

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT:
THEORY AND APPLICATIONS.

With a Case-study of Development and Tourism
In Fiji.

Presented in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree
of Master of Science
in the
University of Canterbury

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1990.

ABSTRACT.

The concept of sustainable development is increasingly viewed as a desired objective of resource management. The term has been used in numerous disciplines and in a variety of contexts. This report is an attempt to provide a clearer understanding of what sustainable development is, what is included within the concept, and the role that context factors will have on the shaping of sustainable development strategies. A case-study of tourism in Fiji is provided as a means for examining these ideas, and their implications, in a real world example. The final part of this report draws out conclusions on the importance of sustainable development as a development concept, and the contribution that tourism makes to the sustainable development of Fiji.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

This report represents an effort in time, perseverance, late nights, as well as an academic 'adventure'. For their assistance and support in meeting these demands I would like to thank: John Overton for his enthusiasm, time and good cheer; Jenny Stevens for her scrutiny of drafts, and suggestions; Eric Pyle, supplier of stimulants and perfecter of diagrams; Petra.P, for her patience and reminding me that life rotates around more than an academic universe; World Party and Bruce Cockburn (great lyrics); the Beluga whales (good-luck). To everyone here, and anyone I have missed - THANKS.

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CHAPTER ONE.

INTRODUCTION

"The idea of sustainable development as an achievable goal has touched the collective psyche of decision-makers and ordinary people everywhere. At first blush, it looks like Nirvana and everyone wonders why we didn't think of it sooner. This appeal has effectively captured attention, but then the hard part begins, as we try to figure out just what sustainable development is all about and how we'll know when we find it" (Kelly & Saunderson,1990:35).

1.0 BACKGROUND.

As humanity approaches the twenty-first century it is becoming clear that development by humans is causing irreparable damage to the major ecosystems of the Earth¹. In doing so development is threatening many of the societies based on these ecosystems. Global environmental problems such as ozone depletion and desertification have helped to bring this predicament into focus.

This situation has encouraged a search for new ways of thinking. Since the early 1960s organizations and individuals have, increasingly, turned to concepts which they believe may ensure the maintenance of environmental and social integrity within the development process. From out of this reappraisal has emerged the concept of sustainable development.

Presently, a variety of groups and individuals, from diverse backgrounds and with different interests, are advocating the concept as a solution to the world's development problems. As Gibson (1989) points out, the current popularity of the term rests on the fact that no one is sure

¹ For an up to date account of the situation see Lester Brown (*et al.*, 1990) ' *State of the World 1990.*'

what sustainable means, and no one agrees on what is meant by development. It is this problem of interpretation and lack of understanding which emphasizes the need for an effort to identify and clarify the ideas underlying the term. This report is intended as a contribution towards this task, with a special emphasis being given to its meaning for developing countries. An outline of the studies structure and the process of analysis is presented in figure 1.1.

1.1 THE STUDY OBJECTIVES.

I start from the premise that present models of development impair the ability of all humans to satisfy their basic material and non-material needs. Furthermore, these models are encouraging outcomes which impair the social and environmental systems which maintain human life. I therefore advocate the concept of sustainable development as a means to resolve this dilemma.

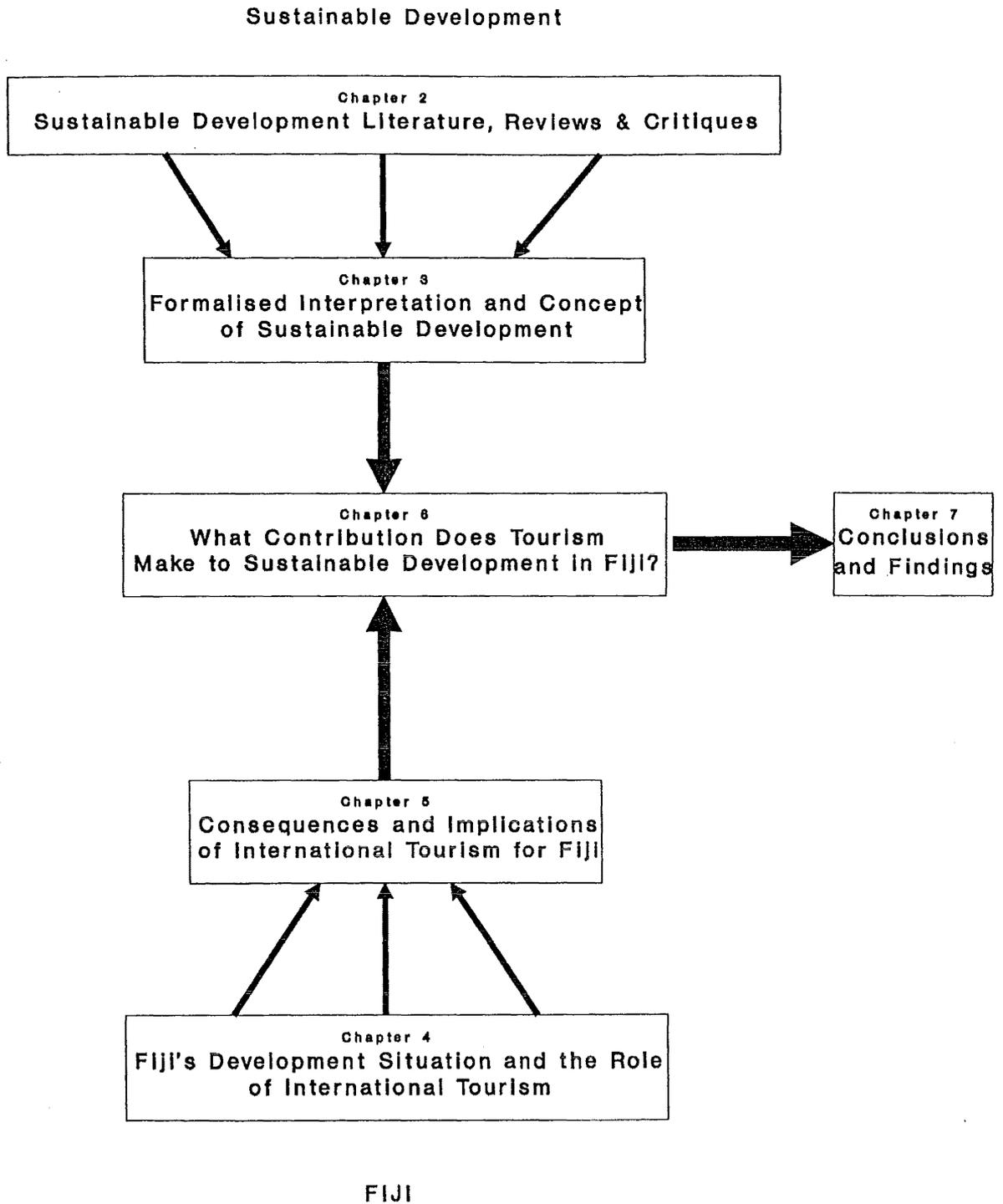
With this in mind my objective is to contribute to the knowledge and understanding of what is meant by the term, sustainable development. The latter half of this report, meanwhile, will take the points raised from this discussion and use them as a basis for analyzing a developing country case-study.

The report is intended as an information document to all individuals and organizations involved in national and international development. It is designed to help clarify what is meant by sustainable development and to identify the implications and issues associated with its application.

1.2 REPORT OUTLINE.

Chapter two introduces the concept of sustainable development, examines the recent use of the term and discusses the issue of definitions.

Figure 1.1. A schematic presentation of the reports outline and structure.



In chapter three I identify the central components of a sustainable development strategy, and the role of external and internal factors in shaping such a strategy. The next two chapters present a case-study centred on Fiji and the contribution made by international tourism to its contemporary development. Chapter four describes Fiji's current development situation and examines the role tourism plays within this. Following this, chapter five provides an assessment of the economic, social and environmental impacts of tourism on Fiji.

Chapter six brings together the concepts of sustainable development and the various points raised in the case-study. The objective is to examine the contribution tourism makes to sustainable development in Fiji. The chapter identifies the key contextual issues which need to be considered, and also concentrates on the issue of tourism's contribution to Fiji's sustainable development.

Finally, I summarize the main findings from the study and draw some wider conclusions on the contribution of sustainable development to modern development thinking.

CHAPTER TWO.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: ORIGINS OF THE CONCEPT AND ITS RECENT USE.

2.0 INTRODUCTION.

Chapter two examines the key ideas and the context which have molded the concept of sustainable development. The discussion is intended to improve the understanding of what is meant by the term. The examination will be covered through two main points: a review of the rise and use (since 1970) of the concept, sustainable development; and an examination of the issues and problems of defining the term.

2.1 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: THE RISE AND USE OF THE TERM.

Through the 1970s and 1980s development policy makers have become uncertain about the validity of the conventional western models of development. This uncertainty has been based on a growing realization that these models have not been producing results consistent with the expectations of the political decision-makers.

" To speak of 'development' today is to undertake an especially difficult task ... the 'conventional wisdom' of the 1960s has by and large been discredited, as theories which were expected to guide dramatic improvements in the lot of the world's poor have proved ineffective or even counter productive." (Henriot, 1976: 5).

The 'conventional wisdom' Henriot refers to has traditionally measured development in terms of economic growth, through rising economic indicators such as gross national product. Another five assumptions underlie the 'conventional' development models:

- (1) development is a lineal process moving countries from an undeveloped to developed status;

- (2) the development transition entails no irreconcilable conflicts between developed and non-developed nations;
- (3) all traditional societies are similar. When the Western industrial growth model is super-imposed on these societies they will develop;
- (4) all obstacles to development exist within the undeveloped countries;
- (5) development may occur at the expense of the natural and social environment. This is a cost which can be 'made up for' in the future.

(after: Foster-Carter, 1976: Berstein, 1971)

Increasingly, however, policy-makers have questioned the validity of these assumptions as a basis for development. Part of this discontent can be traced to the detrimental physical and social consequences of many development projects inspired by the above assumptions. In the Kordofan province of central Sudan for example, a series of Western directed projects, implemented between 1975 and 1985, concentrated their activities on the establishment of several large scale irrigated farms (Madeley, 1986). However, over-cultivation, over-grazing and inappropriate irrigation practices have caused the impoverishment and salinization of the region's soils. This has caused social and environmental upheaval as families have been forced to relocate, as the local soil productivity has deteriorated (Harrison, 1987).

Rising discontent with conventional development models can also be traced to the growth of Western environmental awareness. Publications such as '*The Limits to Growth*' (Meadows *et al.*, 1972), and events like the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, have raised concern over the uncontrolled consequences of '*conventional*' development programmes. Consequently, there has been mounting awareness that contemporary

models of development require revision as a result of unexpected effects which have arisen from their practical implementation. It is from out of this need to reappraise thinking that sustainable development has derived increasing importance as a term for guiding development.

Specifically, it has been events since the 1972 United Nations Conference on the Human Environment which have given impetus to the usage and interpretation of sustainable development (Adams,1990). The 1972 Conference was important because it gave recognition to the notion that poverty and pollution were interlinked - not separate - development problems. This provided an important step towards sustainable development thinking. Of similar importance was the introduction of the term 'basic needs' to the development vocabulary. Formulated by the development writers, Burki and Streeton, the concept emphasized that development in underdeveloped countries should meet the basic needs of food, employment, and shelter. Such development should not, however, degrade the physical or social environment (Burki & Streeton,1978).

However it has been the World Conservation Strategy Conference (1980) and the World Commission on Environment and Development report '*Our Common Future*' (1987) which have represented the most determined efforts to use and interpret the concept of sustainable development. Both the Conference and the Report emphasized the need of new objectives for development. These can be summarized as:

- (1) the importance of human equity in overcoming the global development problems of population increase and poverty;
- (2) acceptance that sustainable development requires thoughts about the future, with explicit acknowledgement within development strategies of uncertainty, risk, and the needs of future generations;

(3) the possibility of major ecological disturbance and social collapse under contemporary models of development.

Given these changes, one may ask what is the appeal of sustainable development as a development concept?

Sustainable development has appeal because it offers an alternative model for development based, not on exclusive economic objectives, but on the explicit recognition of the links between human action and, the physical and social environment². These objectives reduce the likelihood of adverse and unexpected impacts arising from development.

2.2 DEFINING SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT.

While it has proved simple to advocate the term sustainable development as a guiding concept for development, the question of how to define it remains elusive:

"its beguiling simplicity and apparent self-evident meaning have obscured its inherent ambiguity" (O'Riordan, 1988: 29).

Despite this difficulty a review of the development literature can provide some clues to what is meant and included within the term.

The World Resource Institute (Brown *et al.*, 1987), for example, describes sustainable development as any strategy which manages [through time] all natural and human resources, and financial and physical assets, for improved wealth and well-being. Pearce (1988) describes sustainable development as being centred on the notion that current decisions should not damage prospects for maintaining or improving future human living standards. O'Riordan (1988) and

² By environment I mean the physical and social system, including resource base, within which human life and processes are maintained.

Caldwell (1984) are less specific about definitions. Instead they argue if sustainable development is to be a guiding development concept it must recognize ecological, temporal and spatial variations as influential factors.

The WCED (1987) definition of sustainable development is one of the most clear interpretations:

"sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987: 43).

Tied to the WCED's interpretation is the notion that there are explicit physical and social limits to human development. Furthermore, any development must meet the needs of the global poor if it is to be successful in the long term.

From a different perspective Robert Repetto (1985) argues that it is easier to arrive at notions of what is not sustainable than clear ideas of what is. Three factors are emphasized by him as unsustainable practices:

- (1) heavy economic borrowing which burdens future generations with a large debt;
 - (2) the failure to maintain physical and social capital (including educational skills) through inadequate management and funding;
 - (3) the support of current consumption levels by the depletion of soils, forests, fisheries and energy resources, so that future productivity is impaired.
- (Repetto, 1985)

Drawing on these different perspectives I suggest that the factors presented in figure 2.1 summarize the key objectives of sustainable development. To understand figure 2.1, two points should be emphasized. Firstly, the above discussions on sustainable development suggest that no single factor is dominant. Instead, the concept stresses the

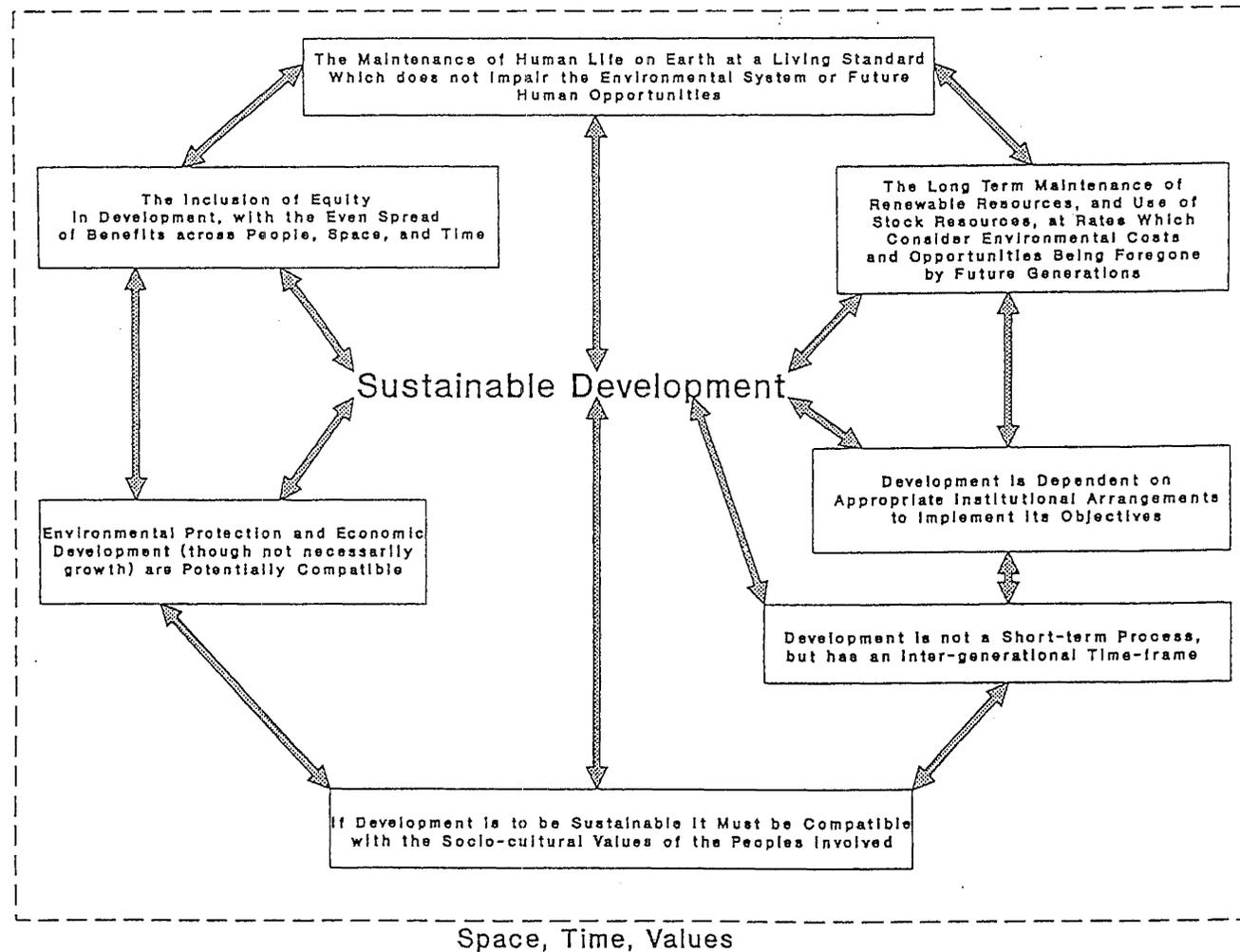
complementary and interdependent role of all seven factors. Secondly, my description of these factors represents a human centred appraisal of sustainable development. I argue that this appraisal is justified on the basis that a more ecocentric approach (eg. one based on the principles of deep ecology) would be less likely to meet the contemporary expectations of many developing countries. It is also unlikely that an ecocentric approach could be incorporated into many of the world's existing political, economic and social arrangements, without generating tension and conflict.

While the factors in figure 2.1 may be regarded as the suitable starting points for sustainable development thinking, it would be erroneous to treat them as the sole grounds on which to establish a definition of the term. Instead, definitions of sustainable development will vary according to the context within which they are applied and on whether their use is based on social, economic or ecological appraisals of development. For example, Dasmann (1985) proposes a concept of sustainable development centred upon a complementary relationship between ecological maintenance and the provision of basic human needs. Therefore, the emphasis placed on the different factors will vary according to how the concepts of sustainable and development are interpreted by those involved in the decision-making process.

Because of this any practical definition of the term should acknowledge the context, including the time and space scales being contemplated. Furthermore a notion of sustainable development should allow the observer to establish what in fact is being sustained. This will improve the operational utility of the concept.

In light of this discussion I find it redundant to strive for a single, concise definition of sustainable development. Instead it should be regarded as a context-specific concept: *the interpretation and*

Figure 2.1 A diagrammatic summary of the principle objectives of sustainable development. These factors should be treated as interdependent. The outer box represents the role that time, space and peoples values will have in influencing how these objectives are interpreted and incorporated into strategies of sustainable development.



*implementation of sustainable strategies being shaped by the contexts - including human values - within which they are placed and formulated.*³ Nevertheless it is possible to propose some concluding generalisations on what is meant, and involved, when sustainable development is specified as a guide for human behaviour:

- (1) sustainable development emphasizes the need to view environmental protection and human development as mutually compatible - rather than conflicting - objectives;
- (2) as a concept it goes beyond economic rules of efficiency, and advocates the inclusion of ethical norms, rights of future generations, uncertainty and risk, into development decision-making;
- (3) ultimately sustainable development must be regarded as a value-laden term. Consequently when considering definitions one should also contemplate whose values, standards, and aspirations are being included.

The case-study of tourism development in Fiji (chapter 4-7) will draw out from these points and demonstrate their relevance within a real world example.

³ For a recent discussion on the role of values in sustainable development thinking and the complexity it adds to policy formulation see Dovers, 1990: 297-305.

CHAPTER THREE

FORMATION OF A SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY: PRIMARY CONCEPTS & SHAPING FACTORS.

3.0 INTRODUCTION.

Chapter three introduces the key components of a sustainable development strategy. The emphasis here is on 'how' a sustainable strategy may be formulated from what has been written and stated about the concept. I have summarized the process in figure 3.1. It is the ideas presented here which will supply the framework for assessing the subsequent case-study of tourism development in Fiji.

3.1 PRIMARY CONCEPTS.

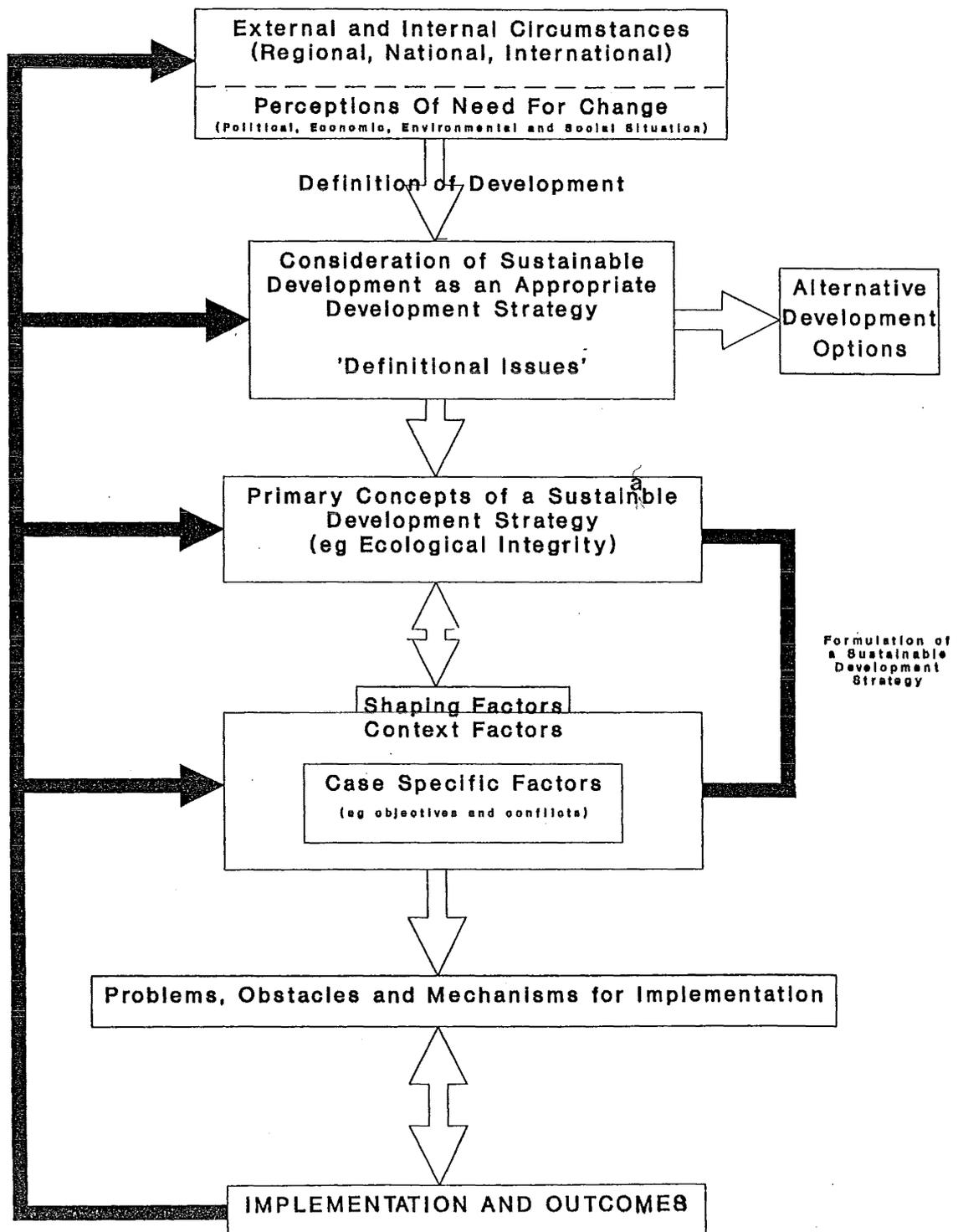
I argue that there are six primary concepts which should be incorporated within a strategy for sustainable development. These concepts will be crucial to the attainment of the objectives summarized in figure 2.1. They are:

- (1) the maintenance of ecological integrity;
- (2) development which is equitable;
- (3) development which is integrative;
- (4) development which is adaptive;
- (5) the 'middle-way' approach to development;
- (6) development which is balanced.

3.1.1 The Maintenance of Ecological Integrity.

This is a primary concept because of the central role that the world's ecological systems play in the continuation of human development. This attitude is reflected in the WCED report:

Figure 3.1 The sustainable development strategy formation process. Note the role of shaping factors and the feedback loops.



"Conservation of living natural resources - plants, animals and micro-organisms, and the non-living elements of the environment on which they depend - is crucial for development" (WCED, 1987: 147).

As a guiding concept for sustainable development, ecological integrity emphasizes that all biological life is interdependently linked, that the environment is a dynamic, self regulating system, and that matter is transferred through a series of cyclic flows.

(1) Interdependence of Life.

No species or natural processes live or occur within a vacuum. The Earth's biosphere, instead, is an interdependent and holistic system³. The interdependent nature of this system means one effect is likely to have consequences upon other life-forms.

(2) The Self-Regulating Biosphere.

The Earth's biosphere exists in a state of dynamic equilibrium, maintained through the self-regulating mechanisms of adaptation. However, the capacity of an individual ecosystem to adapt will depend on both the extent of environmental change and the time over which species have to adapt. There is also a degree of uncertainty within this system. This can make outcomes difficult to predict.

(3) The Cyclic Flow of Matter.

The first and second laws of thermodynamics demonstrate that matter is neither lost or used, but simply transformed into different forms and concentrations. Hence, all matter remains within the system and is re-used through a series of interactive cycles. The water and carbon cycles are two examples.

³ By holistic I mean that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.

By emphasizing ecological integrity as a primary sustainable development concept, the focal point for development is that life and matter are interlinked. This means one effect may have a series of undesirable - and unplanned - consequences.

3.1.2 Development which is Equitable.

The equity concept within sustainable development emphasizes three points:

- (1) that the distribution of the costs and benefits of development be spread evenly - temporally and spatially;
- (2) that community participation and aspirations are incorporated in all decision-making frameworks;
- (3) that all groups of society, including those traditionally neglected in development decision-making (eg. women and the poor) have their perspectives and aspirations included into any decisions.

Underlying these aspects of equity is the idea that the benefits (and costs) of development cannot be relied on to be spread evenly across society, space or time. Many current development projects reflect this. For example, the operations of the Rio Tinto Zinc copper mining company in Bougainville, have had a detrimental effect on the life-style of the local people. Mine tailings released into the Fly river, for instance, have killed much of the river's fish life - an important source of village food. The local people, meanwhile, have received little compensation for this damage or say in the operation of the mine (Hyndman, 1988). Such development falls short of being equitable in terms of the spread of costs, therefore cannot be described as sustainable.

3.1.3 Development which is Integrated.

An emerging consensus within the literature on sustainable development is that development should be an integrated process (Simon,1989). That is, a process which recognizes the links between all changes arising from development work (eg.in the distribution of power and authority). By approaching development in this fashion, the likelihood of unexpected social, economic and environmental consequences is reduced (ibid). This is because all the different aspects and effects of a decision are more likely to be considered. Going back to the example of development in the Sudan (Section 2.3), an integrated approach to that situation would have considered the ecological effects of introducing new agricultural techniques. The failure to do so in this case, was a major cause of the resulting problems.

3.1.4 Development which is Adaptive.

The adaptive concept within sustainable development stresses that development is both a dynamic and changeable process. Because of this there is a large amount of uncertainty which must be acknowledged in development decision-making. Projects should therefore be flexible enough to adapt to unexpected changes or new demands, which may arise during, and through, the process of development (Barbier,1987).

3.1.5 The 'Middle-Way' Approach to Development.

The concept of the 'middle-way' centres on the question - should development be imposed from above (top-down) or generated at the community and individual level (bottom-up). The 'middle-way' approach is a useful means of integrating these two arguments. But importantly, it is more than a compromise, for it represents a form of decision-making which is more likely to achieve long term sustainable

outcomes. The 'middle-way' approach recognizes that 'grass-roots' participation is important for generating sustainable outcomes which meet individual needs (Tolba,1987; Redclift,1987).

"It has been repeatedly shown that development projects stand little chance of success unless the local population not only derive tangible and sustained benefits, but are also actively involved in planning and control through-out. This has commonly been termed 'bottom-up' development, in contrast to the 'top-down' approach of much conventional economic planning around the world' (Simon,1989:46).

But the 'middle-way' approach also acknowledges that the 'grass-root' models of development have important limitations. For instance, many factors affecting an individual development project exist beyond the scope of that project. Furthermore, changes in the attitudes of national leaders and agencies may be required to ensure the supply of necessary services, resources inputs and expertise. Therefore, the 'middle-way' approach provides the capacity to fuse the top with the bottom in development decision-making and implementation.

However, there are some obstacles which will confront the 'middle-way' approach. In particular, the existing structures (political, social and economic) of a developing society may pose a resistant force to the sharing of decision-making powers (Redclift,1987). This will be especially so where those advantaged by the traditional structures perceive their positions of economic and/or political strength to be endangered. These groups are liable to be hostile to any changes in the existing form of decision-making.

The discussion on structural obstacles demonstrates that while the 'middle-way' approach may pose a useful theoretical concept, there will be a need to critically assess its performance within practical situations.

3.1.6 Development which is Balanced.

Because it will be impossible to maximize all development goals and aspirations, a practical sustainable development strategy will require trade-offs (Simon,1989). These trade-offs may be made on the basis of individual preferences, social norms, ecological conditions, or on temporal and spatial factors. However, whatever the trade-offs chosen, they should aim to be consistent with the other primary concepts proposed in this section.

"It will always be necessary to balance goals within and between the biological resource, economic and social systems, as not all objectives can be achieved simultaneously" (ibid,1989:46).

3.2 THE ROLE OF SHAPING FACTORS.

The role of shaping factors in the formation of sustainable development strategies is illustrated in figures 3.1 and 3.2. These factors demonstrate that development does not occur within a vacuum, rather the direction and objectives of development will be determined by, what I describe here as, shaping factors.

The first group, based on contextual factors (figure 3.2), establish the physical and mental boundaries within which the second group of factors are framed. The second group are more specific and relate to a particular development situation. For example, a decision is made to develop a sustainable tourism industry on a tropical island. Drawing firstly on the primary sustainable development concepts (see 3.2), the proponents would need to determine what is desirable (from their position) and what is sustainable. The determination of these, in turn, will be shaped by the context within which the decisions are made including the values of the tourism planners and the levels of technology available (contextual factors). Any decisions will also be

shaped by factors relevant to the development proposal itself including the characteristics of the resource and the potential for conflict which exists in that situation (case-specific factors).

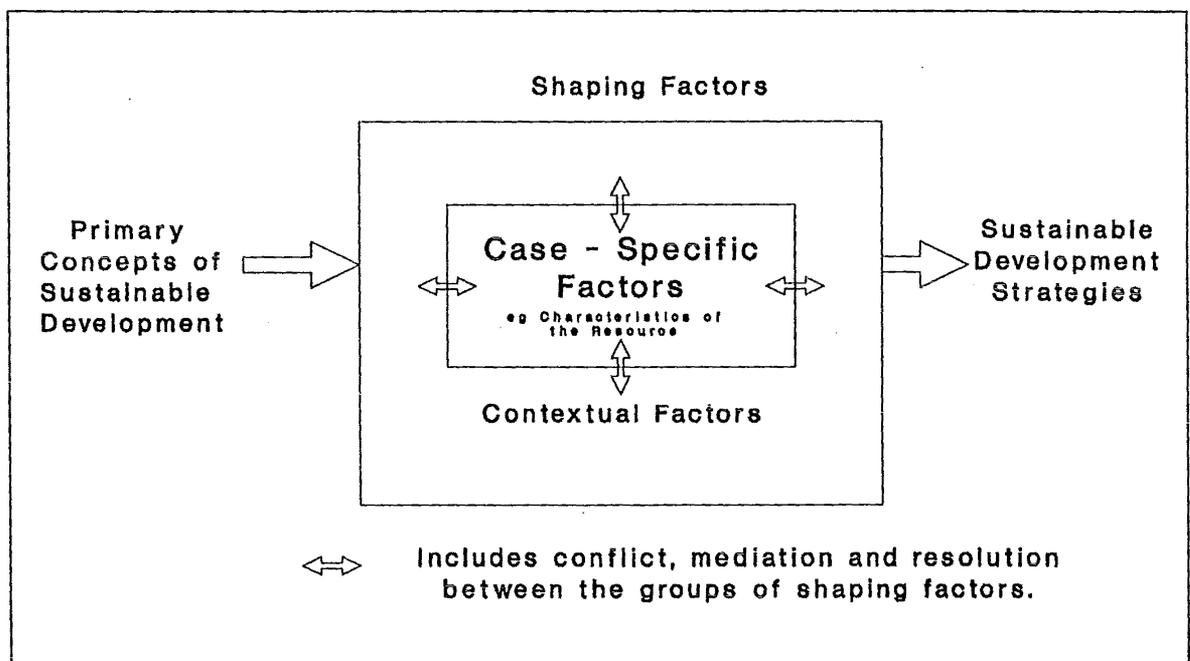


Figure 3.2 The role of shaping factors in the formation of a sustainable development strategy

This is the process through which a sustainable development strategy will be shaped. However, note that there may be more than one sustainable strategy. Moreover, the question of whether they are successfully implemented will depend on, amongst other things, commitment to the concepts of sustainable development.

3.2.1 Contextual Factors.

(1) Values & Perspectives.

The values and perspectives of those guiding a sustainable development strategy will play an influential part in the formation of this strategy. The discussion on equity and the 'middle-way' approach also suggests that the values of the people *affected* by the development are important.

Narrow interpretations of solutions to development problems have contributed to some major failures. Japanese aid advisors, for instance, introduced the giant monitor lizard to the Marshall Islands, in the 1950s, to control the growing rat population. The advisors defined the problem, and its solution, without examining its wider environmental implications. The lizards started to eat many of the island's birds. The Japanese responded by introducing a toad which was lethal to the lizards when eaten. Before long the islanders were complaining because the toads had over-run their fresh-water ponds. The rats, meanwhile, had again become numerous (Stoddart,1968).

A case like this demonstrates the importance of monitoring the values and perspectives of those involved in development decision-making, to ensure that their definitions of a problem do not encourage unsustainable outcomes.

(2) Time.

Development is a dynamic process, open to reinterpretation through time as peoples values, technological levels and other circumstances change. This means the acceptability of a strategy may change in the future. Any strategy for sustainable development therefore should be interpreted as specific to a point of time and should have sufficient flexibility (thus the need for adaptability discussed in 3.2) to be adjusted to new demands in the future.

(3) Space.

The process of development planning occurs within a spatial context. This context will be characterized by distinct physical and social constraints, and opportunities, which will influence the formation of a strategy. For instance, Fiji has the capability to formulate sustainable development strategies influenced by its geographic isolation. This forecloses on a number of development options because, for example, of the distance to markets for perishable agricultural produce.

(4) Levels of Application.

This factor relates to the question, 'is sustainable development being implemented at the individual, national, or international level, or a combination of these'? There has been much discussion on this point. The WCED report (1987) argues that sustainable development is only viable if it is implemented at the international level. Others argue (eg. Kerry Turner & Pearce, 1990) that the operational difficulties of achieving sustainable development at this level should not prevent action aimed at regional levels⁴.

⁴ I support this argument on the basis that there is an immediate demand for action *now* in many of the regions of the world (eg. the Sahel). Any debates diverting attention from this fact are obstacles to the survival of these regions and their inhabitants.

No matter what level a strategy is applied, a range of limits and opportunities will occur. Also, the impact of economic, political and social forces will vary according to the level at which a strategy is applied.

(5) Technological Levels.

Technology changes through time. This means that the technological context of any development situation could change in the future. For instance, new technology may make unanticipated resources available. However, there is a need to be wary of transferring technology from one situation to another. Technology transferred from a developed country to a developing country may, for instance, irreversibly damage the fabric of social relations in the recipient country, it may also have adverse environmental effects (Hymer, 1979)⁵.

3.2.2 Case-Specific Factors.

The relevant factors at this level are:

- (1) characteristics of the resource system;
- (2) objectives and goals;
- (3) potential for conflict;
- (4) uncertainty and risk;
- (5) institutional arrangements;
- (6) monitoring and measuring of development outcomes;
- (7) recognition of political, social, economic and environmental limits.

(1) Characteristics of the Resource System.

Not all resource systems are identical, although as the discussion on ecological integrity emphasizes, they are all part of an interlinked

⁵ For instance, western irrigation techniques introduced to Sudan have proven inappropriate to local soil types. The result has been the decline of soil productivity as the Sudanese soils have become saline and water logged (Harrison, 1987)..

system. One key distinction is between stock and flow resources. Stock resources are non-renewable, and include coal and oil. Flow resources, meanwhile, have the capability (within limits) to renew themselves. Because stock resources will eventually become exhausted the issue of long term sustainable use is complex. Such differences will need to be addressed with the objectives of sustainable development in mind, to ensure, for example, that future generations are adequately considered in the setting of current depletion rates (Kerry Turner & Pearce,1990).

(2) Objectives & Goals.

The objectives and goals of sustainable development strategies will vary according to how the terms sustainable and development are defined; the existing relationship between humans and their resource base; and the opportunities and constraints of the development situation.

This array of factors means there will never be a single sustainable development strategy: *For there can be as many sustainable futures as there are interpretations of a situation.* However, drawing on my arguments in section 3.2, the goals and objectives should be consistent with the primary concepts of sustainable development (ie. equity, ecological integrity etc). If they are not, then they cannot be regarded as sustainable.

(3) Potential for Conflict.

Any redirection away from present models of development is liable to generate conflict, especially if an objective is to increase equity in resource distribution (Adams,1990). The redistribution of costs and benefits in such a situation may not be accepted by everyone, especially those who stand to lose. The possible scale of conflict arising from this will vary according to the levels at which the policy is applied (local, national or international). Development planners need to remain aware

of the potential for conflict, for a development strategy which causes conflict is less likely to be implemented successfully (Sabatier & Mazmanian,1983).

(4) Uncertainty & Risk.

Uncertainty and risk arise in all issues of development. Because of this the consequences of development may be difficult to predict. However areas with uncertainty and risk can be recognized and anticipated, with provision being made for them within planning. For instance, it would be unsustainable, from a long term temporal perspective, to build a large hotel complex on an eroding beach front.

"Where uncertainty exists, a fundamental question concerning the criteria for decision-making arises"
(Livesey,1988:2).

(5) Institutional Arrangements.

The successful implementation of sustainable development strategies will be linked to the provision of the necessary institutional arrangements. Institutional arrangements are defined by Bromley (1988:14) as the formal and informal laws aimed at *"reconciling the role of the individual vis-a-vis the role of the collectivity ...[they] define who may do what to whom while protected by the ultimate sanction of the state"*. Institutional arrangements therefore are the rules and laws (including ethics) guiding human behaviour.

Baines *et al.* (1988) stresses that the development of a sustainable relationship between humans and nature will be influenced by the institutions directed to this end. The achievement of sustainable development, therefore, will require institutional arrangements (including economic, political and educational) which permit the appropriate approaches and objectives to be incorporated into a working

strategy. This is a dynamic relationship, for the sustainable development strategy will also help shape these institutions (ibid).

(6) Monitoring & Measuring of Sustainable Development.

Once work has commenced, monitoring and measuring will be key components in the evaluation of sustainable development projects. The information obtained can be used to refine and adjust development according to the changes in the context and interpretation of sustainable development, as well as the outcomes derived from the present strategy.

(7) Recognition of Political, Social, Economic & Environmental, Costs & Limits.

Baines *et al.*,(1988:18) remarks, "*all resource use is associated with side-effects which impose a cost on someone*". Some costs and limits are universal (eg. those incurred under the laws of thermodynamics), while others may be particular to a situation. A development project which imposes an unequal cost on a particular group, or which exceeds the assimilative capacity of a local environment, cannot be described as sustainable. The continual consideration of costs and limits is therefore a valuable part of sustainable development decision-making.

Interim Summary.

The discussion on the factors involved in shaping a sustainable development strategy emphasizes the point made earlier - development is a value-laden process. Furthermore, the context within which development occurs (time, space, technology etc), and characteristics specific to the development situation, will have an influential part in shaping a strategy. Figure 3.2 summarizes this by illustrating the interplay of various factors in the strategy formation process.

3.3 IMPLEMENTATION OF SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES: PROBLEMS & ISSUES.

The previous discussion on contemporary development problems and failures (chapter two) suggests that major structural changes (political, economic and social) will be required in many parts of the world, to achieve outcomes that are sustainable. There will be several major obstacles blocking such change.

3.3.1 Structural Obstacles to Sustainable Development.

Strategies which seek to change the present methods of development will encounter political, economic and social obstacles (Barbier,1987): These obstacles will come from those who are advantaged by the existing situation and who will be hostile to any redistribution of the benefits from development (Redclift,1987). These groups may act adversely by, for instance, establishing conflict between the sustainable development objectives and the indigenous population (Sabatier & Mazmanian,1983).

Obstacles to alternative development programs will tend to be more pronounced in developing countries. This is because these countries frequently lack countervailing institutional checks which are able to link environmental and subordinate social values into the decision-making process (Muller,1978).

3.3.2 Importance of Institutional Arrangements.

Baines *et al.*,(1988), Repetto (1985) and Simon (1989) argue that the successful implementation of sustainable development programs relies on the growth of appropriate institutional arrangements. Drawing on my previous arguments from sections 3.2 and 3.3, these arrangements should aspire to achieve two things. Firstly they should provide a

thought-out definition of sustainable development so that progress towards sustainable objectives can be measured and monitored. Secondly, the institutional arrangements should incorporate that definition with the cultural values of the society subject to development. This is important because;

"many regional and global issues can only be fairly and effectively dealt with if the emerging realities concerning indigenous peoples are fully taken into account" (Simon,1989).

Furthermore, if sustainable development is to follow the concepts of adaptivity and the 'middle-way' approach, there will be a need for institutions which incorporate public participation in development decision-making. There will also be a need for an institutional mechanism which ensures that future generations have their 'needs' considered in present development decisions.

3.4 SUMMARY.

Having outlined the fundamentals of sustainable development, the next part of this report will test out these points through a case-study of tourism development in Fiji (see figure 1.1).

CHAPTER FOUR

INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE-STUDY: DEVELOPMENT & TOURISM IN FIJI.

4.0 INTRODUCTION.

This chapter introduces a case-study of Fiji and the role, and impacts, of international tourism on its development. The case-study starts from the premise that tourism offers an opportunity for development, however it may have impacts which are detrimental to the sustainable development of Fijian society, its indigenous economy, and environment. This question will be analysed in chapters five and six.

However firstly, I have chosen to concentrate this case-study on foreign owned, enclave resorts. I defend this decision on the basis that this form of international tourism historically has dominated the industry in Fiji (see Britton,1980,1982). But many of the points raised in this discussion will be applicable to other tourism sectors.

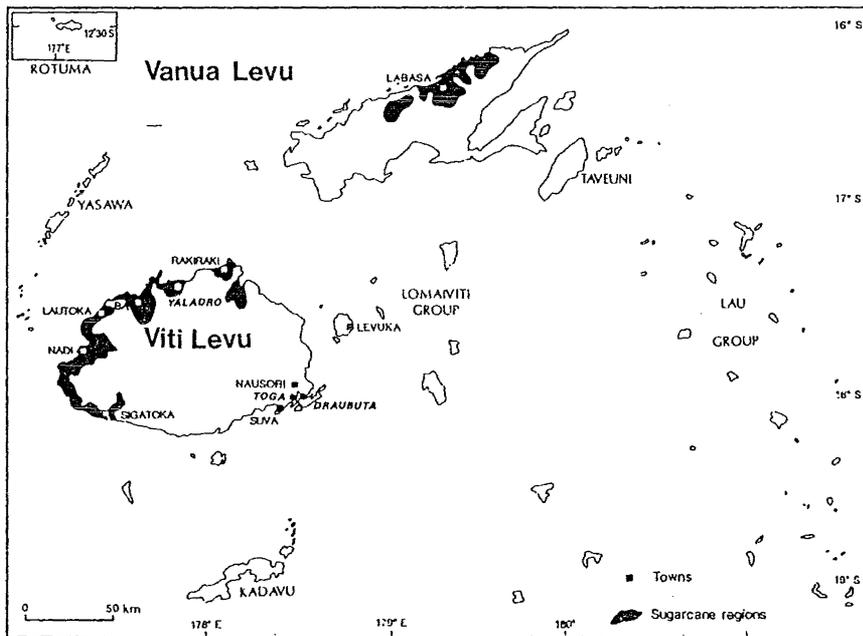
4.1 FIJI: THE DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT.

4.1.1 Introduction.

Fiji is a small South Pacific country (figure 4.1), comprising a land mass of 18,272 km, spread over 300 separate islands (Britton,1982). The centre of Fiji's economic and political development has been concentrated on its two largest islands, Viti Levu and Vanua Levu (ibid).In 1989 Fiji's population comprised 730,000 people, with an annual increase of two percent (Crocombe,1989). The country's population is dominated by two ethnic groups, Indians, 46 percent, and indigenous Fijians, 48 percent (ibid).

Part of Melanesia, Fiji was integrated by European traders into the Western mercantile-capitalist economy in the 1800s (Howard,1983).With this, coconuts and later sugar, became the major items produced and exported from Fiji (ibid). However, since the early 1960s, tourism has become increasingly important as an earner of foreign exchange (table 4.2). Today, its contribution to national income is second only to sugar, and increasing (Arndell,1990).

Figure 4.1* The main island's of Fiji.



*Source: Cole,1989:115

Table 4.1 Principal Export Earnings From Fiji's Major Economic Sectors

	1980		1986		Average annual real growth 1980-1986	1987 F\$ mill
	F\$ mill	Percent	F\$ mill	Percent		
Sugar and molasses	186.3	38.00	141.2	22.0	-3.5	196.9
¹ Other agricultural products	7.6	2.00	8.4	1.0	-1.3	5.8
Fish	9.0	2.00	18.2	3.0	1.3	25.1
Veeneer sheet and lumber	4.9	0.10	6.3	1.0	12.9	13.6
Gold	12.4	2.50	38.6	6.1	22.2	50.6
Manufactures	1.9	-	8.4	1.3	14.9	na
² Tourism	122.7	25.00	211.0	33.0	3.2	na
Freight, insurance etc.	43.3	9.00	48.5	7.0	-3.5	na
Other	107.6	22.00	151.6	24.0	-	na
Total	495.7	100.00	632.2	100.0	3.8	-

¹Coconut products and ginger

²Includes passenger fares

Commodity prices were deflated by their export price indexes generated by their unit values to measure real growth. The consumer price index was used as the deflator for tourism and invisibles.

*Source: Cole, 1989:155.

4.1.2 The Fijian Economy.

Since gaining independence in 1970, the condition of the Fijian economy has fluctuated. Cole (1989:154) remarks that in comparison to other developing countries, Fiji was relatively well off at the time of independence. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) was US\$1250 per capita, with the country experiencing a 5.5 percent increase in GDP between 1970 and 1975 (Government of Fiji, 1985). However, between 1975 and 1988 this growth rate steadily decreased to two percent (1980-1985), and to a negative figure of eight percent following events in 1987 (Bromby, 1989).

This decline can be attributed to several factors. The oil shocks of 1972 and 1979 had severe consequences for small, open economies such

as Fiji⁶. The decline of the sugar market in the late 1970s was also an important event in reducing Fiji's economic growth. But it was the impacts resulting from the May and September Coups of 1987 which have had the most damaging consequences for the Fijian economy since independence. Following the second coup, for example, F\$ 40 million of foreign reserves were withdrawn in just five days (Cole,1989). But despite the economic and social disruption caused by the Coups, Fiji has recently (1988-1989) experienced a minor economic recovery. This has been founded on a devaluation of its currency, a rejuvenation of its tourism industry, and rising output from the light manufacturing sector (Bromby,1989).

4.1.3 The Social Context.

Although regarded as part of Melanesia, Fiji's social organization strongly adheres to the hierarchical structures of Polynesian society (Crocombe,1989). The essential social structures to which indigenous Fijians belong are dominated by two groups, the mataqali (family group) and the yavusa (clan groups) (Lasaqu,1984).

Writing in 1959, Spate noted that indigenous Fijian's strongly adhered to traditional social concepts⁷ But the advent of the Western cash economy, and the demand for Western goods and services has affected the cohesive nature of this social organization. In particular, the communal village system of labour has not been able to provide the desired returns to labour (eg. material goods). Instead, individual work

⁶ Although Cole (1989:154) remarks that the inflationary effects of the oil crisis were reduced in Fiji through effective State macro-economic policies

⁷ However it would be incorrect to view these societies as static. For example, Crocombe (1975) points out that social relations associated with land tenure were highly adaptable to change.

for money has become important, although it has not eliminated the obligations of the individual to the village.

The Fijian society is dominated by two social groups, indigenous Fijians and Indo-Fijians (of Indian origin). While these two groups represent separate races, it would be incorrect to over-emphasise the difference this division has caused. Naidu (1988:4) for example, argues that despite:

"the divisiveness of politico-administrative structures inherited from colonial times, ethnic relations in Fiji until 1987 were characterised by peaceful coexistence and cross-cultural exchanges".

The two groups have therefore tended to be tolerant of each other, even after the events of 1987 (ibid). In reality, Fijian society is actually strongly divided on class grounds. Consequently, both the Fijian and Indian working classes are exploited by local and foreign capital (pers. comm. Overton). Therefore, when talking about the division and exploitation caused by tourism, it is probably more correct to examine this on a class basis, than solely a racial one (ibid).

4.2 PROBLEMS CONFRONTING DEVELOPMENT IN FIJI.

The development aspirations of Fiji's governments have been summarized in a succession of national development plans. These objectives have consistently remained: economic growth and diversification, generation of employment, regional development, and national self-reliance (GoF,1985). However, because of the small and open nature of the Fijian economy the achievement of these objectives has been repeatedly frustrated.

In 1984, for example, the Report of the *Fiji Employment and Development Mission* (Bienefeld,1984) concluded that the combined effects of low sugar prices, high real interest rates, slow productive growth and international recession, were serious threats to the Fijian economy (ibid). Further, the Report also recognized several key constraints to economic development. These included: the need to keep the Fijian external debt from forcing an abandonment of the government's social and political objectives; the need to raise national productivity; and the necessity of maintaining an adequate level of internal demand to encourage investment. A more general range of obstacles confronting development in Fiji are:

- (1) a rapidly expanding population;
- (2) lack of job creation within the Fijian formal sector;
- (3) problems associated with geographic isolation including,high transport costs;
- (4) rising expectations of the indigenous population for goods and services;
- (5) class and racial division, and tension.

But perhaps the biggest obstacle to long term sustainable development has been the limited options for development facing Fiji. The country does have a sugar, manufacturing and gold mining industry, and some forestry, but none of these offer great promise for long term sustainable development. The manufacturing sector, for instance, has been responsible for the exploitation of Fijian labour (with pay rates as low as 20 cents an hour), while gold exploration has caused substantial environmental damage (Bromby,1989). These problems have turned attention towards alternative development options - most notably - tourism.

4.3 INTERNATIONAL TOURISM & DEVELOPMENT IN FIJI.

Globally, tourism has emerged as a major source of international trade since 1950 (Oyowe,1990). This growth has been encouraged by an increasing desire amongst Westerners to travel, technological advances (especially the wide-body jet), and the transformation of tourism into a standardized and repeatable product (Cohen,1974). Co-ordinating these changes has been the transnational corporation (TNC). Since 1960, these organizations have achieved dominance in the global tourism market, through a combination of vertical and horizontal integration. Consequently a single corporation can book a tourist's trip, fly them to a destination, accommodate them, and supply them with transport and shopping opportunities (Lea,1988).

Recognizing the potential economic opportunities offered by tourism, developing countries such as Fiji have turned to it as a development alternative. This has meant that by the 1980s, tourism had become a major component of Fiji's national development programme. Today, tourism in Fiji represents the largest, most diverse and longest established mass tourist destination in the South Pacific (Britton,1990). With 258,000 arrivals in 1986, Fiji accounted for 42 percent of South Pacific tourist arrivals (Yacoumis,1990). This development has meant that by 1988, Fiji's tourism receipts were US\$188 million, or 53 percent of its visible exports, making tourism the country's second largest foreign exchange earner, after sugar (Britton,1990). In contrast, most other South Pacific destinations only have rudimentary tourist facilities (ibid).

The tourism industry has experienced some short-term fluctuations, with the 1987 Coups resulting in a large decline in tourist numbers as Fiji was regarded as an unsafe destination (Lea,1988). But despite such fluctuations, Rao (1986) argues that tourism income (with

the exception of the 1987 - 1988 period) has been a more stable foreign exchange earner than the primary sectors, including sugar.

Table 4.2* Tourist Arrivals in Selected South Pacific Destinations 1986 - 1989. ('000).

Year	1986	1987	1988	1989 (est)
Cook Islands	31	32	34	35
Fiji	258	190	208	245
Tahiti	161	143	135	137
Tonga	16	17	19	20

Note: The fall in Fijian arrivals in 1987, following the May and September coups
 * Source: Adapted from Yacoumis, 1990: 81

4.3.2 Fijian Society & Tourism.

The growing problem of unemployment, and the potential economic benefits of tourism, have provided this labour intensive industry with a degree of social acceptability. As one Fijian public official stated in 1977; *"tourism will improve our country's economy and will benefit Fiji's people"*. (cited Fox,1977:30). Tourism has indeed provided jobs (Section 5.2.3), although often these have been restricted to unskilled and seasonal work. Because of this , and some of its negative implications, the recent Fijian attitude towards tourism has become more balanced (Arndell,1990). Therefore, while tourism still receives significant social approval, efforts are being made through the government, to restrict its negative effects. This is examined fully in chapters five and six.

4.4 SUMMARY.

As a developing Pacific nation, Fiji faces an array of economic, political, social and environmental obstacles to development, including a lack of sustainable long-term development options. Because of this the Fijian government has turned towards tourism as an area on which to accelerate Fiji's development.

"In the short-to-medium term, the tourism sector appears best placed to contribute most towards economic growth and employment generation" (GoF,1985:87).

CHAPTER FIVE

THE IMPACTS OF TOURISM ON FIJI.

5.0 INTRODUCTION.

Tourism, like any development option, will bring costs and benefits to a developing country. This chapter assesses these impacts from an economic, social and environmental perspective. I have chosen not to concentrate on political factors as these are more diffuse and difficult to recognize. This assessment will provide the basis for the subsequent analysis of the contribution tourism can make to the sustainable development of Fiji.

5.1 ECONOMIC IMPACTS.

The primary economic benefits sought by Fiji's policy-makers from international tourism have been:

5.1.1 A Source of Foreign Exchange.

Contemporary Fiji suffers from a shortage of foreign exchange. Foreign exchange is important because it provides the hard currency with which to purchase industrial imports, foreign services and scarce raw materials (Lea,1988). A shortage of foreign exchange is therefore liable to act as a constraint on economic development. Tourism has commonly been advocated as a means of alleviating foreign exchange shortages:

" at a national level, the major aim of both developed and developing nations in promoting tourism is commonly to increase foreign exchange earnings" (Pearce,1989:20).

Tourism can generate foreign exchange through tourist expenditure and foreign investment into tourism capital.

5.1.2 Employment.

With an expanding working population and limited employment opportunities, Fiji faces a mounting problem of unemployment. Tourism has been advocated as a means of overcoming this problem (GoF,1985). Tourism is especially attractive as an employment generating activity because, as a service industry, it is able to create a large number of jobs, particularly in the semi- and unskilled areas (Mathieson & Wall,1982). Furthermore, tourism can create these jobs more cheaply than other economic sectors (Pearce,1989).

Between 1981 and 1984, for example, 6,700 Fijians were directly employed in tourism (GoF,1985). More generally, Dwyer estimates (1986) that 22,042 jobs were provided, directly and indirectly, by tourism in Fiji. This amounts to 27 percent of total paid employment in Fiji (ibid).

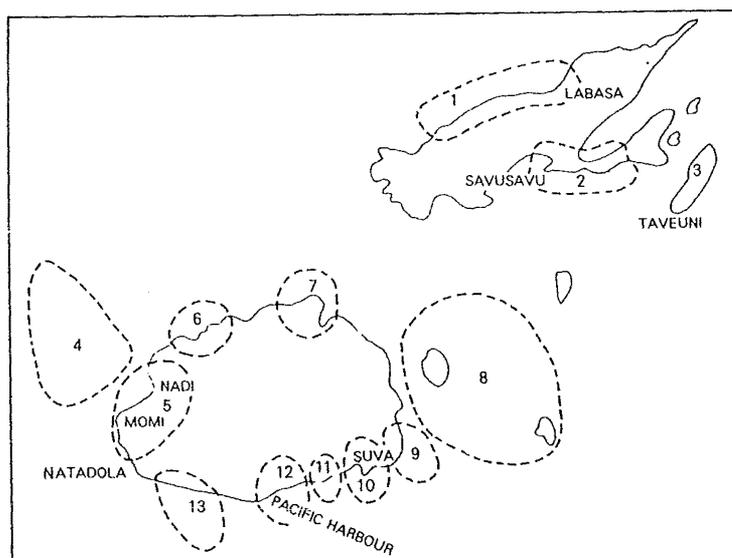
5.1.3 National Income (GNP).

Through the process of satisfying tourism's demands, added value accrues to employees as wages, to the tourism operators as profits, and to the government as tax revenues (Lea,1988). These three factors will contribute to a rise in national income. This income effect will be increased by the *tourism multiplier*. The tourism multiplier is the way that tourism spending filters down through the economy, stimulating other sectors as it does so (Varley,1978). In practice this means that money injected by the tourism industry will spread outwards, generating successive rounds of income. These incomes will also encourage additional demands for goods and services. The multiplier effects generated by tourism can therefore be anticipated to stimulate economic growth within the Fijian economy.

5.1.4 Regional Growth.

Because the typical tourist to the Pacific expects 'unspoilt' beaches and 'friendly natives' (Varley,1978), tourism has the potentiality to encourage development in areas previously untouched by economic activity. In Fiji this includes regions such as the Coral Coast and Taveuni (figure 5.1). Tourism therefore has provided Fiji with the ability to redistribute development away from traditional growth centres such as Suva.

Figure 5.1 Tourism Development Regions in Fiji.



1. Macuata; 2. Cakaudrove; 3. Taveuni; 4. western islands; 5. western mainland; 6. north-west; 7. north-east; 8. Lomaiviti; 9. Rewa-Tailevu; 10. Suva; 11. Serua; 12. Navua-Deuba; 13. Coral Coast.

Source: Baines,1977: 74.

However, while tourism may generate positive benefits for a developing country such as Fiji, many of these benefits will be off-set by negative factors. These include:

5.1.5 Leakages of Tourism Funds.

Many of the economic benefits created by tourism in Fiji are lost (or leaked) abroad. This is because the TNCs which dominate the industry tend to repatriate the economic returns from tourism back overseas to their metropolitan centres (Britton,1980,1982a):

"A very high leakage of tourism earnings can be attributed to this substantial degree of foreign involvement" (Britton,1982:262).

For example, in 1982, 53 percent of all tourist rooms in Fiji were owned by foreign corporations (ibid:263-264). Through this ownership control the TNCs were able to obtain a large percentage of tourist accommodation expenditure.

Another important cause of leakages is the outward movement of funds to meet the tourism industries demands for Western imports, including carpets, food, drink and duty free goods. Furthermore, many of the multiplier effects of tourism have been lost because of the concentration of tourists in foreign-owned, resort enclaves (ibid). Such enclaves form fewer linkages with the rest of the Fijian economy, thereby preventing the spin-off consequences of tourism expenditure (Britton,1980).

5.1.6 Employment.

While tourism has created a large number of jobs for indigenous Fijians and Indians, including opportunities for female cash employment, it has also contributed problems. In some situations it has diverted labour from its obligations to the Fijian village (Samy,1977). This has placed additional pressure on those remaining, to meet the demands of village life (Varley,1978). Additionally, many of the job opportunities provided by tourism have only been part-time or seasonal.

Such employment has done little to reduce Fiji's overall unemployment problem (English,1986).

5.2 SOCIAL & CULTURAL IMPACTS.

The social and cultural aspects of Fijian society constitute an integral part of the mass tourism package. Varley writes:

"The smiling friendly native is part of the product along with the waving palms and empty beaches" (1977:97).

Because tourism brings people and cultures together it will have impacts which are both positive and negative. A review of the wider social impact literature reveals a concentration on the negative social/cultural effects of tourism (Mathieson & Wall,1982; English,1986; Pearce,1989). However it is important to qualify this discussion by noting two points. Firstly, many of the social effects attributed to tourism are not exclusive to it. Such impacts might accompany other forms of rapid social change and development. Secondly, social impacts are hard to assess because of the cumulative effect that development will have on the social fabric of a society (Mathieson & Wall,1982).

Some of the negative social and cultural impacts attributed to tourism in Fiji include:

(1). the claim that tourism has encouraged rises in crime and prostitution. However, while tourism may create opportunities for crime, Fox (1977) argues that urbanization has probably been as important a cause as tourism;

(2) the claim that tourism cheapens Fiji's culture and reduces it to a commodity which may be bought and sold. The mass production of unsophisticated handicraft items ('airport art') is one example. Some

argue (eg. Varley,1978) that this has lead to a degrading and loss, of traditional skills;

(3) it is claimed that the presentation of Fiji's culture as a tourist package has had negative impacts (Prasad,1984). The fire-walking ceremony, for example, performed by the Beqa islanders in the hotels of Suva has, Rajotte and Tubabavau (1982) argue, lost much of its 'mystique' and meaning since public performances began.

"As an ancient ceremony performed in its traditional setting against the backdrop of the Beqan tropical rainforests it is a strange and mysterious experience. However, when it is transplanted to a hotel garden it tends to appear phony and meaning less" (ibid,128).

Such activities, instead of destroying the misconceptions of a country's culture, may actually perpetuate and encourage new prejudices;

(4) the *demonstration effect* is frequently cited as a negative social consequence of tourism (Mathieson & Wall,1982). The effect is generated by tourists displaying 'symbols of affluence' amongst indigenous peoples. Such displays can incite hostility, or raise the expectations of material standards amongst the indigenous population (Pearce,1989).

The demonstration effect may, for example, encourage the outward movement of village people to urban areas where they can hope to satisfy their heightened material aspirations. Such movement can irreversibly damage the communal structure of village life as, for example, the traditional Fijian customs of reciprocity have been replaced by economic individualism (Prasad,1984);

(5) the uneven distribution of the benefits of tourism has encouraged social discontent between the racial and class groups within Fijian society (Samy,1977). For example, the Indian and native Fijian working classes

have been deprived of promotional opportunities within foreign run tourism operations (ibid). Instead, managerial opportunities have tended to go to immigrant employees. Such division of labour opportunity has been a latent cause of social discontent in other countries, including Malayasia (Hong,1985).

Despite this list of negative impacts, tourism may also have several positive social and cultural effects:

(1) it is claimed that tourism has provided the opportunity for positive intercultural communication between Fijians and Western culture. This has helped, for instance, to reduce some of the prejudices between the two cultures (Knox,1982);

(2) it is claimed that tourist expenditure on arts, crafts and the performance of traditional ceremonies may help to preserve the indigenous culture (ibid). Inspired by this foreign interest, the government sponsored handicraft centre in Suva, has ensured that only authentic items have been produced for sale. This, in turn, has encouraged more authenticity within the private sector, as independent producers have sought to remain competitive (pers. comm. Overton).

But while tourism may help to rehabilitate a host culture, the tourism industry has usually controlled the direction of this rejuvenation. This may lead to outcomes which are not conducive to the well-being of that culture (Mathieson & Wall,1982).

5.3 THE ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS.

Tourism development poses an environmental dilemma which will not be encountered by other forms of economic activity. On the one hand, the unmodified natural environment of a country may be used as part of the tourism package (Pearce,1989). The importance of palm-fringed beaches, surf and tropical reef life is demonstrated by the emphasis on these features in travel advertisements. On the other hand, aspects of the tourism trade may endanger the integrity of the natural environment (eg. pollution). This is especially so for fragile island ecosystems such as those found in Fiji (Dasmann *et al.*,1973). A large tourism complex may therefore constitute a danger to the very environment which originally drew the tourists.

The environmental impacts of tourism on Fiji can be discussed under two major headings: the competition for resources, and the harmful environmental impacts of tourism development.

5.3.1 Competition for Resources.

(1) Land: Land selected for tourism development may have potentiality for agriculture, forestry, and urban or industrial development. However, overall, Baines (1982) concludes that tourism has had a minimal effect on the diversion of agricultural land from production. Along the Coral Coast (13), for instance, the seaside sites favoured by tourism developers have not intruded onto the agricultural soils farmed by local villagers (*ibid*). This is because resort developers have concentrated their activities on freehold, former plantation land, rather than mataqali land (pers. comm. Overton).

The concentration of tourism development in these locations is a result of the land classification system in Fiji. Established by the former colonial administration, the system classifies 83 percent of Fiji as 'Native

Land', which may not be sold (Overton,1988). While this classification system has prevented large scale alienation of land by foreigners, it has also become a hindrance to the development of tourism infrastructure such as roads (Krivatsy,1982). Solutions to this problem will be required in the future. Additionally, by 1982, at least one village on Suva's fringe had been pressured to relocate (Baines,1982). Such pressure is likely to increase in the future (ibid);

(2)Recreational Competition: Inadequate planning guide-lines and the disinclination of resort operators toward local interests, has reduced recreational opportunities for some Fijians:

"the pressure of a building close to the shore, particularly occupied by a group of foreignersintimidates those of the public who would otherwise wish to use that area for recreation, study, fishing or right-of-way" (Baines,1982:58);

(3)Water Resources: Despite high annual rainfall, Fiji suffers from an acute shortage of groundwater (ibid). In the early 1980s, for instance, a critical water shortage on the western mainland of Viti Levu (5) resulted in a ban on further tourism development. Generally, tourism has placed significant pressure on Fiji's groundwater resources. In a case documented by Baines (1982), a proposed golf course near Natadola, southwest Viti Levu, was calculated to require 22 tonnes of water/ha/day; all this in an area of major agricultural productivity, with its own demands for water.

5.3.2 Harmful Environmental Impacts.

(1) Construction Phase: Dasmann *et al.*, (1973) remarks that the greatest environmental impacts from tourism will be incurred at the construction stage. Sites will be leveled, soils exposed and vegetation removed. This can have serious effects on an island ecosystem. The disposal of eroded soil particles onto the Fijian reef system has been one effect. These sediments, accumulated in layers, have blocked out solar energy, this in turn, has caused declines in the productivity of the reef system. This decline may have other implications, including a reduction in the quantity and quality of food species available for inshore fishing. In other circumstances, the construction of coastal tourism facilities (eg. marinas), has dramatically altered coastal erosion rates, and the capability of inshore regions to handle storm surges (Baines, 1987). Despite these impacts, environmental impact assessment (EIA) only started to become important in Fiji after 1980. At the present time however, attempts are being made to initiate EIA procedures as a prerequisite for tourism development (Arndell, 1990).

(2) Waste: The disposal of waste from the tourism industry presents another potentially harmful environmental problem. Liquid wastes, for example, have tended to be dispersed into coastal water, where they pose a health, aesthetic and environmental hazard (Baines, 1982). In some sheltered inlets, concentrations of these wastes have led to problems of eutrophication⁸ (ibid). The resulting aquatic conditions have encouraged algal blooms, which have absorb much of the dissolved oxygen in the water and, in turn, decrease the suitability of these waters for local fish. Eutrophic water also frequently appears murky and may smell offensive

⁸ Eutrophication is a process whereby nitrogen and phosphorus compounds within liquid waste cause the nutrient enrichment of water. Such conditions are ideal for macro-phytic (algal) growth.

(Dasmann *et al.*,1973). The dispersal of solvents from hotel cleaning fluids into coastal waters has also caused death of marine life (pers. comm. Rokotuivuna).

Solid waste disposal poses another environmental problem. The Natadola project (see over page) was expected to generate 22,400 tonnes of solid waste annually (Baines,1982). It was proposed to dump this waste in a nearby mangrove ecosystem. Given the enormous contribution of these systems to the coastal marine environment, the ecological effects of this act would have been severe (Dasmann *et al.*,1973).

These problems of waste disposal in Fiji are compounded by a national waste collection system which lacks organization and infrastructure, and an active consideration of environmental variables (Baines,1982).

(3) Environmental Impacts of Tourists: The actions of tourists may have adverse environmental consequences. The depletion of living species taken from coral reefs is one example, trampling and killing of coral is another (Mathieson & Wall,1982). The over-use of parks and scenic reserves can lead to problems of wildlife disturbance, trampling and erosion by human passage, especially in sand dune areas (Pearce,1989).

5.3.3 Positive Effects.

Not all the environmental impacts of tourism in Fiji have been detrimental, although writers such as Baines (1982;1987) have tended to emphasize the negative factors. On the positive side, tourist interest in Fiji's tropical environment has encouraged the establishment of special reserve areas which highlight various aspects of the Fijian natural environment. Nevertheless, on a Pacific wide basis Baines remarks that, "*resort operators have paid surprising little attention to the natural environments in which their resorts are established*" (1982:69).

5.4 SUMMARY.

Tourism has had an array of positive and negative effects on Fiji. The rising importance, and scale, of the industry means many of these impacts are likely to be accentuated in the future. The effects that this may have on the achievement of sustainable development is examined in chapter six.

CHAPTER SIX.

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT & FIJIAN TOURISM: ANALYSIS & FINDINGS.

6.0 INTRODUCTION.

This chapter uses the primary concepts of sustainable development (chapter three) to assess the problems, and areas which require redress, for international tourism to contribute to the sustainable development of Fiji. My emphasis within this analysis is on development which does not impair the social and environmental fabric of Fiji, in a way which will intensify that country's development problems:- *nor should it impede the capacity of future generations to pursue alternative development options*⁹. But firstly, it is necessary to understand the role that shaping factors will have on framing this analysis.

6.1 THE RELEVANCE OF SHAPING FACTORS.

The discussion on shaping factors (chapter three) emphasized that the formation of a sustainable development strategy will be influenced by a number of contextual and case-specific factors. The relevant shaping factors for this case-study are: the development situation in Fiji; the 'worldview' of Fiji's development planners; uncertainty; and the domination of the tourism industry by foreign capital. Figure 6.1 illustrates their impact on a sustainable development strategy.

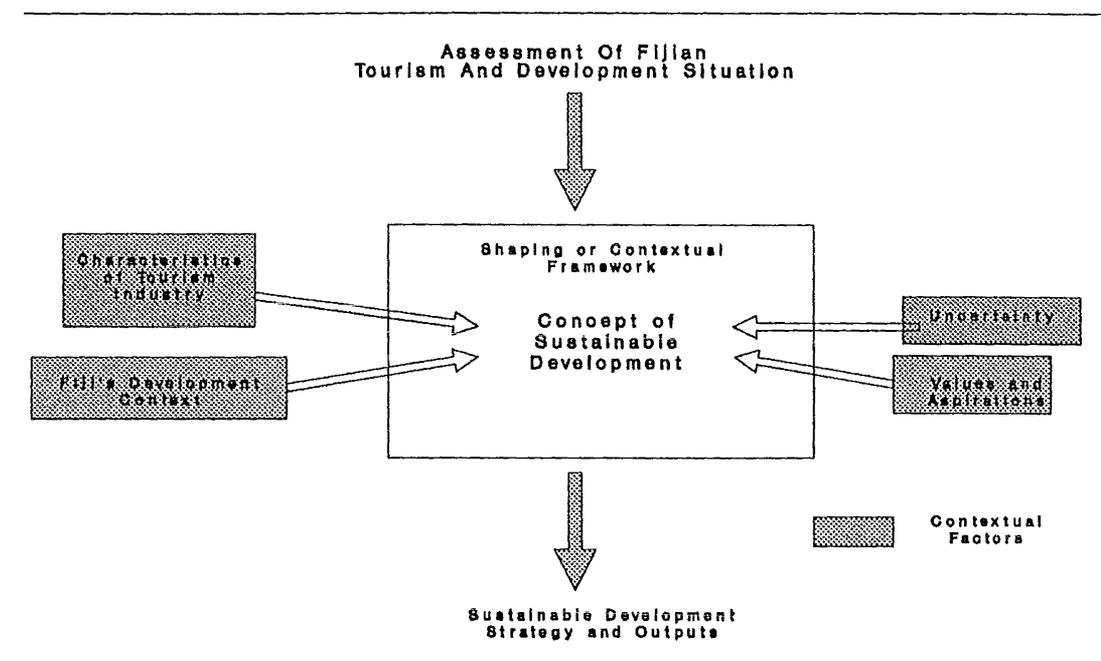
6.1.1 The Development Context.

Fiji is faced with the problem of few long term sustainable development alternatives. Taylor (1990:73) for example, points out that

⁹ It is necessary to qualify this by acknowledging the role of scale. Any development is liable to have some negative impacts. My emphasis is on effects which may reduce the overall capability of Fiji's ecological, or social system, to handle change. In the end this may well be a value judgement.

the sugar industry is not capable of carrying the economy indefinitely, while the remainder of the formal economy has performed poorly through the 1980s. The formal sector which has shown growth meanwhile (small, locally-owned businesses such as garment manufactures), has paid only low wages, and found it difficult to enter overseas markets.

Figure 6.1 Shaping Factors, Tourism & Sustainable Development in Fiji.



Because of this situation, tourism has been perceived as more than simply "another development option" (ibid). For Fiji, the limited range of long term development alternatives is an important constraint, preventing the pursuit of development options other than tourism.

"tourism will only be a comparatively better or worse development option if there is indeed a range of possible development paths open" (Pearce,1989:289).

6.1.2 'Worldviews' & Sustainable Development.

The values, aspirations and worldviews of political decision-makers will have an influential role in shaping a sustainable development strategy (Dover,1990). A preoccupation with economic objectives, for instance, underlies development decision-making in Fiji (GoF,1985). This emphasis is reflected in the Bienefeld report:

"the Government should determine and implement a coherent and pragmatic set of policies; to reduce risk; to strengthen the economy; and to manage the labour market"(1984:i).

Because of this emphasis, any national sustainable development strategy established in Fiji is liable to have an economic focus, as opposed to an ecological or social one.

6.1.3 Uncertainty.

What is judged to be sustainable today, may not be regarded as so in the future. Because of this, uncertainty must be an important consideration of any development plan for Fiji. For example, Fox noted an increase reluctance by Fiji's decision-makers, in the late 1970s, to accept the negative social and environmental consequences of international tourism (1977). Any strategy for sustainable tourism development in Fiji must therefore be regarded as specific to a point in time, with periodic re-evaluation being important to assure that the outcomes remain consistent with the expectations and values of the Fijians.

6.1.4 Domination of the Tourism Industry by Foreign Capital.

This feature of the tourism industry in Fiji poses a major constraint on the capacity of Fijians to control its development. Excessive environmental regulations might, for instance, discourage investment, and direct it to other tropical destinations (Lea,1988). Because of their control over investment, the TNCs are liable to have an important influence on the direction of any tourism development strategy (Hymer,1979). Given the economic objectives of these organizations, this influence may be at odds with the ecological and social objectives of sustainable development.

Together, the shaping factors will affect the form that a sustainable tourism strategy will take. Because of the different forces impacting on this process, there will be a need for trade-offs to be made between various objectives. However, to be true to the themes of sustainable development, these trade-offs must be contemplated within the bounds of the primary concepts discussed in chapter three. Any trade-offs should not, therefore, exacerbate the inequalities in Fijian society, nor should they be to the detriment of the overall ecological integrity of the Fijian islands.

6.2 DEVELOPMENT & TOURISM: HOW CAN TOURISM CONTRIBUTE TO THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT OF FIJI?

The primary sustainable development concepts which will be used as the basis for the analysis are: ecological integrity; the ability for sustainable development to be adaptive, balanced and integrated with Fijian society, and its environment; equity; and, the degree to which the ideas of the 'middle-way' approach are incorporated into tourism development.

6.2.1 Ecological Integrity.

From an ecological perspective, for tourism to contribute to the sustainable development of Fiji, five points need to be followed:

- (1).the capacity of the environmental system to handle and adapt to change must remain;
- (2).any resource use decisions should ensure that other uses, and the development options for future generations, are not closed on;
- (3).uncertainty needs to be allowed for in all planning. The possibility of greenhouse induced rises in sea level may, for instance, make shore-line tourism development inadvisable;
- (4).from an ecological:social perspective, the human relationship with the environment (eg. as a food source) should not be impaired by tourism development;
- (5).a more comprehensive response to planning should be followed, which integrates environmental, social and economic objectives.

Since 1980, Fijian tourism development has demonstrated some encouraging signs in these areas. For example, there have been advances in the administration of environmental regulations to control for the adverse impacts of tourism. Baines remarks;

"a reasonably enlightened application of legislation means that the potential environment impacts of development proposals are now more carefully evaluated" (1982:71).

Specifically, tourism developers are now legally required to pay compensation to communities whose marine rights are impaired by their developments (Baines,1982). This has ensured a redistribution of some of the costs and benefits of tourism. However, if such measures are to match the criteria for sustainable development, they also need to ensure that the benefits being foregone by future generations, and the equitable

tribution of compensation payments, is made in this process. There is evidence of this at present.

From the perspective of comprehensive planning, the recent publication '*Guide-lines for the Integration of Tourism Development and Environmental Protection in the South Pacific*' sets an important precedent (Arndell,1990). Compiled by the Tourist Council of the South Pacific, it introduces detailed guide-lines for environmental protection, development planning, environmental impact assessment, and education (ibid). The active incorporation of this document into Fiji's planning procedure seemingly would improve the capacity to achieve ecologically sustainable outcomes.

Generally, there are encouraging signs for the integration of sustainable environmental principles into tourism. But there are some factors which need to be emphasized. Firstly, the Fijian authorities need to ensure that standards and procedures are explicit, stridently upheld, and are enforceable. This will discourage attempts to avoid environmental regulations.

Secondly, in conjunction with the first step (above), monitoring procedures will also need to be established to provide information for the re-evaluation of environmental standards and obligations. Thirdly, methods must be recognized and used which encourage tourism developers to incorporate these dynamic regulations and procedures into their decision-making framework. However, the Fijian government needs to be wary of creating too much regulatory uncertainty, for this can move foreign investment off-shore (Rees,1985).

5.2.2 Integrated, Balanced & Adaptive Development.

Chapter three argued that to be sustainable, development must be integrated with the other aspects of the system within which it occurs.

Furthermore, this should be backed by development that is adaptive and balanced. From the examination of the case-study there is clear evidence of the need for improvement of integration between tourism and the wider Fijian social and physical environment.

The potential advantages would be; an improvement of linkages between tourism and the rest of the Fijian economy. Such improvement would reduce the leakage of tourism funds abroad. The import substitution of local agricultural foods for foreign goods is an example (Arndell,1990). Integrative approaches to development also mean that the social, economic, environmental and political aspects of a situation must be taken into account by decision-makers, this will help reduce the possibility of unexpected consequences. Such approaches should improve the capability of making informed trade-offs, with different people's values being less likely to be overlooked.

For a more integrated tourism development approach in Fiji, several points need to be addressed:

(1).the existing Fijian institutional and planning networks are characterised by their uncoordinated and fragmented approaches to development (Bienefeld,1984). This uncoordinated situation has reduced the capability of integrating tourism with other economic sectors (eg. agriculture). This has limited the level of benefits (eg. the multiplier effects) that have been able to arise from tourism development.

"island communities, almost invariably, need to strengthen their organizational structures for tourism and undertake systematic tourism development planning"
(Yacoumis,1990:83).

In contrast to this situation, Holder (1990:65) remarks that integrated national tourism policies in the Caribbean have significantly reduced the adverse effects of tourism in that region;

(2).means need to be introduced which will permit the improved integration of tourism into the national economy (Tavita,1980). The increased use of indigenous manufactured goods in resort construction would be one way. Such measures would allow the economic effects of tourism to spread outwards, increasing, for example, the scale of the tourism multiplier;

(3).an approach to development which is balanced and adaptive must ensure that future opportunities are not closed on. Therefore, for the Fijian government to emphasis tourism at the expense of other sectors (eg. agriculture) would not follow the themes of sustainable development. The negative implications of placing all of one's development 'eggs in one basket' are demonstrated by an example from Hawaii. In the early 1970s, Hawaiian officials concentrated their attention on the establishment of tourism in several regional locations, at the expense of sugar cane farming. However, set-backs in the tourism industry (late 1970s), and rises in sugar prices, meant that these regions were disadvantaged by this strategy (Thaman,1982).

"this was a stern warning of the need for diversity in our approaches to development and that agricultural development should coexist with tourism development"
(Thaman,1982:133).

Some encouraging moves towards the integration of tourism into the wider development of Fiji have been made, while still more opportunities exist. From the economic perspective, efforts are being

made to improve the linkages between agriculture and tourism. In the Sigatoka Valley, Viti Levu, for example, agricultural producers are supplying increased levels of fruits and vegetables to the Coral Coast resorts (Arndell,1990). This has been encouraged by improvements in the planning of agricultural production and the supply of reliable qualities and quantities of produce (ibid). On the national scale, a promotion campaign with the slogan '*Get a Taste of Tropical Fiji*' was initiated in February 1990. This campaign has been aimed at rising the consumption of local agricultural products by tourists (ibid).

Education is another pre-requisite for improving integration. Education for tourists, and of indigenous Fijians dealing with them, would provide channels through which participation by local communities in development decision-making could be increased (English,1986). Education networks can also provide channels for transferring information between decision-makers and participants in tourism.

Finally, tourism infrastructure can, if integrated appropriately, bring benefits to the rest of Fijian society. Transport facilities servicing tourism, for example, have provided commercial agricultural producers with easier access to local, and overseas markets (Thaman,1982).

6.2.3 Equity.

In its most recent development plan (GoF,1985), the Fijian government gave priority to the equitable distribution of the benefits of development. Yet the realities for tourism development are not encouraging. Much of the costs of tourism have been borne by the lower social groups in Fiji (Thaman,1982). These groups have incurred these costs in the form of: damage to the environments on which they depend for food (eg. lagoons); the exploitation of Fijian and Indian labour at low

age rates; and, the lower social groups have been given little participation in tourism planning (Britton,1982a; Lea,1988).

Since 1980 efforts have been made to redress some of these imbalances. For example, tourism developers have become legally required to pay compensation for damage that their activities cause to local marine systems (Baines,1982). However, adverse social impacts are more difficult to monitor for and control. I have found no evidence of mechanisms to redistribute the costs from these effects.

The foreign owned corporations, meanwhile, have continued to repatriate large amounts of profit. The Fijian government could achieve a more equitable distribution of these earnings through institutional means, such as revenue and capital taxes (English,1986). But as the discussion on context factors (6.1) demonstrates, the capacity to do this will be restricted by the dominant position of foreign capital within the industry. This provides these corporations with considerable powers in any bargaining process (Britton,1982a).

Community participation in tourism development decision-making has historically been limited in Fiji (Arndell,1990). Instead, proposals have been imposed from above by national authorities. But the pursuit of the equity objective requires that community participation and aspirations be linked into the decision-making framework. The traditional Fijian institutes of kin (mataqali) and clan (yavusa) could provide the networks for achieving this participation. But it would be crucial that the aspirations of those groups usually neglected in these networks (eg. women) are included. Furthermore, there would also be a need to involve in participation, those outside these networks, namely, Indians.

The role of women in Fijian society and development also needs to be considered. Within Fijian society, women constitute central

participants in the interaction with the natural environment, social change and development (Dankelman & Davidson,1988). Women, for instance, are primary participants in the maintenance of the subsistence gardens of the Fijian village. Because of this importance, the failure to consider women's role in tourism and development is likely to jeopardize the opportunities for sustainable outcomes:

"indeed,without the full participation of women, there can be no sustainable development" (Huston,1989:28).

In an example, villages on some of Fiji's outer islands have experienced reductions in labour, as village men have sought employment in the urban tourism sector (Varley,1978). This has increased the strain on the women, and remaining men folk, to maintain the village gardens and bring up the families. This situation has deepened, rather than alleviated, the problems facing these households.

6.2.4 The 'Middle-way' Approach to Development.

The 'middle-way' approach (introduced in chapter three) establishes a link between the importance of public participation in development, and the requirements for resources (infrastructural, capital and skill) which must come from external sources. The 'middle-way' approach is more conducive to outcomes that are sustainable: *for the participation of indigenous people is crucial to the success of development (Redclift,1987; Simon,1989).*

In contrast to this, tourism development in Fiji has been dominated by top-down forces in decision-making and implementation. If tourism is to be sustainable, this situation needs to be reversed. The 'middle-way' provides a means for achieving this. The advantages of the 'middle-way' approach are:

(1).public participation should allow decision-makers the opportunity to identify areas and ways to strengthen linkages between tourism and other development sectors;

(2).people will be more supportive and committed to tourism development if they feel that their needs, aspirations and participation have been incorporated into the decision-making and implementation process (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1983). A policy which does not receive this support is less likely to be implemented successfully;

(3).in conjunction with point (b), the participatory channels provided through the 'middle-way' approach will provide a means for identifying where trade-offs can, and cannot be made, between different ecological and social alternatives;

(4).a community which participates in a tourism development proposal is likely to be better prepared to handle change created by such a development (Barbier,1987);

(5).investors are likely to react less negatively to a middle-way approach to development, than a 'bottom-up'. This is because the investors will be aware that they still have an important say in the planning and implementation process. This means that their interests, like those of the indigenous people, will not be neglected.

In the real world context, however, the influence of foreign capital, and the values of Fiji's decision-makers - including their desire to maintain power - will be constraints against the inclusion of all indigenous Fijians, and Indians, in development decision-making (Naidu,1988). The pursuit of the middle-way approach therefore will be difficult, but not necessary impossible.

6.2.5 Importance of Structural Change.

The achievement of the sustainable development ideas presented here, for Fiji, will be dependent on structural change in the political, economic and social arrangements which presently guide development (Pearce,1989). At the political and economic level, for example, a redirection of thinking away from the measurement of development in solely growth terms is necessary. Instead, national thinking needs to emphasize the wider goals of equity and ecological integrity (Dasmann *et al.*,1973).

There are many hurdles to be overcome for these changes to be achieved. From an international perspective, the rigidity of the global economic system may curtail structural change in Fiji (Adams,1990). Internally, the existence of racial and gender divisions continues to represent a major obstacle to structural change, particularly as the existing arrangements provide the decision-makers with a source of power and prestige. Nevertheless, structural change, I maintain, is a prerequisite for the attainment of sustainable development.

6.3 SUMMARY.

Chapter six has sought to do two things. Firstly, it has identified the relevant shaping factors which guide development in Fiji. Having achieved this, the second part of this chapter has used the primary concepts of sustainable development to assess the contribution that tourism can make to the development of Fiji. Through this analysis, key problems have been identified. The final part of this discussion has focused on the means to ameliorate these problems. My concluding argument is that the points made in this final section will enable Fiji to improve the contribution made by tourism to its sustainable development.

CHAPTER SEVEN SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS.

7.0 SUMMARY.

This report represents an effort to examine and clarify what is meant by the term sustainable development, both as theory, and as a practical concept. The report started with the premise that current models of development have been responsible for outcomes which have been socially, economically, and environmentally undesirable. Furthermore, these outcomes have actually deepened the problems facing some countries and their inhabitants. Sustainable development was consequently examined as a development model which could overcome these effects.

Chapter two examined the origins of sustainable development, and how the term has been used in recent times. Chapter three drew on the development literature to establish the primary concepts of sustainable development. This chapter also detailed the role that the context (space, time etc), and factors specific to a development situation (nature of the resource etc), will play in the implementation of these concepts. Chapters four and five outlined a case-study based on the development of tourism in Fiji. Chapter four introduced Fiji and the growth of tourism in that country, while Chapter five explored the social, economic and environmental impacts of this development. Chapter six analysed the implications of applying the primary concepts and themes of sustainable development to the Fijian tourism case-study. From this analysis, the key problems facing tourism, as a sustainable development option were identified, and some ideas advanced to ameliorate these problems.

7.1 CONCLUSIONS.

Two groups of conclusions can be drawn from this report. The first group relates to the issue of sustainable development, and its applicability as a model for guiding development. On this point I draw the following conclusions.

Firstly, the concept of sustainable development, as the introduction emphasizes, appears at first glance to hold the solutions to the mounting problems the world faces from development. The concept brings together the notions that human life can still move forward, as long as it acknowledges certain social and ecological constraints. The situation however, is inevitably more complicated than this. There are numerous difficulties facing the use of the concept. These can be divided into two levels.

- * there are problems and issues associated with defining what is meant by sustainable development, and what objectives we wish to pursue under the ambit of this concept.

- * there are problems and issues associated with the implementation of strategies with sustainable objectives in mind. The rigidity of existing economic institutions, based on the narrow ideals of growth (often at all other costs) is a case-in-point.

From the examination in this report, there are three key questions which, if asked at the outset of thinking about sustainable development, should help to overcome some of these difficulties. The questions which should be asked are: what do we mean by sustainable development (a question of definition); what are we trying to sustain (a question of objectives); and what influence does the context (including human values) place on our interpretation of sustainable development. By resolving these questions we will have clearer objectives against which to gauge and monitor any outcomes by. Without resolving them, situations

will arise in which outcomes are regarded by some as sustainable, and others as unsustainable.

At the second level, the problem of structural rigidities (economic, political and social) is a difficult, and as yet, unresolved issue. The problem highlights that the limits to sustainable development have structural as well as natural origins (Redclift,1987). The difficulties of achieving structural change were largely ignored in the WCED (1987) report. I, also, have given only small attention to the problem. Yet sustainable development is unlikely to be achieved without structural change. In the Fiji tourism case-study, for example, tourism developers would be less likely to pay attention to environmental values without there being regulatory requirements to do so. Consequently, future work on sustainable development should concentrate on the issue of how to achieve structural change, so as to derive tangible sustainable development outcomes.

Together, the resolution of questions at these two levels will be a necessity for moving sustainable development from being a theoretical construct, to an attainable goal (Simon,1989). Failure to do so is likely to see sustainable development become simply another development truism, with little practical relevance.

The second group of conclusions relate to the case-study of tourism development in Fiji. The key point to emerge from this analysis is that any assessment of the contribution of tourism to Fiji's development will be influenced by one's interpretation of development. An analysis of economic impact literature (eg. Mathieson & Wall,1982), in which development is viewed as synonymous with economic growth, would emphasize the effects of tourism in terms of foreign exchange earnings, employment, and other measures. Overall, the impacts in these terms for Fiji have been shown to be positive, although a high level of leakages has

detracted from the outputs being generated (Varley,1978). However, while from an economic view point the growth of tourism may appear positive, the application of our sustainable development principles asks that a wider range of factors be taken into account when assessing the contribution of tourism to Fiji's overall development. The picture which subsequently emerges is one in which many of the economic benefits are counteracted by social, environmental and economic factors. Consequently, by broadening our frame of analysis it is revealed that tourism does not necessary hold the ultimate answer to Fiji's development problems. In reality, means need to be identified to restrict and stop the impacts which detract from the sustainable development of Fiji. This purpose underlies the analysis and findings of chapter six.

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