature of indigenous peoples are often left out of most academic narratives yet are essential for better understanding the complexities involved in tourism development.

6.11 The 2000s: Realisation, adaptivity, and coming full circle

Following Fiji’s third and fourth coups in 2000 and later in 2006, villagers witnessed, and were imparted with an appreciation of, the volatility of the tourism industry and vulnerability of their livelihoods situation. As their dependence on tourism and disengagement from traditional activities peaked in the late 1990s, Fiji was thrown into political turmoil following the May 2000 civilian takeover of government. This was the most stressful coup for tourism in Fiji, leading to a 25% decline in visitor numbers, and forcing the Naviti Resort to scale back its operations and lay off many hotel workers from the village (Harrison & Pratt, 2010). Participants were forced to return to the land and the ocean for sustenance, a process best described by Seveni, an assistant bar manager:

When the coup happened, we were not too discouraged because we knew we have our land and fishing grounds to fall back on. However, when we returned to the village, we realised that we didn’t even have any tools such as forks, spades knives, and fishing gear.

Their vulnerability and lack of livelihoods security were exposed by political perturbations and their experience with natural events (Coetzee et al., 2015). Having also experienced tidal surges in 2011 and Cyclones Kina and Bebe a few decades earlier, villagers were prompted to reflect on their livelihoods situations and lifestyles. Apete, a retired hotel worker, states that

by the late 1990s, it was clear to us that we were not planting the right crops at the right time, and we had lost touch with the land . . . after experiencing Cyclone Kina in 1992, we were left to rely on handouts from the government and hotel because
we did not have enough yams or smoked fish, things our forefathers relied on during the cyclone season.

In essence, the experienced natural and political stresses provided realisation and appreciation of the villagers’ situation (Coetzee et al., 2015). Discussions that followed can be interpreted as internal feedback loops (Holling, 2001) within the system, raising questions about why and how they had “strayed from the lifestyles of their forefathers”. These awareness-raising discussions were fuelled further by the high prevalence of diabetes, high blood pressure, heart disease, and other lifestyle-related deaths that were occurring in their village during the 1990s (Bolabola, 1980). Participants reveal that towards the end of the last millennium, the community could not ignore the clear extent to which tourism impacted on their “lifestyles and health”. Vatuolalai village has recorded a total of 25 diabetics since 1991, of which 20 were former hotel workers. Beni, a diabetic and a retired hotel worker, attributes his condition to the “switch” made in adapting to the modern way of life. He states that

we were earning money, which allowed us to live a good life, which to us meant having the freedom and the means to eat “good” food. . . . however, only now do I realise that the better food was what our forefathers ate.

By the late 1990s, villagers had reached a saturation point where they had established the cause and effect of changes occurring within their community. Through deep engagement with the cohort, respondents conveyed their awareness of various changes occurring around them, indicating their yearning for improvement.

6.12 Discussion and conclusions

The operationalisation of sustainable livelihoods approach and complex systems theory has provided sound theoretical support with which to carry out examinations within the tourism-related indigenous Fijian community (Holland, 1992). Paying attention to how people live and utilise different types of assets, and how various livelihoods strategies and resources are connected, has provided useful insights into the complex consequences of tourism development. This study is not without its limitations. The 120 days spent in the community has yielded rich information that can only be further enhanced if the study were to be conducted over a longer period of time. Using specifically tailored methods, this study acknowledged local contexts, culture, and belief systems that facilitated a greater depth of
engagement with the cohort. Having a people-oriented research approach has provided unique access to the inner workings of an embedded community, allowing for the critical examination of tourism development regarding how people live (Folke et al., 2003; Shen et al., 2008). Complex systems theory complements the SLA by drawing attention to the intricate and interconnected processes prevalent within the complex layers of an indigenous Fijian community (Collier, 2015). This study adds value to the current SLA and CAS discourse by highlighting the longitudinal responses of a complex and adaptive system to a significant perturbation such as tourism development. Although not as sudden or as abrupt as, for example, natural disasters, tourism development is profound in its ability to stimulate ecological changes and spur further cultural and societal impacts that hinder sustainability in the longer term. The literature on the environmental impacts of tourism developments is rich; so is the socio-economic impact of tourism—both negative and positive. However, very few studies have looked at the interrelationships between ecological and social change (Diedrich & Aswani, 2016; Liu & Lu, 2014). Therefore, the changes observed in this village are not necessarily directly linked to having a job in a hotel (although these are important too), but they are of an indirect nature in that the whole system of livelihoods, culture, traditions, and identity changes. As indicated in the findings, these changes are profound and have never been analysed in this manner.

This research raises questions about the use of tourism as a tool by which long-term prosperity and sustainable development can be attained (Ayres, 2000; Harrison & Prasad, 2013; Rao, 2002). This study has shown that although resort-based opportunities were enthusiastically received by villagers, over time tourism replaced traditional livelihoods activities, along with the knowledge and skills that accompany them (Derrick, 1957; Nayacakalou, 1975; Ravuvu, 1987; Scott, 1970). The findings also indicate that tourism development occurring in one part of the system creates a plethora of ecological changes capable of disrupting the broader and highly embedded indigenous Fijian sociocultural system (Holland, 2006; Holling, 2001). The current study has demonstrated that indigenous Fijian communities are novel, complex, social and ecological systems that are multifaceted, interrelated, and which affect each other (Collier, 2015). As shown in previous sections, over time, indigenous Fijian communal systems are subject to multiple adaptive cycles to which people continually adjust to cope with the incremental development-related changes. This study provides valuable lessons for other tourism-related indigenous communities in the
Pacific who face similar challenges of trying to maintain their unique cultural identity while simultaneously pursuing economic development.

Despite the difficulties, villagers continued to evolve and adapt by making deliberate attempts to “rescue” their way of life and to improve their sociocultural conditions (Holling, 2001). Women increased their collective action, ventured into their small tourism businesses and diversified their interests to include livestock and fishing boats to gain more income (Movono & Dahles, 2017). The men and youths reinvigorated their involvement in community projects, strengthening special interest committees that oversaw development, conservation, education, and health. Villagers collectively sought advice in their attempts to cope with the stresses of tourism, and in 2001 improved environmental custodianship through the Fiji Locally Managed Marine Areas Network. In 2002, a ban on all marine resource extraction was put in place for three years, after which an area of 1.6 hectares was established as a marine protected area. The lead author of this paper was also approached in 2009 by a concerned villager to consider exploring tourism impacts in their community, prompting initial research involvement and a long-term relationship with the community (Movono et al., 2015). Further, as a result of internal collective discussions, hotel workers started re-planting their individual gardens, rearing livestock, and investing in alternate livelihoods sources to supplement tourism income. However, participants note that progress has been slow, stating that although the new millennium has given them an impetus to address the realities in which they live, they still feel trapped within the new social and ecological system shaped by tourism. Despite ushering in economic prosperity, long-term tourism involvement has replaced their totems, disturbed their natural resources, weakened the transference of traditional knowledge systems, and altered the Fijian way of life.

More importantly, the current paper demonstrates that indigenous communities are not mere spectators in tourism development, but are conscious and active participants who are aware of occurring changes and who deliberately adjust to cope with tourism-related stresses. Their reflexive nature is demonstrated in how they have consistently adapted to the many changes experienced through tourism involvement. Villagers have come full circle, from euphorically embracing tourism and adapting to new lifestyles to now seeking ways to preserve their way of life. Discussions raised in previous sections question the definition and measurement of the accepted costs of tourism development and recommend that government policies focus on the often ignored, yet highly entrenched and locally valued, indigenous
systems. Tourism development policies in Fiji and the Pacific must expand the planning and development approaches to consider both communities and resorts as key parts of a geographically defined complex, and adaptive, social and ecological system.

This attention to the complex nature of communities will allow for their situations and aspirations to be acknowledged and dynamic, and multi-levelled action taken to restore and re-establish lost elements of society or nature. This opens new opportunities for the resort to integrate local perspectives in planning and operations and to improve its overall custodianship role as the main driver of change within the system. This can lead to increased synergies between public policy, the resort, and the community, thereby further improving consultation, harmonising interests, and taking specific collaborative actions to improving overall sustainability and resilience with the SES. There is hope yet in the people of Vatuolalai, who have great pride in their culture, traditions, and identity. Despite experiencing loss similar to tourism-related communities in other parts of the world, the people of Vatuolalai are aware of their transition and custodianship roles and will continue to adapt and react to the increasingly complex challenges of the future. With cooperation and collaboration between key stakeholders, tourism development can be planned, designed, and operated to ensure symbiosis and successful coexistence is established, thus allowing all elements within the system to thrive. Much yet remains to be done.
Chapter 7.0: Conclusions and recommendations

Tourism and its development is encouraged and promoted throughout the developing world for its many perceived social, environmental, and economic benefits. Its contributions to GDP, employment, foreign exchange, and the development of communities in many small islands developing states is significant and is considered a principal reason for its continued expansion globally. Tourism is often one of the few activities that are well suited to the relatively resource-deprived nature of island states and contributed over US$50 billion in exports in 2013 (UNWTO, 2013). Island nations such as the Bahamas, Grenada, Samoa, Vanuatu, and the Cook Islands depend on tourism for over 50% of total exports, which is a testament to its importance as a development tool (UNWTO, 2013). However, there have been very few attempts in examining tourism’s implications at the destination level (with a few exceptions), particularly its impacts on the highly dependent indigenous communities of the developing world (Cheer, 2015; Gibson, 2014; Movono et al, 2017; Scheyvens, 2000).

The findings of this empirical study fills this gap and provides evidence of the complex, multi-layered, and interrelated nature of indigenous destinations in the Pacific. Its theoretical contributions through the conceptualization of communities as a Vamua social and ecological system allows for holistic and multilayered examinations to be conducted in communities in the Pacific and elsewhere. This thesis has shown that because villagers have adapted to tourism as a primary livelihood source, issues of resilience and vulnerability have arisen. Indigenous perspectives offered through this research prove that despite certain volatilities, people adapt and become active agents who find ways to cope and evolve with the challenges associated with tourism development. Therefore, indigenous communities must no longer be viewed as mere spectators in development, but examined as influential and resilient actors. Adopting a community approach to research has shown that indigenous women become empowered through a process initiated by participation in employment and enforced through entrepreneurial success in tourism. Adding to understanding about social capital and the emergence of other capitals in the adaptive process, further emphasizing that financial capital alone does not create development, but tourism and other forms of capital does.

This study highlights the far-reaching impacts of tourism on an indigenous Fijian community, which is a situation similar to that faced by many small islands developing states
and other destinations globally. This study has revealed that tourism typically follows a pattern where an external and more financially endowed party builds a resort, provides benefits to the community, and also spurs complex changes, leading people to adapt and change in the process. Given the extent and economic value of global tourism, the findings of this thesis raise the importance of examining tourism development in more depth, with a particular focus on destinations as interconnected social and ecological systems. This study has shown that the consequences of tourism are complex and often beyond the frame of current discussions and body of knowledge. This further indicates the need for a holistic approach to be adopted in studying tourism if it is to be verified as useful as a means of achieving the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The SDGs recognize tourism as a vehicle for sustainable development, but it is often not quite understood exactly how tourism might help, or how to prevent some of the pitfalls. Therefore, the development of the Vanua Social and Ecological Systems Model and relevant chapters in previous sections are proposed as a means to gain broader insights and enhanced understanding.

Ultimately, this study provides a pathway for which indigenous communities involved in tourism can be better understood. It adds to knowledge about the validity and use of indigenous methodologies by indigenous researchers, affirming that the use of localized paradigms enriches the quality of phenomenological inquiry. The findings presented in previous chapters has the potential to stimulate increased synergies between public policy, the private sector, and the community. Furthering the potential to improve consultation, harmonize multiple interests, and to pave the way for taking specific collaborative actions to improving overall sustainability and resilience with a given community. Ultimately, the findings of this thesis serve as a platform to gaining insights, experiences, and truths from the often complex and highly embedded constructs of indigenous communities in Fiji and other parts of the world.

There are also some wider learnings from previous chapters which offer directions for indigenous people and tourism development globally. Broader learnings from this study about social capital, empowerment and complex adaptive systems offer usable suggestions on how tourism can be carried out more sustainably in small island developing states and more importantly in indigenous communities of the Pacific. Although there are some limitations of this study such as the need for more time, and contending with challenges of living in a community, this research has benefited Fijian people, in particular, the case study
community. By placing indigenous Fijian communities at the centre of enquiry, this research has established that people undergo complex processes of change where they respond, adapt and, in most cases, are able to cope with the challenges of tourism development. This research and the knowledge it has generated provides decision makers in Fiji (at all levels) with a holistic view of how change in an indigenous community takes place, and presenting indigenous communities as active agents of change.

All too often, tourism development is viewed in a naïve and simplistic way, drawing conclusions that are unlikely to reflect the real changes and challenges occurring at the community level. The current body of literature shows that some assessments may be overly optimistic, and others unnecessarily highlight negative impacts and victimize communities as passive bystanders. None of these is true, and even within one community, there could be different effects and multiple levels of adaptation, as established by chapters presented previously in this thesis.

The findings of this study fill a substantial void in knowledge about communities and tourism development in Fiji and the Pacific and propose valuable contributions to the area of sustainable tourism. The contributions of this thesis in attaining the goals and objectives of this study are summarised in Table 4.

Table 4

Research Objectives and Summary of Outcomes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Objective:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. To formulate a conceptual model (using the social-ecological system framework) conceptualizing Vatuolalai village as a social-ecological system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. To examine how tourism has affected vulnerabilities and the resilience of the community</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Findings: Chapter 3.0:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>• The approach of conceptualizing the case study community as an SES proved to work well because it has allowed attention to be placed on the intricate and multifaceted nature of Vatuolalai village. It has paved the way for examinations to be made of elements of the community that influence resilience and vulnerability.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• The Vanua SES and Resilience Model capture the transitional nature and complexity of indigenous communities by incorporating social and ecological systems concepts within the bounds of the community.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>• By using the SES approach, it was possible to unpick changes and responses in a way that allowed the researcher to assess the different elements of the community and its</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
implications for resilience.

- This community being researched is highly reflexive, and its non-homogenous components have the potential to self-organize as it adjusted to the initial disturbances brought about by tourism.
- The researcher’s involvement in the community has also been an exogenous change factor to the SES, triggering other adaptive processes and reinforcing those such as the strategic approach to development, which was already started autonomously.
- Tourism itself does not lead to a loss of resilience. However, the community’s resilience was reduced by the diminishing attention to traditional values and knowledge over the long term, which could have been prevented with proper forethought, and might be recoverable with proper restoration.

**Objective:**

3. To identify and analyze locally defined socio-economic measurements of development and relevant development structures within the community

**Findings: Chapter 4.0**

- Indigenous Fijian communities respond in a non-homogenous manner to external influences such as tourism.
- Involvement in tourism has triggered behavioral changes and shifts in values and social relations that, in turn, have altered levels of social capital and community solidarity.
- Tourism involvement has led to adaptive behaviors that have weakened overall community social capital and brought with it the reorganization of existing societal systems.
- The use of panarchy as a heuristic proved useful in understanding multi-level changes occurring within the community as a result of processes externally sourced via tourism.
- Indigenous communities are not mere spectators in development but are active agents who cope and evolve with the challenges associated with tourism development.
- Communities are constantly in transition, and what may appear to be a homogenous society on the surface, in fact, a complex and highly adaptive system.

**Objective:**

4. To examine and analyse the roles of women in opportunity creation entrepreneurship and communal development

**Findings: Chapter 5.0**

- Women in Vatuolalai village have become empowered through a process initiated by participation in tourism employment and enforced through entrepreneurial success.
- Empowerment and its attainment began with economic empowerment, growing gradually to include social, psychological, and political empowerment.
- The ability to identify oppression and inadequacies prompted actions that have led to the building of self-esteem and confidence to venture into business (power within).
- Women are key decision-makers, exercising creativity and acting on their plans (power to).
- Through solesolevaki, women have gained new forms of capital (social, political, personal, and economic) and have created their personal space (the Entrepreneurs Business Centre).
- Women have gained greater autonomy and control over their affairs, which they currently manage without interference from their spouses or others within the community.
Objective:
5. To understand local perceptions about the nature and causes of social and ecological change occurring over 40 years

Findings: Chapter 6.0

- Although resort-based opportunities were enthusiastically received by villagers, over time tourism replaced traditional livelihoods activities, along with the knowledge and skills that accompany them.
- Tourism development occurring in one part of the system creates a plethora of ecological changes capable of disrupting the broader and highly embedded indigenous Fijian sociocultural system.
- Indigenous Fijian communities are novel, complex, social and ecological systems that are multifaceted, interrelated, and which affect each other.
- Over time, indigenous Fijian communal systems are subject to multiple adaptive cycles to which people continually adjust to cope with the incremental development-related changes.
- Indigenous communities are conscious and active participants in the development process who are aware of occurring changes and who deliberately adapt to cope with tourism-related stresses.
- Villagers have come full circle, from euphorically embracing tourism and adapting to new lifestyles to now seeking ways to preserve their way of life.
- Tourism involvement has driven a wedge between the traditional human–ecology relationships. These changes are recognised by villagers who now find ways to rescue what has been lost and adapt to immerging challenges.

7.2 Recommendations

This study extends knowledge about the complex processes of change and adaptation undertaken by communities involved in tourism, further showing their interconnected and multifaceted nature. The previous sections highlight how indigenous Fijians respond and cope with the sociocultural challenges of adapting to tourism-based livelihoods. The lessons
from this study are without a doubt of value to tourism-related communities, indigenous or otherwise, that face similar encounters and conditions. Earlier chapters presented empirical evidence and recommendations relevant to supporting planning, investment, and sustainable management of tourism-related development. Ultimately, it is intended that the insights generated by this thesis will stimulate actions that can reduce vulnerabilities, build adaptive capacities, and encourage sustainable development among tourism-related communities.

This study, therefore, suggests a need for more appropriate and contextually receptive pathways to be selected when conducting research within indigenous communities in Fiji and the Pacific. A focus on local contexts allows for resilience to be operationalized through the adoption of social and ecological systems theory as a platform for empirical studies, raising the potential to yield findings relevant in directing actions that are pertinent to specific destinations. Future studies within Fijian communities must strive towards incorporating resilience by assessing human interaction with the biosphere. Researchers must focus on identifying resource use patterns and issues of vulnerabilities, which will then place attention on the specific elements of a system that need to be strengthened to increase adaptive capacities. As such, the adoption of complex systems perspectives in all stages of tourism research will be useful in initiating targeted action that achieves strengthened economic, social, and ecological capacities and increasing overall resilience within communities. Such attention to the complex and adaptive nature of communities can generate multiple outcomes that go beyond purely academic discussions, providing empirical evidence to support resilience theory.

Second, this study has identified a need for more immersive, engaging, and ethnographic studies to be conducted in communities involved in tourism. Particular attention must be directed at understanding the social and ecological interactions and interrelations that prevail within the highly embedded sociocultural constructs of communities. Therefore, the art of “weaving” oneself into the socio-cultural fabric of society is essential if the deep, unfiltered, and accurate interpretation of phenomenon is to be achieved. Investments in time, trust, mutual respect, and understanding between the researcher and community members is thus critical in gaining seamless access to the front and back stages of the community. Moreover, the utilization of appropriate methodologies and localized paradigms becomes an essential step in understanding local realities, which are sometimes beyond the reach of the more mainstream and traditional research techniques. Although the indigenous Fijian
background and profile of the researcher played a vital role in the success of this study, replication of the findings is possible through adherence to the specific recommendations highlighted above.

Third, useful strides must be made in focusing on pre-existing village-based institutions as vehicles to promote empowerment and encourage the diversification of livelihoods. Strategies such as peer training, collective action, and development must be implemented through pre-existing groups and traditional governance structures to initiate discussions and negotiations in order to promote small business development, alternative livelihoods, and empowerment among community members. Actions such as reinvigoration of cultural practices, integrative planning, reducing economic dependence, diversifying livelihoods activities, and efficient use of resources are some essential recommendations that must be considered in reducing vulnerabilities within tourism-dependent communities. Ultimately, tourism stakeholders must be aware of the need to understand the intricate mechanics of a given community so that improvements can be made in the design and conduct of tourism. A better-informed approach will ensure that indigenous people not only benefit economically but are also socially and culturally protected.

Furthermore, this research recommends that government policies focus on the often ignored, yet highly entrenched and locally valued, indigenous systems. Tourism policymakers in Fiji and the Pacific must expand planning and development approaches beyond traditional methods to consider communities, resorts, and other stakeholders as essential parts of a geographically defined complex and adaptive social and ecological system. This attention to the complex nature of communities will allow for their situations and aspirations to be acknowledged and dynamic, and multi-leveled action to be taken to restore and re-establish lost elements of society or nature. This opens new partnership and collaborative opportunities between government, NGOs, the community, and the resort to integrate local perspectives in planning and operations and to improve overall custodianship roles and act as drivers of change within the system. This can lead to further synergies between public policy, resort activities, and communal development, thereby improving consultation, harmonising interests, and paving the way for specific collaborative actions to improve overall sustainability and resilience with the SES. With cooperation and collaboration between the major stakeholders, tourism development can be planned,
designed, and operated to ensure symbiosis and fruitful coexistence is established, allowing all elements within the system to thrive.

Finally, another important recommendation is for the community involved in this research. As community members are aware of the various social and cultural changes taking place, they must be able to decide on ways in which these impacts can be minimised and negotiated on their terms. More often, the views of outsiders and experts are considered superior to those of locals, and careful steps must be made in this regard. There is an imminent need for more active participation of locals through their involvement and input in planning and decision-making where appreciation of local culture, values, and traditional knowledge is included in designing strategies to better manage their resources and tourism practice in general. As such, more investments must be made by community members in educating their youth and in long-term planning, and the community needs to embrace a long-term strategic shift towards reducing dependence on tourism through the expansion of livelihoods, skills, and knowledge base of the community.

Following these recommendations would not make tourism involvement problem-free, and there will always be debates about changes endured by indigenous Fijian communities. However, such discussions should rely less on ideological dogma and more on rigorous research. It is hoped that this thesis is a step in the right direction.
Appendices

Appendix A Interview guiding questions

Na irevurevu: exploits, resilience, and tourism development in Vatuolalai Village, Coral Coast, Fiji

INTERVIEW GUIDING QUESTIONS

NAME:
AGE:
SEX:
CLAN NAME:
MARITAL STATUS:
OCCUPATION:

SECTION 1: THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF RESOURCE UTILISATION WITHIN THE VATUOLALAI SOCIAL AND ECOLOGICAL SYSTEM

1. What resources do you need to support your family financially?
2. Do you work or are you earning a steady income?
3. How many months of the year do you normally work?
4. Roughly, how much do you make in a week?
5. Please identify and describe the work that you do to support your household financially.
6. How long have you been engaged in this activity?
7. Please outline what other activities, apart from paid work, you conduct to provide food and sustenance for your family.
8. Please state the most important resource(s) you use to provide food for your family.
9. Please describe the most important resource(s) you use to earn money.
10. Please state how dependent you are on these resources. Is it good?
11. Please indicate which sources of income you rely on and which may be considered as the most important source.
12. Do you believe that the livelihoods activities you are engaged in are sustainable in the long term?
13. In your view what is the major threat to your current livelihood activity?
14. If any major threat were to be realised and occurred tomorrow, how will you be affected?
15. If any major threat were to be realised and were to happen tomorrow, what resources would be most affected?
16. Have you faced any major disruptions to your livelihoods activities over the past ten years?
17. If yes, please elaborate further on the event and its impacts on your livelihoods:
18. How long did it take for you to recover?

SECTION 2: HOW DO THE PEOPLE OF VATUOLALAI VILLAGE RECOGNISE, EXPLOIT, AND CREATE OPPORTUNITIES THAT ARISE FROM TOURISM?

19. What links do your livelihoods activities have to tourism?
20. How did you first get involved in this tourism-related work?
21. Do you think that there are other livelihoods opportunities you can develop further?
22. If so, what do you think these unexplored opportunities are?
23. Why do you expect to gain from tourism-related opportunities?
24. How much of your livelihood is dependent on tourism?
25. How reliant are you on the tourism industry?
26. If something were to happen tomorrow that would stop the inflow of tourists into Fiji, what, in your view would happen to your community? Please elaborate:

SECTION 3: KEY CHANGES WITHIN THE VATUOLALAI SOCIAL AND ECOLOGICAL SYSTEM AS A RESULT OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

27. What elements of culture do you use to earn a living?
28. What land-based resources do you need to earn a living?
29. What elements of your iqoliqoli (customary fishing area) do you use to earn a living?
30. What main element of your Vanua do you need to sustain your family? Please elaborate:
31. What do you think are some of the tourism-related socio-cultural changes that occur in your community and highlight the main issues?
32. What do you think are some tourism-related economic changes occurring in your Vanua?
33. What do you think are some tourism-related ecological changes that have occurred in your Vanua?
34. What in your view, is the most significant tourism-related change that has occurred in the Vanua of Vatuolalai?
35. What are your feelings towards such changes?
36. Would you care to elaborate on why you feel the way you do?

SECTION 4: INTERNAL PERCEPTIONS ABOUT TOURISM AND ITS CONTRIBUTIONS TO COMMUNAL DEVELOPMENT IN VATUOLALAI

37. In your view, what is meant by the term development or vei vakatoroicaketaki? Please elaborate:
38. How do you measure development or vei vakatoroicaketaki in Vatuolalai?
39. What in your view is the level of development of your village?
40. Are you satisfied with the level of development in Vatuolalai?
41. What do you think needs to be improved in terms of your personal development?
42. What are your feelings towards the role of tourism in the development of Vatuolalai?
43. In your view, what should be the main aim of the community in enhancing development?
44. What is tourism’s main impact on your vanua (social and ecological systems)?
Appendix B Household survey questionnaire

Na irevurevu: Exploits, resilience, and tourism development in Vatuolalai village, Coral Coast, Fiji

RESEARCHER ADMINISTERED

HOUSEHOLD SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date:</th>
<th># Members present:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gender:</td>
<td>Clan Name:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age:</td>
<td>Number in household:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please help complete a list of all the people who normally live and eat their meals together in this household beginning listing from the oldest to the youngest member

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SEX</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Highest level of education</th>
<th>Livelihood activities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Please tick the appropriate option that best describes your home and its physical amenities
Please review the options below, tick the appropriate option and indicate the frequency of items as required

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>House type</th>
<th>Roof type</th>
<th>Toilet type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bamboo</td>
<td>Thatch/ leaves</td>
<td>Water seal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corrugated iron</td>
<td>Tile</td>
<td>Flush</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood</td>
<td>Corrugated iron</td>
<td>Kitchen garden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brick/ cement</td>
<td>Concrete and tiles</td>
<td>Green leafy vegetables</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other:</td>
<td>Other:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SECTION 1: THE NATURE AND EXTENT OF RESOURCE UTILISATION WITHIN THE VATUOLALAI SOCIAL AND ECOLOGICAL SYSTEM

45. Please circle all the resources that are used to support your household financially

   a) Marine based
   b) Land based
   c) Culture based
   d) Skills based
   e) Qualification based

46. Do members of your household work or are they earning a steady income?

   a) Members do not earn a steady income
   b) Members of my household work part-time
   c) Members of my household work full-time
d) We sell what we catch or farm
e) We run a small business
f) Other:

47. How many months of the year do you normally work?
   a) 1-3
   b) 3-6
   c) 6-9
   d) 12 months

48. Roughly, how much does each member make in a week?
   a) 0-50
   b) 50-100
   c) 150-200
   d) 250 and above

49. Please identify and describe the work that members do to support your household financially

50. How long have you been engaged in this activity?
   a) 1-5 years
   b) 6-10 years
   c) 11-15 years
   d) 15-20 years
   e) 21 and above – please state year

51. Please outline what other activities, apart from paid work, members of your household conduct to provide food and sustenance for your household

52. Please state the most important resource(s) your family needs to provide food for your household
   a) Financial resources or money we earn
   b) Marine resources through our igoliqoli
   c) Land-based resources such as livestock and fresh produce
   d) Social resources or communal garden
   e) Other

53. Please select the most important resource(s) your household uses to earn money
a) Traditional knowledge of weaving and making handicraft. Dances and cultural ceremonies
b) Land resources through land lease
c) Land resources through agricultural produce
d) Marine resources through the fish I sell
e) Other

54. Please rate how dependent your household is on these resources
   a) Somewhat dependent
   b) Dependent
   c) Quite Dependent
   d) Very dependent
   e) Extremely dependent

55. Please indicate which sources of income your household rely on and which ones may be considered as the most important sources of income

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tick if source</th>
<th>Which is the most important source</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Fishing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Sea cucumber collecting</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Other seafood collection (e.g. shells / mud crab / sea urchin)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Farming staple and cash crops</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Farming vegetables</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Canteen business (groceries, kava, cigarettes, etc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Work at the hotel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Handicraft business</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Tourism-related business</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Lease from the hotel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Coral / ornamental fish collection</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Handicraft / basket weaving</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Boat operation / sea transportation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Middle-men agent for marine products</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
15. Seaweed cultivation
16. Wood/mangrove collection
17. Remittances
18. Social welfare
19. Other income sources, specify …

56. Do you believe that the livelihoods activities you are engaged in are sustainable in the long term?
   a) Not sure
   b) No
   c) Maybe
   d) Yes
   e) Definitely

57. In your view what is the major threat to your household's current livelihood activity?
   a) Political instability
   b) Cyclones
   c) Terrorism
   d) Drought
   e) Other:

58. If any major threat were to be realised and occurred tomorrow, how will your household be affected?
   a) Without financial support
   b) Left with no other way to feed the household
   c) We will not be affected
   d) We may be affected financially but still be able to provide sustenance
   e) Other:

59. If any major threat were to be realised and were to happen tomorrow, what resources would be most affected?
   a) Financial resources
   b) Land resources
   c) Marine resources
   d) Cultural Resources
   e) Other
60. Have you faced any major disruptions to your livelihoods activities over the past ten years?
   Yes/No

   If yes, please elaborate further on the event and its impacts on your livelihoods:

61. How long did it take for your household to recover?
   a) A few days
   b) A few weeks
   c) 1 month
   d) Less than 3 months
   e) More than 3 months

SECTION 2: HOW DO THE PEOPLE OF VATUOLALAI VILLAGE RECOGNISE, EXPLOIT, AND CREATE OPPORTUNITIES THAT ARISE FROM TOURISM?

62. What links does your households’ livelihood activity have to tourism?
   a) A member of my household works directly at the hotels
   b) A member of my household works in a business that serves tourists
   c) A member of my household runs their own business that serves tourists
   d) A member of my household works in the tourism industry
   e) A member of my household earns money from people who work at the hotels

63. How did you first get involved in this tourism-related work?
   a) We sought work at the hotel
   b) We had easy access to tourism-related work
   c) We established that tourism was a viable livelihoods option
   d) We had no other choice
   e) Other:

64. Do you think that there are other livelihoods opportunities you can develop further? Yes/No
   If so, what do you think are the unexplored opportunities?

65. What does your household expect to gain from tourism-related opportunities?
   a) Employment
   b) Steady income
   c) Support my family
   d) New opportunities
66. How much of your household's livelihood is dependent on tourism?
   a) 0%
   b) Less than 20%
   c) Less than 40%
   d) Less than 60%
   e) Above 80%

67. How reliant is your household on the tourism industry?
   a) Not reliant
   b) Somewhat reliant
   c) Quite Reliant
   d) Very reliant
   e) Too reliant

68. If something were to happen to tomorrow that would stop the inflow of tourists into Fiji,
   what, in your view, would happen to your community? Please elaborate:

SECTION 3: KEY CHANGES WITHIN THE VATUOLALAI SOCIAL AND ECOLOGICAL SYSTEM AS A RESULT OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

69. What elements of culture does your household use to earn a living?
   a) We earn money through traditional dances and songs
   b) We earn money through traditional carvings and weavings
   c) We earn money through traditional knowledge in fishing and farming
   d) Village visits and ceremonies
   e) We do not earn money through culture

70. What land-based resources does your household use to earn a living?
   a) Sell produce I harvested from the land
   b) Our land is leased to the hotel
   c) We farm land for personal consumption
   d) We lease our land for other purposes
   e) We do not use our land to earn a living

71. What elements of your iqoliqoli (customary fishing area) does your household use to earn a living?
   a) We sell what we catch from the sea
   b) Our iqoliqoli is leased to the hotel
   c) We fish for personal consumption
   d) We lease our iqoliqoli for other purposes
72. What main element of your vanua do you need to sustain your household? Please elaborate:

73. What do you think are some of the tourism-related socio-cultural changes that occur in your community and highlight the main issues?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>People's behaviours have changed</th>
<th>Tick if changes are happening</th>
<th>Which do you believe to be a major issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Youths do not know our traditions</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Respect for culture is lost</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People are becoming modernised</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More women are working now</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People are becoming wealthy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We now have a better life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is a lot of alcohol abuse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improvements in living standards</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other changes, specify …</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

74. What do you think are some tourism-related economic changes that have occurred in your Vanua?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>There is more money</th>
<th>Tick if changes are happening</th>
<th>Which do you believe to be the major issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>We are building better houses</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We have financial security</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We have economic freedom
We can afford what we need
We have a pension
Increased business opportunities
Brings unwanted problems
Increased dependency
Other economic changes: specify

75. What do you think are some tourism-related ecological changes that have occurred in your Vanua?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>People are no longer close to nature</th>
<th>Tick if changes are happening</th>
<th>Which do you believe to be a major issue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>There is less focus on farming</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is less focus on fishing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is less fish</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The land is bare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>There is pollution from the hotel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We manage our environment better</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We preserve nature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>We do not benefit from nature</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other income sources, specify …</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
76. What in your view, is the most significant change that has occurred in the Vanua of Vatuolalai as a result of tourism development?

How do you feel towards such changes?
   a) Unhappy
   b) Somewhat happy
   c) Happy
   d) Sad
   e) Disappointed

Would you care to elaborate on why you feel the way you do?

SECTION 4: INTERNAL PERCEPTIONS ABOUT TOURISM AND ITS CONTRIBUTIONS TO COMMUNAL DEVELOPMENT IN VATUOLALAI

77. In your view, what is meant by the term development or *vei vakatoroicaketaki*? Please elaborate:

78. How is development or *vei vakatoroicaketaki* measured in Vatuolalai?
   a) In terms of money in the bank
   b) Size of one’s home
   c) Value of all of material possession (Net worth)
   d) Ability to meet traditional and family obligations
   e) Other:

79. What in your view is the level of development of your village?
   a) Underdeveloped
   b) Relatively developed
   c) Developing
   d) Developed
   e) Needs further development

80. Are you satisfied with the level of development?
   a) There should be no further developments
b) Yes, I am somewhat satisfied  
c) Yes, I am satisfied  
d) No, I am not satisfied  
e) I believe there should be more development

81. What do you think needs to be improved in terms of development in your household?  
a) Better paid jobs  
b) Create more village-based projects  
c) Preserve culture and traditions  
d) Better utilisation of available resources  
e) Conservation of resources

82. What are your feelings towards the role of tourism in the development of Vatuolalai?  
a) Tourism is a source of development  
b) Tourism is good  
c) Tourism is neither good nor bad  
d) Tourism is a source of problems  
e) Tourism is bad

83. In your view, what should be the main aim of the community in enhancing development?

84. What is tourism’s main impact on your Vanua (social and ecological systems)?

Au va’a vinavina’a “ena omunu solia tu a omuni gauna bibi ena va’adidi’e oqo. Ni ‘alougata ji’o ena qaravi i tavi”

“Thank you for your time and contributions to this survey”
Appendix C. Status and details of female entrepreneurs of Vatuolalai village

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entrepreneur (Pseudonym)</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th># Child</th>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Type of business(s)</th>
<th>#Employee</th>
<th>Weekly income</th>
<th>Financial control</th>
<th>Membership</th>
<th>Work history</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amelia</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Massage, Hair Braiding, Handicraft, Jet Ski rental, Tour business Fishing business</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>700 - 1000</td>
<td>Own</td>
<td>WDC, Mothers Club, Entrepreneur Association</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setaita</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Aruvedic Spa, Fishing business, Livestock</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>700 - 1000</td>
<td>Own</td>
<td>WDC, Mothers Club, Entrepreneur Association</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ateca</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Tour transfers, Massage parlour, Hair braiding, Rental property</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>900-1300</td>
<td>Own</td>
<td>WDC, Mothers Club, Entrepreneur Association</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emalini</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Massage, Fishing business, Vegetable stall</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>400-600</td>
<td>Shared</td>
<td>WDC, Mothers Club, Entrepreneur Association</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linieta</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Horse-riding, tour desk</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>300-500</td>
<td>Shared</td>
<td>WDC, Mothers Club, Entrepreneur Association</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selina</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>D</td>
<td>Money lender, Livestock</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1000-1200</td>
<td>Own</td>
<td>WDC, Mothers Club, Entrepreneur Association</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mere</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Canteen, Fishing business</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>200-500</td>
<td>Own</td>
<td>WDC, Mothers Club, Entrepreneur Association</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senitiki</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Handicraft</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Own</td>
<td>WDC, Mothers Club,</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entrepreneur (Pseudonym)</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th># Child</th>
<th>Marital status</th>
<th>Type of business(s)</th>
<th>#Employee</th>
<th>Weekly income</th>
<th>Financial control</th>
<th>Membership</th>
<th>Work history</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ilisapeci</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Livestock</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Shared</td>
<td>Entrepreneur Association</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Handicraft</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WDC, Mothers Club, Entrepreneur Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tour business</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marica</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Massage parlour/hair braiding</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>700</td>
<td>Own</td>
<td>WDC, Mothers Club, Entrepreneur Association</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Livestock</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Massage parlour/hair braiding</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WDC, Mothers Club, Entrepreneur Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Livestock</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laufitu</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Horse-riding and waterfall tours</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Own</td>
<td>WDC, Mothers Club, Entrepreneur Association</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Fishing business</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Olita</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>W</td>
<td>Livestock</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>Shared</td>
<td>WDC, Mothers Club, Entrepreneur Association</td>
<td>Hotel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Handicraft</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Hotel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tour business</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>WDC, Mothers Club, Entrepreneur Association</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Appendix D

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participant names (pseudonyms)</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Position within the community</th>
<th>Frequency of exchanges</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aminiasi</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>Village elder and former lay preacher&lt;br&gt;Also worked in hotel construction</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleni</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>Clan matriarch and handicraft operator&lt;br&gt;Pioneering businesswoman&lt;br&gt;Former hotel worker</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Etonia</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>Former public servant&lt;br&gt;Diploma &amp; Bachelor’s level Qualifications</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ana</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>Female entrepreneur and former hotel maid&lt;br&gt;Long-serving hotel worker, among the first involved</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Setaita</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Methodist Deaconess</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilimeleki</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>Clan leader and former hotel worker&lt;br&gt;Also worked in hotel construction</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emori</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Village chairman and technical trainer (Fiji National University)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avitereki</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>Elder and longest-serving village headman&lt;br&gt;Former hotel worker, among the first to leave hotel work for service to the community as headman</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marica</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>Pioneering female entrepreneur and spa operator</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seveni</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>Assistant bar manager&lt;br&gt;Multiple in-house training and bachelor-level education</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apete</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>Retired hotel worker&lt;br&gt;Worked in various positions at the hotel, from groundsman to laundry</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beni</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>Diabetic and retired hotel worker</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mereoni</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>Front desk manager&lt;br&gt;Diploma-level qualifications</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Experience</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emeri</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>Hotel worker (Laundry) Former tradesman</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Selestino</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>Tradesman and local contractor Previously employed by the resort, now running own business</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix E Research timeframe

**DRAFT TIME FRAME 2015-2017**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Jan</th>
<th>Feb</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Apr</th>
<th>May</th>
<th>Jun</th>
<th>Jul</th>
<th>Aug</th>
<th>Sep</th>
<th>Oct</th>
<th>Nov</th>
<th>Dec</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literature review</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methods chapter</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Complete draft Chapters 1-3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confirmation (22nd June)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Testing survey and interviews</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data collection 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflection &amp; analysis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Jan</th>
<th>Feb</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Apr</th>
<th>May</th>
<th>Jun</th>
<th>Jul</th>
<th>Aug</th>
<th>Sep</th>
<th>Oct</th>
<th>Nov</th>
<th>Dec</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data collection 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reflection &amp; analysis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Write up: Chapter 4 - Analysis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5 - Results</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 6 - Conclusions and recommendations</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Jan</th>
<th>Feb</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Apr</th>
<th>May</th>
<th>Jun</th>
<th>Jul</th>
<th>Aug</th>
<th>Sep</th>
<th>Oct</th>
<th>Nov</th>
<th>Dec</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final write up &amp; Editing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Submit first draft</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final draft submission</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
References


Cheer, J.M (2015, April 15) “After the cyclone: Why relying on tourism isn’t in Vanuatu’s interests”.


Mbaiwa, J. E., & Sakuze, L. K. (2009). Cultural tourism and livelihood diversification: The case of Gwihaba Caves and Xaixai village in the


Scheyvens, R., & Russell, M. (2010). Sharing the riches of tourism summary report - Fiji. School of People, Environment and Planning: Massey University, NZ.


