

THE DRIVE FOR SUSTAINABILITY

An Exploration of the Private Sector's Role in Assisting Sustainable Development in the
Smaller Island States of the Pacific

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ABSTRACT

Humanity has constantly searched for and created theories which explain and guide the pursuit of a better life, a more equal global system and a method through which to live a fulfilling existence. These ambitions have culminated in the theory of sustainable development – the guiding principles of which are the deep and equal incorporation into actions and lifestyles of three pillars; society, economy and environment. These guiding principles have provided a holistic guide to developmental actions as well as having proven central to framing global agreements such as the Sustainable Development Goals. However, while it may be a prominent theory, it is also contested. This is not only within the academic realm by theorists such as the post-developmentalists, but also in reality through the omnipresent climatic issues which threaten the world today. Furthermore, humanity has a right to development, to not only live a fulfilling life but to also benefit from the process which enables this as well – and global societies and institutions have an obligation to enable this right, especially in light of pressing concerns such as climate change. It is within this context of sustainable development, framed by the need to uphold the right to development and to overcome global issues such as climate change, that the thesis has its roots. With this in mind, it has explored the way in which traditional actors within sustainable development processes have engaged in development in order to understand how these actors could be more effective in their engagement so as to work towards enabling the realisation of the right to development and the mitigation of issues such as climate change. However, given the strong critique of the traditional development methods by, for example, the post-development theorists, this thesis has explored the role of an actor which has recently become more prominent within sustainable development - the private sector - in order to make a more incisive contribution to this field. In short, it has sought to understand the potential role of the private sector in increasing the effectiveness of sustainable development processes. In order to test this, the thesis has focussed on a region which is heavily threatened by climatic concerns - the Pacific. Within the Pacific, there is a grouping of states - the Smaller Island States (SIS) - that feel they need a stronger voice in order to overcome climate change and achieve their sustainable development goals. It is this grouping that the thesis has focussed on in order to understand whether sustainable development can be successful within a complex and time pressured developmental context. However, there has been little research into this regional grouping and thus there is limited knowledge as to the role that the private sector could play in enabling further development of a sustainable nature in SIS. Given this, the thesis has analysed this situation through firstly creating an analytical framework, which not only draws on existing sustainable development literature, but also goes further to incorporate new concepts that the thesis has created, such as *reciprocal duality*. This framework is then used to analyse the

effectiveness of the traditional, or status quo, processes of sustainable development. It then reports on a case study focussing on one aspect of the private sector - tourism - to test the potential of the private sector within the SIS. Tourism was chosen because within the SIS, tourism is one of the key actors within the private sector. The thesis concludes that whilst the private sector can play a positive role in making sustainable development more effective, it will be difficult to achieve or less effective, if actors are engaged for geo-political or self-centred reasons rather than altruistic and development-centred reasons.

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ACRONYMS

ACP	African Caribbean Pacific
ADB	Asian Development Bank
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CKI	Cook Islands
COP	Conference of the Parties
CSP	Country Strategy Paper
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
EC	European Community
ECA	Export Credit Agency
EDF	European Development Fund
EU	European Union
FSM	Federated States of Micronesia
GCF	Green Climate Fund
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IFC	International Finance Corporation
ILO	International Labour Organisation
JATCO	Japan Airport Terminal Company
LLDC	Landlocked Developing Country
MIRAB	Migration, Remittance, Aid and Bureaucracy
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIP	National Indicative Programme
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
PIANGO	Pacific Islands Association of Non-Governmental Organisations
PICs	Pacific Island Countries
PIDF	Pacific Islands Development Forum
PIFS	Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat
PIPSO	Pacific Islands Private Sector Organisation
PPP	Public-Private Partnerships
PSD	Private Sector Development
PSiD	Private Sector in Development
PS4D	Private Sector for Development

RMI	Republic of Marshall Islands
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SIDS	Small Island Developing States
SITE	Small Island Tourism Economies
SIS	Smaller Island States
SPTO	South Pacific Tourism Organisation
UN	United Nations
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
USP	University of the South Pacific
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Tourism Organisation

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT AS A THEORY TO ENABLE A RIGHT

Humanity has for centuries pondered both the natural and social worlds in an attempt to create theories that will explain the contexts within which humanity is functioning. Such theories build on the experienced past and present so as to be able to explain, or provide a guide for, the future. Such theoretical insights have guided the direction that societies globally have taken. While many of these theoretical insights have enabled positive change, some have also led to issues such as inequalities within societies. The current system is no different, with some scholars, such as Pimentel, Aymar and Lawson (2018: 19), noting that the system can be defined by a stark dichotomy between abundance and abject struggles for survival. Udombana (2000:753-754) explained this dichotomy with reference to walls that stand between those who have power and those who do not, while also standing in the way of people's basic rights. Such walls have become stronger in recent years with 2017 seeing the largest increase in billionaires in history (Pimentel, Aymar and Lawson, 2018: 19). The wealth involved in such an increase could have ended "extreme poverty seven times over" (ibid.).

Looming over these walls are the impending omnipresent negative impacts of climate change, in particular global warming and the associated sea level rise (Carabine and Dupar, 2014: 5, 10). Of the regions around the globe, the Pacific is seriously threatened by climate change, especially sea level rise.¹ As Nauru's President, Baron Waqa, explained, "the climate change issue is not just hot globally but urgent for the Pacific. Climate change is already here – it's not coming in the future, it's already here" (Baron Waqa as quoted in Maclellan, 2018). This statement has been backed up by leaders from across the Pacific through the *Kainaki II Declaration for Urgent Climate Change Action Now*, released at the 50th PIFS meeting in Tuvalu in 2019. This declaration is seen by the Secretary General of PIFS, Dame Meg Taylor, as the "strongest statement the Pacific Islands Forum has ever issued collectively on climate change" (Taylor, 2019). The declaration, an appendix to the 50th PIFS Forum Communique, specifically noted that:

¹ This concern is clearly stated in the 'SIDS Accelerated Modalities of Action (SAMOA) Pathway' document, which came out of the 3rd annual SIDS Conference held in Apia Samoa in 2014. Here the leaders of these states explained, in Paragraph 11, that: "We recognize that sea-level rise and other adverse impacts of climate change continue to pose a significant risk to small island developing States and their efforts to achieve sustainable development and, for many, represent the gravest of threats to their survival and viability, including, for some, through the loss of territory" (UN General Assembly, 2014).

Right now, climate change and disasters are impacting all our countries. Our seas are rising, oceans are warming, and extreme events such as cyclones and typhoons, flooding, drought and king tides are frequently more intense, inflicting damage and destruction to our communities and ecosystems and putting the health of our peoples at risk. All around the world, people affected by disaster and climate change-induced displacement are losing their homes and livelihoods, particularly the most vulnerable atoll nations (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2019: 12).

Furthermore, it has been predicted by the Inter-Governmental Panel on Climate Change that even at the lowest levels of global warming the sea will rise by an estimated 0.5 – 0.6m by 2100 in the Pacific region (Carabine and Dupar, 2014: 8). This is of serious concern to Pacific states generally, but especially the smaller nations within the Pacific: the Marshall Islands, for example, only have a highest point of 10m above sea level currently, or Tuvalu whose highest point is 5m (Campbell and Barnett, 2010: 23). With this in mind, eight of these smaller states - Kiribati, Niue, Nauru, Tavalu, Marshall Islands, Federated States of Micronesia, Palau and the Cook Islands - have come together to form the Smaller Island States (SIS) in an attempt to have their voice collectively heard at regional and international levels (Interview 10, Suva, October 2017; PACNEWS, 2016; Smaller Island States 2016b: 1) especially in relation to overcoming the negative impacts of climate change (Interview 10, Suva, October 2017). As citizens of the SIS - indeed, all global citizens - have a right to development (Alston, 1988: 7) and to live a life which they perceive as fulfilling (Markus, 2014: 368).

The attempts to realise this right offer beacons of hope for the current world. This is because, as Naidu (2010: 14) explained, “no society is static” and the issues facing the world are not a given nor created by an external source that humanity has no connection to. Instead, these issues are surmountable if society can change the way in which it interacts with itself and the environment. What is needed to achieve this, as Ramos et al. (2018: 117-118) argue, is a clear and coherent theory which can guide humanity’s actions and ensure that the next changes that occur within society are sustainable to not only secure the future but the present as well. Within the current context, the theory society has generated through learned experiences and which is hypothesised to enable positive change into the future, is sustainable development. As Sachs (2015: 1) states, “sustainable development is a central concept for our age”. The basic concept of this theory is that such development must take into equal consideration impacts and actions within three specific spheres: (1) society; (2) the economy; and (3) the environment (ibid.: 45). However, such theories have been heavily critiqued by post-development theorists who believe that such developmental approaches

have done little to overcome the walls spoken of earlier and, in some cases, have even reinforced those barriers (see, for example, Nederveen Pieterse, 2000). As Morse (2008: 343) explains, ideas such as sustainable development are:

seen by post-developmentalists at best as simply another example of Western hegemony...and at worst as a cruel deception: nice sounding words and ideals, but in fact nothing more than business as usual given that 'progress' equates to consumerism, industrialisation and inevitable pollution.

It is this notion - of "business as usual" development - that this thesis critically engages with. There are new actors emerging within the field of development, especially the private sector (Vaes and Huyse, 2015), who could potentially assist in moving away from the "business as usual" model. This is of importance because of the right to development which must be upheld and given the post-development critique it would seem that the 'business as usual' model is not enabling this to happen. Thus, there is a need to understand how these processes of development could be made more effective to overcome the walls that contemporary practices have created. Against this backdrop, this thesis explored the above situation through the lens of an empirical study in the SIS who are highly affected by climate change. For this, the thesis created the central research question: how do the existing actors in the development field fully engage with sustainable development in the SIS in light of contemporary challenges, and how can the tourism sector enable transformative change within these processes? The aim of the thesis was to analyse the effectiveness of development assistance by looking at the scope and opportunity to improve existing processes of sustainable development in the SIS, focusing on the tourism sector to provide a deeper analysis of the transformative potential within these sustainable development processes. Within this aim, the research has placed a focus on the regional level as the SIS are a regional body, with examples from the individual SIS having been incorporated in order to add to this regional view and focus.

Setting the Scene: A Brief History of the Pacific

It is important to expand upon the history of not only the SIS, but the Pacific more generally, to set the context for the analysis that follows in this thesis. This is because there is a need to build an overview of the historical setting of the region researched in order to gain an understanding of the nuances which have been created overtime so as to ensure that the development proposed is able to account for such nuances and thus be effective. It is such historical occurrences which this section has

focussed on. It begins by providing an overview of the SIS before going on to engage with the history of the Pacific region more generally. The Pacific aspect of the section is divided into two narratives: the first being a history of the Pacific from a more geographical view and, for balance, the second being an understanding of how the Pacific came to be from a Pacific point of view. These two aspects are important as they highlight the nuances in the way in which historical narratives of a region are built. These nuances need to be taken into consideration in any proposed sustainable development actions in order to make them more effective. The section then moves on to explain the impact of colonisation and its role in the development of the region. Colonisation also provides an insight into the development actors that have become key within the region, including the European Union (EU).

The SIS is made up of eight Pacific Island states (see *Figure 1* below) who believed that combining their voices would enable them to more effectively address common concerns which the states were and are facing. These concerns were outlined in one of the interviews conducted with the SIS:

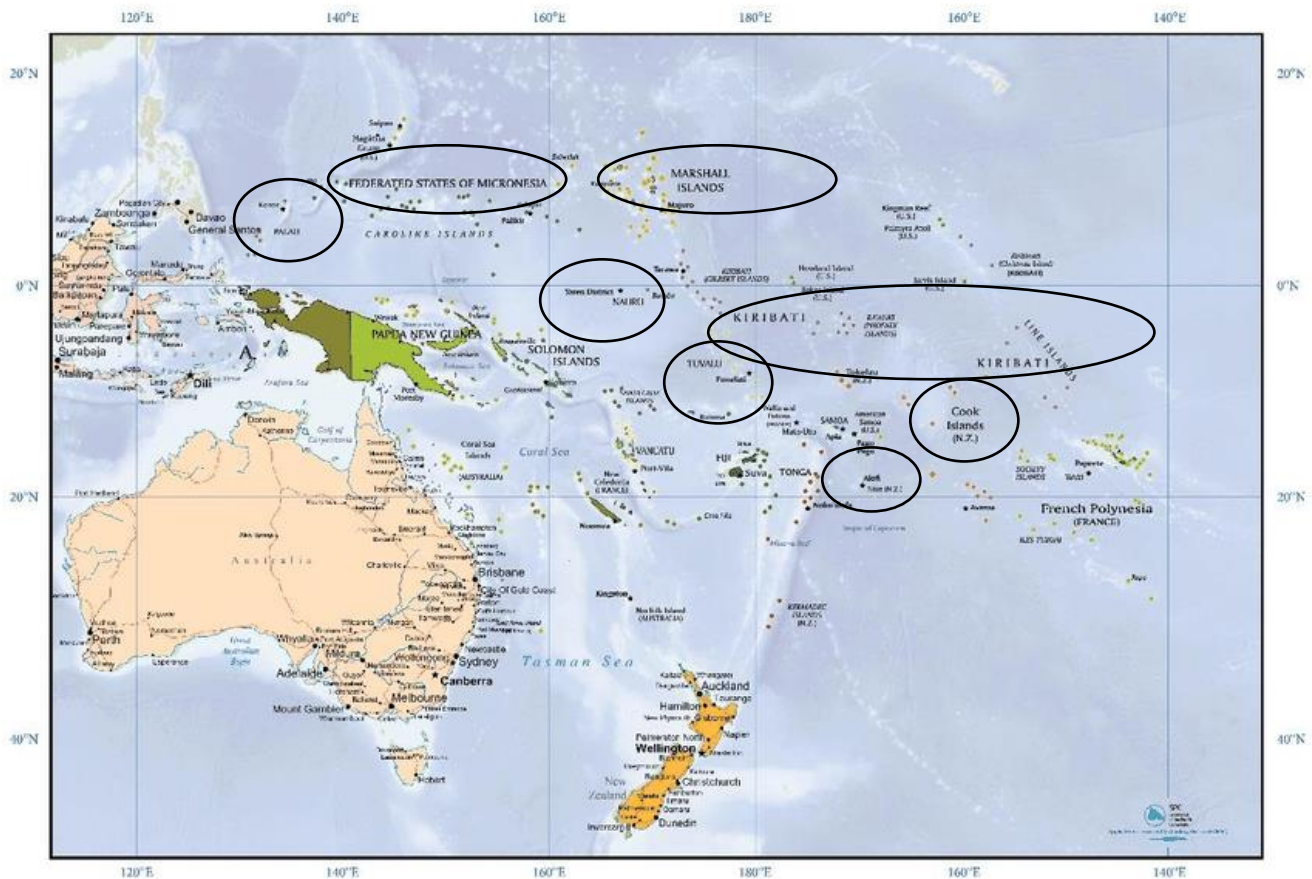
[SIS was created]...out of, as far as I understand it, unique and particular vulnerabilities as it says in the Strategy. That even amongst the Forum island countries...the SIS found that they were coming across particular challenges that stopped them from reaching their own sustainable development goals, within the Forum family. And they wanted to have special attention being paid to those issues by the Forum. And they also felt that as a sub-grouping they would be able to gain more momentum and more assistance...to come their way as a grouping rather than as an individual SIS (Interview 10, Suva, October 2017).

With this impetus, the leaders of these states negotiated the formation of the SIS grouping. A process which culminated in the grouping becoming an official sub-group of the Pacific Islands Forum, or in other words, an “official Forum construct” (Interview 10, Suva, October 2017). It is this status that sets the SIS apart from other Pacific regional groupings such as the Melanesian Spearhead Group and others which are not a formal forum construct (Borrevik, *et al.*, 2014: 17-18). Securing this status means the SIS Leaders are always allocated a day during the Forum Leaders Meetings, with the first such SIS meeting being held in 1992 (Interview 10, Suva, October 2017).

The SIS has been seen as a key part of the Forum family, as the former Secretary General of PIFS, Tuiloma Neroni Slade, explained, “maintaining close collaboration and link to the Smaller Island States is critical to the work of the Secretariat, as seen in the establishment of the SIS Programme

Unit. Under this Unit the key function of Desk Officers is to provide an essential link between the Smaller Island States and the Secretariat through the SIS Programme Unit” (quoted in PACNEWS, 2012). However, some members of the SIS, Niue especially, have felt that the SIS grouping has been

Figure 1: Map of the Pacific Region with the SIS Highlighted



Source: Sobey and Monty, 2016: 12 highlights added

offered little support by PIFS, especially in relation to funding (ABC News, 2014; Cain, 2015). Given this lack of dedicated funding targeted at the SIS specific needs, the Premier of Niue had spoken of leaving the group (Cain, 2015). However, other members of the SIS believed that this would be a counter-productive measure and have advocated for Niue to stay as their collective voice is stronger than any individual one. As the Tuvaluan Prime Minister, Enele Sopaga, explained, “the main idea is to continue to be on the same canoe and use leverage to voice our concerns, unique concerns, to the wider forum membership and of course to the wider international community” (quoted in ABC News, 2014). This was further supported by the Palauan President, Tommy Remengassau, who declared that “only as a unified group can we present our unique issues in a unified fashion, and we are trying to do that” (ibid.).

To date, Niue is still a part of the SIS and thus it seems that the need for unification and collaboration has won out. One example of this collaborative approach being successful has been highlighted by Walsh (2017). Walsh, writing about India's potential diplomacy options in the Pacific, explained that, "India should also realise Small Island States (SIS) as an emerging Pacific (and global) identity which has come to lobby within the UN under the ad-hoc grouping of SIDS (Small Island Developing States)" (Walsh, 2017:22–23). Walsh goes on to say that "while seemingly insignificant in terms of economic weight or hard political power, the SIS are a growing voice in multilateral fora and command moral weight and momentum" (ibid.: 23). Given this, Walsh contends that "India should present itself to the SIS as a prospective partner for various projects, whether it be the organisation of conferences, support at the UN, or development projects" (ibid.).

Whilst Walsh proclaims the success, to some degree, of the SIS gaining attention internationally, regionally SIS Leaders still felt there was room for more representation within the PIFS. This became a reality in more recent times, through the SIS requesting for a specific SIS Officer who sits within the PIFS. Through a negotiation process, it was agreed that the position would be turned into an advisor position. This Advisor is the focal point of the implementation of the *Smaller Island States Regional Strategy 2016-2020*, the strategy that outlines the Leaders' developmental goals and ambitions, as well as a work-plan through which to implement the agreed upon actions.

The endorsement of this Regional Strategy by the SIS Leaders was a further move to ensure influence and presence within regional decision making, as the SIS Leaders explained through their Summary of Decisions from the 2016 Leaders Meeting held in Koror, Palau: "Leaders agreed to adopt the SIS Regional Strategy as the strategic platform to ensure greater influence and presence by the SIS in shaping the regional policy agenda and direction" (Smaller Island States 2016b: 1). This was further supported by the Palau Minister of State, Billy Kuartei, who explained that "as small islands states they are the most vulnerable so as a group they want to consolidate their top priorities to present to the Pacific Islands Forum or PIF and the world" (quoted in PACNEWS, 2016). The importance of this strategy to the SIS was further highlighted by Dame Meg Taylor, Secretary General of the Pacific Islands Forum, who stated that "the Strategy offers SIS members key opportunities, including strengthened strategic focus on implementation, with particular regard to the key actions where there is a readiness to implement, and to exercise greater influence through garnering collective political attention and higher level political action" (quoted in PIFS, 2017).

While the above provides a specific history of the SIS, it is also important to explore the history of the region within which the SIS is located. The Pacific is a diverse region with a long and rich history which includes, according to Nunn (2008: 81), some of the most impressive and extensive oceanic voyagers that humanity has witnessed. Some scholars, such as Lal and Fortune (2000: 53-54), have proposed that these journeys were undertaken by people originating from what is now known as China and Taiwan approximately 6000 years ago. In terms of the geographical narrative, Nunn goes on to describe that it was certain climatic events - such as the Last Glacial Melt and the Younger Dryas and the related changes to the environment - that led to human mobility and travel that eventually populated the Pacific (Nunn, 2008: 75-79). These journeys from what is now the Chinese mainland through the island nations now known as Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands and then across the Pacific are exceptional feats of skill and aptitude: "these incredible journeys serve to underline the close affinities between Pacific Islanders and the Pacific Ocean, affinities that have sometimes been underrated in assessments of Pacific Islander achievements." (Nunn, 2008: 81). Nunn goes on to describe that these initial journeys were carried out in relative peace and it was not until the dramatic climatic event of AD 1300, where contestation over resources and violence grew (ibid.: 81-82). It was estimated that this event led to a sea level drop of up to 80cm and this had a distinct impact on food sources and housing. It is interesting to note that climate change has played such a significant role through time within the Pacific.

However, while the above portrays briefly the geographical narrative, in order to create a fuller understanding of the history of the Pacific region which will enable development efforts to be more relevant and therefore more effective, it is also important to explore the Pacific narrative as to the history of the region. This is important because, as Ratuva (2012) stated, the studying of the Pacific and how it is studied, came under critique in recent times. Ratuva (2012: 166) points to the "vibrant discursive engagement amongst Pacific social scientists about what Pacific Studies and discourse should look like". Ratuva makes this point when reviewing the second edition of *Worlds Apart: A History of the Pacific Islands* written by historian Ian Campbell (2011). While accepting that the work covers important instances in Pacific history, what it does not do is challenge the status quo of the imperialistic version of age-old stereotypes and ideologies about the Pacific (Ratuva, 2012). Hau'ofa (2008: 62) similarly raises concern that "our histories are essentially narratives told in the footnotes of the histories of empires" and worries that "if we fail to construct our own realities other people will do it for us" (ibid.: 60). He continues:

for those of us who want to reconstruct our remote and recent pasts in our own images - for the purpose of attaining and maintaining cultural autonomy and resisting the continuing encroachments on and domination of our lives by global forces aided and abetted by comprador institutions - this kind of history is a hindrance (ibid.: 63).

Given this, it is important to build upon the above version of the history of the Pacific region by providing a contextualised account of how the region came to be. Howe (2003: 18) argues that “humans have always thought about their pasts. They have constructed various narratives to explain to themselves what happened between the time their ancestors first arrived on earth and the present day”. This is most certainly the case in the Pacific, where each Pacific culture has their own historical understanding of how they came to be where they are today. While each history is different, there are similarities across the versions expressed. As Scarr (2000: 79) notes, “many of the larger maritime societies have GENEALOGIES which begin with the gods and often with the creation of the universe” and these “genealogies or oral lineage recitals form the core of traditional narratives commemorating the past of Pacific island cultures and indicate the individual’s place in society and his or her claims to land use” (Campbell and Fortune, 2000: 121). In this sense, the narratives of the peoples of the Pacific are as important as any geographical understanding of the region because of the knowledge that it holds and maintains. The incorporation of this knowledge and its impact is of crucial importance to making sustainable development relevant to the context and thus more effective. As Ratu David Tonganivalu explained, “to us in the Pacific, history is a living thing. It embodies the essence of our past and rationalizes our present. [I appreciate] that this might not be what you mean when you use the word “history” in its usual sense” (quoted in Diaz, 2012: 324).

However, colonisation has changed the way in which this history is interpreted and, as Hau’ofa spoke of above, challenged the narratives of the Pacific all but leaving them to the annals of pre-history (Hau’ofa, 2008: 63). The colonisation of the Pacific has had a lasting impact upon the peoples of the Pacific and the reality in which the Pacific currently finds itself. Bennett (1994: 40) argues that “colonialism in Melanesia touched thousands of lives and reordered destinies”. This is arguably true for the region as a whole. The history and legacy of colonisation is too complex and intricate to cover here², however, the impact of colonialism must be acknowledged. Colonialism entails a loss of control: “Without a certain degree of control over one’s life and destiny, one loses the most essential parts of one’s being: self-esteem and the respect of others” (Hau’ofa, 2008: 106). This is particularly

² For an in-depth account of colonial times, see, for example, Howe, Kiste and Lal, (1994) Parts 1 and 2.

significant for examining development initiatives, especially in relation to exploring the right to development and understanding who has control over development: Hau'ofa above argued that the status quo of development, which has been influenced by colonial actions, has not necessarily led to a shift in control and thus there is a need to understand how a shift in such control could be enabled so as to make development in the region more effective.

Schoeffel (1994) adds to these concerns through explaining that the ex-colonial powers have continued to maintain connections with the Pacific, either as donors or technical advisors, and in this sense they are still pulling strings from their own capitals such as Washington and Paris. Such neo-colonial concerns have become stronger in recent times with the rise of China leading to other powers, such as the United States, attempting to reassert their influence within the Pacific sphere (Firth, 2013). This has led to a situation where, given their location between powers such as China and America, the Pacific states have become “‘collateral’ players in the wider geopolitical chess game” (Ratuva, 2014: 410).³

While America and China have influenced the Pacific through their geo-political concerns, the European Union (EU) has also had a long connection with the Pacific, especially in relation to the colonial history of the region. Before the EU was created, European nations were heavily involved in the colonisation of the Pacific, especially France and Britain (Lal and Fortune, 2000: 229–231; Fischer, 2013). In more recent times, the European countries that have become the EU have maintained ties with the region, in part because of the extensive history that they share (European Commission, 2006: 2) and now the EU itself is a significant political partner and donor to the Pacific, especially in relation to tourism (European Commission, 2011: 6). As will be discussed in more depth later, the EU also has both moral and geo-political reasons for still being active within the region, besides from the historical connections spoken of here.

The discussion above alludes to some power dynamics of the contemporary setting: globally, in relation to powers such as China and the EU, and also regionally, in relation to the formation of the SIS from individual states. Such dynamics have an impact upon the way in which development is understood and carried out within the region. However, there is little research into the SIS specifically (Interview 10, Suva, October 2017) and thus this thesis has provided an original contribution to this area which is intended to enable further research in and on the region and begin to build a stronger

³ For more on China's engagement with the Pacific, see Wesley-Smith (2010) and Dornan and Brant (2014).

knowledge base from which to understand effective development assistance. Furthermore, it is a grouping which is severely threatened by climate change, as noted earlier, with the SIS Leaders explaining this threat through the *Kainaki II Declaration* and also the *Port Moresby Declaration on Climate Change*, where in it is stated that: “We, the Leaders of the Pacific Smaller Island States, represent the most vulnerable countries in the world at the frontline of the impacts of climate change. We are deeply concerned that the future of our nations is threatened by the impacts of climate change” (Smaller Island States 2015: 4). In this sense, it becomes clear why climate change is seen as the “the overwhelming challenge in the development pursuits of Smaller Islands States” (Scoop, 2011). Sustainable development is heralded by some as a way of mitigating these serious challenges and so this thesis, with its focus on the Pacific, offers a window through which to explore this assumption.

As noted, the countries of the Pacific, including the SIS, are located between global powers and are currently peripheral states in the global system (Ratuva, 2014). This peripheral status is somewhat related to their landmass and geographic location, with, as Hau’ofa (1999) explained, a perception having been built, mainly by donors and Western nations, of these states being remote and isolated and struggling to break into the global economy. However, this is not necessarily the case internally, as within the SIS there is a strong sense of identity and culture that provides citizens of these nations with a sense of self and belonging. Furthermore, members of SIS have some of the largest exclusive economic zones on the planet, for example, Kiribati has a zone of “4.8 million square kilometres” (Uakeia, 2016: 93). Thus, while currently these nations are on the periphery in terms of the development paradigm, given the resources of SIS there is the potential for this situation to change. It is this potential change, and how sustainable development can add value to enabling this change, that the thesis has explored.

Sustainable Development: The Literature

This thesis focusses on sustainable development because it has been seen as a central concept of our age (Sachs, 2015). However, while it may be the theory of our age, it is also a theory that is struggling to overcome an inherent ambiguity within its definition (Robinson, 2004; Grunwald, 2015). As Robinson (2004: 373) points out, “one of the most striking characteristics of the term sustainable development is that it means so many different things to so many different people and organizations. The literature is rife with different attempts to define the term”. Agyeman (2013: 4), too, noted that

there are “competing and conflicting views over what the term means, what is to be sustained, by whom, for whom, and what is the most desirable means of achieving this goal”.

Given the ambiguity and the many attempts to define the theory, Robinson (2004: 373) argues that each version is more aligned with the proponents political or philosophical position rather “than any unambiguous scientific view”. Yet Atkinson et al. (2014: 21) contend that such continued disagreement suggests “that there is much more to be learned and that the study of sustainable development will be a thriving area of research”. Whilst there is much space for further research, there is also “an urgent need for a new paradigm that integrates the continued development of human societies and the maintenance of the Earth system...in a resilient and accommodating state” (Steffen, et al., 2015: 736). This is further reinforced by the notion that was discussed earlier in this chapter, this being that societies change (Naidu, 2010: 14), in other words new paradigms are created, and that there is a need for a coherent theory which can ensure that such change is of a sustainable nature (Ramos, et al., 2018: 117–118).

Against this backdrop, the thesis has drawn on the various strands from within the sustainable development literature in order to create its own version of the theory so as to provide the thesis with its own clear definition of how it understands sustainable development, something which Grunwald (2015) and Ramos *et al.* (2018) argue is needed in this field. Given this, the following review highlights key aspects of the literature which the thesis has utilised in order to create its own version of the theory, with this version being presented in the section *The analytical framework – an interpretation of sustainable development* in *Chapter 2*. Here a detailed overview of the thesis’s version of sustainable development is first explained and then presented in Figure 2: Analytical Framework Overview.

Sustainable development has often been referred to as development that takes into equal account three key spheres: (1) society; (2) the economy; and (3) the environment (Sachs, 2015: 1, 45). Within this general framework, sustainable development scholars have advocated for differing levels of change within the system in which they have found themselves and have identified the pillars they believe to be most important in terms of enabling the wanted change.⁴ This thesis is no different in that to build the analytical framework it has had to choose what levels of change are needed and

⁴ See, for example, the overviews provided by Overton, (1999: 3–9); Hopwood, Mellor and O’Brien, (2005: 41–47).

which pillar is of most significance to achieving the aim of understanding how the private sector can play a role within sustainable development in the SIS.

With this in mind, the thesis has turned to the work of Hopwood, Meller and O'Brien (2005), who mapped the various strands of thought on sustainable development. They differentiated between the various strands by identifying the levels of change which each advocated for (ibid.: 41-47). The scholars defined three levels of change: (1) status quo; (2) reform; and (3) transformation. These levels will be explored in more depth in *Chapters 2 and 3*, but for now it is enough to speak of transformation and status quo, for it is these two levels that are central to this thesis. Status quo refers to the belief that some changes need to be made to the current system but that there is no need to change the paradigm within which these changes would occur. Transformation argues that there are serious issues within the dynamics of the system that needs and demands fundamental change. This thesis situates itself firmly in the transformationist school and, consequently, it identifies society as the most important pillar for achieving such transformational change: "we have become, by the power of a glorious evolutionary accident called intelligence, the stewards of life's continuity on earth" (Stephen Jay Gould as quoted in Calvin, 1995: 107). Given that society is the core pillar in terms of this thesis, the work of Anand and Sen (2000) and Neumayer (2012) has been drawn on to promote the need to place a strong focus on humanity within sustainable development and, in turn, the enabling of freedoms and capabilities rather than just economic growth. This seems to be of central importance to achieving sustainable development which is transformative because it is humanity that has created the economy (Sridhar and Jones, 2013: 93) and thus humanity can also change the economy to suit more sustainable practices. Moreover, in terms of the environment, while it must be protected and cared for, these actions must take place for the sake of humanity, for the earth will continue to spin well after humanity has had its time. In this sense, placing the focus on humanity, or the societal pillar, opens more opportunities for transformative development as it is humanity who have the intellect through which to be able to implement positive sustainable change. Having defined the levels of change which are needed and the key pillar through which to achieve such change, there is a need to also explore how these changes can be implemented. It is these aspects which have primarily built the analytical framework.

Within the literature regarding sustainable development, scholars such as Nurse (2006) have called for a deeper incorporation of culture into such development. For Nurse, culture should not merely be an extra pillar of sustainable development, but the framework from within which such development grows (Nurse, 2006: 35–38). In the Pacific context, Kavaliku (2005: 23-26) takes a similar

stance in arguing that culture has often been overlooked in development strategies and that there is a need to utilise an understanding of the cultural context in order to be able to define development strategies which are relevant to the context. Furthermore, there is a need to understand the power dynamics and the history of the context within which sustainable development is supposed to take place. For this, the thesis has drawn on the work of Ratuva (2003) to enable this within the Pacific context. Ratuva speaks of the Pacific states as being syncretic in that they are “shaped by interactions between various social, political, economic and cultural dichotomies. Tension and accommodation occur simultaneously in a syncretic way, thus the term *syncretic states*” (ibid.: 259). These authors provide an insight into the need to ensure that sustainable development is not only context specific but that it also takes into account the history and the power dynamics within that context.

Within these broader understandings as to what is central to sustainable development, the way in which such development can be enabled has also been a topic of much debate. With this in mind there are the concepts of weak and strong sustainability, concepts for which the thesis draws on the work of Neumayer (1999). These concepts speak of the levels of restriction that could be placed on humanity’s actions so as to ensure a sustainable system (ibid.: 22–25, 27–28). Given that this thesis focuses on climate change and the impacts that this will have, it utilises the concept of strong sustainability within its framework since there is a need to limit human actions in order to ensure that further climate change implications are curbed.

Matched closely to this are the ideas of inter- and intra-generational thinking. Neumayer hints towards such thinking through strong sustainability, which advocates for limiting human actions because future generations should not be required to deal with issues that the current generation have created (ibid: 27). Such forward thinking seems to be a prominent aspect of sustainable development thinking linking back to the seminal *Brundtland Report* which strongly advocated for future generations (see Paragraph 82, 123 of WCED, 1987). However, while focussing on the future is of crucial importance, the thesis utilises the work of Bolis, Morioka and Sznclwar (2017) to highlight the importance of intra-generational thinking as well. As these scholars explained, the concept “includes considerations about the distribution of resources and justice among people in the same populations and communities” (ibid.: 315). Such thinking is key, for if there are inequalities within the current system, then it will be difficult to enable the rights of future generations.

Related to the role which the present society can play in enabling sustainable initiative is the concept that scholars such as Hooper (2005) and Morse (2008) have spoken of, namely immanent

development. For Hooper (2005: 8), immanent development is development that people were engaged in regardless of external influences. While Morse (2008: 341) puts it more simply in saying that it is “what people are doing anyway”. This is an important concept for the thesis as it engages with actions that societies have generated in order to enable a sustainable future in light of both internal and external influences and provides excellent insights into the thinking of societies. However, while immanent development is of crucial importance to understanding actions related to sustainable development, the role of intentional or prescriptive development cannot be ignored. For this, the thesis turned to Nederveen Pieterse (2000: 182) who speaks of intentional development as being development which involves telling people what to do in order to shape societies and economies to solve development issues. Morse explained that it is this form of development which has been promoted by expensive development agencies, but has not necessarily been successful (Morse, 2008: 342). However, given the omnipresent climate concerns, as well as other pressing development issues such as the need to enable the right to development, this thesis contends that there is a need for some intentional development, though it should be charged with aiming to enable immanent development as its end goal.

The above review of the sustainable development literature has identified the key theorists and concepts that have informed the thesis. However, as with every theory, sustainable development has been heavily critiqued. An important critique of both sustainable development and development more generally is that offered by post-development theorists. Such theorists see development, including sustainable development, as having failed those it is supposed to be working for (Escobar, 1995), an imperialistic project which promotes Eurocentric values (Ziai, 2004: 1045), and as generally not having worked (Sachs, 2009: 17) because it has attempted to maintain a “developed world hegemony” (Morse, 2008: 342) which needs to be broken away from. With regards to sustainable development, Escobar (1995: 222) believed that such thinking merely maintains the developed world hegemony and does not provide a genuine alternative. For sustainable development to be successful, this critique must be overcome and it is for this reason that the thesis has placed an emphasis on the need for transformational thinking. There is a need to question the structures of society that have led to the creation of the theory which post-developmentalists are concerned with and suggest changes which would overcome this critique and enable sustainable development which does not merely maintain the developed world hegemony or, in other words, the status quo.

The Current Model of Sustainable Development in the SIS

While the above has provided a brief overview of the literature related to the theory of sustainable development, it is also important to understand how this theory is utilised in practice and by whom. Given this, the following section explores the status quo of sustainable development in the SIS providing an overview of the way in which sustainable development is currently engaged in by key sustainable development partners within the SIS context. Within the current status quo there are three main partners: (1) the government; (2) donors; and (3) civil society. There is one emerging partner: the private sector. These actors are key components of the development process - identified in the central research question - that have attempted to overcome contemporary challenges such as climate change. With this in mind, the actions taken through this process can be understood as the status quo of development currently. The fourth actor that this thesis engages with - the private sector - is a relatively new addition to the above process. This thesis focuses on the impact of incorporating this new sector and how it could assist the current methods more effectively to overcome contemporary concerns.

As has been discussed above, the SIS as a region was chosen to explore due to a lack of research in the area currently and also the pressing issues of climate change. Within the individual SIS, the government is the key actor in-country. This key role has been recognised within the literature where states such as the SIS have been conceptualised as Migration, Remittance, Aid and Bureaucracy (MIRAB) countries: that is, it is these concepts that the states have relied on through which to function (see, for example: Bertram and Watters, 1986; Bertram, 2006; Naidu, 2010). As Bertram and Watters (1986: 57) argued, the MIRAB model has “turned the Islands from resources-based into rent-based economies and skewed the occupational structure toward bureaucracy and non-agricultural activities”. Niue provides a clear example of this where the government “accounted for 56 percent of paid employment on the island as recorded in the 2006 census” (Overton and Murray, 2014: 16). What this goes to show is that the role of the government is central to the sustainable development process. Within the government structures, it was mentioned during the interviews conducted for this thesis that most island states are relatively new democracies and are still defining how best to mould democratic governance to best suit their context (Interview 12, Port Vila, October 2017). Furthermore, as Corbett (2015: 55-57) explained, politics in the island states is very much personalised, with familial and communal ties being of key importance to the functioning of a politician. In this sense, “political work is often done in conjunction with other types of employment” (ibid.: 57). This provides an insight into the importance of the communal structures and intricacies, even within the governing systems.

Given that the government plays such a key role and is so closely connected to the community, the policies and strategies that they have in place are of crucial importance to the state as a whole. There are a number of key policy documents which the SIS have generated, or are a part of, that have proven primary for this thesis. Firstly, there is the *Smaller Island States Regional Strategy 2016-2020*, which is the leading document as to how the SIS Leaders envisage enabling sustainable development within their region. This Strategy is closely aligned with the *Framework for Pacific Regionalism* document which was produced by the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS) and is the document that leaders of the whole region have created, through negotiations, to guide developmental efforts in the region. Finally, each individual SIS has their own national development strategies which highlight the key focal areas they believe are of most importance to sustainable development in-country.

Within such a MIRAB ideology, aid is an important component and, consequently, so are the donors that provide such aid. In the current context, the importance of aid to this region is further emphasised through the work of Dornan and Pryke (2017: 1) who explained that the Pacific is “one of the most aid-dependent regions in the world. Official development assistance (ODA) is higher in the Pacific than in any other region on a per capita basis, and 10 Pacific island countries are among the 25 countries where ODA is highest as a proportion of national income”. For this thesis, any donor could have been chosen to be analysed as part of the contemporary sustainable development processes. The idea was to portray a model for future research into the SIS, or any other region of choice, where a donor’s engagement and its effectiveness could be analysed. It was also an attempt to encourage further research on the SIS as a grouping for it is under-researched currently and such research on how to enable sustainable development in the region would add much value to this field. For the thesis, though there are a plethora of donor options available given the number of active donors within the Pacific - such as Australia, China, Taiwan, Japan, America and New Zealand - the thesis has chosen to focus on the EU.

The key reasons for having focussed on the EU are: (1) the EU’s prominence in shaping the global development agenda; (2) the EU’s deep interest and concern for human rights; (3) the EU’s concerns about climate change and its role within this; (4) the EU’s work with the private sector in order to enable sustainable development in the Pacific; and (5) the relationship the EU has with the SIS has been seen as a positive one by SIS leaders. Before explaining these points in more detail, it is also important to note that the thesis has focussed on the EU as a regional institution. It is understood that the Member States of the EU also have interests within the Pacific and have played a role in

attempting to assist with sustainable development within the SIS and the Pacific more generally through, for example, individual aid programmes. This thesis has chosen to focus on the EU as a regional body because it has placed a focus on the SIS as a regional body, as discussed in the aims of the thesis, and so wanted to match this scope. The role of the Member States as donors would, however, offer an insightful topic for future research in this area.

The global development agenda, including the disbursement of aid funding and who sets this agenda, is of key consequence to the SIS in terms of their sustainable development. Within this agenda, the EU is one of the more prominent global development actors (Bodenstein, Faust and Furness, 2017:442). One of the reasons that the EU is such a key development actor is that the EU, inclusive of all Member States, is one the largest providers of aid globally, with this becoming clear in 2017 where the EU collective provided over 50% of global aid (European Commission 2018a; OECD 2018).

Further, as was explained in the European Commission's *Next Steps for a Sustainable European Future*, "the EU was instrumental in shaping the global *2030 Agenda* which is fully consistent with Europe's vision and has now become the world's blueprint for global sustainable development" (European Commission, 2016: 3). Bodenstein, Faust and Furness, (2017: 442) note that "in terms of development cooperation...the impact of the EU on reform agenda-setting in developing countries is far stronger than that of any single bilateral donor". In this sense, the EU is a key actor in terms of shaping the global development agenda, while also generating change at the local level as well, and is thus an important donor to research as the actions that they are involved in will have a significant impact upon the way in which development is conceptualised and implemented in regions such as the SIS.

The EU has a deep concern for human rights (Saltnes, 2013; D'Hollander, Marx and Wouters, 2014). While human rights have a long history within the workings of the EU, it was the *Lisbon Treaty* which consolidated the importance of human rights for the EU (D'Hollander, Marx and Wouters, 2014: 4). Within the amendments made by the *Lisbon Treaty* to the *Treaty of the European Union*, the changes to Article 1 clearly state the importance of human rights to the EU:

The Union is founded on the values of respect for human dignity, freedom, democracy, equality, the rule of law and respect for human rights, including the rights of persons belonging to minorities. These values are common to the Member States in a society in which

pluralism, non-discrimination, tolerance, justice, solidarity and equality between women and men prevail (Council of the European Union, 2007: 11).

A donor having such a focus on human rights is important for the thesis as it too has a strong focus on human rights, especially through the right to development. Given this it was felt that the EU would be a great example of a donor to analyse because of the way in which they promote human rights within their development and other agendas.

Moreover, as became clear in the interview with the EU, the EU has a deep interest in climate change and how to overcome this global concern (Interview 2, Suva, October 2017). The EU has been seen as a global leader in climate change negotiations (Yamin, 2000; Oberthür and Kelly, 2008). As Oberthür and Kelly (2008: 36) explained, “since the negotiations on the *Climate Change Convention* began in 1991, the EU has provided leadership in international climate policy by pushing for stringent international commitments”. The EU Commission’s communication, ‘*A Clean Planet for All - A European Strategic Long-Term Vision for a Prosperous, Modern, Competitive and Climate Neutral Economy*’, makes this even clearer: “the aim of this long-term strategy is to confirm Europe’s commitment to lead in global climate action and to present a vision that can lead to achieving net-zero greenhouse gas emissions by 2050 through a socially-fair transition in a cost-efficient manner” (European Commission 2018b: 3). This portrays the efforts the EU is making in order to assist in and act as a guide to overcome and mitigate this global concern. Given the importance of climate change impacts on the ability to achieve sustainable development in the Pacific, inclusive of the SIS, it was felt that the EU was an impressive fit for the thesis in terms of alignment with the shared concern for understanding how to overcome climate change.

Additionally, the EU has an interest in working with the private sector in order to enable development which is sustainable in nature (Interview 2, Suva, October 2017). This is clear through the EU Commission’s communication, ‘*A Stronger Role of the Private Sector in Achieving Inclusive and Sustainable Growth in Developing Countries*’, where it states that the “European Commission works closely with governments in developing countries to help them develop and implement policies in support of private sector development” (European Commission 2014b: 2). It goes on to further highlight that “opportunities for strengthening the role of the private sector with a view to achieving inclusive and sustainable growth exist in most areas of EU support” (ibid.: 9) More specifically, and of particular relevance for this thesis, the EU has also been a key funder of tourism within the Pacific, especially through the South Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO) (Interview 6, Suva, October 2017).

The EU has been the main funder of SPTO, with next to no other input from other donors: SPTO received 24.2M Euro between 1986-2001 “through the Pacific Regional Tourism Development Program (PRTDP)...which was followed by the...more modest Technical Assistance inputs from 2003 – 2005 (0.6M Euro)” (European Commission, 2011: 6). More generally, from 2006-2012, the EU has “committed a total of €794 million to projects and programmes in the Pacific region” (ADE, 2014: 4). This is important for the thesis as it has explored how the private sector, with a focus on tourism, has been incorporated into the sustainable development process and how this could be made more effective, therefore it seemed important to analyse a donor which was interested and engaged in these sectors as well. Furthermore, SIS leaders such as the Premier of Niue, Toke Talagi, have indicated that they have had a “happy” relationship with groupings such as the EU (quoted in Cain, 2015). Given that the SIS have seen the EU in such a positive light, it was felt that the EU would be a good donor to explore and analyse in the context of this thesis. The EU’s main development agreement with the Pacific, the *Cotonou Agreement* (European Commission, 2014j; Chadwick, 2018), will come to an end in 2020 and thus negotiations are underway currently as to what the next agreement may entail. Thus, it seemed an opportune time to analyse the effectiveness of the EU’s engagement in sustainable development in the SIS at this point and over time.

While donors do work directly with governments on development initiatives, a majority of donors, including the EU and, for example, the World Bank, have also expressed a strong interest in working with civil society in an effort to increase the impact of development initiatives (see European Commission, 2012a; Griffen, 2006). This desire to incorporate civil society deeply in development processes has also been raised by members of the SIS as highlighted through the *Pacific Peer Review* process. In a summary of these reviews produced by the PIFS, it was noted that the Cook Islands Government had “increased its efforts to involve the private sector, civil society organisations and the media in national development” (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2014b: 7). However, while civil society may be seen as a key part of the contemporary sustainable development process, there are many different versions as to what civil society is or encompasses (see Anheier, 2004; Dagher, 2017). As Anheier (2004: 2) explained, “establishing such agreements is no small task and the academic literature on the concept of civil society alone, leaving aside issues of measurement and aspects of policy, easily fills several bookshelves”.

Out of all these differing understandings this thesis has initially drawn on the work of Ehrenberg (2017) in order to delineate what the thesis understands to be civil society. Ehrenberg (2017: 272) argues that “civil society delineates a sphere that is formally distinct from the body politic

and state authority on one hand, and from the immediate pursuit of self-interest and the imperatives of the market on the other”. Within this sphere, Dagher (2017: 65) explained that “civil society groups can be plotted on a spectrum with perfect civility and perfect ‘incivility’ on each extreme of the continuum”. However, it is also important to note that the space which Ehrenberg and Dagher have portrayed is not a homogenous grouping (Hurt, 2017). In order to incorporate such diversity, the thesis has taken a broad view of how civil society has been conceptualised. With this in mind, the thesis understands civil society as incorporating non-governmental and community organisations as well as the voluntary sector, which has been seen as “essential for the functioning of modern societies” (Anheier, 2004: 5). Within the voluntary sector, this includes people who have come together to advocate for particular issues. Further, the general public is incorporated into this view as well as young people, especially in relation to the youth’s attempts to assert identity (Weir and Virani, 2011: 205). Given that uncivil society has also been highlighted as an important aspect of civil society (Dagher, 2017: 65), the thesis has also included the role of uncivil society (Kopecký and Mudde, 2003: 2–5) and the civil unrest which this can lead to (Foley and Edwards, 1996). These are the delineations that are being alluded to when the thesis speaks of civil society, thus clarifying how it understands this key actor within contemporary sustainable development processes.

Furthermore, within the Pacific context, civil society plays an extremely important role in providing social safety nets where governments may not have (Mohanty, 2011: 35), and also providing the support networks and communal ties which give people a sense of identity and belonging. In this sense, donors see civil society as implementers of development, who can offer connections to those most in need and ensure delivery of initiatives in areas where the government may not be able to. Most importantly, however, civil society is a space through which society and individuals within society can express themselves (see Edwards, 2009: 71–72). In this sense, they are an important actor within sustainable development, as it is within this space that individuals and communities are able to voice the ways in which they would like to develop, as well as advocate for these options.

The above can be viewed as the contemporary method of implementing development in terms of the actors involved and how they interact. However, in more recent times, another actor has been highlighted as important to the process of development: the private sector. Scheyvens, Banks, and Hughes (2016: 372) note that “under the new SDG agenda, however, businesses, governments and civil society actors are *equally* called upon to pursue a more sustainable path forward”. Furthermore, as mentioned above through the example of the Cook Islands, individual SIS have also placed a growing importance on the role of the private sector in development (Pacific Islands Forum

Secretariat, 2014b). Palau, through a Joint Resolution by the National Congress, has also looked to strengthen the governments relationship with the private sector by creating an *Economic Advisory Group* (ibid.) This group hosts an annual symposium to enable “public/private sector dialogue to facilitate action for strengthened private sector growth” (ibid.: 11) Further, Niue added a new pillar - the private sector - to their *National Strategic Plan* (ibid.: 23). The importance of the private sector has also been recognised regionally within the Pacific through *The Pacific Roadmap for Sustainable Development* which “outlines how the region will track and report on its progress against regional actions and the means of implementation for sustainable development in the Pacific” (Pacific Sustainable Development Goals Taskforce, 2018: 2). Herein, it is stated that “we also know that there is a willingness among the private sector...to participate in the pursuit of sustainable development, and we need to deepen their involvement” (ibid.: 8). In short, as the former President of Kiribati, Anote Tong, explained:

It is high time we recognize that the new challenges require that we draw on all the resources available to the global community. Development and global challenges do not belong to Governments only. Let us bring in our youth, let us bring in our women, civil society, the private sector, our traditional institutions. Let us be inclusive. Let all who have a contribution to make, make it (Permanent Mission of Kiribati to the United Nations, 2014: 8).

Given this role, there have been a number of methods through which contemporary development actors have engaged with the private sector (see, for example, the overview provided by Große-Puppenthal, Byiers and San, 2016). Furthermore, there are also actions undertaken by the private sector so as to enable sustainable development at a variety of levels. Such methods are current within the Pacific context as well, where various private sector organisations have created and implemented a variety of initiatives in order to assist with sustainable development (see *Appendix 2*). Such initiatives range from small scale solar systems - like for example, the actions of The Palau Pacific Resort - to larger scale community engagement, see Sam’s Tours in Palau, for example (see *Appendix 2*).

Beyond from the fact that the private sector is an engine for economic growth and employment generation, “donors also mobilise businesses to make development more effective” (Große-Puppenthal, Byiers and San, 2016: 5). In other words, they learn from the best practices of businesses in terms of efficiency and effectiveness (see Lemma and Ellis, 2014). Given this, the “private sector is thus assigned growing importance as a fully-fledged actor in the pursuit of global

development” (Vaes and Huyse, 2015: 19). Added to this is something that is not often touched upon in the development discourse: countries engage in economic expansion and such outward movements and investments can also have an impact upon the development of the countries who are engaged as a part of this. In this sense, such processes could also “be made development friendly” (Große-Puppendahl, Byiers and San, 2016: 1).

However, while this thesis has placed an emphasis on the private sector and wanting to understand what role it can play within the development of the SIS, it is a broad sector and thus the thesis has focussed specifically on the tourism sector within this broader context. Tourism was chosen because it is one of the only sectors within the SIS, and the Pacific more generally, to have experienced consistent growth in recent times (Trip Consultants, 2014: 11). This is demonstrated in *Table 1* below and shows the differing role tourism plays within the various SIS. To some extent, the table supports the argument made by some scholars that tourism has had a questionable role in enabling development and assisting with actual growth in Pacific countries (Cheer, et al., 2018): tourism is not a large part of the income of some of these countries. At the same time, however, the table also endorses the view by others, including Hezel (2017), that the tourism sector is the only sector left which offers hope of growth for the Pacific and thus has been understood as a passport to development (Pratt and Harrison, 2015: 4–5) in light of the impact that it has had on some Pacific countries’ economies. This can be seen in the table through the impact that tourism has had on, for example, the Cook Islands. While further, as the Premier of Niue, Toke Talagi, explained:

...our main industry at the moment is tourism. We’ve built up tourism over the last six years. We have arrangements with Air New Zealand for two flights a week. So the tourism industry is growing pretty rapidly, and I’m pleased about that because in the end it means we should be able to become self-sustaining in the long term. That’s what we’re banking on – our target if you wish – at the present time” (quoted in Cain, 2015).

The Premier explained further that “our objective is to use tourism as a means for buoying the private sector, buoying the businesses, increasing shipping and air services so that people have confidence that when they come back here they’ve got a good opportunity to earn money” (ibid.) This view is backed by donors, especially the ADB, who see it as the key sector which will assist in enabling growth in Pacific states (Everett, Simpson and Wayne, 2018).

Table 1: Receipts from Tourism in SIS – 2017

Country	Receipts per Arrival (USD)	Receipts of tourism – total (USD million)	Tourism earnings share of GDP (%)	Employment in tourism as % of total employment
Cook Islands	1,575	254.1	69.1	34.4
Federated States of Micronesia	2,721	81.8	25.9	26.0
Kiribati	1,602	9.1	>10	1.6
Republic of the Marshall Islands	1,961	11.8	>10	4.8
Nauru	1,089	3.3	>10	n/a
Niue	850	8.3	40.3	32.3
Palau	1,600	196.4	>10*	19.5
Tuvalu	1,066	2.7	>10	2.2

Source: SPTO, 2018: 42, 44, 45. Although SPTO have reported that tourism contributes less than 10% to the GDP of Palau, this could be directly related to a recent ban on tourism from China to Palau by the Chinese government. Because, others such as (Plush, 2017; McMaha, 2018) have stated that tourism contributes up to 85% of GDP and is a crucial sector for the nation (Carreon, 2017).

Even though, as the table above shows, for some of the SIS tourism only plays a minor role within their economy (for example, Tuvalu and Kiribati), these states still see tourism as a key sector which can assist in the overall development of the countries. As one Tuvalu Tourism Officer explained, “I think tourism is one of the pillars of development that could be really utilised by our government to further develop our country” (quoted in Dateline Pacific, 2017b). Such efforts by the government to harness the positive impacts of tourism in Tuvalu has become clear in recent times through the re-branding of Tuvalu tourism and the launch of a new tourism drive and website (Rex, 2019). Kiribati has engaged in similar efforts to those of Tuvalu in attempting to use tourism as a means to enable development even though Kiribati is a country which has among the lowest numbers of tourist arrivals globally, having received only “5,663 total arrivals in 2017 (compared to 842,884 for Fiji), Kiribati is one of the least visited nations in the world” (Webb, 2019). However, “the government is also putting its money where its mouth is with the recent purchase of two Embraer 190-E2 aircraft for an estimated cost of \$37 million each” (ibid.), showing how important the tourism sector is perceived to be by the government. These actions by the Kiribati government build on a longer interest in utilising the tourism sector for development as explained through their *National Tourism Action Plan 2009-2014* vision which aimed for “tourism to become the largest and most sustainable economic sector driving employment, growth and the Kiribati economy” (Government of Kiribati Ministry of Communications, Transport & Tourism Development, 2009: 10). This view is supported in the Marshall Islands, where

their Visitor Authority explained, “tourism is a real and significant development opportunity for the RMI” (Marshall Islands Visitors Authority, 2008: 4). Importantly, this sentiment is clear across the SIS where tourism features in the national development strategies of all the individual SIS (see *Appendix 6*). Given this it would seem that no matter the current contribution, tourism is seen as an important sector to engage with in terms of enabling sustainable development.

While such a variety of views as to the positivity of tourism’s role within enabling development exists, given that tourism is mentioned in each of their national sustainable development strategies (see *Appendix 6*) and is the only sector to have experienced consistent growth within the region, the decision was taken to establish the tourism sector as the case sector for this thesis. Tourism in SIS is thus the sector through which to understand what role the private sector could play in transforming current development methods in an attempt to assist the SIS in achieving their development goals.

The above section has discussed the key actors in the contemporary development processes. Firstly, the governments of each state play a crucial role, given their prominent position within each country. Secondly, donors, in this case the EU, is an important actor in terms of the aid provided to the Pacific, one of the most aid-reliant regions globally. Furthermore, the EU is a key player in shaping the global development agenda and thus plays an important role in contemporary processes. Thirdly, civil society is a critical development actor, especially as it enables a space through which individuals are able to express themselves and advocate for their concerns. Furthermore, donors see civil society as an important partner in terms of the delivery of development initiatives, as civil society can offer opportunities for delivery that the local government may not be able to.

However, as discussed at the beginning of this chapter, walls still remain: walls between the rich and the poor, walls between those who have power and those who do not. In this sense, the contemporary process described above that is engaged in by these key actors is in need of transformation in order to begin to remove these walls and uphold the right to development. As such, the private sector is important as it potentially offers an option through which to encourage such transformation within these contemporary processes. This is reflected in the aims of the present thesis as it seeks to understand what role the private sector could play in contemporary development processes that may make them more effective in order to enable the right to development and break down the walls. Given the importance of these actors to the central research question, each of them have been analysed individually in their own chapters in order to understand in more detail their engagement with the sustainable development processes and how effective this engagement is.

Thesis Overview

This chapter, *Chapter 1*, has provided a background to the research project as a whole. It has explained that given the levels of inequality within our current system, the impending negative impacts of climate change and the right to development, that there is a need to make sustainable development more effective in order to enable the development which can engage with and overcome such contemporary concerns. It has explained how this context has led to the central research question, before then providing an overview of the major literature related to the research question, sustainable development as a theory and the key actors within this context too.

Chapter 2 explains the thesis's version of the theory of sustainable development, the research methods utilised within the thesis – notwithstanding the lack of research specifically on SIS and the difficulties in accessing information on this topic within the Pacific - and some of the limitations of the research project.

Chapter 3 builds on the literature reviewed and engaged with in *Chapters 1* and *2* to provide an understanding of the theory of sustainable development and the key points of this theory which the thesis has utilised. This is an important undertaking for the thesis because it is from the theory that the existing processes of sustainable development have their antecedents, thus there is a need to first provide an understanding of the theory to then be able to analyse the way in which various actors utilise this theory to implement their version of sustainable development. Having discussed the history of the theory, the chapter goes on to explore the key aspects of the theory as identified by the analytical framework: immanent and intentional development; strong sustainability; inter- and intra-generational thinking; and levels of change. Within the discussion regarding levels of change, the key critiques of post-development theorists are explored and the way in which this theory challenges both development and sustainable development. Notwithstanding these criticisms, the chapter moves on to understand how key actors engage with sustainable development and how each actor could engage more effectively with this concept so as to enable the right to development.

Chapter 4 analyses the way in which the SIS, as a key actor within the development process, has engaged with sustainable development and how this could be made more effective, using the analytical framework detailed in earlier chapters to analyse this. It begins by providing a short overview of how sustainable development is viewed generally within the Pacific region, including the importance of culture and the role that external perceptions of the region and colonialism have had on this. It then provides a more specific examination of the way in which the SIS have engaged and attempted to generate sustainable development within the region through analysing the *Smaller Island States Regional Strategy 2016-2020*. The chapter takes two of the focal areas from that strategy

- transportation and climate change - and analyses these in depth to reveal how the SIS have engaged with sustainable development, how they have attempted to implement it and how effective these processes are and where gaps remain.

Chapter 5 analyses the way in which the key donor of this thesis - the EU - has been involved in sustainable development within the Pacific setting. It explores sustainable development from the point of view of the EU. Building on interview insights, it explores why the EU was present in the Pacific, debating whether this was due in part to a sense of moral obligation to assist with overcoming climatic issues which they had been instrumental in causing. The chapter questions whether this moral obligation finds life through the *Lomé Conventions* and the *Cotonou Agreements*. Whilst there may be a moral sense of obligation, there are also strong geo-political concerns which impact upon the way in which the EU engages with sustainable development and that also stand in the way of increasing such development's efficiency. The chapter goes on to analyse this geo-political aspect utilising again the *Cotonou Agreement* and also the post-Cotonou discussions which were taking place at the time. The chapter analyses specifically how these two, at times conflicting, ambitions on behalf of the EU have played out in their direct assistance to the SIS and reveals the difficulties of donorship in terms of balancing altruism and geo-political concerns.

For donors, such as the EU, while working with governments is a key method of engaging with development, governments are not always the most effective method of delivering initiatives. Civil society has played a prominent role within development processes as an alternative option for conceptualising and delivering development initiatives. Given this, *Chapter 6* analyses the role of civil society within the Pacific context, in sustainable development. The chapter begins by exploring the power dynamics that are at play within the way in which civil society is engaged in the sustainable development processes, especially in light of the emphasis which the EU places on the role of civil society and also the important role that they play within the Pacific Island states. However, though civil society is seen as important it struggles to access the necessary funding to carry out their important work, so the chapter argues that there is a need for new avenues of funding which could support these important institutions. This chapter also completes the overview of the key actors of the existing sustainable development process and thus the gaps highlighted within the previous three chapters are important to being able to build an answer to the central research question. In other words, it is these three chapters which have analysed the way in which status quo development is implemented, given this the following two chapters explore how the private sector as a new actor within the development sphere can add value to processes analysed above.

Because the private sector has been understood as important to development moving forwards, *Chapter 7* analyses ways in which the sector has been incorporated into sustainable

development through private sector development (PSD), private sector in development (PSiD), and private sector for development (PS4D). The methods through which the private sector have attempted to increase its sustainability are analysed and the ways in which the SIS governments have engaged with the private sector are discussed. The chapter offers an alternative method - Public-Private Partnerships - that may offer an opportunity to increase the effectiveness of private sector engagement in sustainable development. Two examples - one from Palau and one from Kiribati - are utilised in order to analyse the potential of this alternative method. With this in mind, at the conclusion of the chapter it should be clear how the private sector can offer an opportunity to increase the effectiveness of sustainable development.

Chapter 8 seeks to answer whether tourism, as an important aspect of the private sector within the Pacific, can add value to sustainable development through offering solutions to increase the effectiveness of such processes. The chapter presents a case study which focuses on the tourism sector within SIS in order to show how it can increase the effectiveness of sustainable development across three pillars (the social, the economic and then the environment). While for the most part tourism is proven to have a positive role within these pillars, the social pillar proved the most challenging. These results are set against the critiques which have been levelled at tourism and its role in development. However, as the chapter goes to show, it is felt that tourism does offer positive opportunities to increase the effectiveness of sustainable development. Given this, the chapter suggests ways in which tourism could offer solutions to the gaps that were identified within the processes of sustainable development across *Chapters 4 to 7*. This enables the thesis to build a strong base from which to create an answer to the central research question for the concluding chapter.

Chapter 9 explains how the thesis has added to the theory of sustainable development through the analytical framework it created. It describes how it has added to the field of research related to the SIS through summarising the findings of each chapter. These key conclusions are brought together to build an answer to the central research question. Finally, it concludes on the importance of achieving development given contemporary concerns such as climate change and how it is hoped that this thesis has in some small way added to this.

CHAPTER 2

THEORY, METHODS AND THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK: BUILDING THE THESIS

The previous chapter has begun to sketch out the historical and geo-political context of the Pacific, the SIS itself, sustainable development processes and the key actors within these processes. With this history and context in mind, this chapter is in three parts. First, it explains the thesis's version of sustainable development, based on the analytical framework created for the research. Second, it outlines the research methods that have been adopted in this doctoral project. Finally, it discusses the theoretical and methodological limitations of carrying out research on the SIS and the Pacific more generally.

A Reason for Sustainable Development: The Right to Development and its Obligations

The thesis has highlighted the right to development as a right that must be upheld and therefore there is a need for a theory which can guide the enabling of this right. With this in mind, let us first turn to the right itself before delving into the theory of sustainable development and how it could provide a framework through which to uphold this right. The right to development formally came into being in 1986 when the United Nations (UN) adopted the *Declaration on the Right to Development* (Sengupta, 2004: 179). The right itself is described in Article 1, Paragraph 1 of the Declaration as:

The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized (UN General Assembly, 1986).

As Sengupta (2002: 851) explained, in this sense the right is one which entails both participation and benefit from the *process* of development, as well as gaining from the *outcomes* of development. In light of this, Sengupta believed that such a right enabled the notion that different countries develop in different ways (Sengupta, 2002, p. 848). What is of significance to this thesis is Villaroman's (2011: 25) argument that there is an obligation upon the international community to ensure that an enabling international environment is created in order for developing countries to realise this right to development. It is against this obligation that the thesis will assess how actors can engage more

effectively with sustainable development processes within the SIS. However, as Sengupta (2004: 186) has highlighted, “very few countries have yet to incorporate corresponding rights and obligations adequately in their national legal and constitutional system” and given this, the thesis now turns to sustainable development as a theory which may be able to enable this right.

The Analytical Framework: The Thesis’s Version of Sustainable Development

As *Chapter 1* showed, there are concerns as to the ambiguities inherent in the theory of sustainable development. Furthermore, it can also be seen as a Western-dominated concept (see *Chapter 3*), with much of the literature referring back to the *Brundtland Report* as being the key initiator of what has become sustainable development (see Atkinson, et al., 2014; Holden, Linnerud and Banister, 2017). As noted in the previous chapter, post-development theorists have also taken aim at sustainable development and development more generally questioning whether it has worked at all (see Escobar, 1995; Ziai, 2004; Sachs, 2009). *Chapter 3* explores these arguments in more depth later, but for now it remains pertinent to define a clear version of sustainable development theory for the thesis so as to overcome this ambiguity, as well as the post-development critique, and enable a more holistic view of sustainable thinking which is not solely focussed on the Western view.

The concise literature review in *Chapter 1* pinpointed key aspects of the literature which the thesis has called upon in an attempt to overcome some of the criticisms. This next section provides a deeper exploration of that literature and proposes an analytical framework for how the thesis (see *Figure 2* on pp. 41-42) understands sustainable development. This framework is built around three key aspects - context, concept and practical - and demands that for sustainable development to be successful, it must be both transformative in nature and people centred. It is these aspects which, when drawn together, define the way in which this thesis understands sustainable development.

The need for such a definition is based on theoretical and practical reasons: theoretically, this will help conquer the post-development critique and allow for a realisation of the right to development; and practically, the way in which development is conceptualised, by whom and how it is carried out in reality (and whether this is of a prescriptive nature or whether the end-users of development are deeply incorporated) provides for more effective sustainable development *on the ground*. Here, new actors - such as the private sector - are understood as increasingly important for sustainable development in theoretical terms, notwithstanding the difficulties in achieving this in practice. The demand for a people-centred understanding of sustainable development comes from an

acknowledgement of the way humanity, together, has generated the current system and its structures and, therefore, can reshape this system in more effective ways.

So, how can the right to development be realised in theoretical terms? Post-development theorists have already built a strong and cohesive critique of both sustainable development and development more generally (Escobar, 1995; Ziai, 2004). Specifically, Nederveen Pieterse (2000: 175) points out that there is “perplexity and extreme dissatisfaction with business-as-usual and standard development rhetoric and practice, and disillusionment with alternative development” For any form of development to be successful in terms of sustainability, it must overcome this critique and demonstrate that it is current, relevant and not merely an extension of the status quo development which, as the aforementioned scholars argue, has been perceived as unsuccessful. The thesis overcomes this critique through placing transformative sustainable development at the core of its analytical framework; that is, it demands a questioning of, and consequent changes to, the current structures of society and the theories that these structures led to and promote. It is acknowledged that the current structures have created mass inequalities and theories that support the furthering of this status quo and that for the present and future to be sustainable, there is a need to change these dynamics to structures that better support sustainable development. The changes that are suggested will be discussed in more detail below.

With regards to the practicality of sustainable development, it has often been a project that is prescribed by external actors (Browne, 2006: 7, 21; Robb, 2013: 21). This can be seen through the progression of development thinking which has gone from evolution to modernisation and now to sustainable development (Naidu, 2010: 8–13), with each area of thought having its own prescriptions as to how to achieve development (ibid.). However, what has often been missed is the voice of those for whom the development is for and a lack of consideration for what such end-users were doing, regardless of the external assistance, in order to better their lives and environment (Interview 1, Suva, October 2017). There is a need for transformative thinking in relation to sustainable development to ensure that such voices are placed at the centre of development strategies and initiatives.

While the private sector has been functioning for many centuries, it was not until recently that it has entered theoretical discourse related to sustainable development (Scheyvens, Banks and Hughes, 2016). The private sector is seen as an actor which can assist with the implementation of sustainable development through either, for example, adjusting their business-as-usual to make it more sustainable (DeSimone, Popoff and WBCSD, 2000; Herrmann, 2004) or through expanding upon

their actions with new sustainable business initiatives (Vaes and Huyse, 2015: 20). However, while this has been the case within the theoretical paradigm, in practical terms, it has been difficult to realise the potential of the private sector (Interview 2, Suva, October 2017). Consequently, there is a need for transformational thinking that could enable this theoretical concept to become a practical option in reality.

Figure 2: Analytical Framework Overview

Context				
Contextualisation focusses on gaining an understanding of the specific circumstances within which the development initiative is functioning or to occur				
History		Understanding and taking into consideration the historical actions that have taken place in order to better understand the current context		
Culture		Ensuring that cultural understandings are deeply incorporated into development thinking		
Power Dynamics		Understanding the power dynamics of the system at the local/national/regional/international levels, taking into consideration whose voice is heard and whose is marginalised		
Concept				
Process towards achieving sustainable development				
		Society	Economy	Environment
Strong Sustainability	⇒	Limits placed by governments	Responsible private sector	Critical Natural Capital preserved
Intentional and Immanent development	⇒	Incorporation of all available sets of knowledge related to development within the given context	Understand all methods of economic exchange, and their impact or roles within societies	Defining the thresholds within which humanity must function based on the knowledge gained from the social pillar
Inter- and Intra-generational thinking	⇒	Freedom of choice	Importance of human capacity in enabling overall growth	Individual control over resources
Levels of change	⇒	Social structures enable states and individuals and states a role in decision making	Equal distribution of resources	Limit of damage through human actions

Reciprocal duality	⇒	States and citizens are given an opportunity to understand the impact of their actions in other states and regions. Thus, portraying the reciprocal nature of actions taken in both developed and developing states through knowledge sharing and listening.	Private sector structures are globally aware of their actions and the impact of their decisions	Ensuring that environmental harm through ignorance, greed or lack of alternative is reduced and eventually removed
Practical				
Practical steps towards realising sustainable development in reality				
		Social	Economic	Environment
Implementation		Rights Based Approach Cultural incorporation and preservation	Appropriate access to funding	Ensure environmental standards are met through-out the implementation of initiatives
Phase-out		Reduce dependencies and build capacity	Self-resilience	Ensure a viable eco-system

The above analytical framework builds on existing work on understanding sustainable development yet presents it in a new and original way through emphasising three key dimensions: context, concept and practice. Firstly, *context* builds an understanding of the specific circumstances within which development occurs - including *historical* and *cultural* considerations - as well as the *power dynamics* of the local, national, regional and global system. Such knowledge is important because for something to be transformative there must be an understanding of the context within which it is functioning or it will be unclear as to whether the actions carried out are transformative in nature or merely reinforcing the status quo. These three ideas are very important within the Pacific context. In the Pacific, culture is of crucial importance: without taking into consideration culture in this region, no development initiative will be successful. History is equally significant: Pacific Islanders have a close affinity with the environment and have engaged sustainably with it for centuries and understanding this offers much value to the theory of sustainable development. Significant events -

such as colonialism and the impacts of climate change - that, again, if not considered would hinder effective sustainable development. Lastly, power dynamics are important as currently the Pacific is a peripheral region and thus the geo-politics at the global level have an impact upon development in the region and must therefore be factored into the framework.

Concept places a focus on the structural steps that help achieve sustainable development. There are five dimensions to *concept* in this analytical framework: (1) strong sustainability; (2) immanent and intentional development (3) inter- and intra-generational thinking; (4) levels of change; and (5), *reciprocal duality*. Each of these dimensions has been utilised to enable positive progression across the three pillars of sustainable development (society, the economy and the environment). *Strong sustainability* speaks to and advocates for the placing of limitations on humanity's actions, thus ensuring that the critical natural capital of the globe is not degraded (Neumayer, 1999: 25). This is a very important concept in light of the omnipresent impact of climate change, as one of the key ways to avoid worsening this situation is through placing realistic limitations on harmful actions such as de-forestation and the burning of fossil fuels. Continuing the focus on humanity's actions, *immanent development* brings into consideration the actions that societies take regardless of external assistance and influence (Hooper, 2005: 8; Morse, 2008: 341). Such development has been taking place for centuries and has generated knowledge sets that are sustainable in nature and relevant to the local context. Understanding and encouraging such development would assist in overall transformation of development thinking, as it would link much more closely with the societies engaged with. However, there are times when external assistance is needed - especially in the case of climate change - and thus there is also a need for *intentional or prescriptive development* (Nederveen Pieterse, 2000: 182). Such development calls on external expertise to assist with solving an issue in a certain area. The key point is that such development should only be engaged in at the request of the end user, not as a directive from the external actor. For any development to be made more effective it must generate equality, so there is a need for *inter- and intra-generational thinking*. Such equality is apparent within sustainable development thinking, as expressed by its strong focus on ensuring the planet is habitable for future generations (see WCED, 1987: para. 82, 123). This is important especially in relation to the environment, for if it is heavily degraded then future human generations will struggle to survive. Forward thinking in this sense is of crucial significance to sustainable development, however it should not come at the cost of thinking about inequalities within current societies. Within the current system, there is the dichotomy of abundance and abject struggle (Pimentel, Aymar and Lawson, 2018: 19), spoken of earlier in the chapter, that must also be overcome since if there are such

inequalities related to whose voice is heard in terms of defining the global and development agenda, then it becomes very difficult to perceive a process that would generate an equitable future.

Levels of change draws heavily on the work of Hopwood, Meller and O'Brien (2005) and the way in which these scholars conceptualised the various strands of sustainable development (see *Chapter 1*). Attention to levels of change allows for a questioning of what the goal of development cooperation actually is: does the cooperation question power dynamics and look to empower those who are marginalised within the current system? This thesis holds that, in light of the post-development critique and the omnipresent environmental challenges, there is a need to question the underlying social structures of the current system so as to make them more effective and through this enable more effective sustainable development.

Reciprocal duality is a concept that has been created specifically for this thesis and is thus new to the field of sustainable development. In light of global agreements such as the *Sustainable Development Goals* (SDGs) and the *Paris Agreement*, attempts to engage complementarity between actions of states across the globe to enable a more coherent response to development concerns were required. In other words, there was a need for a concept that would build on this idea of unifying development actions both at home and abroad. Moreover, there was an observable need to solidify and encourage human rights thinking within sustainable development. *Reciprocal duality* is thus about linking actions between all partners in the development process. There is a direct link between actions taken in one state and their impact in another and this is important because, as Rees (1995: 358-359) explained, "the public must be confident that the future as shaped by policies for sustainable development will be more attractive than that offered by any alternative development strategy". Consequently, *reciprocal duality* is a method through which such actions can be linked in order to show the general public the way in which development actions are unified and complementary. Put simply, it is an idea that attempts to broaden the scope of development to incorporate both developing and developed nations and to clearly link the impact of actions and choices made either internally or externally.

Reciprocal duality as an idea has its roots, in part, in the policy realm and, as noted earlier, the SDGs and the *Paris Agreement* in particular have laid the initial foundation for this concept. Within the SDGs, one of the more salient points was that these goals are for every country and person, and that everyone has a role to play. As the Preamble to the SDGs states: "all countries and all stakeholders, acting in collaborative partnership, will implement this plan... As we embark on this collective journey,

we pledge that no one will be left behind” (UN General Assembly, 2015). The SDG declared a need for a level of action that included all actors and peoples across the globe in order to achieve a sustainable future. Action that is “based on a spirit of strengthened global solidarity, focused in particular on the needs of the poorest and most vulnerable and with the participation of all countries, all stakeholders and all people” (ibid.). *Reciprocal duality* helps to think about these links between actions across the globe so as to ensure more effective sustainable development.

In Articles 2 and 4 of the *Paris Agreement*, there is direct reference to the need for both developing and developed countries to act in order to enable mitigation efforts related to climate change which reflect the different national circumstances of individual countries (see UNFCCC, 2015, Articles 2 point 2 and Article 4 point 4). This further emphasises the need for global action, in the same vein as the SDGs, and it was this global interconnected thinking which formed a key foundation for the notion of *reciprocal duality*. Article 12 of the *Paris Agreement* goes further: “Parties shall cooperate in taking measures, as appropriate, to enhance climate change education, training, public awareness, public participation and public access to information, recognizing the importance of these steps with respect to enhancing actions under this Agreement” (ibid.). This reveals the importance of needing to share information across all sectors of society locally, regionally and globally. This is important because it would ensure that people could access the necessary information and content that they would need to make informed decisions that would enable them to positively engage with their surrounding environment and thus assist in overcoming the global threat of climate change. Sharing information is at the heart of *reciprocal duality*.

While the SDG’s and the Paris Agreement portray some of the key ideas upon which *reciprocal duality* has drawn on at the global level, the activities and policies from one of the key actors within the thesis - the EU - has also provided further inspiration for this notion. The EU’s current policy on development - the *European New Consensus on Development – Our World, Our Dignity, Our Future* - states that “ensuring policy coherence for sustainable development as embedded in the 2030 Agenda requires taking into account the impact of all policies on sustainable development at all levels – nationally, within the EU, in other countries and at global level” (European Commission, 2017a: para 108). Moreover:

The EU and its Member States reaffirm their commitment to Policy Coherence for Development (PCD), which requires taking into account the objectives of development cooperation in policies which are likely to affect developing countries. This is a crucial element

of the strategy to achieve the SDGs and an important contribution to the broader objective of Policy Coherence for Sustainable Development (PCSD) (ibid.: para.109).

This thinking portrayed the importance of linking actions both at home and abroad which the concept of *reciprocal duality* has built upon and further supported. This is especially because the current world system is becoming much more interconnected and globalised and the impacts of actions taken in a given region are not limited to that region. Thus, as the *New European Consensus on Development* alluded to, there is a need to understand these impacts and factor them into policy making. Such policy coherence can be captured within the notion of *reciprocal duality*. It is the above three documents that have formed a key platform from which the concept of *reciprocal duality* has grown. While this has provided an overview of the relevant policies, the concept has also drawn on the literature in the formulation of this concept.

In terms of literature, *reciprocal duality* has its roots in works on culture and society within sustainable development. While culture has been discussed in terms of its importance to the theory of sustainable development under the *context* aspect of the Analytical Framework above, it has also provided a platform for understanding why people act in certain ways which has proven important to the concept of *reciprocal duality* too. As Rees (1995: 344) explained:

We acquire a particular worldview simply by living, growing up, and being educated in a particular sociocultural milieu, we are often unconscious that we even have one and that we operate from it in virtually everything we do. Therefore, most of us are generally unaware of the subtle ways in which the prevailing paradigm shapes our understanding of, and approach to, societal problems or that there may be more viable alternatives.

This is important since it has also been argued within the literature that much of the damage humanity is causing to their environment and the environment of others is through naivety and selfishness rather than through conscious malicious efforts or acts to degrade the environment. Ophuls and Boyan (1992: 199) point out that “we are being destroyed ecologically not so much by the evil acts of selfish people as by the everyday acts of ordinary people whose behaviour is dominated, usually unconsciously, by the remorseless self-destructive logic of the commons”. The “logic of the commons” is:

Consider a simple pasture, common land where anyone may let their cattle graze. Any rational, self-interested person wants to increase their livelihood. So each adds to their herd, one more animal at a time, until eventually the common land can't sustain any more cows. The pasture is overgrazed and all of the cattle die (Battersby, 2017: 7; see also Hardin, 1968).

If this logic continues to pervade society in an age where climate change is such a pressing issue, there will be severe consequences for humanity and the environment through such sub-conscious actions.

However, it is not only individual actions that concerned these scholars. They go on to argue that growth in individuals knowledge regarding ecological crises will not be enough to avert such emergencies and that there is also need to build a collective conscience, matched with a strong governmental oversight, in order to avoid an ecological disaster. As Ophuls and Boyan (1992: 203) argue:

[Many people] pin their hopes for a solution not on individual conscience but on the development of a collective conscience in the form of a world view or religion that sees humanity as the partner of nature rather than its antagonist. This attitude will undoubtedly be essential for our survival in the long term, because without basic popular support, even the most repressive regime could hardly hope to succeed in protecting the environment for long.

However, there is a need for more than just the right attitude - both culturally and individually - because even societies who have shown a close affinity with nature have engaged in destructive actions against it (ibid.). As such, only a "government with the power to regulate individual behaviour in the ecological common interest can deal effectively with the tragedy of the commons" (ibid.: 204).

Additionally, there is one further concept from the tourism literature which has proven key to the creation of *reciprocal duality* in the analytical framework developed for this thesis. Drawing on an idea put forth by Kuhn (2002), who examined the role of tourism and how it enables interaction between citizens of different countries, Kuhn (2002: 118) examined the role of tourism and how it enables interaction between citizens in different countries and argued that "ways of understanding and being in the world can be challenged and even dramatically changed through experiencing other models of existence". This speaks to the notion of *reciprocal duality* in two ways: (1) at the level of the individual citizen, if developmental actions can be linked then it will enable the general public in both developed and developing countries to better understand the impact of their actions and see how

connected humanity is globally. This may potentially assist citizens in building the conscience needed to carry out more sustainable actions; and (2) linking to the policy realm spoken of earlier, if countries understand the impact of their actions in third countries and work towards creating a more encompassing approach to achieving sustainable development (as the EU is aiming for through its policies noted above), then a global and complementary approach to sustainable development could be created.

These insights from the literature are of central importance because, as mentioned earlier, through humanity's intelligence they have become the stewards of the earth (Gould quoted in Calvin, 1995, p. 107). Thus, there is a need to ensure that citizens are well armed with information so that as "stewards of the earth" (Goulding, quoted in Calvin, 1995: 107) they do not fall into the selfish habits spoken of by Ophuls and Boyan (1992) above, but actually take conscious and well informed decisions about how to interact with the environment and what lifestyle choices they then make. *Reciprocal duality* speaks to this enlightening of humanity: knowledge sharing between actors (such as the private sector and citizens alike), of facilitating exchanges of ideas, impacts and realities between citizens and states in order to enable an understanding of the impact of their actions in external regions and to provide them with the relevant knowledge and information that could assist in the making of more positive and more informed decisions about local, national and international actions and policies.

While the above has portrayed the literature and policies from which the concept has drawn its inspiration and foundation, it is also important to define the concept in relation to what it is not, especially given that the term reciprocity is a prevalent term within various fields of knowledge. It is important to specify the meaning of reciprocity within this analytical framework. There are a number of examples of how reciprocity is understood within the economics, sociology and tourism fields. Within economics, Çelen, Schotter and Blanco (2017: 63) have argued that "the theory of reciprocity is predicted on the assumption that people are willing to reward kind acts and to punish unkind acts". Similarly, Dufwenberg and Kirschsteiger (2004: 270) note that "when a person wants to be kind to someone who was kind to her, and unkind to unkind persons, she has to assess the kindness (or unkindness) of her own action as well as that of others. To do this she has to consider the intentions that accompany an action" and what the reciprocal impact of these actions could be. In this sense, it seems that reciprocity within economics is based on kindness and unkindness and whether such kindness/unkindness will be reciprocated or not.

From within sociology, Molm, Collett and Schaefer (2007) explain that reciprocity is related to forms of exchange. Based on insights from well-known anthropologists, they note:

who distinguished between forms of exchange with structures of direct or indirect reciprocity. In direct (or restricted) exchange, two actors give benefits to one another in a relation of direct reciprocity: A gives to B, and B to A. In indirect (or generalized) exchange, each actor gives benefits to another and eventually receives benefits from another, *but not from the same actor* (ibid.: 206).

As such, sociology understands reciprocity in relation to acts of kindness and how one act of kindness can lead to another, or not, either in the present or in the future.

From the field of academic tourism, there is the concept of reciprocal altruism, advanced by Fennell (2006: 105), who identified it as a term that “emerged out of animal behavioural studies which found that cooperation occurs if there is a chance the beneficiary might reciprocate in the future”. It “can be viewed as a form of symbiosis, where actors help one another so that both ultimately benefit. The symbiosis has a lag time, however, where the donor must wait for a period of time before s/he is helped in turn.” (ibid.: 105–106). Again, as in economics and sociology, reciprocity is focussed on kindness and how to generate acts of kindness for a beneficiary, or oneself, either now or in the future.

It is here that the difference between *reciprocal duality* used in the analytical framework for this thesis, and reciprocity more generally becomes clear: *reciprocal duality* is more interested in knowledge sharing, whereas the concepts of reciprocity discussed above focus more on kindness and how to generate or enable acts of kindness for a beneficiary or the original actor, either now or in the future. Instead of this focus on specific or potential acts of kindness, *reciprocal duality* is about generating and sharing information which citizens and states alike can utilise, rather than focussing on how an act of kindness could lead to another.

Reciprocal duality is the last component of the ‘concept’ and having gained an understanding as to the structural steps needed to enable more effective engagement in the sustainable development process, the third aspect of the analytical framework, ‘practical’, is turned to. This aspect has focussed on the way in which sustainable development can be implemented within the reality of a developmental context. This is not a completely new concept in the same manner as *reciprocal duality* but it is a new way of pulling together various ideas from within the sustainable development

literature in an attempt to increase the effectiveness of the theory. It focuses on two key ideas: (1) implementation; and (2) phase-out. Implementation promotes a focus on human rights protection and cultural promotion, as well as adequate access to funding and environmental protection within the implementation of any development initiative. This aspect is important as, if new actors such as the private sector are to enable more effectiveness within sustainable development processes, then there is a need to ensure that these actions still uphold the values of sustainable development, such as environmental and human rights protection and promotion. Phase-out is a method of questioning the involvement of key development actors such as donors. While donors have come under much criticism for the way in which they have attempted to assist with development, as the post-development critique made clear above, they remain a key actor through the way in which they shape the global development agenda. However, maintaining a position as a donor is status quo in nature and not transformative. This aspect of the analytical framework explored whether donors could transition from being donors to being partners and, through this, support immanent development. This would in turn assist with the self-sufficiency of states by beginning to deconstruct the status quo donor-recipient relationship.

Summary: Sustainable Development in this Thesis

So what can we draw from the above, what does it mean? As has been stressed earlier, sustainable development suffers from a certain level of ambiguity and thus in order to utilise it there is a need to clearly define it. The thesis has done this through the analytical framework, presented in *Figure 2* above, which has sought to sketch out the boundaries of the working definition of sustainable development used in this thesis. It is this analytical framework which has been utilised through-out the thesis in order to analyse the way in which actors are engaging with the sustainable development processes in the SIS. However, for the purposes of clarity, it is worth restating the definition here: sustainable development is development which functions on the basis of a process that aims to enable the right to development and a deep incorporation of society, the environment and the economy. It is a process which strongly considers the developmental context through balancing cultural, historical and power dynamics in order to be relevant to the context. It defines limitations on humans actions so as to maintain the viability of the planet, and engages with this through the incorporation of the rights of the present generation so that the rights of future generations are not impacted upon, whilst also linking actions and lifestyle choices taken in both developed and developing states in order to enable *reciprocal duality*. It also uses these measures as a means of attempting to enable self-sufficiency through development actions. This whole process needs to be transformative in order to

ensure that there is a constant querying of the status quo so that the effectiveness of the development processes is continually improved upon.

Research Methods

The following section explains how the research that underpins this thesis was gathered. The thesis has utilised a mixed methods approach in order to gather this information. This approach enabled the thesis to gain a deeper understanding of the context within which it finds itself so as to be able to engage critically with it. Mixed methods are often utilised to increase the legitimacy of research and is especially the case, as McConnell and Smith (2018: 160) explain, within “human rights research, [where] often researchers mix methods to add credibility to the findings or to add depth to the research”. Such an approach enabled the thesis to use various sources of information and compare and contrast different data sets. To guide the data collection within each of these areas, an action research approach was utilised since “action research...consciously seeks to study something in order to improve it” (Berg, 2004: 198). This was of central importance to the aim of the thesis in wanting to understand how the private sector could enable transformative sustainable development and not merely reaffirm the status quo as this would not lead to marked improvements within development especially in light of the post-development critique. The thesis brought together a number of views of action research described in Berg (2004: 197–198) to create its own approach: *think, act, reflect* and finally *share*.

The methods that were chosen for the mixed methods approach are predominantly qualitative in nature. There are a number of qualitative methods that can be used (see Smith and Smith, 2018: 72) but for this thesis four were selected: (1) desk-based research; (2) case study; (3) interviews; and (4) reflective practice. Within this the action research agenda becomes clear, initially the desk-based research, or the think phase, generated clarity as to the research problem and the relevant literature and ideas that surrounded the key issues. This base level of knowledge was then utilised in order to identify, conduct and justify the interviews (that is, the act phase). Throughout this whole process the idea of reflection was a constant, where-by all the literature was reflected upon, the fieldwork and the interviews were reflected upon, as well as the overall writing process. Finally, the findings of the research have been shared with all those involved.

The desk-based research was predominantly carried out at the University of Canterbury and made use of all the resources that this University made available to graduate students. The desk-based

research was arguably the key method through which to understand the theoretical discourse on sustainable development and to understand where the thesis could sit within it. It also enabled the completion of a number of mapping exercises, including an overview of the funding that the EU has provided for the Pacific, where it was spent, how much was spent, and under which initiative or policy (see *Appendix 1*). The desk-based research also produced a mapping of eco-tourism ventures in the Pacific (*Appendix 2*). These mapping exercises were of crucial importance in terms of being able to visually portray how development funding is spent and the gaps between these actions and the rhetoric of the stakeholders involved.

The desk-based research method identified a large number of primary data sources that have been used in the thesis as well as the key literature from which to base the new analytical framework. Not to repeat too much here (or foretell too much of *Chapter 3*), but there were two critical works which proved central to the thesis. Firstly, Hopwood, Mellor and O'Brien (2005) and their conceptualisation of what type of change - either status quo, reform or transformation - the various theories of sustainable development have called for proved very important. This was especially the case when looking to build an understanding as to what sort of change sustainable development would need to encourage in order to overcome climate change, increase the effectiveness of actors' engagement in sustainable development processes and realise the right to development. Secondly, the work of Kavaliku (2005) and his conceptualisation of sustainable development from a Pacific viewpoint using the Lokua fish as a metaphor was also an important insight for the thesis.

In relation to governments, the desk-based research was vital in finding a number of primary sources for the SIS, both in terms of the regional body, the individual countries and more globally as well. Regionally, the *SIS Regional Strategy 2016-2020* is one of key sources for this thesis as this document sets out the vision and focus of the SIS in terms of what they see as being the most important development goals for the region and how to achieve these goals. As the strategy states, the SIS "seek to ensure sustainable development for their people through working together to address issues of specific relevance and importance to the group" (Smaller Island States, 2016a). Furthermore, as the SIS Leaders explained through the Summary of Decisions from their 2016 Leaders meeting "Leaders agreed to adopt the SIS Regional Strategy as the strategic platform to ensure greater influence and presence by the SIS in shaping the regional policy agenda and direction" (Smaller Island States 2016b, p. 1). This strategy draws some of its inspiration from the Pacific Islands Forum strategy for the region as a whole (the *Framework for Pacific Regionalism*). This strategy is important because, as the SIS Regional Strategy explained, the SIS are "fully committed to the vision, values and objectives

of the Pacific Islands Forum *Framework for Pacific Regionalism*” (Smaller Island States, 2016a). Furthermore, at the regional level, the SAMOA Pathways document has also been an important, especially in relation to discussions on colonialism (see *Chapter 4*).

In terms of specific sources from the SIS, the SIS Leaders Meetings Summary of Decisions documents (Smaller Island States 2001, 2006-18) have been utilised to gain a deeper understanding of the SIS and their aspirations, concerns and intentions as defined by its own leaders. Equally important have been the declarations from both the SIS Leaders and Pacific Leaders more generally (for example, the *Kainaki II Declaration* (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2019), the *Smaller Island States Leaders’ Port Moresby Declaration on Climate Change* (Smaller Island States, 2015b), and the *Cairns Compact* (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2009)). These documents provided important insights into the SIS Leaders thinking, what their key sustainable development priorities are and how they would like to address these issues. The PIFS Information Officer was also contacted to see if they could potentially provide further key documents, press releases or speeches related to the SIS. Despite numerous efforts, the Officer never responded to the requests.

Moving from the regional to the more local level, the national sustainable development strategies of each of the SIS have been primary documents for the thesis and have allowed an analysis of the way in which each individual SIS conceptualises sustainable development and, for example, has worked towards incorporating the private sector and tourism into this form of development (see *Table 4* and *Appendix 6*). While desk-based research was also utilised in order to find reports about the SIS and the Pacific (such as the *Pacific Roadmap for Sustainable Development* (Pacific Sustainable Development Goals Taskforce, 2018)). In terms of more global agreements which have proven primary to the thesis, the *Sustainable Development Goals* (SDGs) and the *Paris Agreement* have both been important documents.

Desk-based research was also important in terms of identifying primary sources for the donor under study – that is, the EU. The document *New Consensus on Development* formed a basis for the thinking that stood behind the creation of the concept *reciprocal duality*, while it is also an important document that sets out the way in which the EU understands sustainable development and details its aims for that.

In terms of EU interactions with the Pacific, the *Lomé Conventions* and the *Cotonou Agreements* have been utilised to analyse the way in which the EU has interacted with the region. This

was added to by other communications and conclusions from the European Commission and the Council of the European Union (such as the *Council conclusions on a renewed EU-Pacific Development Partnership* and also the *EU Relations with the Pacific Islands – A Strategy for a Strengthened Partnership*). More specifically, in relation to the EU and the SIS, desk-based research was used to find the *National Indicative Programmes* and *Country Strategy Papers* which dictate the actions and funding that has been decided upon under the *Cotonou Agreements* funding mechanism (the EDF) for each of the individual SIS. These were utilised to analyse the specific engagement that had been entered into by the EU with the SIS specifically. In relation to the EU and the private sector, the above *National Indicative Programmes* were used to gain an understanding as to how the EU has engaged with the private sector within the SIS. This has been added to by other Communications (such as ‘*A Stronger Role of the Private Sector in Achieving Inclusive and Sustainable Growth in Developing Countries*’). The *National Indicative Programmes* have also played an important role in building an understanding as to how the EU has engaged with civil society (as has the EU Commission Communication *The roots of democracy and sustainable development: Europe's engagement with Civil Society in external relations*).

Desk-based research was also important in terms of finding primary sources relating to civil society in the SIS and Pacific, and more generally within the processes of sustainable development as well. In terms of the private sector, desk-based research was utilised in order to find reports from donors (such as the World Bank report on the PPP in Kiribati). It was also the main method through which to find the relevant literature on the private sector and how this sector has attempted to engage with the processes of sustainable development. Within the private sector, the thesis chose to focus on tourism as a specific case study. Here, the desk-based research uncovered numerous primary sources that were particularly important to the analysis. These include: the UN and World Tourism Organisation’s documents related to the tourism (the *Global Code of Ethics for Tourism*); the *Pacific Regional Tourism Strategy 2015-2019*; relevant statistics from SPTO; as well as the national development strategies of the SIS and specific national tourism development plans from within the SIS. Furthermore, media coverage such as radio interviews and newspaper articles covering important events were utilised in order to gain a deeper understanding of specific instances within the SIS (on topics that included, for example, the impact of Chinese tourism, or specifically the ban of such tourism).

Desk-based research also identified the work of Vaes and Huyse (2015) and their conceptualisations of how the private sector has been engaged in the sustainable development

processes through either private sector in development, private sector development and private sector for development. While Miraftab (2004) and Mouraviev and Kakabadse (2004) were also identified as key scholars based on their work on Public Private Partnerships and the various versions of such partnerships that have been created. Specifically in terms of tourism, there are a number of key scholars and literary works that were highlighted (for example, Dann (2002), Lipset (2018), Teaiwa (1994), Tuinabu (2005) and Ringer (2004)) that have sought to explain the impact of tourism. While also Pratt and Harrison (2015), Scheyvens and Momsen (2008), Scheyvens, Banks and Hughes (2016) and Cheer et al. (2018) were also identified as key works in terms of building an understanding of tourism's role in sustainable development.

Desk-based research also unearthed key scholars within civil society - -Griffen (2006), Edwards (2009), and Mohanty (2011) - whose work spoke about the importance of civil society to the Pacific and the way in which civil society has assisted in providing important support structures and identity to Pacific communities. For the EU, the work of Holland and Doidge (2012) proved imperative to understanding EU development policy, how it was created and its implications. The radio interview with Pascal Lamy on the post-Cotonou negotiations was also a key source found in the desk-based research conducted.

Finally, in relation to the SIS, the desk-based researched revealed that very little research had been carried out specifically on the SIS as a grouping within the literature. However, more generally in terms of the Pacific, Hau'ofa (1999, 2008) and his work in relation to the perceptions of the Pacific and the need to change these so as to deconstruct the dominant colonial narrative of the Pacific to create a more positive and realistic identity for the region that comes from within rather than outside, has been particularly enlightening. While there proved to be little academic literature which has focussed on the SIS as a body, there were a number of media articles related to the SIS (for example, reports from the Pacific Islands News Association (PACNEWS), Scoop, Radio New Zealand, Devpolicy.org, Marianas Variety, ABC News Australia, IslandTimes and The Interpreter). Such media sources have added much value as they have provided key quotes from SIS leaders and have allowed for a deeper understanding as to the on-the-ground actions and developments which have taken place within SIS.

Many primary sources were uncovered through the desk-based research undertaken for this thesis. However, there were also a number of difficulties when using this method for uncovering sources within the Pacific specifically. The near total absence of research specifically on the SIS as a

grouping in particular – and the Pacific more generally – meant that there was just not enough existing research in the first place. There are a number of practical reasons why such difficulties exist – connectivity issues and access to the internet is difficult making publishing information challenging – but Teaiwa (2006: 72) also points out that “once upon a time studying the Pacific was a noble career and widely recognized for its contributions to the advancement of human knowledge”. But this connection has been broken along the way and now the Pacific is on the outer and not necessarily viewed as a space through which to break new ground (ibid.: 71–75). Whilst this may well be the case, Teaiwa cautions against not doing research:

What I do know is that we must not stop our investigations, explorations, ruminations in Pacific studies simply because the world marketplace of knowledge does not value this region as we do. Neither must we give in to the tempting rhetoric of Pacific exceptionalism—our greatest crime would be to ghettoize ourselves (ibid.: 83).

In this sense, while it proved difficult to find material sources through desk-based research, it is hoped that this thesis can lay the platform for further research into the SIS and sustainable development and through this build the knowledge base related to this region and its sustainable development so to continue the investigations and ruminations on this part of the Pacific which Teaiwa is calling for.

It is due to these difficulties that the thesis has chosen to utilise a mixed-methods approach, for it wanted to ensure that such issues with finding sources could be overcome. Within this context, where finding a breadth of material sources related to the SIS as a grouping has proven difficult, the thesis has added interviews as another aspect of the mixed methods approach. This is in order to gain a deeper understanding of the SIS and the sustainable development context more generally within the Pacific in order to broaden the data set upon which the thesis is based. Interviews formed the second aspect of the mixed methods approach (see *Appendix 3-5* for overview of ethics approval, questions and list of interviewees) and added much to the critical analysis of this thesis, especially in the Pacific context. This is because, as mentioned above, accessing information regarding many of the smaller Pacific states proved difficult, especially from material sources only. Because of this, it was felt that there was a distinct need to conduct interviews with the key stakeholders in order to be able to gain a clearer understanding of what was happening on the ground. Furthermore, it is not only the fact that the information can be difficult to access, as mentioned, in some cases there is also simply a lack of information generally. Given this difficulty, it becomes clear that speaking with those involved in these processes enabled the thesis to build a much deeper and richer knowledge base.

The interviewees were selected based on their role within sustainable development in the region, and/or their involvement in or with key actors (for example, the SIS, donors, the private sector) that had some discernible relationship to tourism. There was also a conscious effort when selecting who to interview to attempt to have as a broader range of views as possible. Predominantly, the fieldwork was conducted in Suva, Fiji. This was largely due to the regional nature of the research, as discussed under the aims of the thesis earlier in this chapter, and because Suva has become a regional hub for the Pacific as it is home to many of the influential organisations which are salient for this thesis. It is also an important location for the SIS as the SIS Advisor is located at the PIFS in Suva. Moreover, Suva has become a regional destination for SIS decision making (Tuvalu, for example, considered moving some of their meetings with development partners to Suva since its transport options were better than in Tuvalu itself (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2014b)).

Another consideration was financial: conducting research over multiple sites requires travel which requires funding. The original plan was to travel to each of the SIS in order to conduct interviews within each state but this was expensive and funding for multiple trips was not forthcoming. It made more sense pragmatically to fund one trip to conduct fieldwork and, given the scope of the thesis and its research question, that Suva would be the best option. While on fieldwork in Fiji, extra funding was secured for a conference which was planned to take place in Palau on tourism. Unfortunately, the conference changed their agenda at the last minute and it lost all relevance to the thesis and thus it was decided not to attend and instead focus on completing the writing of the thesis.

Other conferences in New Zealand, Samoa and Vanuatu led to interesting conversations and opened up a number of different views as to sustainable development in the Pacific. Apart from the conference in Vanuatu, all the other conferences came early on in the thesis research and, whilst they added much value to the shaping of the research, no interviews were carried out as it was too early in the research process. However, a later conference in Vanuatu meant one interview was able to be completed there.

As mentioned above, Suva has become a regional hub for the Pacific and is thus home to representatives from all the important actors within the contemporary sustainable development process explored in this thesis. The EU Delegation is based Suva, covering the donor aspect of the contemporary processes, and the SIS Officer, whose key role is to guide the implementation of the *SIS Regional Strategy 2016-2020* and who is the main advocate, outside of the SIS Leaders, for the SIS at

the Forum and other levels, is also based in Suva. This covers the SIS, or government, aspect of the contemporary processes. The regional civil society body, *Pacific Islands Alliance of Non-Governmental Organisations* (PIANGO), is also based in Suva, but unfortunately while contact was made with them, they were not able to be interviewed. Lastly, in terms of the private sector aspect of the contemporary processes, the *Pacific Islands Private Sector Organisation* (PIPSO) and the *South Pacific Tourism Organisation* (SPTO) are also based in Suva. In this sense, Suva offered the perfect opportunity to gather interviews from each aspect of the contemporary process of sustainable development. Furthermore, Suva is also home to the main campus of the University of the South Pacific where many experts on tourism and sustainable development are based, while there are also many other donor delegations who were able to be accessed by being in Suva and thus building a relevant base of key informants as well.

Given the above, a target group of potential interviewees was put together, with the hope that these interviews would have a spill-over effect and lead to other interviews with recommended *on the ground* individuals. The initial interviewee list was split across donors, SIS officials, the private sector, civil society and academia. For donors, the EU, Asian Development Bank (ADB), Pacific Islands Development Forum (PIDF), and the World Bank (WB) were contacted. In the end, interviews were carried out with the EU, ADB, the International Finance Corporation (IFC) of the WB, the WB and PIDF. Given the focus on the EU, attempts to gain interviews with the relevant EU officials based in Brussels were also made. However, these officials were not able to participate. Within the government sector, interviews were sought with the SIS Advisor and also the eight SIS country representatives, the private sector group within Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS), the team working on EU funding from within PIFS, and embassies of the SIS based in Suva. Unfortunately, interviews were not carried out with all these actors, however, crucial interviews with the SIS took place. Embassies were unable to commit to interview and while PIFS initially sounded interested, the timing of the interviews did not work. In terms of the private sector, SPTO and PIPSO were targeted and interviews took place with both of these players. Attempts were also made to interview all the national tourism authorities in each of the SIS. Unfortunately, this did not prove possible, and only a small number were engaged with. This correspondence took place either over email or via telephone. Contact was also made with the eight chambers of commerce from within the SIS and, while results were limited, one interview was completed.

Furthermore, private sector institutions in both New Zealand and Australia, that were recommended during the interviews, were also contacted, but unfortunately none of these came to

fruition. Unfortunately, within the NGO sector, while the Pacific Islands Association of Non-governmental Organisations (PIANGO) was contacted, no interview could take place because of their busy schedule. Within the sector of key informants, it was mainly academics that were targeted, though there were also informal conversations held at conferences and the like that, while not on record, also helped to shape this research. Interviews were carried out with relevant academics from the University of the South Pacific (USP) as well as insights from the UK High Commission. Having identified the potential interviewees, initial contact was made via email. This email consisted of an overview of the project, including the central research question. Subsequent emails provided the potential participants with the relevant ethics information and forms. In this way the potential interviewee was provided with all the necessary information so that they could make an informed decision as to whether or not they would like to be a part of the project.

As with the desk-based research, accessing information, in this case through interviews, from within the Pacific can prove a difficult proposition. If the bigger funding applications had been successful, travel would have made it easier to secure those interviews. Still, even more funding would not have changed the fact some potential interviewees were merely uninterested in committing to, or lacked the time to be a part of, this research. With the difficulties related to people's time and interest in the research project and also funding it proved difficult to speak to everyone who I had planned and wanted to speak to. Once again though, it is hoped that the efforts here can lay the foundation for more research into the SIS specifically as a grouping in order to continue the ruminations on the Pacific as Teaiwa (2006) has called for.

Given the qualitative nature of the thesis, the interviews were carried out in a semi-structured manner. The questions (see *Appendix 5*), attempted to address a broad number of topics so as to be inclusive of all participants. Their open-ended nature was crucial in terms of enabling the discussions to flow into any areas that the researcher may not have known about or missed in the initial creation of the questionnaire, but that may have been significant as the research progressed. The interviews were mainly carried out in person in an office or boardroom chosen by the interviewee. Some interviews were carried out via telephone or Skype and one returned their answers via email. During the in-person interviews, close attention was paid to body language and the way in which the various interviewees spoke and presented their ideas on the issue. Culture plays such a crucial role within development in the Pacific and interviewees were made up of both Pacific Islanders and foreigners, meaning that there were subtle differences in how information was given and how it was iterated.

Furthermore, across the interviews, there was a gender balance as well, with many of the important roles being filled by females, especially on the private sector side.

As has been mentioned, all the interviewees were selected based on their involvement within the area of sustainable development, the SIS, the private sector and tourism. The research targeted prominent individuals from within the various organisations that had been identified. The initial goal had been to speak to the directors if possible, or if not directors then those immediately responsible for the private sector, for tourism, and/or for sustainable development. The individuals interviewed not only had years of experience in the field but were also well versed at the political understandings that needed to be taken into consideration. Upon completion, the initial goal was for the most part achieved, with interviews being carried out with the most significant individuals from key organisations.

Ethics approval was received from the University of Canterbury Human Ethics Committee in September 2017 (see *Appendix 3*). All interviews that have been included in this thesis, in an anonymous manner, have been done so with the permission, as per the ethics forms, of the interviewee. These disclosure forms were signed by the interviewee either in person or via email as suited the individual best.

The third aspect of the mixed methods approach used here is that of reflective practice. Reflection has been seen as an important aspect of action-based research (see, for example, Berg, 2004: 197; McNiff and Whitehead, 2002: 40-43; and McTaggart, Kemmis and Nixon, 2013: 108-113). The reflective practice proved a crucial element for the thesis overall, for it enabled a deeper interaction with the data gathered, by taking the time to reflect on what had been gathered, why it had been gathered, how it fitted into the overall structure of the thesis and what value it added. More generally, it also enabled a space through which to engage with the context in a more meaningful manner through teasing out ideas and stories that only came to light when the time was taken to actually stop and think deeply about the experiences that one was going through and that one was seeing. Initially the reflective practice was utilised within the desk-based research. In this sense, each paragraph or argument was not only reflected upon, but notes were also taken regarding the argument that were re-examined at a later date and then re-worked into the body of the text itself.

Three other methods of reflection were also incorporated: listening; watching; and learning. Firstly, there were personal conversations with experts and colleagues on the topic. Secondly, as

discussed, there was conferences. These included conferences on climate change, Pacific tourism and Pacific sustainable development. These conferences added much value to the early stages of the research especially in terms of being able to listen to those at the forefront of fields that were relevant to the thesis research. The information gathered here was used through reflective practice to, in turn, reflect on the data and analyses that were completed later on in the thesis process so as to ensure that it had taken into consideration the ideas that were put forth in the conferences. Finally, there were field observations made during the time spent carrying out fieldwork in the Pacific. The information and knowledge gathered from these methods enabled for a deeper reflection as to the context that was being studied and what could potentially be done to assist with increasing the effectiveness of sustainable development processes within the region. This deeper reflection added much value to the critical analysis through engaging with the data in this deeper and more profound manner.

The fourth method within the mixed methods approach is that of the case study. The case study has been chosen because, as mentioned earlier, the thesis wanted to examine a specific division within the private sector in order to properly test its ability to assist, or not, with the enabling of transformative sustainable development which would uphold the right to development and overcome climate change concerns within SIS. With this in mind, the case study utilised a single-case embedded method (Scholz and Tietje, 2002: 2-3) which tests for a most-likely scenario (Bennett, 2004: 29). The single case was tourism within SIS and how it could assist with enabling more effective engagement by key actors (these being the EU, SIS Governments, civil society and the private sector) in the process of sustainable development in light of contemporary challenges. The reason for choosing a most likely case is because “a most likely case is one that is almost certain to fit if the theory is true for any cases at all. The failure of a theory to explain a most likely case greatly undermines our confidence in the theory” (Bennett, 2004: 29). This option fits best with context in the SIS where there has been limited engagement between the private sector and development actors in attempts to enable sustainable development. In this sense, the thesis must test the way in which tourism could play a role and, if it proves that tourism struggles to play a role in assisting with transformative sustainable development within SIS, then this knowledge can be generalised into the broader context and conclude that the private sector does not assist with such sustainable development because, as Bennett (ibid.) stated above, “the failure of the theory to explain a most likely case greatly undermines our confidence in the theory”. On the other hand, if a positive relationship is found then the notion that the private sector can enable transformative sustainable development could be promoted more broadly with confidence.

In summary, using a mixed-methods approach has been beneficial in this research because there were a number of issues in gathering data on the Pacific and especially on the regional body of the SIS. Both in the desk-based research and the interviews problems were encountered accessing and securing relevant material and contacts. Limited funding also hindered the planned empirical data collection. Because of these difficulties, the mixed-methods (in this case desk-based research, interviews, reflective practice and a case study) proved a very effective way in which to gather data because it meant that the thesis was able to access and make use of a broader set of data from a variety of sources which assisted in overcoming some of the issues highlighted. It is hoped that this thesis has, to some degree, laid a foundation for future researchers to be able to continue adding to the field of Pacific research and through this begin to address some of the issues related to lack of data and access to information on and in the region. It is hoped that the thesis can inspire or engage others in either continuing or starting their own explorations, investigations and analyses of the Pacific, an idea which Teaiwa (2006) has advocated strongly for and something that this thesis has attempted to add to and encourage.

Limitations

As with any research project there are certain limitations that impact upon the work carried out. This chapter has already alluded to one issue - access to, and funding of, travel to the SIS - but two others have also been identified: the role of China in development in the Pacific; and gender equity within the analytical framework. As has become clear in the previous section, there are a number of challenges related to researching the Pacific, with one of the key issues being access. In terms of travel, it would potentially have added value if the researcher could have travelled to all of the SIS and completed interviews and observations in each state. However, due to circumstances beyond the control of the researcher, related to funding and time as discussed in the previous section, this was not possible. Still, completing fieldwork in Fiji did provide a sound opportunity to speak to some influential decision makers and the research has benefitted from that. Thus, while travelling to all of the SIS may have added more to this research project, the fieldwork that was carried out engaged with all the relevant key actors regardless.

The second limitation is related to the role of China in the Pacific. During the fieldwork it became obvious that China is having a very marked impact on the Pacific and is very active in its engagement with many of these countries. In this sense, exploring the opportunities for increasing

the effectiveness of sustainable development and China's role within this would offer an excellent opportunity for future research given their current prominent role both regionally and globally. Unfortunately, this was beyond the remit of this thesis.

Thirdly, during the conceptualisation of the analytical framework, the importance of the role of gender equality within sustainable development became clear. While this is a very important area of research, it was felt that because it is such a rich and sizeable topic, it was beyond the scope of this thesis and not addressing it in full would not do the topic justice. Therefore, it has not been addressed in this research. However, given it is such an important topic it is believed that it would be a fruitful field for future research.

Conclusions

This chapter has provided an overview of the thesis's version of the theory of sustainable development. It has described the literature and sources that have been used to build this framework and detailed the research method that underpins it. What became clear within this are the difficulties involved in researching the Pacific, and especially the SIS. Whilst there are limitations to the research, and these have been identified here in the interests of reflective practice, it is hoped that this thesis can provide the inspiration for further studies and ruminations of the Pacific (cf. Teaiwa, 2006).

CHAPTER 3

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT THEORY: FORMULATIONS AND CRITIQUES

The previous chapter has provided a brief introduction to the analytical framework created for this thesis in its attempt to understand how actors' engagement with sustainable development could be made more effective in light of contemporary challenges. As this analytical framework depicted, it is important to understand the history of the concepts that are being researched. Therefore, the chapter begins by discussing the history of sustainable development and the role that specifically the *Brundtland Report* has played in shaping this discourse. Following this, the key points of the theory that will be utilised in the analytical framework are discussed. These are: immanent and intentional development; strong sustainability; inter- and intra-generational thinking; and levels of change. Defining these points is of crucial importance because it has been recognised within the literature that there is much ambiguity within the sustainable development discourse (see Robinson, 2004: 373-375; Grunwald, 2015: 18) and thus the thesis needs to create a clear version of how it views sustainable development to avoid such ambiguity.

Every theory must also overcome its ardent critiques in order to prove its robustness and sustainable development is no different. Thus, after having defined how this thesis views sustainable development, the chapter considers the critiques of the theory. Post-development theorists' critiques of development generally and also sustainable development are discussed before turning to the reproaches scholars from outside the post-development school have made. Whilst these critiques are valid, they do not offer a clear guide as to how to implement successful development, this is especially the case for the post-development theorists, and this is particularly problematic given the established right to development. Notwithstanding these criticisms, there is a need to uphold this right and to do so there is a need for a theory to guide such actions. As such, this chapter provides a much needed re-clarification of the theory so that sustainable development can be made more effective on the ground.

The Brundtland Report

The United Nations (UN) report published in 1987, *Our Common Future*, or as it is also commonly known the *Brundtland Report*, has often been identified as the seminal work from which sustainable development theory has grown (see for example Atkinson et al., 2014; Holden, Linnerud and Banister,

2017). As Holden, Linnerud and Banister (2017: 214) put it, "*Our Common Future* firmly placed sustainable development on the global political agenda". The Brundtland Report came at a time when there was a growing theoretical and academic interest in humanity's engagement with, or impact on, the planet (IISD, 2006). Scholars such as Ehrlich and Ehrlich (1987) spoke about the way in which humanity's actions had reached a level where they were having a detrimental impact on the natural system at a global scale and that there was a need for clear actions to mitigate such impacts. Ramos et al. (2018: 117) note that "warnings were given as early as the 1960s" with publications such as Carson's '*Silent Spring*' and the Club of Rome's '*The Limits of Growth*'. Generally speaking, the concern at the time was with the way in which humanity was growing. Meadow (2007: 196) argues that there was a need for caution in relation to the idea of constant growth for the planet since its resources are finite in nature and thus limitations on growth are needed to ensure the viability of the planet. This growing awareness of sustainability concerns reached the UN in 1972. It was in this year that the UN held the ground-breaking conference on the human environment in Stockholm (see Mulligan, 2015). The conference put forth 26 principles "for ensuring wise use of the world's 'natural resources'" (ibid.: 11). The conference led to the Brundtland Report, commissioned by the UN, who tasked Gro Harlem Brundtland to create a document on how sustainable development could be achieved and what it would entail. The Brundtland Report is an intricate and in-depth document which covers topics from economic growth to environmental degradation and lifestyle choices.

The thesis has drawn on two key themes in the Brundtland Report that are most pertinent to this research project: (1) that there is a need to change the way in which people conceptualise life and what a good life is; and (2) there is a need to focus on the processes that are required to enable people to meet their basic needs and "aspirations for a better life" (WCED, 1987: 8). With regards to first theme, the Brundtland Report advocates limitations on human actions so as to ensure that the needs of the current and future generations can be met (ibid.: 43). Importantly, it promoted the idea that citizens from both developed and developing countries need to reflect on their lifestyles, the impact their lifestyles may have on other citizens globally and also their lifestyle's potential impact on future generations. Considering such impacts and whether they will have a positive or negative influence on current and future generations, are important considerations that must be made when deciding what a good life could entail. In terms of the second theme relating to the process of enabling "people's aspirations for a better life" (ibid.: 8), one of the key points is that humanity has the potential and capability to enable development which is of a sustainable nature (ibid.: 8). This is an important insight for it means that from the very outset of sustainable development thinking, humanity has been understood as the central actor. In other words, while humanity may have created current issues such

as climate change and social inequalities, it means that humanity also has the potential to change the situation and do something about these concerns. The Report puts the power back in the hands of the individual citizen through highlighting the influential role that they can play, as long as they are conscious of it. These two insights are of key importance to the thesis for they assist in formulating a view in relation to the central research question which portrayed the importance of focusing on the process of development and what this process entails. While it also signifies the importance of humanity and the role that humanity can play in enabling a sustainable future, in fact it would seem that humanity, or society, is the key actor through which to overcome both environmental and economic concerns.

Critiques of the Brundtland Report

However, while the Brundtland Report may have been seen as the key document for sustainable development, it has also received much criticism, not least because of its absolutist version of sustainability. The report stated that the “loss of plant and animal species can greatly limit the options of future generations; so sustainable development requires the conservation of plant and animal species” (WCED, 1987, quoted in Beckerman 1994: 194). Beckerman finds this position as “morally repugnant” (ibid.) because of the cost involved in such ventures. As he explained, “given the acute poverty and environmental degradation in which a large part of the world’s population live, one could not justify using up of vast resources in an attempt to preserve from extinction, say, every one of the several million of species of beetles that exist in the world” (ibid.). He continues this argument by highlighting the fact that many people today are glad that dinosaurs are not a feature of daily human life. Indeed, as he argues, “98 percent of all the species that have ever existed are believed to have become extinct, but most people do not suffer any great sense of loss” (ibid.). In this sense Beckerman maintains that the theory of sustainable development is not only repugnant but also impractical, given the costs of ventures involved in preserving certain species (Beckerman, 1994: 195).

Hove (2004) also took aim at the solutions posited by the Report. Hove believed that there is an inherent contradiction in the Brundtland Report between the “aims of economic expansion, environmental protection, poverty eradication, and the free market” (ibid.: 50) as they are merged under sustainable development into a complicated policy. Indeed, “in its linking of economic growth, material wealth, and economic progress...sustainable development has failed to atone for the fact that it is such aspirations that put the world in such a precarious position in the first place” (ibid.). In this sense, it is merely business as usual and Hove sees this as a fundamental flaw: the concern for

Hove here is that sustainable development was supposed to be a move away from this dominant development methodology, as she states, “it is alarming that the components of the classical development model are still being advocated; as we have seen, the approach has done little to eradicate poverty, and nothing to resolve the degradation of the environment” (ibid.: 51). Jacob (1994: 245) expanded upon this issue by questioning whether the Report’s key arguments would be accepted at the grassroots level, given that in many ways the Report has overlooked human rights concerns in the text. Hove places sustainable development within broader developmental thinking. Critically, development was understood to be at an impasse, where-by there is no universal agreement as to how to alleviate poverty and overcome environmental concerns in both developing and developed countries (Hove, 2004). This could be because;

Somewhere along the road to our present crisis we lost the idea of ‘enough.’ Somehow the twentieth century’s version of progress lost its compass and began to see ‘more’ as the only desirable direction. [...] We never sought to reflect on where we were but became obsessed with where we might be (Woollard, quoted in Hove, 2004: 48).

Sustainable Development: Current Understandings

There have been many subsequent attempts to generate a theory of sustainable development which would potentially enable such reflection and guide more sustainable choices regarding development and lifestyles. Given the breadth and depth of these attempts it is no wonder that, as Grunwald (2015: 18) notes, it has become a contested term with many differing iterations and understandings. Grunwald argued that the diversity of understandings of the theory means that it is difficult to put into action and that there was a need for further theoretical debate so as to define it more clearly and more practically for policy-makers and development practitioners (ibid.). This is an important insight, for it means that within the existing processes of sustainable development there is ambiguity, and this has stood in the way of achieving the goals of sustainable development. For such processes to be made more effective, reducing the ambiguity would be a key step.

Despite such ambiguity, “‘sustainability’ rapidly evolved to become a buzzword for the dawning of the new century. Being sustainable has become the socially preferable approach to almost everything” (Roosa, 2010: 36). Sachs (2015: 1) goes further, arguing that “sustainable development is a central concept for our age. It is both a way of understanding the world and a method for solving global problems”. Sachs describes the basic tenants of the theory as being one which must take into

equal considerations impacts and actions within three specific spheres: society, the economy; and the environment (ibid.: 1, 45). Similarly, Du Pisani (2006: 94) believed sustainable development to be “a compromise between growth and conservation” For Du Pisani, such a compromise grew from the initial recognition that human actions were potentially unsustainable and harmful to the earth and thus there was a need to think holistically across multiple spheres to ensure that all could survive and thrive (ibid.: 92).

Alongside these three pillars - society, the economy and the environment - the thesis has identified four key concepts within the literature that have informed the analytical framework so as to overcome ambiguities within current theoretical thinking and increase the effectiveness of the process of sustainable development. The four concepts are: (1) immanent and intentional development; (2) strong sustainability; (3) inter- and intra-generational thinking; and (4) levels of change.

Immanent and Intentional Development

As explained in *Chapters 1* and *2*, these concepts were selected since they provided theoretical guidelines that would clarify the way in which the processes of sustainable development could be made more effective and transformative. As the analytical framework portrays, there is a need to understand the history of a context in order to fully engage with it. In terms of sustainable development, this has in part been achieved with the publication of the Brundtland Report (see above). However, some scholars (Gadgil, Berkes and Folke, 1993; Koshy, Matak and Lal, 2005; Hooper, 2005; and Brugnach, Dewulf and Craps, 2017) have noted that there is a much longer history of humanity engaging in sustainable actions in relation to the environment. Because of this, it is important to understand the role of immanent development. The notion of immanent development refers to ways in which societies collectively change over time – like Naidu (2010: 14) stated, “no society is static” – and this fluidity and change in terms of how societies think and act over time, and how this influences their actions, concepts or theories that a society uses to guide their practices, is captured by this notion (see Morse, 2008: 341–343). Immanent development, as briefly outlined discussed in *Chapter 1*, is development that people have engaged in throughout humanity’s history: or, in the words of Morse (2008: 341), “what people are doing anyway”. Gadgil, Berkes and Folke (1993: 151-152) argue that in the broader societal sense, communities have constantly explored methods to live with their surrounding environment which would ensure that both the environment and society could flourish. Brugnach, Dewulf and Craps (2017: 22) focus specifically on the role that such knowledge can play in enabling the mitigation of climate change impacts, through providing an

understanding of the local context and thus the ability to tailor mitigation efforts to match this context. Grenier (1998: 1) and Koshy, Mataka and Lal (2005: 32) build on this by highlighting that such methods and the knowledge gained from those experiences are passed from one generation to the next, with knowledge continually being added to it from both internal and external sources. Morse (2008: 341) additionally notes that scientific and technological advances have also played an important part in shaping this immanent development.

For the Pacific, this historical context of immanent development is no different. Hooper (2005: 8), draws attention to Tokelauans who readily took up new technologies, such as outboard motors and dinghies, for it seemed common sense “to make their production more efficient and to secure their food supply”. Thomas (2015: 65) similarly notes how “remote Oceania...would not have been successfully colonized by people lacking a well-established agricultural base”. This portrays the knowledge that was built up by the people of the region, which in turn enabled them to spread across the Pacific. However, Thomas (2015: 69) cautions that such knowledge has grown not only through successes, but also through failures. Failures where, for example, societies have fished certain species to extinction. Such learning - good and bad - is important because it allows for a clearer knowledge of the boundaries of the environment, economy and society to be generated and shared across peoples, place and time so that development can be more sustainable going forward.

This knowledge, gained over time, has allowed humanity to increase its intellect to a level where it is the dominant species on the planet currently. As Gladwin et al. (1995: 890-891) point out, although humanity is part of the biosphere, they have through evolution and humanity’s intelligence has gone beyond the biosphere so that society is now, because of its intelligence “the stewards of life's continuity on earth” (ibid.). The prominent role of humanity has become even clearer in recent times where it has been contested by some scholars that due to humanity’s actions the earth is moving out of the Holocene epoch into the Anthropocene (Crutzen and Stoermer, 2000; Crutzen, 2002; Swyngedouw, 2011: 69). This significant shift has been caused by desertification, urbanization, synthetic biology and genetic experimentation (Arias-Maldonado, 2016: 2), as well as significant alterations in “biogeochemical, or element cycles, such as nitrogen, phosphorus and sulphur, that are fundamental to life on the Earth” (Steffen *et al.*, 2011: 843). As Steffen et al (ibid.: 842) passionately contend, “the human imprint on the global environment has now become so large and active that it rivals some of the great forces of Nature in its impact on the functioning of the Earth system”.

While there is conjecture and debate regarding the Anthropocene term itself (Power, 2017) - it has yet to be formally recognised in the Geological Time Scale by the International Union of Geological Sciences (Olsson *et al.*, 2017) - the argument remains that the world has entered into an age where humanity has remoulded its relationship with the environment to one of dominance. This dominant position has enabled humanity to dramatically change the environment in ways it historically could not, and it is the consequences of these actions that has made this reality clear to humanity. However, the positive aspect is that as history has portrayed, humanity has learnt from its actions in relation to the environment, and that the ability to learn and adjust, in other words not remain static, means that there is hope for a sustainable future and that humanity can be a key actor in this due to their superior intelligence. Thus, incorporating immanent knowledge into development ventures is of central importance to enabling such ventures to be sustainable in nature.

However, as Hooper (2005) notes, such immanent thinking has become somewhat lost within development thinking, with “[d]evelopment becam[ing] a global project, directed from on high.” (p. 8). Such thinking has been identified within the literature by, for example, Maiava and King (2007: 84–85) and Morse (2008: 341–342) as *intentional development*. Such intentional development is what has become most common within the development paradigm (Maiava and King, 2007: 84) and includes the deliberate interventions by external experts to achieve growth (usually with a focus on economic growth) usually in the form of development projects, government spending on infrastructure and private sector growth. Morse (2008: 341) argues puts this succinctly by drawing on the work of Cowen and Shenton, in saying that intentional development is “a focussed and directed process whereby government and non-government organizations implement projects and programmes to help develop the under-developed”.

While intentional interventions may in some cases be seen as directives given from on high, there is a space within development processes for such interventions. This is especially the case for sustainable development initiatives related to contemporary issues such as climate change. Given the complex and pressing issues presented by climate change, especially in the Pacific, there is a need for development initiatives to be created which will overcome, or at least mitigate, these issues within a short time frame. There is not necessarily the space to wait for immanent development to create the solutions as this may take too long. There is much knowledge available in today’s world in relation to renewable energies or sea wall construction which could be put to use directly through an interventionist model. In this sense, intentional development has a significant role to play within sustainable development processes. However, it should be cautioned that there is a need to ensure

that such initiatives take into account the immanent knowledge available so as to ensure that such interventionist ventures are relevant to the context within which they are intended to function.

The Role of Culture in Sustainable Development

The discussion above shows that no action occurs in a vacuum and that the way in which society engages not only with itself but also the environment is based on knowledge that is gathered over time. Kavaliku (2005) and Nurse (2006) both make this point in relation to sustainable development, explaining that culture should be placed at the core of sustainable development theory. As was noted in *Chapter 1*, Nurse (2006: 37) explained that culture should be seen as central to sustainable development, not merely as an additive “because people’s identities, signifying systems, cosmologies and epistemic frameworks shape how the environment is viewed and lived in. Culture shapes what we mean by development and determines how people act in the world”. Kavaliku (2005: 23-25) reinforces this idea through arguing that the deep incorporation of culture into development interventions enables the interventions to be relevant to the local context. This is important because in some cases the theory may be correct, but it does not match with the local context and if this is not considered then the intervention will most likely fail. Nurse, highlighting the work of Friberg and Hettne, argued that “the countries of the Third World that have a real option to choose indigenous rather than Western solutions to their problems are those with access to a strong cultural heritage” (quoted in Nurse, 2006: 38). Thus, culture is a key aspect of the analytical framework and its deep incorporation into the sustainable development processes would add much value to their effectiveness.

Strong and Weak Sustainability

While imminent development, intentional development, and culture provide an understanding of what forms of knowledge can be utilised, the following section addresses the very character of sustainable development processes. As discussed above in relation to the Brundtland Report, the idea of limiting humanity’s actions to ensure that the environment is not damaged beyond repair given the finite nature of the planet is an important aspect of sustainable development. While the Brundtland Report highlights the importance of limitations, there has been much discussion as to the nature of these limits. For Neumayer (1999) there are two ways to do this: strong and weak sustainability. As discussed in *Chapter 1*, this thesis embraces strong sustainability because of the omnipresent environmental challenges and the need to overcome and/or curb these. However, the concept of weak sustainability still has useful analytical purchase in development thinking. Weak sustainability focusses on the concept of substitutability (Neumayer, 1999: 22). This is based on the concept that

technology, and advances within technology, will overcome any constraints that arise, such as those related to resources (ibid.: 23). The reason for such trust in technology is, as Neumayer explains, that the “*aggregate total value* of man-made capital *and* natural capital at least remain constant. It means that natural capital can be safely run down as long as enough man-made capital is built up in exchange” (ibid.: 23). What is important to note is that such thinking argues that income growth will also see improvements in the environment, thus proponents of this theory are environmental, as well as resource, optimists (ibid.: 23, 25). Neumayer points out that “a rise in consumption...can compensate future generations for a decline in the stock of renewable resources...or a rise in the pollution stocks” although it should also be noted that “applying present-value maximisation can lead to utmost unsustainability” (ibid.: 25). This is something that would not necessarily be beneficial for future human habitation on this planet.

Strong sustainability advocates for the placing of limitations on humanity’s actions to avoid further environmental degradation. It is here that the connection to immanent thinking becomes clear. Limitations have been set previously based on society’s having over-fished or over-used certain resources (see, for example, Thomas, 2015; Turner, 2015) and society has had to deal with the negative consequences of this. These ‘lessons learnt’ have, accordingly, led to limitations on their future actions. Such limitations are also something that the Brundtland Report has advocated for, where it proposed more intentional designs so as to ensure the limitations could be enabled. It is clear that both imminent and intentional knowledge is needed to enable strong sustainability, especially when taking into consideration the point raised by Williams and Millington (2004: 102) that “human society – in its endless pursuit of materialism – is heading in the wrong direction”. The damage that this endless pursuit is having on the environment has reached a level where there is a distinct need for limitations to be placed on humanity’s actions. This is based on the notion that the earth is a complex finite system, within which humans must not only function but are also active influencers of change. Some of this change has often been destructive. In this sense there is a need to limit human activity to ensure survival within this complex system and not create serious irreversible damage: “the common belief linking together stronger sustainability theorists is the view of the Earth as finite and their conceding that no habitable future is possible unless the demand-side of the equation radically alters by rethinking our attitude towards nature as well as our view of economic progress and ‘development’” (Williams and Millington, 2004: 102).

Furthermore, within the theory there is an understanding that the earth has intrinsic rights in the same manner that society has human rights (Williams and Millington, 2004: 102). Such rights come

with obligations as with any other right, and it is the obligation of humanity to ensure the earth is not compounded with human actions that create irreversible damage. Given this understanding there is a need to re-visit the way in which sustainable development is promoted as existing processes have placed an emphasis on economic growth as the means to overcome poverty. Still, as the discussion above shows, the constant search for material capital is not necessarily sustainable on a finite planet. In this sense, proponents of strong sustainability argue for a change to the way in which wealth is defined: instead of it having a material base, the idea is to focus more on the well-being of humans (ibid.). Thus, for strong sustainability there is little room for the notion of substitutability, the core of weak sustainability as discussed above. In other words, proponents of strong sustainability do not believe in the substitutability of natural capital with other types of capital (Pelenc, Ballet and Dedeurwaerdere, 2015). In the words of Neumayer (1999: 26-27) “the essence of [strong sustainability] is that it regards natural capital as fundamentally non-substitutable through other forms of capital”. This further enforces humanity’s role as stewards of the earth, as Gladwin et al. (1995) explained earlier, for they have the opportunity to live within the parameters of the earth, and this thesis believes that the most effective method to encourage humanity to live within these parameters is through strong sustainability thinking.

Against this backdrop, there are two options for operationalising strong sustainability: the first option emphasises that natural capital stock must remain constant; and the second option arguing that the natural capital’s regenerative capacity must remain constant (Neumayer, 1999: 27). This is an important point, for given the earth system is complex and multi-dimensional there is a need to ensure that the processes that allow for human life are not be destroyed through human actions. As such, as Neumayer (1999) argued above, there is no substitutability for critical natural capital stocks. It is here that strong sustainability has particular salience for the research question in this thesis: if actors are to fully engage with the processes of sustainable development, then there is a need to ensure that those processes incorporate some levels of limitations on the actions that are encouraged through those processes to ensure that critical natural capital is not depleted. Without this limitation, development concerns will only become more acute.

Inter- and Intra-Generational Considerations

Strong sustainability reinforces the need to think of both current and future generations within sustainable development processes. Neumayer, drawing on the work of Spash, powerfully argues that there is an “inviolable right of future generations to be free of intergenerational environmental damages” (Spash, quoted in Neumayer, 1999: 27). This places pressure on the current generation to

think about the way in which they are acting and the impacts that this will have across time. Given this, the next theoretical concept which the thesis believes to be of central importance to sustainable development thinking is that of *inter- and intra-generational thinking*. Such thinking is of crucial importance not only because of the environmental damage and the impacts that are involved in this, but because if people do not understand the consequences of their actions, it will be difficult to promote sustainable actions of any type.

Inter- and intra-generational issues were a key aspect of the Brundtland Report (WCED, 1987: 27) but more recently scholars have come to re-address these points in their more contemporary conceptualisations of sustainable development (for example Agyeman, 2013: 8). Unquestioningly, there is a need to ensure that future generations are not negatively impacted upon by the actions taken by the current generation and for the current generation to be able to achieve this there needs to be equality and justice for them (WCED, 1987: 27; Agyeman, 2013: 22–37). These notions are of crucial importance to the central research question, for if actors are to fully engage with the processes of sustainable development then they must ensure that the actions do not have a negative impact on future generations and work towards reducing inequalities within the current generation. to portray the importance of these concepts to the sustainable development process two examples related to societal inequalities and environmental degradation are presented here to explain the importance of both inter- and intra-generational thinking. Firstly, in relation to intra-generational thinking, the Brundtland Report stated that “poor people are forced to overuse environmental resources to survive from day to day, and their impoverishment of their environment further impoverishes them, making their survival ever more difficult and uncertain” (WCED, 1987: 28). The existence of economic inequalities has become more pronounced in recent years. As noted in *Chapter 1*, Pimentel, Aymar and Lawson (2018: 19) argued that 2017 witnessed the largest increase in billionaires in history and that the wealth involved in this increase could have ended “extreme poverty seven times over”. In this sense, there is a need to think in intra-generational terms in order to ensure that people are able to develop within this context thus placing less stress on the environment. In terms of inter-generational thinking, the SIS offers an excellent example of the need to think in terms of the future as well. The SIS are some of the most vulnerable nations to the impacts of climate change (Smaller Island States 2016a: 15), especially sea level rise. As discussed briefly in earlier chapters, it has been predicted by the Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change that even at the lowest levels of global warming, the sea level will rise by an estimated 0.5 – 0.6m by 2100 in the Pacific region (Carabine and Dupar, 2014: 8). This is of serious concern to Pacific states, especially as some of these states at their highest points are only 5 meters above sea level currently (Campbell and Barnett, 2010: 23). In other words, if actions

are not taken now to curb emissions and global warming then these states may literally sink, something which would be catastrophic for the future generations of these nations. Thus, if the sustainable development process does not factor these two concepts in then it will not be sustainable in the long-term.

Critiques of Development and the Levels of Change Advocated to Overcome Criticism

The fourth and final concept that has been drawn from the literature is the *levels of change* which sustainable development promotes. This was discussed in *Chapters 1* and *2* in relation to the work of Hopwood, Meller and O'Brien (2005) who mapped the various approaches to sustainable development and the levels of change advocated by those approaches. Here, however, these levels of change are directly related to the strong critique of the development paradigm in general presented by post-development theorists. Post-development theorists have challenged development on its intentions, its actions and the way in which this has enabled the Western powers of the current system to maintain their positions of power, dominance and influence (Escobar, 1995: 5, 13, 221; Ziai, 2004: 1045). As such, post-development theorists argue that the concept of development has generally failed (Sachs, 2009: 17).

Such critiques give an insight into the power dynamics of the global system. Such power dynamics are important to understand in order to make sustainable development more effective, as it could be that an increase in effectiveness is being thwarted because it does not suit the ambitions of a global power. This is potentially what post-development theorists are speaking of when referring to the idea that development is a Western construct: the construct enables Western nations to maintain power and should 'development' occur globally then they would lose some of this power. Understanding such power dynamics, as the analytical framework highlights, is important to being able to define processes of sustainable development and who is leading these processes. Given the strong post-development critiques of the way in which development has been implemented to date and the role of power dynamics, it is difficult to argue that the versions of sustainable development that only advocate for minor to relatively major changes in the current systems provide an appropriate model to focus on. Moreover, these processes have been shown to be less than effective and, arguably, have caused "massive underdevelopment and impoverishment" (Escobar, 1995: 5). In this sense, the reform and the status quo versions of sustainable development do not necessarily offer a theoretical guide through which one could achieve positive change within the current sustainable development processes for it seems the limited change which they advocate for does not allow for a conquering of the post-development critique. As Escobar (1995: 222) points out, "to think about

alternatives in the manner of sustainable development, for instance, is to remain within the same model of thought that produced development and kept it in place”.

Furthermore, for post-developmentalists there is a concern with whose voice is incorporated in the development processes. In terms of sustainability, as has been discussed with immanent development, there is much knowledge available within societies outside of the Western centres of power that offer methods of living sustainably with the environment. Incorporating this knowledge into the sustainable development processes would enable them to become more effective, while also offering an opportunity to deeply incorporate the voices of those for whom development is for and who may have been outside of the dominant development discourse to date. As Robinson (2004: 373-374) points out, the theory of sustainable development can lose credibility when “different conceptions of the meaning of sustainable development and sustainability tend rather to reflect the political and philosophical position of those proposing the definition more than any unambiguous scientific view”. From this viewpoint, sustainable development of the status quo or reform variety can be utilised as a tool through which to promote political aims. Moreover, Robinson continued on to explain that, the ambiguity inherent within sustainable development as it stands now can also detract from core issues such as human welfare, inequalities and poverty within the current system (ibid.: 376).

Given this position, Escobar (1995) argues that there is a need to unlearn development as it is currently formulated. Escobar advocated for this in saying that there is a need to look beyond the traditional centres of knowledge creation (such as the World Bank and academic institutions) and to engage with “new readings of popular practices” (ibid.: 223) so as to more deeply incorporate those who development is for. Thus, there is a need to ensure that the voices outside of the hegemonic centres of power have a serious role in defining development (Escobar, 1995: 217–223). Escobar would see the creation of a new language that is not caught in the constraints of development discourse but, instead, development discourse would embrace the way in which communities engage with and overcome the challenges posed by both tradition and modernity (ibid.: 219–221). Escobar calls this engagement *cultural hybridisation* (ibid.) and is the result of “negotiated realities in contexts shaped by tradition, capitalism and modernity” (ibid.: 220). Cultural hybridisation critically “provides an opening toward the invention of new languages” (ibid.: 219) so that the way in which humans understand the concept of development will determine who benefits from development and what forms of development are therefore implemented.

It is here that the transformation version of sustainable development becomes a very real option that overcomes the critiques of post-development theorists and assists in enabling the creation of new languages of development. This is because transformationists see growing issues within society and the environment and believe that serious change is needed so as to avoid a possible future collapse of this system (Hopwood, Mellor and O'Brien, 2005: 45). Through questioning the underlying power dynamics of the current processes of sustainable development and campaigning for a change to these systems so as to avoid a future collapse, it would seem that this version of the theory is offering a method through which to overcome the post-development critiques spoken of above. However, where the transformationist thinking becomes of key importance is when taking into consideration the right to development. The UN itself conceptualises the right to development as:

The right to development is an inalienable human right by virtue of which every human person and all peoples are entitled to participate in, contribute to, and enjoy economic, social, cultural and political development, in which all human rights and fundamental freedoms can be fully realized (UN General Assembly, 1986: para.1).

Given that there is this right, there is also a need for a theory to guide the realisation of this right. As has been discussed above, both the status quo and the reform versions of sustainable development struggle to overcome the post-development critique and thus would also struggle to enable the right to development.

However, while post-development offers an excellent critique of both development and sustainable development, it does not provide a clear guide as to how to achieve development itself (Nustad, 2001). Siemiatycki (2005: 60) calls out post-development theory for not being able to, for example, reduce or remove poverty, or end hunger. As such, whilst the criticisms of development and sustainable development from post-development are valid in their own right, post-development theory does not offer a method of enabling the right to development. Thus, it is argued that transformative sustainable development thinking provides an excellent insight as to the levels of change which are needed within the current sustainable development processes so as to enable them to become more effective and assist with the achievement of the right to development. The levels of change which transformationist thinkers advocate for would allow for a deep incorporation of voices who may have been outside of the current development paradigm. It also realises that humanity is the key actor within the processes and that while humanity may have created the current system and the inequalities that have come with it, it also means that humanity can change these systems and

make them more effective. In this sense, the levels of change advocated for are an important analytical tool for the thesis as it enables an uncovering of the underlying values and ambitions of a development partner. Understanding such values and whether they are transformative or status quo or reform, provides excellent insights as to whether the actor's engagement with sustainable development is already effective or could be made more effective.

Conclusion

Advocating for differing levels of change within contemporary sustainable development processes is of key importance to this thesis in terms of answering the research question that has been posed. This is because 'development' has been taking place for a number of decades, but as the post-development theorists have explained, there have been such limited results that, arguably, the mainstream development 'project' has failed. However, as discussed, there is a right to development that must be upheld and thus there is a need to generate processes which can enable this. Consequently, this thesis argues that engaging with different levels of change will overcome the strong critique posed by the post-development theorists and in-turn would assist in enabling the right to development. This right to development has been recognised within the Pacific through the *SIDS Accelerated Modalities of Action (SAMOA) Pathway* document (UN General Assembly, 2014: para. 7) as being important to the development process. This further adds to the need to ensure that there is a process of sustainable development that is able to generate positive change through redefining the structures which are currently hindering such efficiencies.

This chapter has highlighted that there is a distinct need to deeply incorporate both immanent and intentional development knowledge within any sustainable development process. Such knowledge is important for the development process as it enables the interventions that are conceptualised to be relevant to the context within which they are supposed to function. This also encourages 'voices' which may have been external to the contemporary development processes to become more central: such voices and the insights they bring to the table adds value and may improve the effectiveness of the development processes. Further, there is a need to ensure that such processes are defined by strong sustainability as it seems humanity has lost its understanding of what is enough. Even though societies have learnt from over-use of resources in the past, it seems that this immanent knowledge has been lost in recent times and thus there is a need to encourage not only the immanent development as discussed, but to enforce it through strong sustainability as well. Strong sustainability also raises the key question of inter- and intra-generational equity. Strong sustainability proposed that

future generations should not suffer the negative impacts of actions taken today. Thus, for development to be sustainable it must not negatively impact on the opportunities of future generations. Further, there is a need to build equality within the current generations as well, because there are many concerns related to equality within these generations, which if not addressed, would mean that the development processes would not be sustainable.

This chapter has critically discussed four concepts - immanent and intentional development; strong sustainability; inter- and intra-generational thinking; and levels of change - that form the basis of the new analytical framework for sustainable development that is presented in this thesis. It now turns to the specific situation within the SIS to understand how sustainable development as both theory and practice has taken place in that particular region.

CHAPTER 4

SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN THE SMALLER ISLAND STATES: CONCEPTUALISATION AND IMPLEMENTATION

This chapter focuses specifically on the way in which the SIS have engaged with sustainable development, especially in light of contemporary challenges. It begins by analysing the way in which sustainable development is understood within the Pacific context. This exploration initially begins by highlighting the importance of culture to conceptualisations of sustainable development for the Pacific using the work of Kavaliku (2005). Kavaliku provided an excellent metaphor for sustainable development options using the *lokua* fish, small fish living in reef ponds that are cut off from the sea at tidal lows but regularly replenished by the ocean. This metaphor speaks about the levels of engagement with the international community that the Pacific could choose. However, while the Pacific has a choice, the international community has also influenced the way in which sustainable development is conceptualised through their perceptions of the region. The chapter also draws on the work of Hau'ofa (1999, 2008) on the perception of the Pacific as being small and isolated and how these terms have impacted upon Pacific people's psyches. This discussion also considers the role of colonialism. Ratuva's (2003) conceptualisation of Pacific nations being syncretic in nature because of the constant engagement and interactions that they have been going through is also considered in light of the previous chapter's focus on the importance of immanent knowledge, the changes which have occurred through time and how they have shaped the present situation.

The chapter then moves on to consider the way in which the SIS specifically have engaged with sustainable development processes. It reviews the *SIS Regional Strategy 2016-2020* as the key document that has guided the way in which the SIS have engaged with sustainable development. Through this document, the SIS leaders have highlighted the contemporary issues that they are attempting to overcome on the ground. Given the thesis aim is to understand how the processes of sustainable development could become more effective and transformative, this chapter centres on two key priority areas from within the SIS strategy document: transportation and climate change. These are arguably overarching issues that need to be addressed in order to assist with positive change in the other focal areas highlighted in the document. In this sense, these two areas are seen as the most important in terms of enabling sustainable development. Transportation has been chosen because it can potentially assist in breaking down perceptions of the region related to its isolation and remoteness. Increasing transportation would enable the SIS to show a different view of the region and

this would potentially have a positive impact on sustainable development. Further, a loss of transportation options would have a significantly negative impact upon the states as it would reduce their ability to engage with the international environment, no matter which version of the *lokua* metaphor a nation chooses to engage with. Climate change is the most pressing issue that the SIS face (Scoop, 2011; Smaller Island States, 2015b). If it is not overcome, then advancements made in other areas will be of little consequence for the states' physical environment may have become uninhabitable. These two thematic areas are analysed using the notion of *reciprocal duality* from the analytical framework.

As a final consideration, the chapter then moves on to the issue of funding. This contemporary issue is seen as being of key importance to the SIS in order for them to be able to realise their development goals. Levels of funding for the region and access to funding are explored. Such concerns are once again analysed through *reciprocal duality* as the funding processes contain local, regional and international aspects which are all connected.

Sustainable Development: A Pacific Perspective

Sustainable development in a Pacific setting will always be deeply engaged with culture (Kavaliku, 2005). This is because culture shapes the identities of the people involved and also their ways of engaging with and understanding situations. Without having an understanding of the cultural dynamics then any sustainable development initiative would not succeed. The significance of this becomes even clearer when taking into account the work of Anthony Hooper, who explained that "culture plays a much more significant role in national economies and national life of Pacific countries than it does in most other regions of the world" (Hooper, quoted in Naidu, 2010: 25). Furthermore, "around 80 to 90 percent of land resources are under customary tenure, and the traditional sector accounts for around 50 percent of national GDP" (ibid.). Naidu further reinforced Hooper's point: "the entrenchment of customary land tenure and traditional social structures in national constitutions ensure their perpetuation and insulation from both market forces and state coercion...[Given that there is such] customary control over most economic resources essential for development" (ibid.). Indeed, there is more to development than merely moving towards "dynamic monetary economies" (Hooper, quoted ibid.). This portrays the importance of culture to the understandings of sustainable development in the Pacific. Thus, for Kavaliku (2005: 24), sustainable development is seen as:

...development with a working rational-one which stipulates that the interdependence of economic, intellectual, political, environmental and cultural dimensions must be considered together in the making of policies and plans for the future of peoples and nations. In essence it is development that can be sustained not only now but also in the future, given the social and physical resources available to a nation-state and the objectives it sets for itself.

However, culture is constantly evolving as “no society is static” (Naidu, 2010: 14). As the previous chapters made clear in discussing the analytical framework for this thesis, it is important to take into account the rich and complex history of the Pacific in order to contextualise the way in which sustainable development is understood in the Pacific, as signified in the analytical framework. This history also goes some way to explaining the current positioning of the Pacific within the global context. As Ratuva (2003: 247) explained, the “Pacific Island states, owing to their colonial, postcolonial and incomplete globalised history, remain in a relatively subaltern position within the global system”. That said, the Pacific states “continue to vigorously engage in the redefinition, rearticulation and reproduction of a Pacific identity which incorporates dichotomies such as modernity and tradition, subsistence and market relations, individual rights and communal rights, and liberal democracy and traditional authority” (ibid.). These dichotomies, as well as the constant engagement on behalf of the Pacific with the global world, seems to be central to the way in which sustainable development is interpreted from a Pacific viewpoint. It has also led to many differing methods of engagement between the stakeholders and actors of sustainable development within the Pacific. It is important to recognise that within “the current economic context, each nation has its own internal market economy and also a global market economy that it is a part of. Globalization, through economic pressures, has triggered a heavy interaction between domestic market economies and the global economic regime” (Sayan, 2018: 373).

Let us turn to Kavaliku (2005: 28) and his *lokua* fish metaphor. *Lokua* are fish that live in “reef ponds cut off from the surrounding waters during low tides, but when the tides are high, they are periodically replenished by ocean waters” (ibid.: 28). Kavaliku goes on to make a connection between these fish and the Pacific itself: “for people living in the Pacific islands, the issues are much the same as those faced by the *lokua*: whether to be an integral part of the larger ocean or to remain in our own little ponds, nurtured mainly by our own resources, but having them replenished from time to time by the regional and global environments” (ibid.). Whichever version of this is chosen impacts upon the way in which sustainable development would be conceptualised and the policies and actions that would be engaged to achieve such development. If the more open version is supported, then it would

seem to entail that development initiatives would be created so as to assist a state make the most of the international influences and opportunities. If a more closed version of development is supported, then it would entail scepticism as to the international arena and what it can offer. In other words, it would seem more of a 'cherry-picking' process of the perceived positive opportunities offered by the international community, while the rest are respectfully avoided.

This thesis asks what role the private sector can play within the processes of sustainable development and the *lokua* metaphor provides some analytical insight here: if a more open view is pursued, then the private sector could play a strong role in assisting with this process. However, if a more closed approach is taken, then the role of the private sector would also change. While the private sector may not be able to grow as much, it could still play an important role within the country through being a connection between the international community and the local community and offering an opportunity to engage when it is deemed necessary.

However, caution must be taken when engaging with the external world because, as Hau'ofa (1999) explained, the external view has been perceived to have had a negative impact upon development in the Pacific. Hau'ofa took issue with the idea of the Pacific being small and remote, a narrative that was introduced by Western colonial powers. In colonial ideology, the Pacific were "islands in a far sea" (ibid.: 7) with this view focussed on the smallness, the remoteness, and the distance from the powerhouses of the global system at the time. Hau'ofa notes who was responsible for this narrative: "It was continental men, namely Europeans, on entering the Pacific after crossing huge expanses of oceans, who introduced the view of 'islands in a far sea'" (ibid.). This was further exacerbated in following decades when Americans and Europeans further divided the Pacific along imaginary colonial boundaries which, "for the first time, confined ocean peoples to tiny spaces. These are the boundaries that today define the island states and territories of the Pacific" (ibid.). Within this context, the Pacific became conceptualised as a remote region that would struggle to move beyond their current status. This discourse only came about "as a condition of colonial confinement that lasted less than a hundred of a history of thousands of years" (Hau'ofa, 1999: 11).

Hau'ofa's observation of how the colonial view has impacted upon the way in which external powers have viewed the Pacific remains very pertinent in today's context. As one UN report - entitled *Countries with Special Needs* - claimed about SIS countries, "they are highly dependent on aid and their marginalization in the global economy is exacerbated by their geographical handicaps, including small size, remoteness and their isolation from major international markets and prohibitive trade

transaction costs, especially for LLDCs and SIDS” (OHRLLS, 2012: 3). The terminology used here seems to reflect the critique that Hau’ofa was putting forth a decade earlier, this being that the Pacific is seen as handicapped and thus is struggling to ‘develop’ in the Western sense.

However, these same ‘vulnerabilities’ - such as geographic isolation and small land size - are issues that the societies of the Pacific have successfully adapted to and overcome throughout their many centuries of living in the Pacific islands (see, for example, Koshy, Mataki and Lal, 2005; Nunn, 2008). Thomas (2015: 65) remarks on the Pacific islands ability to overcome its vulnerabilities: “remote Oceania...would not have been successfully colonized by people lacking a well-established agricultural base”. He also highlights that “Kiribati...and the Marshall Islands have produced some of the earliest dates for the human colonization of eastern Micronesia, about 2,000 years ago” (ibid.: 66). This goes to show that the cultures of the Pacific have been living at one with the environment in a manner that has enabled their cultures and societies to thrive over many centuries. This history of positively engaging with the surrounding environment is still current today as the Premier of Niue, Toke Talagi, explained when talking about what Niue has to offer the world: “what can we offer...is an example of a country that is trying its best at the moment to become self-sustaining, and is determined to become self-sustaining, so that other people can see what we’re doing and hopefully learn from that” (quoted in Cain, 2015).

The SIS Leaders, more broadly, have also moved to reconnect with this history through advocating for a rebranding and change of name for the regional grouping (Smaller Island States, 2015a: 2). This became clear at the 2015 SIS Leaders Meeting in Port Moresby, where the Summary of Decisions stated that “Leaders highlighted their desire to rebrand the SIS so as to emphasise their potential of being Large Ocean States rather than being defined solely by their vulnerabilities and size” (ibid.).

However, even with this in mind, the view of the Pacific - including the SIS - as small, isolated and remote has remained. This can be seen, for example, through the *SAMOA Pathways* document wherein it is stated that: “we reaffirm that SIDS remain a special case for sustainable development in view of their unique and particular vulnerabilities, and that they remain constrained in meeting their sustainable development in all its three dimensions” (UN General Assembly, 2014: para. 5). The document goes further when discussing trade: “given the unique and particular vulnerabilities of SIDS, for example, small size, limited negotiating capacity and remoteness from markets, we recognize that efforts are needed to support their further integration regionally and between the regions and in

world markets” (ibid.: para. 107). Worryingly, statements like these appear to confirm Hau’ofa’s (2008: 60) fear that “if we fail to construct our own realities other people will do it for us”. To some degree, the external view of the Pacific is encouraging this and, consequently, the understanding of sustainable development in the Pacific has been shaped by the external views of the international community.

From the perspective of the analytical framework, the internal and the external views of the Pacific have an important role to play. The view of the Pacific as being small, remote and isolated, as described above, does not seem to take into account the longer history of the way in which cultures have lived and thrived in the Pacific over many centuries. In this sense, for sustainable development to be made more effective in the Pacific, it could be argued that the way in which the Pacific is spoken about would need to be changed so as to acknowledge and recognise this longer history. In terms of Kavaliku’s *lokua* metaphor, positive change within the rhetoric surrounding the Pacific would enable more positive engagement if the more open option is pursued. In terms of the internal view, or shaping the story oneself, it became clear during the fieldwork that there is a concerted effort to build a more realistic picture of the SIS, that moves beyond the smallness, the remoteness and the reliance on donors (Interview 10, Suva, October 2018). This up-beat and positive attitude regarding the future potentially lends itself towards the second version of the *lokua* metaphor where growing the nations from the internal resources is pursued with only brief and calculated engagement with the international community. In terms of *reciprocal duality*, it seems that a change in the rhetoric that would deeply incorporate both the internal as well as the external views could enable a more effective and realistic understanding of the context within which sustainable development is supposed to be occurring and thus enable the initiatives involved be more relevant and more effective.

The colonial situation also provides an insight into the importance of immanent development or, in other words, the knowledge built up over the longer Pacific history related to living sustainably within the given environment. Ratuva (2003: 259) talks about the island states as “syncretic states”: “Pacific Island states are small...they are continually being shaped by the interaction between various social, political, economic and cultural dichotomies. Tension and accommodation occur simultaneously in a syncretic way, thus the term *syncretic states*”. Ratuva goes on:

...though tradition and modernity are useful categories as historical and cultural markers, they are in themselves increasingly irrelevant because of the ways in which they have defined and redefined each other. The modern Pacific state is a juxtaposition of democratic forms resulting

from years of adaptation and experimentation involving the making and unmaking of new and old forms (ibid.: 252).

In this regard, it is the people of the Pacific making sense of their surrounds, their 'reef pond', and moulding it to best suit their needs and ambitions. For sustainable development within the Pacific, this idea offers much in terms of contextualisation. Whilst colonialism has had a significant impact upon the societies of the Pacific, it is part of a bigger picture that must take into account the thousands of years of history that has played out across the states prior to Western colonial contact. Consequently, it would seem that in terms of sustainable development from the Pacific point of view, there is a distinct need to incorporate an understanding of the immanent development that has taken place already.

Smaller Island States and the Implementation of Sustainable Development: The *SIS Regional Strategy 2016-2020*

To some degree, the immanent knowledge gathered over the decades alluded to above, has been deeply incorporated into the *SIS Regional Strategy 2016-2020*. As was discussed in the interview with the SIS, the Strategy sets forth the common concerns that the SIS Leaders felt were of most importance (Interview 10, Suva, October 2017). The leaders have been meeting since 1992 (Interview 10, Suva, October 2017) and in this sense the Strategy is built upon the experiences and immanent knowledge gathered since this initial meeting. Given the efforts to create such a coherent strategy for development, it is no wonder that there is a strong push to have all development partners coordinate their assistance with the aims of the Strategy so as to streamline development efforts (Interview 10, Suva, October 2017). The Strategy also has close ties with the realisation of human rights. This comes through in the Pacific Islands Forum publication, *Framework for Pacific Regionalism*, which provides a guiding framework for development within the region. Of importance here is the significance that it places on human rights: the publication states that the Framework embraces the "defence and promotion of all human rights" (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2014a: 3). Furthermore, the Framework defined development as being that which "combines economic, social, and cultural development in ways that improve livelihoods and well-being and use the environment sustainably" (ibid.). With this historical setting in mind, the common areas of concern that the SIS leaders felt were most pressing are expressed within the Strategy: climate change; health; labour; marine; and air and sea-transport (Smaller Island States 2016a: 18). As explained previously, this chapter will focus on two of these priority areas: air and sea-transport and climate change.

In a world which has become more globalised, transportation is a crucial aspect of being able to engage with such a world. Currently for the SIS, transportation is challenging in terms of both sea and air options. For this reason, the leaders of SIS have identified air and sea-transport as a focal area for the Regional Strategy (Smaller Island States 2016a: 4). The Regional Strategy states that enabling forms of sustainable transport is of central importance to achieving sustainable development in the region. The role of transport in development was further highlighted by the SIS Leaders at the 20th SIS Leaders Meeting in 2011:

Leaders noted that shipping is a key driver into fulfilling development aspirations of SIS and in supporting the regional initiatives under the Pacific Plan and further noted that without effective shipping services, members cannot effectively implement arrangements under regional initiatives like PICTA and bulk procurement of fuel (Smaller Island States, 2011: 9).

At the same meeting, the SIS leaders also highlighted “the ongoing challenges faced by SIS in aviation connectivity and services” (ibid.). This ambition to explore sustainable options for air and sea transport was further highlighted at the 27th Leaders Meeting in Apia in 2017. Here it was stated, in the Summary of Decisions, that “Leaders *acknowledged* the importance of addressing equitable and accessible air services” (Smaller Island States, 2017: 2, *emphasis added*).

The importance of transportation in the achievement of sustainable development has also been recognised within the sustainable development literature, as Richardson (2005: 29) explained:

Playing a major role in the sustainability of the planet is every transportation system on earth. Not only do they play a role in the sustainability of the planet, but also they, themselves, must be sustained in order to continue to afford to all people access to the economic and social opportunities necessary for meaningful life.

However, while the sector is seen as being of importance to sustainability, within the literature there are also concerns as to the unsustainable nature of transportation (Roth and Kåberger, 2002: 361–362). As Roth and Kåberger (2002: 361) note, “many of the clearly non-sustainable industrial processes are in the transport sector”. This is especially the case in relation to the levels of carbon dioxide emissions that the sector generates (ibid.: 362). Deakin (2001: 6) points out that many countries, especially developed nations, are paying more attention to the question of sustainable transportation

and how this can be implemented. For the sector to become sustainable, in terms of meeting the Kyoto protocols, Roth and Kåberger (2002: 362) argued that global emissions would need to be lessened by half globally, and if growth is to be had in less developed countries then these levels would have to be lessened even more in developed countries. This is something which is explored further later in the chapter, but here in summary, enabling sustainable transport options is of crucial importance when taking into account the impact that this would have on reducing emissions levels. As the Government of Kiribati explained, “reliable shipping and air services will contribute to economic development... [and that] ...development of sustainable energy resources is also fundamental for self-sufficiency” (Government of Kiribati, 2016: 46).

Taumoepeau and Kissling (2013: 1) further emphasised the importance of the sector, especially air-transport, to the region by highlighting that for the Pacific states these airlines are crucial “for economic development...public utility, and in some countries, for national pride”. In terms of air-transport currently, *Table 2* below shows available flight options and service providers to the various states of SIS, inclusive of domestic and international flights. This table provides a number of interesting insights in terms of questioning the pervasive image of the region spoken of earlier, as well as the role of the government and the private sector in enabling and building transportation options for the SIS. It also provides an opportunity to analyse the effectiveness of current engagement between actors within the transport sector through *reciprocal duality*.

Firstly, while the current levels of connections to the various states is relatively low, it is important to note that there are connections and people can reach these destinations relatively easily. Such connections stand in contrast to the image spoken of by Hau’ofa earlier where the region was viewed as remote and isolated and difficult to reach. Transportation offers an excellent method through which to breakdown this potentially damaging view of the region, as increasing the connectivity of the region would link to the timeworn history of the region wherein travel was widespread. As Nunn (2008: 81) points out, “these incredible journeys serve to underline the close affinities between Pacific Islanders and the Pacific Ocean, affinities that have sometimes been underrated in assessments of Pacific Islander achievements”. In this sense, increasing the transportation options would assist with the sustainable development processes in terms of breaking down challenging perceptions and also reconnecting with the historical context of the region, something that the analytical framework has highlighted as being key to enabling sustainable development.

Table 2: Air Transport to SIS

Country (Airport)	Incoming flights (from)	Frequency (flights per week)	Provider	Domestic Flights
Nauru (Nauru Int.)	Brisbane	1	Nauru Airways	n/a
	Nadi	1	Nauru Airways	
	Honiara	1	Nauru Airways	
Niue (Hanan Int.)	Auckland	2	Air New Zealand	n/a
Kiribati				Air Kiribati offers connections to both the Gilbert Island Groups and the Line Island Groups.
Tarawa	Nadi	2	Fiji Airways	
	Brisbane (via Honiara)	1	Air Kiribati in partnership with Solomon Airlines	
	Funafuti	1	Air Kiribati	
Kirimati	Nadi	1	Fiji Airways	
	Honolulu	1	Fiji Airways	
Federated States of Micronesia				Travel to outer islands available but organised in country by tour operators or hotels
Yap	Palau	2	United Airlines	
	Guam	2	United Airlines	
Chuuk	Guam	5	United Airlines	
Pohnpei	Guam	5	United Airlines	
Kosrae	Guam	4	United Airlines	
Republic of Marshall Islands				
Majuro	Nauru	1	Nauru Airways	
	Honolulu (to Majuro and onto Kwajalein)	3	United Airlines	
Kwajalein	Guam (to Kwajalein and onto Majuro)	3	United Airlines	
Tuvalu	Suva	2	Fiji Airways	
	Tarawa	1	Air Kiribati	
Cook Islands				Domestic flights are

				operated by Air Rarotonga with daily flights to Aitutaki and scheduled flights to Atiu, Mangaia, Mauke, Mitiaro, Manihiki, Penryhn and Pukapuka.
Rarotonga	Tahiti	1	Air Tahiti (operated by Air Rarotonga)	
	Auckland	4	Jetstar	
	Auckland	7	Air New Zealand	
	Auckland	4	Virgin Australia	
	Christchurch	1	Virgin Australia	
	Sydney	1	Air New Zealand	
	Los Angeles	1	Air New Zealand	
Palau	Guam	6	United Airways	
	Manila	2	United Airways	
	Taipei	2	China Airlines	
	Seoul	2	Korea Airlines	
	Narita	4	Delta Airlines	

Note: This table was current at the time of writing, September 2018, though it is understood that there could be changes to these flight schedules.

Sources: Nauru: <http://www.nauruairlines.com.au/bookings/booking-information/schedules/>, Niue: <https://flightbookings.airnewzealand.co.nz/vbook/actions/selectitinerary?fsk=1119698618>, Kiribati: <http://www.airkiribati.com.ki/tarawa2honiara>, <http://www.airkiribati.com.ki/tarawa2brisbane>, <http://www.airkiribati.com.ki/funafuti-service>, <http://www.kiribatitourism.gov.ki/kiribati-pacific-ocean-location/getting-here/> and <http://www.airkiribati.com.ki/schedule-map>. FSM: <http://www.visit-micronesia.fm/guide/access.html> and <https://www.united.com/ual/en/nz/>. RMI: <http://www.visitmarshallislands.org/index.php/getting-here>. Tuvalu: <http://www.timelesstuvalu.com/travel-to-the-tuvalu-islands> and <http://www.airkiribati.com.ki/funafuti-service>. CKI: <https://booking.jetstar.com/nz/en/booking/select-flights>, <https://cookislands.travel/flights>, <https://www.virginaustralia.com/au/en/plan/timetables-route-maps/flight-timetables/>, <https://www.discovercookislands.com/cook-islands/getting-here>, <http://www.cookislandsairports.com/home/>. Palau: <https://sirenfleet.com/travel-advice/palau/getting-there/>, <https://palaudiveadventures.com/palau-how-to-get-there/#>, <https://pristineparadisepalau.com/happenings/flight-schedules-update-visiting-palau> (all accessed September 2018).

This means that SIS are heavily reliant on those companies to continue to view these states as important destinations. This has been recognised within the Regional Strategy where it is stated that there is a need for political dialogue with partner countries within the Pacific Islands Forum in an attempt to achieve a “resolution in ensuring mutually beneficial air and sea-transportation services to

the SIS” (Smaller Island States 2016a: 19). This would also include discussions with development partners as to how to build the necessary infrastructure as well, with the ultimate goal of generating sustainable air and sea links to the states (ibid.: 4). Such dialogue seems to portray the way in which the SIS have engaged with a contemporary developmental issue in order to generate sustainable development within the region. Such dialogue can also be seen as a form *reciprocal duality* where partners are made aware of the economic and social impact of their continued engagement in providing air-transport to these destinations. If such dialogue is successful, then it will go a long way to assisting with efforts to increase the effectiveness of sustainable development in the region. Thus, it could be argued that at the regional level there is a relatively effective process in place that incorporates the private sector and, as such, should bear fruit in the future.

This central role of the government in terms of enabling the growth of the transport sector has also been recognised by Taumoepeau and Kissling (2013). These scholars argue that governments must play a crucial role in terms of enabling the air-transport sector yet, at the same time, governments must also reduce their influence over the sector and enable it to run on market terms as a private sector institution to ensure its sustainability (ibid.: 11). This puts governments in a difficult position since they need to stay involved while also lessening their influence. This is potentially where *reciprocal duality* could play a role. On the one hand, governments could act as excellent ambassadors for the countries. As the table above shows, only the Cook Islands, Kiribati and Nauru have national carriers with the rest being reliant on external companies. With this in mind, governments could advocate for their states with these airlines, as the SIS Regional Strategy outlines, placing an emphasis on the importance of the flight connections for their states in terms of economic development and social connectivity. The reciprocity aspect would come for the external actors to engage with this need and ensure that they are working closely with the partner governments to provide the services that are needed and expand upon these. In this sense, there is space here for the private sector, through airline companies, to be more deeply incorporated into the sustainable development process through the engagement in solidifying current routes and looking to create new ones so as to continue to grow the sector within the SIS. Such engagement in the sustainable development process by the private sector would add much value as it would enable the SIS to become more connected with the global environment and would enable more of a choice as to how much engagement with this environment is wanted - as spoken of by Kavaliku - rather than having it decided by external factors.

In terms of the locally owned carriers, there is a challenge here because they are costly for governments and have often been running at a loss (Taumoepeau and Kissling, 2013: 4, 9). Again,

reciprocal duality could have analytical purchase here. According to Taumoepeau and Kissling (2013: 11), one way in which to make the sector more sustainable internally is to reduce the governments' influence and place an emphasis on profitability. In terms of *reciprocal duality*, it seems that governments have not moved beyond seeing the sector as a "public utility service" (ibid.: 11). As such, there is an opportunity for the governments to understand the air-transport industry as exactly that: a private sector industry that runs on market values and rules rather than as a public institution. In this sense, to make development more sustainable in relation to air-transport in SIS, governments potentially need to create a new understanding as to their role in the process. This is because, it would seem that the key role for the governments would be to advocate for their states with external airline partners, while the role for the private sector would be at the more regional level where airline companies are run as businesses and not extensions of public services.

The table also demonstrates that while for some countries in the SIS (such as the Cook Islands and the Federated States of Micronesia) there are high levels of connectivity in terms of international flights, for others (such as Tuvalu and Niue) there are limited options for international air travel. This is especially the case for Tuvalu where there is a need to either fly through Fiji or Kiribati first, meaning it is even more difficult and expensive to reach. It is here again where the private sector could play a more prominent role within the sustainable development process. As mentioned above, there is space to explore new flight paths on a commercial basis, if the influence of governments could be reduced. It seems that governments are focussed on ensuring routes mainly serve a 'tourism' purpose (Taumoepeau and Kissling, 2013: 9) and this means that other market opportunities are being overlooked. It seems that what is potentially needed here is more private sector-led research as to where the demands are within air-transport both locally, regionally and internationally, and to build an air-transport strategy around this.

This notion of private sector-led research was brought up during the interview with PIPSO, where it was mentioned that such research is currently lacking within the Pacific (Interview 4, Suva, October 2017). However, this situation seems to lend itself to promoting such research. Such research would ensure the relevance of the research carried out to the local and international markets. Furthermore, as the interview with IFC highlighted, there is a need for more specific market-based research to work out exactly what the market is looking for and thus where comparative advantages may lie (Interview 8, Suva, October 2017) that could enable things like sustainable air and sea-transport. This would also offer the private sector a clearer and more obvious role within the processes of sustainable development within the SIS. This is because such research would offer the private sector

an opportunity to add value to the formation of sustainable development policy. This would be transformative, in part, because currently the private sector does not have a strong voice within sustainable development and such research may enable a stronger voice which could assist in enabling initiatives to be more relevant to private sector context and thus increase the effectiveness of their engagement.

While the above has provided insights into air-transportation options, sea-transport is also of key concern, especially for the rural and outer island communities. As Nuttall et al. (2014: 283) explain, "sea-transport is essential at all levels of society from fishing and local transport needs of small isolated islands and villages to inter-regional shipping needs of nation states". In terms of shipping to the SIS, there are number of providers, such as Matson, who provide services to Niue, Cooks Islands and Nauru, or Pacific Direct Line, who provide services to Tuvalu, Kiribati including Kirimati Island, the Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of the Marshall Islands, Palau, and Tuvalu.⁵ Here, again, the debate as to the sustainability of the transportation sector - discussed earlier (see Roth and Kåberger, 2002) - is brought to the fore, because while sea-transport is crucial to the Pacific states, including the SIS, it has also been recognised as a sector that is producing a large amount of emissions and thus adding to the negative impacts of climate change (Newell, et al., 2017: 250). Furthermore, within the transportation sector there is a large reliance on fossil fuels to run the various transportation options. Newell et al. (ibid.: 251), for example, note that in Tuvalu, "transport is the single largest imported fuel user". This reliance on fuel is not only an issue within Tuvalu however: "the PICs are the most imported fossil fuel dependent in the world with 95% dependency, 99% if PNG and Fiji are excluded" (ibid.: 250). These scholars go on to conclude that the "high cost of transport hinders all development efforts" (ibid.: 251).

However, as Nuttall et al. (2014: 283-284) point out, not only is the fuel a concern, but the high costs of maintaining vessels means that many of those ships that service Pacific routes, especially domestic ones, are not necessarily 'up to scratch'. It is unsurprising therefore that the SIS leaders wanted to have sea-transportation as a focal area in the Regional Strategy, especially given that the costs of transportation stand directly in the way of development. One of the key dilemmas regarding transport expansion here is that as the global community attempts to cut emissions from the transport sector to mitigate climate change, the cost of fuel for Pacific states transportation will inevitably increase (ibid.: 284).

⁵ See: https://www.matson.com/matnav/services/south_pacific_Schedules.html and <http://www.pdl123.co.nz/schedules/> for both companies shipping schedules (Both accessed 2 September 2018).

When viewing this situation through *reciprocal duality*, the complexity of the situation becomes clear. On the one hand, mitigating climate change is one of the key concerns for development in the SIS and the globe generally, thus attempting to reduce emissions from the transportation sector is a valid action. However, such efforts are increasing the cost of transport in the Pacific states and high transportation costs stand directly in the way of development. This is the embodiment of a catch-22 situation. However, there are options through *reciprocal duality* that would potentially enable this sector to become more sustainable and thus add to the effectiveness of sustainable development initiatives in the SIS. Initially, if the global community could be made to understand this slightly dichotic situation faced by the SIS in terms of transportation costs and climate change in relation to development, then there is the potential to generate the needed dialogue to find a solution that would suit both parties. That said, some have noted the reluctance of donors to engage with this issue (Nuttall et al., 2014: 287) and, at the Pacific regional level, there is also a lack of clear policy through which to guide these actions (Goundar, et al., 2017: 83-84). In this sense, the Pacific side of the reciprocity is lacking in that there is no clear ambition as to the transportation sector and emission reductions that would enable the international community to fulfil the other side of the reciprocal relationship. The SIS, it could be argued though, are taking the necessary steps to create the relevant policy and information that could be utilised for *reciprocal duality* in the sector to be realised. This can be seen through the fact that the SIS Leaders, through the Regional Strategy, have created a discussion paper related to increasing the sustainability of the transport sector for the Pacific Islands Forum to consider and discuss. While they have also highlighted that they will engage with donors in an attempt to work on options to assist with the needed infrastructure (Smaller Island States, 2016a: 19). In this sense, the SIS are deeply engaged in the sustainable development processes and through the actions mentioned in relation to transport options, could potentially play a transformative role within these processes.

While working within the policy realm has been described as one potential solution to the transportation concerns of the Pacific (see Goundar, et al., 2017), another potential solution is the implementation of renewable energies. Here the historical aspect of the analytical framework becomes important because, as some scholars have noted (Nuttall, et al., 2014: 285-286; Goundar, et al., 2017: 81), there has already been much research into what role renewable energies could play within Pacific transportation systems. Unfortunately there are barriers to renewables providing a solution to this issue, notably access to finance and the “prohibitive cost and practicality of establishing extensive bunkering and support infrastructure for alternative fuels” (Newell, et al., 2017:

251). However, while this may be the case, given the concerns related to emissions and global warming, renewable energies are the future. Here, the private sector could play a transformative role within the sustainable development processes. As Gilbert (2014: 378) argues, climate change and the need to overcome the actions which have enabled such changes presents the industry, or private sector, with an opportunity to implement sustainable techniques which would protect industry well into the future, and not just one policy at a time. If the private sector could provide such options and the governments can create the needed policies - something that the SIS are working towards - then it would seem that such engagement with the development process would enable effective sustainable development in the region.

Climate change is singularly the biggest issue facing the Pacific today. The global warming that is being experienced currently poses severe threats to the SIS, including sea level rise and the increase in frequency and severity of extreme natural weather events. In terms of sea level rise, as has been discussed in *Chapter 1*, even at the low levels of warming the sea level is likely to rise an estimated 0.5-0.6m by 2100 in the Pacific (Carabine and Dupar, 2014: 8). For SIS nations such as Nauru, whose highest point is 10m above sea level currently, and Tuvalu, which is just 5m above sea level, this is of serious concern (Campbell and Barnett, 2010: 23).

While this is not the case for all states - such as the Cook Islands who are home to both atolls and volcanoes that reach up to 652m above sea level, and Palau whose highest point is 242m above sea level (Campbell and Barnett, 2010: 23) - it is not only sea level rise which is of concern for these states. As the UNFCCC (2005, 2006, 2007) have highlighted, global warming has also contributed to an increase in the intensity and frequency of severe weather events. Such events have had a negative impact on development progress, as Samoan Prime Minister, Tuila’Epa Sailele Malielegaoi, explained: “our Pacific island nations, including my own country, know from bitter experience of cyclones that regularly batter our region, of the disheartening effect of disasters in setting back in a matter of hours hard-earned development achievements of many years” (quoted in UNFCCC, 2005: 28). To show the severe impact of these storms on development progress, the COP23 website has compiled an overview of the cost of such natural disasters. In the Cook Islands, for example, each cyclone costs on average 2% of the state’s GDP (COP23 - Fiji, 2018).

However, while the SIS are among those who are at the forefront of dealing with these issues, they are also among the states who are least responsible for the generation of these issues (UNFCCC, 2005). In terms of *reciprocal duality*, this is of serious concern, because it means that the actions of

states external to the region are having a severe impact upon the lives of those living within SIS. In terms of the greatest contributors to global warming through emissions, Matthews et al. (2014: 3, 5) contend that the highest contributors are the USA, followed by China and then Russia, Brazil, India, Germany and the United Kingdom. They go on to explain that these top seven nations have “accounted for 63% of the warming up to 2005” (ibid.: 3). Since 2016, however, China has slightly overtaken the US as the most prominent emitter, followed by the EU as a whole, then India, Russia and Japan (Janssens-Maenhout, et al., 2017). These states together now account for 68% of total global emissions (ibid.: 3) which is in stark contrast to SIS countries such as the Marshall Islands who have contributed approximately 0.00001% of total global emissions (Malo, 2018). Similarly, Palau emitted only 0.042 metric tonnes of carbon dioxide in 2016 as opposed to China’s 10432.751 metric tonnes in the same year (Janssens-Maenhout, et al., 2017: 58, 159). In fact, not only have such states contributed so little in terms of emissions, they have instead chosen to set national targets that would enable a complete removal of the dependency on fossil fuels. An excellent example of this are the Cook Islands who have stated through the *Te Kaveinga Nui, National Sustainable Development Plan 2016-2020* that the country would like to move from a dependency on fossil fuels to renewable energy sources by 2020 (Government of the Cook Islands, 2016: 31). This goes to show that in terms of mitigating climate change, the SIS are highly reliant on external states changing their behaviour in order for SIS to achieve climatic stability. As President Baron Waqa of Nauru explained, “we’re working very hard – especially the smaller island states – to advocate to the world that something has to be done right away” (quoted in Maclellan, 2018). SIS Leaders as a whole have further highlighted this need in the *Smaller Island States Leaders’ Port Moresby Declaration on Climate Change* where they state: “We, Leaders of the Pacific Smaller Island States also call on all nations, particularly the advanced economies in our region and beyond, to rise to the challenge of climate change and take transformational action to steer us on a path where climate change is no longer a threat to our planet.” (Smaller Island States, 2015b: 5). This notion has also been recognised for quite some time within the Pacific, as the Honourable Isaac V. Figir of the Federated States of Micronesia explained at COP1 in 1995:

I believe the experiences of our nation is quite similar to those of other small island developing States; and it means that we’ve already begun to experience the effects of climate change that for the most part, industrialized countries have brought upon us. The fear of submergence is not mere science fiction though that is all too easy for sceptics to dismiss. I have no doubt that at current levels of emissions of greenhouse gases (or even at levels where there is only a nominal decrease in the level of emissions of greenhouse gases) submergence is a possibility. The primary point is, however, that a long, long time before that point is

reached, our reefs could be dead, our fishes fleeing, our groundwater completely salinated, our food crops depleted and our islands made inhabitable (quoted in UNFCCC, 2005: 24).

For the processes of sustainable development to become more effective there is thus a need for high emission countries to significantly change their behaviour in relation to emissions for nations such as SIS to be able to achieve their sustainable development goals. In other words, there is a need on behalf of the high emitting nations to understand their reciprocal responsibility to the SIS in order to enable sustainable development. At present, it would seem that the SIS are upholding their side of *reciprocal duality* - since they have implemented policies that continue to lessen their total emissions - but given that they are at such minimal levels currently, it will not make the global impact needed. The President of the Marshall Islands, Hilda Heine, explained this clearly when speaking about her country's strategy to become carbon neutral by 2050 (*Radio New Zealand*, 2018; see also Republic of the Marshall Islands, 2018). "Once again, my country has shown that if one of the smallest and most isolated nations can do it - so can everyone else, including the big emitters. Making the transition to net zero emissions makes sense for our global economy and for our environment, as well as for our people and our planet" (Hilda Heine as quoted in *Radio New Zealand*, 2018). In this sense, it becomes clear that the larger emitters must play a key role in reducing emissions.

There is a global mechanism, defined under Article 4 of the Paris Agreement (UNFCCC, 2015) that captures such thinking, this being the nationally determined contributions (NDCs). Here all parties in the agreement are tasked with defining the level they will reduce their emissions by and report on this progress every five years. This mechanism embodies *reciprocal duality* at a global level. Unfortunately, as Pauw et al. point out (2018), even though further negotiations took place post-Paris at COP22 in Marrakesh, ambiguity surrounds the NDCs. Such ambiguities have enabled states to interpret the various obligations in their own way, making it difficult to create a uniform approach to the lessening of emissions. There is also a lack of guidance as to "the role of financing in implementing NDC, despite its importance" (Pauw, et al., 2018: 24). If such reciprocal thinking is not solidified and taken seriously then it will be very difficult to overcome climate change and, in turn, enable sustainable development within SIS, as the levels of emissions will not lessen, global warming will continue and the concerns raised by Figir become a reality. In other words, there is a pressing need to follow the Marshall Islands who, through their *Tile Til Eo 2050 Climate Strategy 'Lighting the way'* (Republic of Marshall Islands, 2018), aim to become fossil fuel free, and use this strategy as a method of not merely talking the talk "but actually walk-the-walk. By producing something that, as ambitious

as it is, it can demonstrate to the rest of the world that if we can do it so can they” (Daniel Paul, quoted in *Radio New Zealand*, 2018).

However, there is a positive aspect to this as well because if high emitting states were to engage fully with such reciprocal thinking, then it would have a positive impact on sustainable development in SIS through the lessening of emissions. The EU is one institution which has already started this process. This became clear in the interviews: the EU highlighted that they are one of the largest emitters and contributors to a number of climatic issues in the Pacific and around the globe, and thus wanted to assist in the region as a form of mitigation for these emissions (Interview 2, Suva, October 2017). There is an acknowledgement here of matching the actions which are taken at home with impacts felt abroad and realising the importance of acting both locally and internationally in order to overcome global issues such as climate change. The EU is embracing *reciprocal duality* in this instance and demonstrating one way in which actors could become more deeply involved in making the sustainable development process more effective.

Money Spent Differently: Two Sides of the Climate Funding Story

The *SIS Regional Strategy 2016-2020* has provided an insight as to the focal areas which the SIS believe need to be addressed in order to enable sustainable development in the region. What the Strategy also highlighted, though, is the need for funding to achieve the goals stated under the focal areas. In the Strategy, this is defined as needing to look for alternative funding options which will “accelerate and expand funding options in future” (Smaller Island States 2016a: 15). This concern with levels and availability of funding is also mentioned within the *SAMOA Pathway* document where it is stated that for climate change related initiatives to be continued or up-scaled there is a need for further funding (see Paragraph 15, 49 and, more generally, the finance section Paragraph 102-106 of UN General Assembly, 2014). Goundar et al. (2017: 85) reviewed a number of studies to conclude that “despite increased climate finance commitments and pledges in the past, the ability of developing countries, especially the most vulnerable countries, such as PICs, to access these has become more difficult”. Analysing this situation through *reciprocal duality* offers an opportunity to explore the issues related to funding since there are two distinct sides to these concerns: one being the recipient, in this case the SIS, and the other being the funder, or donor.

In terms of the SIS side of this equation, there are two key issues: (1) the levels of funding; and (2) the difficulties involved in accessing this funding. In terms of the levels of funding, the call for

more financial aid has been heard by the international community and has led to actions such as the promise by developed countries to committing 0.7% of GDP as development assistance (Clemens and Moss, 2007: 3–4). The SDGs further promote the 0.7% target through *Goal 17*⁶ which also includes calls to mobilise additional resources for developing countries from a variety of sources (UN General Assembly, 2015: 26). Here, one can see the reciprocal nature of the actions taken by the global community in attempting to provide the requested additional resources which the SIS, and other developing states, are calling for. However, the UN took up the call for this target in the 1970s (Clemens and Moss, 2007: 6-8) and, given the time-lapse between the initial call for such funding and the need to reaffirm, once again, this need for funding via the SDGs, there has been a significant lack of progress on this front. In terms of *reciprocal duality*, it would seem that because the concern over funding is still there, it represents a lack of action on behalf of those who have promised to deliver such funds and in this sense there is a distinct lack of *reciprocal duality*. This means that sustainable development is challenged and until such funding can be accessed effectively then it will be difficult to realise sustainable development in the SIS. However, some may argue that the 0.7% target was only ever a guide and never an obligation for developed states, and that as such it is potentially understandable that it has not been achieved globally. To this extent, one could argue that the rhetoric was correct in terms of wanting to make the necessary funding available, but that the actioning of this sentiment was lacking.

However, even within cases where this sentiment has been actioned, there remain concerns regarding accessing funds. An example of this is the Green Climate Fund (GCF), a relatively new fund that has been created to assist in providing funding for climate change related initiatives. The GCF has been seen as an important avenue for funding by the SIS and this can be seen in the Regional Strategy where there is an interest in creating a “SIS regional programme to access GCF funding for national implementation” (Smaller Island States, 2016a: 3). The SIS interest in accessing GCF funding was further emphasised through at the 27th SIS Leaders Meeting in Apia in 2017, where the summary of decisions explained that the SIS should look into the opportunity for a joint proposal for funding (Smaller Island States, 2017: 3). The GCF itself grew out of the UNFCCC COP 16 Cancun negotiations

⁶ Goal 17 is titled ‘Strengthen the means of implementation and revitalize the Global Partnership for Sustainable Development’. Under this goal the two points that this section is referring to is 17.2 and 17.3 which state respectively: “17.2 Developed countries to implement fully their official development assistance commitments, including the commitment by many developed countries to achieve the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national income for official development assistance (ODA/GNI) to developing countries and 0.15 to 0.20 per cent of ODA/GNI to least developed countries; ODA providers are encouraged to consider setting a target to provide at least 0.20 per cent of ODA/GNI to least developed countries. 17.3 Mobilize additional financial resources for developing countries from multiple sources.” (UN General Assembly, 2015: 26).

(see Bird, Brown and Schalatek, 2011) under Decision 1/CP.16 (Fenton, 2014: 1) and is made up of even representation between developed and developing countries (Schalatek, Nakhooda and Watson, 2013: 1). The GCF became fully operational in 2015, and had already “approved USD 168 million for its first eight projects ahead of COP21” (Schalatek, Nakhooda and Watson, 2013: 1). The GCF offers the long-term funding that is needed to ensure that countries who are at the forefront of dealing with the impacts of climate change have access to funding and can thus set in place long term plans and strategies.

Given this it is no wonder that the SIS are interested in accessing the funding that is supposedly available through this fund especially, as Henry Puna, Prime Minister of the Cook Islands stated, “Climate finance of course is very, very important for the smaller island states - as it is for all Pacific countries. However it is especially so for the smaller island states, because of our vulnerability and our fragility and the fact that we are right at the frontline off the impacts of climate change” (quoted in Maclellan, 2016). However, Abbott and Gartner (2011) have highlighted concerns with the GCF process itself. For example, there are differing ideas as to what should be prioritised within the GCF, with global south nations interested in “the balance of power between states and the need for significant donor resources, while potential donor governments focused on accountability for expenditures and the Fund’s capacity to generate private resources” (Abbott and Gartner, 2011: 7). Developing countries place an emphasis on the reliability of aid and access to resources, while developed nations are interested in effectiveness and value for money (ibid.). Additionally, the GCF utilises a highly state-centric approach (Abbott and Gartner, 2011) and, even though the fund is open to civil society organisations (Green Climate Fund, 2016), the current lack of engagement from such bodies is a concern. Whilst the GCF is there to support states such as the SIS in terms of sustainable development, the processes and reasoning for programmes are such that the countries in most need of funding struggle to access the very monies that have been set aside for them.

SIS leaders themselves have noted that “access to the GCF and other multilateral funds was a constant worry for small states, which often lack technical and scientific resources to prepare submissions for funding” (Maclellan, 2016). This was made even clearer at the Leaders meeting of 2016, where in the Summary of Decisions it was stated that “a collective, coordinated and targeted approach between SIS and relevant partners to identify options to improve and expedite access to climate financing to address economies of scale, including through an SIS joint proposal to relevant climate financing arrangements and support for its subsequent implementation” (Smaller Island States, 2016b: 2). While the SIS have put an emphasis on exploring the options for joint bids to funds

such as the GCF to overcome the issues of capacity, what is important to note is that “these funding proposals are very complicated and in many cases are beyond the capacity of many states where human resources are lacking” (Henry Puna, quoted in Maclellan, 2016).

Such difficulties in accessing important funding are seemingly at odds with the ideas articulated by SIS leaders, as this comment from Eneli Sopoaga, the Prime Minister of Tuvalu, shows: “the hope is that smaller island states could access this funding from the Green Climate Fund as soon as possible, and the procedures and requirements for paperwork would be further reduced, so we can access this important facility to help them adapt to impacts of climate change” (quoted in Maclellan, 2016). However, while this has been the hope, few states within the SIS have secured any funding from the GCF to date (only the Cook Islands (Maclellan and Meads, 2016) Tuvalu (Maclellan, 2016) and Nauru (Maclellan, 2018) have been able to access funding from GCF).

These difficulties in accessing such globally promised assistance has led the SIS to look into alternative methods of funding climate change initiatives. One alternative that has been raised by the SIS through the Regional Strategy was a call to explore the possibility of creating a regional climate fund which could provide the needed funding (Smaller Island States, 2016a: 14). While there is much that could be said in relation to the positivity of the creation of such a fund - especially in terms of its potential to increase the self-sufficiency of the region - the fact that this option has had to be explored by the SIS goes to show that *reciprocal duality* is not currently within the structures of the global funds that have been setup to assist with climate change. Whilst they have listened to the concerns of states such as SIS, these external actors have seemingly been unwilling or unable to streamline the processes of enabling access to the much needed funding. In this sense, there is no transformation to the sustainable development processes and this means that the SIS will struggle to realise sustainable development via such processes because they cannot access the necessary funding which has been identified.

While the above portrayed the case for the recipient, the story of the donor is of equal importance. As was mentioned above in relation to the GCF, there is a concern from donor countries regarding accountability and value for money. This became clearer within the interviews where the EU highlighted that it was often difficult to find projects which were of a standard that could be funded based on the guidelines which the EU has to work with (Interview 2, Suva, October 2017). In this sense, there seems to be a need to rectify the understandings on both sides of the process: on the one hand, funders would need to ensure that their processes are streamlined and simplified so that end-users

can fully engage with them, yet on the other, those who are requesting the funding must ensure that they have clear and succinct proposals ready to present to funders. From a disengaged view, this sounds like a relatively simple task, that both sides engage in dialogues that are already taking place in order to define what sort of development should be funded and to what level. Yet the constant calls for more funding paints a different picture. Although there may be *reciprocal duality* taking place at a rhetorical level, it has not become a reality in terms of funding actually reaching developing countries such as the SIS. It is this issue that the next chapter will tackle in more detail.

Conclusion

This chapter has argued that sustainable development within the Pacific context can be understood as development that makes strong use of immanent knowledge through the importance of culture, and as an opportunity to either open up to the international system or to remain relatively closed and choose when to 'replenish' through engagement with the international system. Regardless of which option is chosen, there are a number of concerns within the region that would need to be overcome in order for sustainable development to become more effective.

Firstly, in terms of these issues, transportation is a concern because the securing of sustainable and consistent transportation methods would assist with sustainable development in the SIS. Whilst the chapter argued that the government must play a key role here, it was also noted that space should be given to the private sector to explore opportunities for growth. The private sector could play a transformational role within sustainable development processes, especially as it could add value to and build sectors such as the air-transport sector. However, the biggest developmental concern for the SIS is that of climate change, if this concern cannot be overcome then the habitability of the region is at stake. The chapter argued for the need for *reciprocal duality* in order to overcome this issue. While the EU has displayed such thinking, there is a need for more action on this front where high emitting countries are able to realise and accept the impact of their actions on the rights of people in other states around the world. If such reciprocal thinking cannot be encouraged, then it will be difficult to realise sustainable development within the SIS for the nations will be physically threatened.

Furthermore, the chapter discussed the difficulties of overcoming climate change when there was a distinct lack of funding readily available to the SIS that could be used for climate change mitigation and adaptation purposes. There have been global initiatives and the establishment of funding pots that were supposed to make such access more streamlined. However, there remain

concerns regarding access to funding and it has reached the point where the SIS have begun to research the feasibility of setting up a regional climate fund that would enable such funding opportunities more easily. For sustainable development processes to be made more effective then streamlining access to funding processes would make a significant difference. Arguably, the SIS have engaged in a transformative way with the sustainable development processes through exploring the option of a regional climate fund which would potentially build self-sufficiency. However, there still seems space for the donor organisations to realise through *reciprocal duality* their role in assisting with overcoming such concerns based, in part, on their contributions to these issues. As discussed, this is something that the EU has recognised and it is their actions that will now be explored.

CHAPTER 5

THE EUROPEAN UNION IN THE PACIFIC: A DONOR'S ENGAGEMENT WITH SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES

While the previous chapter focussed on the SIS, this chapter explores the role that donors play within sustainable development processes. Given the importance of the global development agenda and the impact that this has had on regions such as the SIS, this chapter analyses how donors are engaging with the processes of sustainable development within SIS. As noted in *Chapter 1*, there are multiple donors who play very important roles within sustainable development in the SIS (such as Australia, New Zealand, and the EU). Out of these donors the thesis chose to examine the EU because its activities aligned with the thematic areas of the thesis: the EU is interested in working with the private sector (European Commission, 2014b); the EU places much importance on human rights (Saltnes, 2013; D'Hollander, Marx and Wouters, 2014); the EU is committed to tackling climate change (European Commission, 2018b; Yamin, 2000); and the EU has been a key actor in shaping the global sustainable development agenda (Carbone, 2007; Bodenstein, Faust and Furness, 2017). While this thesis has focussed on the EU, it is also important to note that as was mentioned in that *Chapter 1* the thesis has presented a model whereby it looked to examine the effectiveness of actors' engagement in sustainable development processes in a region. Thus, it was hoped that this thesis could have laid a platform for future research into this region through using the model the thesis has proposed, but by potentially analysing a different donor.

As the analytical framework for this thesis argued, it is important to consider the historical context, so this chapter begins by looking at how the EU has understood sustainable development over time. It tracks the evolution of EU sustainable development thinking and policy from the early *Environmental Action Programmes* of the 1980s, through the *Sustainable Development Strategy* of 2001, to the *New Consensus on Development* produced in 2016. These policies provide the framework within which the EU has sought to expand its view of (and actions on) sustainable development. While such policies provided an overview as to how the EU has conceptualised sustainable development, the way in which they have attempted to implement these ideals and the reasoning why they would like to engage in development is also analysed. Firstly, the chapter explores the moral, or altruistic, reasoning for the EU being an active development partner in the SIS. What became clear from the interviews is that, for the EU, there is a moral feeling of obligation to be an active development partner in the SIS because of the role that the EU have had in generating emissions which have added to the

negative impacts of climate change. In order to explore this situation further and to build a deeper understanding as to the development partnership between the EU and the Pacific, both the *Lomé Conventions* and the *Cotonou Agreement* - two key agreements which have framed EU engagement with partner developing countries - are analysed in terms of the way in which these agreements enable this moral sense of obligation or whether there is something more to this situation.

The chapter then moves on to examine the geo-political nature of the EU's engagement with the SIS. Within this context, the critiques put forth by post-development theorists become important because the power dynamics within these geo-political concerns have been one of the reasons that post-development thinkers believe development has failed. As such, the chapter then evaluates whether the EU's engagement with the SIS either reinforces the post-development critique or challenges it. Exploring both the sense of moral obligation and the geo-political concerns offers an insight into the difficulties involved in donor and development partnerships and the chapter concludes by considering how donors, in this case the EU, can add value to sustainable development processes.

Sustainable Development: An EU Perspective

The EU has been committed to development which takes into equal consideration the environment, the economy and society since the 1980s. It was during this time that there was a concerted effort to mainstream environmental considerations into policies in all sectors. This was realised through the *3rd, 4th, and 5th Environmental Action Programmes* (Liberatore, 1997). Whilst these programmes may have started with environmental concerns, they soon expanded to hold a more holistic view: "sustainable development has since long been at the heart of the European project. The EU Treaties give recognition to its economic, social and environmental dimensions which should be addressed together" (European Commission, 2016: 2). These ideals became further refined in the early 2000s when the European Council challenged the Union "to become the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world capable of sustainable economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion" (EU Council, quoted in European Commission, 2001: 2). In response to this challenge, the EU "decided that the EU sustainable development strategy should complete and build on this political commitment" (European Commission, 2001: 2). This led to the adoption of a *Sustainable Development Strategy* in 2001 at the European Council in Gothenburg, with an external dimension added in Barcelona in 2002. Within this strategy, the concept of sustainable development is explained as:

Sustainable development offers the European Union a **positive long-term vision** of a society that is more prosperous and more just, and which promises a cleaner, safer, healthier environment – a society which delivers a better quality of life for us, for our children, and for our grandchildren. Achieving this in practice requires that economic growth supports social progress and respects the environment, that social policy underpins economic performance, and that environmental policy is cost-effective (ibid., *original emphasis*).

These dimensions built upon the platform set by the *Treaty of the European Union*. Within Articles 2 and 3 of the Treaty, there is clear reference to the underpinning respect for human rights, dignity and freedom, as well as democracy and the rule of law. It goes on to stipulate equality between genders, tolerance and justice (European Commission, 2012b: 17) and expands these ideals into the global arena, explaining that it will attempt to assist with, for example, the eradication of poverty, promotion of human rights and peace and security (European Commission, 2012b: 17). As such, sustainable development for the EU centres on the question of how to “reconcile economic development, social cohesion, north/south equity and protection of the environment” (European Commission, 2005: 38). This question has become important to the way in which the EU has engaged in promoting sustainable development in their external actions. The EU is guided in their external actions through the *New Consensus on Development*, presented in 2016, which states that the EU will pursue the fostering of “sustainable economic, social and environmental development” for developing countries (European Commission, 2017a: 4). Thus, it places an emphasis on the environment, the economy and society with sustainable development being the method through which to bring these dimensions together equally in order to create a sustainable, just and equitable world, within which poverty is eradicated.

However, whilst there are proclamations that seem to suggest a development process that takes into account the three pillars of environment, society and the economy, there are other points within EU rhetoric where this equality between the pillars is not necessarily clear. One example of this, from within the Pacific context, is the *2012 Council conclusions on a renewed EU-Pacific Development Partnership*. These conclusions stated that the EU wanted to strengthen “cooperation on human rights, participatory democracy, good governance, sustainable development, climate as well as full respect for the principles of international law and the UN charter” (Council of the European Union, 2012: 1). What is important to note here is that sustainable development is placed alongside ideas such as the climate, good governance, and human rights, concepts that according to the analytical framework would be incorporated under sustainable development anyway, not as something

separate. In this sense, the EU's approach to sustainable development engagement with the Pacific seems somewhat confused, as for the most part the EU discourse regarding sustainable development incorporates equally the three pillars instead of the separated version which has become apparent in the above noted document.

Such ambiguity in the way in which the concept of sustainable development is understood is something that, as Grunwald (2015: 18) explained, can lessen the sustainability impact of the concept as it is being shaped to suit certain needs rather than an autonomous scientific conclusion. Such ambiguity would also lessen the effectiveness of the development processes, thus for the EU to engage in this manner in the sustainable development processes of the Pacific, may not be the most effective. However, while the way in which the EU understands the concept of sustainable development may have ambiguities within it, the reasoning why the EU is an actor within the region can be explained by two reasons: (1) a moral one; and (2) a geo-political one.

The European Union as Donor in the Pacific: The Moral Story

As Orbie (2012: 18) has argued, the development of external regions has been a concern of the EU since the Schuman Declaration in 1950. More specifically, for the Pacific, the EU's interest in the region's development has been proposed to be, at least in part, due to a moral sense of obligation to assist in the region because of the way in which the EU has contributed to the causes of climate change (Interview 2, Suva, October 2017). As was discussed in the previous chapter, Pacific states are among those who have contributed the least to global warming, with developed countries, especially in Europe, being among the highest emitters. The interviews revealed that the EU was involved in these regions in an effort to rectify some of the damage that they have been involved in, in other words they feel morally obliged to assist (Interview 2, Suva, October 2017). This feeling of moral obligation is an important insight into a more effective method of sustainable development as the EU has realised their deep involvement in the creation of issues that are seriously impacting upon the lives of others. This is not only challenging morally but is also at odds with the way in which the EU understands sustainable development, especially in terms of upholding human rights. *Reciprocal duality* can speak to this in terms of both the environmental and social pillars: the moral sense of obligation grew from an understanding of the role of the EU in causing environmental harm which in turn was impacting upon the human rights of citizens in various regions globally such as the Pacific. Consequently, when analysing this through *reciprocal duality*, it becomes clear that such engagement by the EU adds to

the effectiveness of sustainable development processes in the Pacific, as the EU has realised its impacts and thus taken measures to mitigate these impacts.

This moral sense of obligation has also become obvious in the way in which the EU has framed their development efforts. As was discussed earlier, the EU has actioned various agreements and resolutions with the partner regions in order to promote development. This commitment to assist in these regions fits with the altruistic and moral sense of obligation spoken of above. However, within these agreements and resolutions there is a deeper concern which questions whether or not EU engagement is based solely on altruistic notions or whether the context is more complex. In order to explore this, the *Lomé Conventions* and the *Cotonou Agreement* are examined. The *Lomé Conventions*, as described by Holland and Doidge (2012: 55), “were innovative and established a First-Third World relationship that was progressive and unparalleled for its time”. Hurt (2003: 161-162) similarly posits that the *Lomé Conventions* heralded one of the first times that the nations of the global south reached somewhat of an equal footing in negotiations. This was important to the EU since the preceding *Yaoundé Convention* had been criticised for having “perpetuated dependency rather than promoted development” (Holland and Doidge, 2012: 54–55).

Ground-breaking as it was at the time, the *Lomé Conventions* provide an example of how the EU sought to improve development impacts through renegotiating the framework that guided their actions. This being an attempt at rectification after having realised the lack of impact of previous agreements in terms of development. It also provided an opportunity to highlight the length of time it took the EU to re-structure development assistance so as to make it more effective for the development partners, rhetorically at least. It is this last point that is of importance for the reasoning behind choosing to focus on the later *Cotonou Agreement* and the post-Cotonou discussions that are currently taking place. The *Cotonou Agreement* is the current mechanism through which the EU is engaging with the Pacific region (European Commission, 2014j; Chadwick, 2018) and thus it is important to explore the moral or altruistic values implicit within this.

The first *Lomé Convention* was signed in 1975 and had run its course by 1999 after four iterations. The reasons for needing to move beyond the *Lomé Conventions* were varied but among them were changes to the economic contexts both within the EU and partner countries. This became clear, according to Solignac Lecomte (2001), through changes in what the EU needed from these countries in terms of goods. There was also a renaissance within Africa during the 1990s which meant that these markets were seen in a more positive light and thus there was a need for a new agreement

to access these markets. This ability to deeply engage with the African markets meant the EU shifted its tone to speaking about reciprocity and mutual benefit within such agreements (Solignac Lecomte, 2001: 14). However, it seems that such reciprocity was focused on providing the EU with easier access to new markets rather than actually enabling development in those countries. In this sense, there was little altruism involved and more of a self-centred understanding of development assistance and sustainable development processes. Yet, it was not only trade concerns that were at the centre of wanting to reshape the *Lomé Conventions*. As Solignac Lecomte highlighted, there were also political and bureaucratic issues involved in wanting to create a new agreement which would maintain ties with the developing regions. Solignac Lecomte explained that the Commissions DG VIII would have lost influence within the European Commission should EU external policies become too aid-orientated, thus the focus on trade was maintained as this would solidify the DG VIII's position, rather than weaken it (ibid.: 15).

Insights such as above provide excellent material for post-developmental critiques of the whole development agenda. This is because, certain interests within what is promoted in these agreements can be deduced to the simple notion of who can maintain power and prominence within a given institution. In this case, it is the DG VIII who is concerned as to what will happen to their prominent position and so they influenced the development agenda so as to ensure their relevance. This has nothing to do with what the recipient countries want or need or could use - it is all inward looking and based on maintaining the status quo. As Holland and Doidge (2012: 61) explained, "whilst ACP states were included in the policy debate on economic reform, clearly European approval was a funding prerequisite". Here there is no space for the voice of the developing country to have a positive impact: in other words, there is no *reciprocal duality* and this in turn impacts upon the effectiveness of the sustainable development processes proposed by the EU. In this sense, it is no wonder that there was a realisation that the *Lomé Convention* had failed to achieve significant development progress for partner countries (Holland and Doidge, 2012: 65).

Holland and Doidge (2012: 68) conclude on these agreements that the development engagement between the EU and the ACP countries had been "historical rather than rational". This potentially suggests that the development actions have been much more Euro-centric than the EU would like to admit - again questioning the moral argument as to development engagement – and implies that the EU have not used a needs-based approach but, instead, focussed on a relationship that is more instructive or intentional in nature. Though it was somewhat overcome, it took "half a century" (Holland and Doidge, 2012: 48–49) of aid and rhetoric to make some in-roads into this. This

can be interpreted as a breaking down of the *reciprocal duality* which was a feature of the moral sense of obligation spoken of earlier. The focus appears inward looking and self-interested rather than attempting to understand the partners view and enable their voice within the processes of creating these agreements. Development which is based on such inward self-interest struggles to overcome the post-development critique and thus would seem to not add value to sustainable development more generally.

The *Lomé Conventions* were followed by the *Cotonou Agreement*. The *Cotonou Agreement* stated three key aims in its Preamble: (1) poverty eradication; (2) sustainable development; and (3) the gradual integration of ACP countries into the world economy (Preamble to European Commission, 2014a; see also Flint, 2008). More specifically, under Article 1, the agreement stated that the “partnership shall be centred on the objective of reducing and eventually eradicating poverty consistent with the objectives of sustainable development and the gradual integration of the ACP countries into the world economy” (European Commission, 2014a: 17) while it also focussed on development cooperation being human centred through Article 9 (ibid.: 23-24). Such human centred thinking enables the right to development, in the sense that it places humanity and human rights at the core of development cooperation. Such thinking in turn would add much value to the sustainable development processes.

However, for some, such as Hurt (2003: 173), the *Cotonou Agreement* continued a similar vein of thinking that was apparent within the *Lomé Conventions*: it was neo-liberal in nature. Hurt, using the work of Flint (2008), argued that such neo-liberal thinking on behalf of the EU removes the focus from poverty reduction and does not necessarily align itself with sustainability (Flint in Hurt, 2010, p. 160). Flint further highlighted that such neo-liberal thinking closely aligns itself with weak sustainability and thus through this there is an emphasis on the role of technology and market-values that will enable growth and development within the partner countries (Flint, 2008: 160–161). However, as discussed in *Chapter 1*, neo-liberal thinking - or status quo thinking - has led to mass inequalities within the current system. In *Chapter 1* it was thus argued that there was a need to change the system to work towards rectifying these inequalities, in other words there is a need for transformational levels of change.

Furthermore, such neo-liberal thinking also stands somewhat at odds with the analytical framework built for this thesis. Within the framework, it is stated that there is a need for strong sustainability rather than weak sustainability, especially in the SIS setting where climate change is such

a serious concern. Waiting for the technologies to be developed and the market-values to become more sustainable may not happen in time and thus there is a need to place restrictions on actions now to ensure the future. In this sense, such thinking does not add value to sustainable development processes. However, the moral thinking which became apparent through the interview - and also in the wording of the *Cotonou Agreement* in terms of the way in which it recognised that development must be defined by the local actors under Article 4 (European Commission, 2014a: 19-20) - does sit comfortably with the analytical framework. This is because such moral thinking reinforces *reciprocal duality* and would thus add to the effectiveness of sustainable development processes. In this sense, the *Cotonou Agreement*, while it contained some sentiments which would not have added value to sustainable development based on the post-development critique, the spirit of the Agreement could have added value. Unfortunately, however, Flint (2008: 160) concluded that “the EU has failed to embrace the ‘spirit’ of the Agreement and has opted instead for a rigid, ‘ideological’ development framework that is frequently either inflexible or inappropriate to the situation concerned, or both”.

Whilst the EU may have struggled to think in a flexible manner, the actors that it has chosen to include under the *Cotonou Agreement* may be able to. Under the *Cotonou Agreement* there was a push for a deeper inclusion of non-state actors - including the private sector - into the development processes under Articles 4 and 6 (European Commission, 2014a). For Hurt (2003: 172), the inclusion of such non-state actors can challenge the implementation of democracy, as some of these non-state actors are not accountable to democratic values themselves. Nonetheless, such actors can also assist with the creation of *reciprocal duality*. This becomes clear through the way in which the EU is interested in assisting the Pacific integrate successfully into the global economy. Here there is an opportunity for the private sector to play an important role, because if it is guided by strong sustainability and transformative thinking, then it can assist in enabling the Pacific to integrate into the global economy through providing the necessary knowledge and economic growth that could enable this.

While, this may sound contradictory given the role that the private sector plays within the neo-liberal paradigm, the private sector need not always play such a role. Trade and exchange - that is, a market containing private entrepreneurs - has been a part of the human experience for centuries. Thus, if transformational thinking which questions the underlying social structures that have led to the inequalities in the current system spoken of earlier can be utilised, it could lead to solutions that would enable the private sector to play a constructive role within further development, rather than being a vehicle of the status quo. This is where the importance of the moral reason for being involved

in sustainable development and *reciprocal duality* becomes clear. Because if there is an opportunity to grow the understanding of all partners as to the impact of their actions and through this understanding become more engaged with altruistic development which is led by the partner country, as the *Cotonou Agreement* supports, then the processes that have enabled this would be sustainable in nature. In this sense, it can be argued that the *Cotonou Agreement* contains a number of ideas that have made the sustainable development process more effective, especially in terms of the moral story. However, it has not necessarily always been successful in implementing this sentiment, as Flint explained, and with this in mind it seems that the post-Cotonou space could provide an excellent opportunity to expand upon the moral sentiment and overcome the concerns noted above in relation to both the *Lomé Conventions* and the *Cotonou Agreement*.

Unfortunately, Tindemans and Brems (2016) contend that while there is such an opportunity, there still seems to be a continued drive to maintain the status quo of sustainable development processes from the EU side. The process through which to engage in the post-Cotonou negotiations began in September 2014 when Jean-Claude Jüncker sent Neven Mimica a mission letter asking for him to prepare and launch “negotiations for a revised Cotonou agreement” (Jean-Claude Jüncker quoted in Tindemans and Brems, 2016: 2). However, there has been conjecture regarding this process, especially from the Member States, who have voiced concerns as to the levels of engagement, the openness of the process, as well as querying what the Commission actually wanted to achieve with the new agreement (ibid.). There was also a request for a review of Cotonou that was supposed to highlight the successes and/or difficulties, though it was turned down by the Commission as they thought it too difficult to define success given the broad parameters of the agreement (see Tindemans & Brems 2016, p. 2 and footnote 1). This culminated in a feeling that there was an “institutional drive for the status quo, in contrast to the Member States’ interests in a future strategic partnership” (Tindemans and Brems, 2016, p. 2).

Such a drive for the status quo is of serious concern for sustainable development as post-developmental theorists have argued such development has not necessarily been successful. Thus, there is a need to change these processes in order to enable more effective sustainable development. What these examples reveal is that there is more to the process of sustainable development than a moral sense of obligation to assist in regions where a state has had some form of influence (such as the EU with climate change). These examples do suggest that an altruistic mind-set can enable *reciprocal duality* which, in turn, can enable a more effective process of sustainable development.

Unfortunately, however, it seems that there is a lack of such thinking currently, a topic that will be explored in depth below.

The European Union as a Donor in the Pacific: The Geo-Political Story

The post-Cotonou context, it was proposed above, could be an excellent opportunity to move away from the promotion of status quo development. However, there is much to be overcome to enable this to become a reality, especially when taking into account the words of Hurt (2003: 174) who explained that “the entire history of the official discourse of EU-ACP development co-operation can be dismissed as, to a large degree, false rhetoric that is subsumed by the realities and power relations of the international political economy”. On the other hand, Holland and Koloamatangi (2006) argued that there is ample space to enable both voices to be influential within the negotiations of the next agreement. This dichotic situation provided an opening into the geo-political aspect of the EU’s engagement in regions such as the Pacific.

Seeing as the post-Cotonou discussion seems to provide an opportunity for future positive engagement between the EU and the SIS, it is within this discussion that this next section bases itself. The Pacific and the EU have a number of agreements and resolutions which define engagement between the two partners, such as the 2006 *EU relations with the Pacific Islands – A strategy for a strengthened partnership* (European Commission, 2006) and, as discussed earlier, the 2012 *Council conclusions on a renewed EU-Pacific Development Partnership* (Council of the European Union, 2012). Within the latter of these two agreements, the EU reaffirms their close association with the Pacific region and the importance they have within external actions (Council of the European Union, 2012: para. 7). It also speaks of the need to increase funding for climate change concerns (Council of the European Union, 2012: para. 4 and 5). Importantly, in relation to the realisation of development, it notes that:

Delegated cooperation, which shall be considered on a case by case basis and taking into account its added value and the visibility of EU support, with like-minded donors and joint programming at the country level under the leadership of partner countries wherever possible will contribute to the reduction of aid fragmentation in the region (ibid.: para. 5).

Such wording provides a number of insights as to the thinking of the EU in relation to development within the Pacific: (1) it portrays the moral aspect which was spoken of earlier in the chapter; and (2)

it shows the need for visibility of EU support, the close ties with like-minded donors and the fact that development should be under the leadership of the partner country wherever possible. Of relevance to this thesis are the points on like-minded donors and on the leadership of the development process. In terms of like-minded donors, it was mentioned during the interview with PIDF that the EU does not have many similarities with, for example, Australia but they see them as an important development partner (Interview 11, Suva, October 2017). In continually aligning themselves with actors such as Australia, the EU appears to diminish the voice of the partner developing countries since Australian issues will also need to be taken into consideration. This would further maintain the status quo and thus potentially lessen the effectiveness of EU sustainable development assistance for it is attempting to maintain and build old ties with dominant powers of a Western origin in the region.

Secondly, the point related to who should lead the development process is of concern in terms of *reciprocal duality*. This seems to be advocating that development should in part be led by the EU and only where they believe the partner country is capable can they lead the development initiative themselves. This portrays self-interested thinking, rather than reciprocal thinking, in relation to ensuring an effective development partnership. Furthermore, what became clear in the interviews with key informants from within the Pacific is that for development to be successful it must be defined by those for who the development is actually for (Interview 1, Suva, October 2017). What the above would hint towards is that EU assistance will only be provided where they have a strong hand in defining what the development would entail and consist of, and only in some cases would the partner country lead and define development, something which does not seem sustainable. As Holden (2009: 44) makes clear, “as long as donors have control over their allocation of funds and final say over the activities funded they can still be regarded as having an autonomous aid policy”. Holden provided an example of this situation explaining that the EU decided to reduce their percentage of aid provided to the poorest countries in the early 2000s (Holden, 2009: 44).

Such leadership in the development process is something that post-development thinkers, such as Escobar (1995), have also highlighted as being a concern. Escobar (1995: 6, 9) argued that it is rich and dominant Western states that have defined development and thus controlled the development agenda. Furthermore, as Browne (2006: 7) notes, “aid does not go where development demand would naturally draw it, because there is not a market-style expression of that demand. Rather, its size and direction is subjectively determined by donors”. Thus, donors play an important role in sustainable development because they are the ones who set and implement the agenda. The concern is that such donors have, for many years, intervened in poor countries with little thought

given to the impact of their actions within the local context (Browne, 2006: 41). Moreover, the way in which the interventions were conceived - and the ideologies that underpinned such conceptions - have not changed as they have still predominantly remained under the influence of Northern countries (ibid.: 40). In other words, the voice of the South is marginalised within the agenda setting process. This is concerning, especially as it has been highlighted that development has been successful in regions where countries have been able to define their own development paths (ibid.). Such successful development, according to Browne, included an ability to “eschew aid and influence, rather than attempt to absorb it” (ibid.). Such an ability could be seen as transformative in nature and, if donors are attempting to create positive partnerships, then this is something that they could potentially pursue.

However, there seems to be a lack of imagination on behalf of the donors in that “the development community finds it difficult to conceive of legitimate public authority in developing countries except in terms of models that have worked relatively well in developed countries” (quoted in Browne, 2006: 41). Without such imagination, it is very difficult to break down the promotion of the current sustainable development processes and once again development, in this sense, falls to the critique of post-developmentalists as merely being an imperial project. For the Pacific, this is of significance since, as Gani (2006: 291) notes, some of these countries could be “weaned [off aid] through linking aid with sound policy reforms”. However, this still places the donor in a prominent position for it seems that Gani is hinting towards it being the external donor who creates the sound policy reforms.

This goes some way to describe the challenging situation that both recipients and donors face. While weening off aid is one potentially positive conclusion, the power dynamics and geo-politics at play within development will potentially be a strong force which stands in the way of this taking place. This has become clear through the way in which Pascal Lamy, the EU negotiator for post-Cotonou negotiations, has spoken on the importance of creating a new agreement between the EU and the Pacific:

The economic and political rise of countries in the Global South, in particular of China and its BRICS...counterparts, has reshuffled the development cooperation cards. As a result, the EU has lost part of its leverage, because ACP countries can now turn to donors that are less demanding in terms of human rights and democratic governance (Pichon, 2016: 9).

This view is solidified by Lamy who opined that it was the ambitions of powers such as China and Japan in the region that had underpinned the need for the EU to attempt to solidify their influence in the Pacific (Dateline Pacific, 2017a). Another interesting point that Lamy highlighted is that oceans will become a much more important resource in the near future. These notions are of key importance because it implies that the Pacific may become the new theatre of operation for hegemonic powers. Where once Africa, because of its abundance of natural resources, was the centre of attention for such powers, if the oceans become more prominent as Lamy hints towards, then it could mean that the Pacific becomes the new focal region in terms of political and resource-related interests. This may sound a strong conclusion but if Lamy is already thinking of it then it must mean that the EU is attempting to secure its position within the region in light of these potential future developments. This challenged the ideas of sustainable development put forth by the EU because it would seem that the actual goal is the retention or solidification of power, with this being wrapped in well-thought out rhetoric. This sentiment lends itself to status quo thinking and a high susceptibility to the post-developmental critique of the development agenda.

However, while the above portrays a rather negative view of EU's engagement as a donor, there is a positive angle as well which Lamy hints towards. As Lamy explained, "what is our agenda and it is not an EU agenda that has to be imposed on them, it is a partnership" (Dateline Pacific, 2017a). This final point made by Lamy links closely to the moral obligation spoken of earlier in the chapter: it portrays some form of reciprocal thinking which in turn would encourage a more effective sustainable development process because it enables those for who the development is for to define development for themselves. However, the concern of geo-political power dynamics standing in the way of this process are still present and, as discussed above, it does not foster an effective process of sustainable development. Instead, it falls to the critique of post-developmentalists and merely reinforces the current power structures of the world which, according to post-developmental thinking, has not enabled sustainable development in regions such as the Pacific.

The Challenge of Donorship: The Actioning of a Moral or Geo-Political Story?

The two tales above reveal the different ways in which the EU has engaged with the Pacific, including the SIS, as a donor in terms of why they are an actor and why the EU would like to continue to be an actor. This next section explores specifically how these ambitions are manifest in specific actions within the SIS, in order to provide a more detailed analysis of the EU's engagement in the sustainable development processes within the region.

The EU has funded many development initiatives within the SIS, with the focus of the majority of these programmes being assistance related to renewable energies (see *Appendix 1* for overview of EU funding to SIS). These programmes are delivered through the *Country Strategy Papers* (CSP) and their associated *National Indicative Programmes* (NIP), the key mechanism for development cooperation under the *Cotonou Agreement* (Dearden and Salama, 2002: 904). A closer examination of these documents portrays both moral and geo-political concerns at play which, when viewed through *reciprocal duality*, have an impact upon the effectiveness of the sustainable development process.

Firstly, with regards to the moral argument, the way in which the documents are put together provide an excellent insight into this. In terms of *reciprocal duality*, there is a need to listen to the partner and to understand the impact of potential actions within the given context and the EU has taken this into consideration when creating these programmes. For example, the *Country Strategy Plan and National Indicative Programme 2008-2013* for Palau, speaks of the importance of the EU aligning with Palau's 'National Development Master Plan' (European Community, 2007: 4). This portrays an initial insight into the *reciprocal duality* at least in terms of the thinking of the EU, as they have engaged with the development process that has been defined by the partner country and looked to understand where they can add value to this process. The way in which they have chosen to add value further emphasises the *reciprocal duality* of the EU's actions, for as is stated in the *Country Strategy Plan*, the energy sector was chosen as the area within which to collaborate with Palau as energy is signified as a key concern for Palau and the EU has expertise within this area (European Community, 2007: 19). Here it becomes clear that the EU is looking to add value through an area that has been highlighted as important by the partner country and within which they have expertise, thus being reciprocal. This process of initiating and creating sustainable development projects thus seems to be encouraging for development as it matches with *reciprocal duality* and could thus be interpreted as sustainable, especially given that this process was carried out across all the SIS. Furthermore, in terms of reciprocity with other donors, the EU has mapped other donors' interventions in each nation as a part of the creation of the *Country Strategy Papers*. This can be seen as an attempt to avoid duplicating developmental work in each state, and such engagement by the EU in the sustainable development process should certainly increase its effectiveness.

However, given that the process, and the sentiments surrounding the process described above, seems to be an effective method of enabling sustainable development, the question remains why has it not worked? The above example dates back to 2008, over a decade ago, and the situation

within Palau, while it has changed, it is a nation that remains a developing state. For regions such as the SIS, as was discussed in *Chapter 4*, there are still limited transportation options which inhibit the ability of these states to engage in the global market specifically and development more generally. In other words, there has been limited success in terms of reaching the goals stated in the *Cotonou Agreement*, even with the process discussed above. This begs the question of why - why has it not succeeded? - and is this because the process is right but there are not enough programmes in place to enable it to overcome development issues?

This concern has been addressed within the literature related to EU aid through the concept of the 'capacity-expectations gap' (Bodenstein, Faust and Furness, 2017: 443). As Bodenstein, Faust and Furness (2017: 443) explained, "the apparent disconnect between the ambition of the EU's policy statements and the reality of daily business is a reminder of the EU's 'capability-expectations gap' where high-mindedness far exceeds available resources, especially of political will". They go on to explain the difficulties involved in overcoming this gap because of the complex system that development policy and aid involves within the EU. One example of this, discussed earlier, was that of DG VIII and how the many interests of various EU departments must be taken into consideration in the development policy negotiation and creation. Furthermore, it was highlighted that the situation becomes even more complex when taking into account the fact that Member States continue to implement their own bi-lateral aid programmes, while retaining a voice in regards to EU aid as well (ibid.). Carbone (2013: 494) explained the situation in more detail and concluded that "at the European level, the debate has been over a potential subordination of development policy to the security and commercial interests of the EU's member states". While the capability-expectation gap may be one explanation as to why the goals of the *Cotonou Agreement* were not achieved in full, there seems to be more to this situation as Carbone (2013) hinted towards above by portraying the role of vested interests within the processes of EU development policy negotiations. This leads to the query of whether the lack of success is because there is a need for developing regions around the world which can be exploited by the hegemonic powers of the world. This question of power is reflected in the analytical framework, where it stated that within the context of a situation there is a need to understand the power dynamics of the situation in order to understand whose voice is marginalised and whose interests are looked after. In terms of the development context in the SIS, the argument is that as countries 'develop' they gain a different status within the world system which will also entail more power and voice in global decision-making. For one actor to gain power, another actor must lose power and it is difficult to see any of the current powers of the world wanting to submit to this. What became clear while on fieldwork was that every country and its citizens matter, whether they are in a

powerful position or not. In this sense, development matters and thus achieving the development goals set out in global agreements such as the *Cotonou Agreement* matters. As such, it is important to realise that the current global context has been influenced and to some degree designed by those with the power at the local, the regional, and the international level. This means that those who do have power and can think about tomorrow, must, and must do so with an orientation towards action, but in a conscious and open manner.

This is especially the case for the SIS because, as Connell (2011: 133) notes, “small states are likely to continue to struggle: a realistic rather than a positive conclusion. And the fate of small nations is determined some distance away by countries and institutions that have barely heard of them or write them off as aberrations and irrelevancies”. This matches with the levels of change which are desired by actors within the current system. The EU, as Hopwood, Mellor, and O’Brien (2005: 41) explained, seem to be interested in maintaining the status quo of the current system. In this sense, there are no incentives for powers such as the EU to relinquish any of this power so as to enable another state to become more developed and the growth of power that this would entail. Here there is a distinct challenge for the process of sustainable development: on the one hand, the process described above which is carried out by the EU is in itself reciprocal and sustainable, however, on the other hand, the sentiment behind it (that is, the status quo thinking) means that the impact of the programmes will be limited because there is a limited want to share power globally.

This is an important insight when one takes into consideration the fact that in the interviews, one of the most spoken about areas that should be encouraged so as to enable development is education (Interview 1, Suva, October 2017; Interview 4, Suva, October 2017). As *Appendix 1* shows, the EU seems to have funded very little to do with education and while it is easy enough for the EU to deflect this criticism by, for example, saying that they are only working at the request of the local government and in areas where they have prominent expertise, it still seems that, based on the interviews, the EU’s aid interventions are potentially missing the mark. Education is not tangible in the way that electrical power generation is: it is subjective and takes a long time. Given that the Council of the European Union have stated that they need to “enhance its profile in the region” (Council of the European Union, 2012: 1), it becomes clearer why support measures for education have not been as prolific, because they are difficult to quantify and thus offer little opportunity for an increase in visibility. This again brings into question why the EU is acting in the Pacific and, based on the above, it seems that it is more for geo-political and global power reasons than for altruistic and developmental reasons. If the sentiment behind the development engagements is such, then it is difficult to perceive

such actions as being sustainable or portraying effective engagement in the sustainable development process.

Conclusion

This chapter has provided an insight into the way in which the EU understands sustainable development and its reasoning, whether moral or geo-political, for engaging in the sustainable development process in the SIS. As became clear in the preceding analysis, where the EU engaged with the development processes for moral or altruistic reasons, they added value to the processes of sustainable development and, in some cases, increased its effectiveness, as could be seen through the way in which the CSPs and NIPs were created and structured. However, if the EU engaged for geo-political reasons, their impact on the processes of sustainable development were more aligned to status quo promotion, something that would not increase the effectiveness of these processes for they do not overcome the post-development critique. Thus, for the donors to add value to sustainable development processes, it would seem that there is a need to focus on the altruistic reasons for development cooperation, as opposed to the geo-political reasons. Whether this is possible is another question given the power dynamics that are at play, especially in relation to what would happen should all countries become developed and the power that they would gain at the expense of those currently with power.

However, while the above has focussed on the role of the donor, and the way in which the EU as a donor has engaged with sustainable development in the Pacific region, the EU is highly reliant on partners within the region through which to implement such sustainable development. While earlier in the chapter there were questions as to the levels of imagination utilised in relation to who the EU chooses to partner with, one of the main partners that has been engaged with has been civil society and non-governmental organisations. For the EU, such institutions were seen as being important actors within development and should thus be more deeply incorporated (Hurt, 2003: 172). With this in mind, the next chapter of the thesis has built on this and further explored the role of civil society within the sustainable development process. This will continue to build an understanding as to the current processes of sustainable development and the positive and negative aspects of how actors engage with this current process.

CHAPTER 6

CIVIL SOCIETY'S ENGAGEMENT IN SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT PROCESSES

What is civil society, and how is sustainable development understood from this viewpoint? With such queries in mind, this chapter begins by setting the scene as to the importance of civil society to Pacific states in terms of the social support and identity that it provides. Given the positive role that it plays, it is no wonder that donors are keenly interested in working with this actor, thus the example of the EU and how it has engaged civil society through the *Cotonou Agreement* is utilised in order to analyse the way in which civil society is engaged in the sustainable development processes. Within this analysis it became clear that there are multiple interests at stake and these interests shape the engagements between the various actors. Consequently, the chapter explores the role of power and what the power balance is between civil society and other development actors and how this is created. The analysis reveals that, to some extent, civil society suffers at times from a power deficit and that one of the key methods of enabling this is the lack of funding and support from donors such as the EU.

However, civil society is still able to influence the development processes and it is this, matched with an analysis as to the levels of funding, which make up the next section of the chapter. These sections show that civil society has a positive role to play in enabling sustainable development, but this must be cautioned in that civil society is not a homogenous grouping and that, in fact, it can also enable civil unrest. This is analysed in the Pacific context through the examples of urbanisation and sea level rise. Within these two examples it becomes clear that while civil society offers much value to the sustainable development processes, there are circumstances that are either current, such as urbanisation, or proposed to arise in the near future, such as sea level rise, that could impact upon this positive role. However, within the Pacific setting civil society is a key actor and will continue to be a key actor into the future, thus it seems important to understand how it can be supported further by actors to enable it to continue its important work. It is this question that leads into the next chapter as it is suggested that the private sector could be a source of support and funding for Pacific civil society and it is this, as well as the private sectors role generally within sustainable development processes, which is explored in the *Chapter 7*.

Civil Society in the Pacific: The Support it Offers

As was discussed in *Chapter 1*, this thesis draws its understanding of civil society from the work of Ehrenberg (2017: 272) who outlines that “civil society delineates a sphere that is formally distinct from the body politic and state authority on one hand, and from the immediate pursuit of self-interest and the imperatives of the market on the other”. However, this sphere does not delineate a homogenous group (Hurt, 2017). Civil society is diverse. It includes: the general public; young people; groups created through voluntary association; community groups; and non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The thesis also acknowledges that not all of civil society is engaged in positive actions and, regrettably, some of the actions engaged in by civil society can also create civil unrest.

With this definition in mind, let us turn to the Pacific for, within this context, as Griffen (2006: 9) explained, civil society has been recognised as an integral aspect of not only development but also life in general: “the traditional kin-based support networks of Pacific communities have their modern counterpart in the hundreds of civil society organizations (CSOs) at work across the region today”. In this sense, for Pacific states, civil society is a crucial actor in terms of providing social protection and support for individuals and communities. This is especially important in the Pacific when, as Mohanty (2011: 35) notes, “the formal social protection systems are grossly inadequate and weak”. Mohanty goes on to say that because of this there is a strong reliance on civil society to provide such protection for communities. One of the most important aspects of this is the support that civil society offers the individual and the community and that while the government may not prioritise spending in this space, there are mechanisms through which people are able to live a fulfilling life. Civil society also offers a space through which to advocate for personal and community concerns and also identity (see Edwards, 2009).

Given the importance that has been placed on civil society as a method of self-expression and a space through which individuals attempt to make the world a better place (Griffen, 2006: 9), it is no wonder that it has come to be seen as an important aspect of development processes too. Donors such as the World Bank (WB), the United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU) have all made moves to more deeply incorporate civil society within their development processes (European Commission, 2012a; Griffen, 2006: 10-11). There are a number of reasons why civil society has become more important to development processes: Hurt (2017) argues that civil society is seen as an alternative development provider to the state whilst it is also a mechanism for the achievement of

democratisation and Griffen (2006) focuses on how civil society is important for the delivery of social welfare.

Civil society is an important actor within sustainable development since it speaks to *reciprocal duality*: that is, we need to understand actions on both sides of any partnership so as to ensure that all viewpoints are considered and that any actions decided upon do not impact negatively upon the partners, and this is integral to the functioning of civil society itself. Reciprocity is key to the self-sufficiency of communities and, as Ratuva (2006: 82) points out, “it encourages mutuality in socio-cultural relations as a condition for intra-group support and social coherence”. This provides an important insight for the thesis as it argues that notions of reciprocity are needed to overcome geo-political concerns, as was analysed in the previous chapter, and also to increase the effectiveness of sustainable development processes, as has been argued through the analytical framework of the thesis. Given that similar reciprocal thinking is current and thriving within Pacific civil society, it would infer that civil society provides an actor within the sustainable development process that can play a transformative role in making the processes of sustainable development more effective. In this sense, it would seem that the partners in the sustainable development process must include more deeply the broadest possible spectrums of civil society into sustainable development initiatives in order to make them more effective. This is especially the case in the Pacific where civil society already plays such a crucial role in the functioning of communities.

Given the above, it becomes clear why donors have become very interested in working with civil society in the Pacific on development initiatives. This relationship is also key to understanding the processes of sustainable development and how they could be made more effective so as to improve development assistance generally. With this in mind, there are a number of concerns within the relationship between donors and civil society that reveal why the processes are not necessarily as effective as they could be. In order to gain a deeper understanding of this situation, the way in which the EU has engaged with civil society through the *Cotonou Agreement* will be explored in order to build on what was discussed in the previous chapter regarding the EU and non-state actors.

As became clear in the previous chapter, the *Cotonou Agreement* is currently the main framework which guides development cooperation between the EU and the ACP regions. While the previous chapter highlighted some of the geo-political concerns within the Agreement, this chapter builds more on the way in which development utilises civil society as a key actor through which to generate development results and also participation within the development process. As Bossuyt

(2017: 127) explained, “both the text and the spirit of the Cotonou Agreement make it clear that EC aid is there to support home-grown national and regional development strategies”. The EU itself believes that civil society is an important actor in enabling such homegrown strategies as well as enhancing participation in the development processes (ibid.). However, although it seems that the rhetoric encourages a deep incorporation of civil society, there have been concerns with the levels of access to the development process in reality (Fisher and Green, 2004: 71-72). Simply put, though civil society is seen so positively, the lack of access has meant that civil society has struggled to assist in shaping development processes so as to enable such processes to match closely with the local context. In this sense, the relationship is not reciprocal and thus the process of sustainable development is not as effective as it could be if there was a more genuine engagement of civil society.

Fisher and Green (2004: 71) argue that one of the reasons that civil society struggles to access the development process is due to “their perceived legitimacy and the organizational forms that they take”. The main method of proving such legitimacy for civil society organisations is through engagement with international organisations and multilateral regimes (ibid.). The perceived legitimacy that provides entrance into these arenas is gained through the perceived legitimacy of the organisation itself, thus narrowing the scope of those allowed to engage at the international and regional level. In terms of organisational structures, there are further concerns because there are such a variety of structures within civil society from highly organised NGOs to people who have come together informally to demonstrate about a particular issue (Fisher and Green, 2004: 72).

Given the diversity, it is no wonder that some lack the capacity and capability to produce the necessary materials to engage at the regional or international level. Some organisations are thus unable to participate in the development process, let alone policy making more generally, because, as Fisher and Green maintain, they are not perceived as legitimate or lack the professionalised structures that enable them to participate (ibid.: 71). The *Cotonou Agreement* does take the above concerns into account as it speaks of building the necessary capacity within the partner country which would enable a vibrant and organised civil society to grow. Such growth is important because civil society is understood to be a key actor within the development process, or in the words of the Agreement, economic growth. Article 2 speaks about the importance of ensuring civil societies participation in the Agreement and Article 6 provides the insight that such civil society is understood to mean “civil society in all its forms according to national characteristics” (European Commission, 2014a). This ambition has been recognised within the SIS through the way in which the EU has incorporated civil society into the *National Indicative Programmes 2014-2020* (see *Table 3* below). The Cotonou Agreement attempts to

incorporate a wide variety of civil society through its broad approach in relation to what civil society entails. However, issues still remain in terms of which civil society actors are incorporated since one of the main goals of the Agreement is sustained economic growth (European Commission, 2014a: 17) and only certain groups of civil society would be able to assist with this. In this sense, there is a lack of reciprocity in practice though not in sentiment. The table below provides insights into this.

Table 3: EU Funding for Civil Society Under the 11th EDF of the Cotonou Agreement

Country	Funding for civil society total (Euro)	Percent of total programme budget	Support measures
Cook Islands	0	0	Active participation in the programming and implementation phase planned.
Federated States of Micronesia	1,000,000	7	Funding “will be set aside for support to civil society organisations involved in environmental protection and conservation. Some if not all of this funding will be channelled via the Micronesian Conservation trust (MTC)” (p. 12).
Kiribati	300,000	1.3	“The target will be organizations on Kirimati Island able to support the development plans and actions associated with the focal sector” (p. 8).
Nauru	0		Past experiences proved challenging due to the unavailability of appropriate non-state actors or organisations on the island. Target indirectly through energy actions aimed at the household level.
Niue	0		Past experiences proved challenging due to the unavailability of appropriate non state actors or organisations on the island. Target indirectly through energy actions aimed at the household level.
Palau	200,000	13	Funding “will be set aside for support to civil society organisations involved in environmental protection and conservation such as the Micronesian Conservation Trust (MCT) which supports Micronesian Challenge goals” (p. 11).
Republic of Marshall Islands	400,000	4.4	Funding “will be set aside for support to civil society organisations” (p. 13).
Tuvalu	300,000	5	Funding “may be set aside for support to civil society organizations. This may be complemented by a regional pacific support programme” (p. 13).

Sources: (European Commission, 2014c: 9, 12; European Commission, 2014d: 9, 12; European Commission, 2014e: 8, 11; European Commission, 2014f: 8, 10; European Commission, 2014g: 6, 8, 11; European Commission, 2014h: 6, 9, 13; European Commission, 2014i: 6, 10, 13; European Commission, 2015: 7-8, 13).

For example, in the case of Kiribati, it is stated that only those civil society organisations which can assist with the key sector which EU assistance had focussed upon in Kiribati would be

incorporated. While in Palau and FSM, the Micronesian Conservation Trust is highlighted as the main recipient of donor funding. In these cases, the EU potentially has grounds to focus on organisations which support their initiatives in order to ensure that they are made more effective and relevant. However, as these cases portray, there are still tendencies to engage mainly with aspects of civil society who align with EU goals and ambitions. This can potentially be seen as a form of maintaining the status quo and, arguably, civil society would not be engaging in a transformative manner within sustainable development processes.

However, the table also shows that in some states, such as Nauru and Niue, based on past experiences the EU has chosen not to engage or fund such organisations under the 11th EDF. With *reciprocal duality* in mind, there is also a need for civil society organisations themselves to also be proactive in their own growth and actions so as to be able to be a part of, and add value to, sustainable development processes. In other words, while the donor has an important role to play, for *reciprocal duality* to be realised, civil society must also undertake actions which will enable them to play a key role. While the need for civil society organisations in-country to take ownership for their own sustainability is important, the point still remains that there are only certain aspects of civil society that are able to access the policy making processes of development and through this access influence them. This is not reciprocal in nature: as it stands, it is the donor who is able to select which civil society organisations are incorporated, thus reducing the potential positive impact of civil society as a whole. At the same time, it is also enabling donors to promote the status quo through choosing singular organisations which support the donor's views. However, a deeper incorporation of the knowledge and expertise of a broad range of civil society actors could enable development to be more relevant to the local context and thus more effective.

However, while civil society may play an important role in terms of development, the homogeneity with which donors speak of civil society is not necessarily a reality (Hurt, 2017) and it is such diversity current within civil society that offers an interesting insight into civil society's potential to increase the effectiveness of sustainable development processes. In terms of the diversity, as has been discussed, donors tend to focus on engaging with certain types of civil society organisations as opposed to others. This can especially be the case, as Hurt (2017) explained, in relation to service delivery, as within the neo-liberal paradigm, the state's role in providing such assistance is lessened and there is thus a growing reliance on civil society to fill the gap and ensure that citizens' needs and

expectations are still being met. This raises an interesting point regarding what donors see as the end point of development: in this case, it seems that donors are promoting an economic mode of development which encourages partnering with certain parts of civil society, however, this process of development has been heavily critiqued by post-development theorists.

Such economic development, especially the role of neo-liberal thinking, was covered in the previous chapter. This chapter builds on the understanding generated there by analysing the role that civil society plays within the neo-liberal paradigm. As Ehrenberg (2017: 272) contends, “civil society delineates a sphere that is formally distinct from the body politic and state authority on one hand, and from the immediate pursuit of self-interest and the imperatives of the market on the other”. Given this role, it is tempting for donors to encourage the lessening of the role of the state, as per neo-liberalism, and increasingly rely on civil society to provide social service delivery. However, the question is whether such development is relevant to the local context? Does it match with the structures that are already in place? Because, in the SIS, the government is the largest and most influential actor and while there is a need for it to reduce its influence to enable growth in certain sectors (something that will be discussed below and in the next chapter), is the focus on economic growth as the cornerstone of development cooperation actually transformative?

If only certain aspects of civil society are incorporated, then it makes it even more difficult to break the status quo, given the role they play in mediating between the market and the state. This mediating role could become crucially important for it could also assist in overcoming the post-development critique of such status quo development. This is based on the post-development idea of incorporating alternative voices into discussions as to how development is conceptualised and implemented. It was explained by post-development theorists, such as Escobar, that the voices of those for whom development is for were not necessarily included in the development process and that incorporating them is a much needed additive to enabling development to be successful (Escobar, 1995: 217-223). In this sense, there are concerns with the current sustainable development process for it does not necessarily seem to incorporate a broad spectrum of civil society and thus does not include the voice of those whom development is for.

Civil Society and The Role of Power

While the incorporation of civil society at its broadest is understood to be able to add effectiveness to sustainable development processes, the way in which this can be achieved is contested. In many

respects, it returns to a question of power. As described above within the Pacific, governments retain a powerful position over civil society (Swain, 1999: 6–7). Lidimani (2007: 24) provided examples from Tuvalu, Kiribati and Nauru in relation to the legislation of governments towards civil society:

Whilst Kiribati and Tuvalu do have few pieces of legislation to provide a basic enabling legal environment for a functioning civil society, Nauru has offered virtually nothing for this sector. No enabling legislation enacted or adopted by the country's legislature is identified in the course of the review. This questions the level of recognition, if at all, accorded by Legislature towards this important sector.

Furthermore, Lidimani highlighted that the taxation system also stands in the way of civil society organisations (CSOs) reaching levels of self-sufficiency, because, “unfortunately, the income tax legislation of both Kiribati and Tuvalu falls short of providing this mechanism for self-reliance and sustainability” (ibid.: 25). Thus, for civil society to be able to play a strong role within sustainable development, for example, then there is a need for the state to provide them with the necessary power to do so and, as such, relinquish power of their own. This question of power was raised in the previous chapter in relation to the way in which donors - and particularly states involved with providing aid - would have to relinquish power globally for other states to realise the same levels of development, affluence and influence.⁷ Within the sphere of nation states it proved a challenging concept and the sphere of civil society is no different. The main concern is that it is not reciprocal, because while governments may want to include civil society more in service delivery and social welfare initiatives, at the same time they view civil society with some scepticism for it can often be critical of the governments' actions (Griffen, 2006: 17). Thus, there is some hesitancy to giving more power to these actors and relinquishing oversight and power on the governments' behalf.

Moreover, while civil society plays a role in such service delivery as well as development, it has also, as Amoore and Langely (2004: 91) note, “mobilised in an attempt to shape international policies and challenge the social relations of the *status quo*”. In this sense, there is a challenge from both sides to have more voice and power within the state and both entities, while they work together

⁷ This idea was discussed in *Chapter 5* wherein the argument regarding the way in which power defines how and why actors engage in sustainable development was addressed. It focussed on the idea that for sustainable development to be successful, influential global actors would have to relinquish some of this power to the developing states so as to enable them to be able to realise a more prominent position within the world system. This was an argument that the thesis generated by drawing together ideas from the empirical research conducted (Interview 11, Suva, October, 2017) and also the existing scholarly work, specifically: Udombana 2000; Hurt, 2003; Connell, 2011; Dateline Pacific, 2017a; and Pimentel, Aymar and Lawson, 2018.

in some cases, also work against one another in other cases. To find a harmonious balance within this is potentially impossible as there is a need for both parties to hold each other to account and also support each other. However, there is an opportunity to increase the communication between governments and civil society and the ways in which they interact - that is, to make them more reciprocal - to enable a more effective process of sustainable development which would not merely maintain the status quo. This is important because a maintenance of the status quo would not overcome the post-development critiques and thus add little value to processes of sustainable development. The *Cotonou Agreement* is attempting to enable this through the way in which it delivers state to state development assistance which, at the same time, places an emphasis on enabling civil society as well. Here, the sentiment of the development cooperation seems to be of a sustainable nature, though, as has been discussed in this chapter, there have been a number of issues in the way in which civil society has been engaged. However, given that the post-Cotonou negotiations have begun, there seems an opportunity to build on the positive sentiment found within the *Cotonou Agreement* and attempts to turn this into a reality.

The Influence of Civil Society Through Participation

As the discussion above has made clear, it is widely accepted that civil society can and does play an important role within sustainable development processes, especially through the reciprocal nature of civil society within the Pacific. One of the key concerns that has been highlighted within the literature is that there is a lack of funding available for civil society actors and that the main sources of funding that have been made available have been in the form of projects that have an end date after which the funding has been cut (Low and Davenport, 2002: 370-373). Pacific NGOs struggle to gain access to funding for re-occurring costs such as administrative costs, or transport costs for work in remote areas and, as such, they find it difficult to build self-sufficient organisations (ibid.: 373). This is of further concern for, as Low and Davenport explained, “the payment of recurrent costs by Pacific governments is almost unheard of” (ibid.: 372).

Thus, for the Pacific, building capacity and promoting capacity within civil society is key to them being able to continue the crucial role which they play within current development processes. The EU has attempted to address this - as *Table 3* above shows - yet whilst measures in favour of civil society are present, there is limited available funding for civil society within the 11th EDF (Palau sees the most support with 13% of the overall budget being spent on support measures for civil society). Added to this concern is that within the measures to support civil society, administrative costs, which

were mentioned as one of the key concerns for civil society within the Pacific in terms of ensuring self-sufficiency, are not engaged with under this funding mechanism. In Tuvalu, for example, the measures for civil society involve actions related to raising awareness of sanitary waste disposal and civil society is supported as a key actor in being able to assist with the wanted normative change in relation to this (European Commission, 2017b: 15). While this does prove that civil society is key to assisting with the generation of wanted social change, the support that is offered does not necessarily create self-sufficient CSOs.

In this sense, civil society's concerns with lack of funding increases the difficulty of being able to engage in the development processes, while also making it even more difficult for them to carry out their own work regardless. This is an issue in the Pacific where civil society plays such an important role. So, why is more funding not provided for civil society in general, as opposed to within the limited scopes of already defined programmes? Whilst the *Cotonou Agreement* itself recognises this issue, and governments within the Pacific understand the importance of civil society and actively engage them, limited support remains on the ground. One of the reasons may be that it is difficult to quantify the results of actions taken by civil society, where as structural projects such as the installation of generators or waste systems are more visible and easier to quantify in terms of actions completed. This is similar to the concern with the funding of education, as discussed in an earlier chapter, where it seems a lack of tangibility in results makes it a less attractive sector to fund. This could be one reason why donors and governments seem to only fund civil society to a certain level, as there is potentially less bang for buck. With this in mind, if civil society is to engage more deeply with the sustainable development process and thus make the process more effective, there seems to be a need to assist such organisations with funding which is directed at administrative costs and training so as to ensure the longevity of such organisations.

It also raises the question as to whether or not the development funding provided by the EU, under for example the 11th EDF as portrayed in *Table 3*, is potentially not being provided to the most relevant sectors. This may seem a strong statement given the amount of work that is carried out in terms of shaping such agreements and finding the sectors within which the EU can add value and where the partner country has highlighted the need for assistance, as discussed in the previous chapter through the CSPs and NIPs. It may also seem a strong statement when taking into account that such energy-related initiatives can have a spill-over effect into other sectors such as education. An example of this can be found in Tuvalu where, under the regional *Pacific Islands Greenhouse Gas Abatement through Renewable Energy Project* (PIGGAREP), outer islands such as Nukufetau have been

able to generate 24-hour access to energy and this has had a distinctly positive impact on the education opportunities on the island (PIGGAREP, 2015: 8-9). However, even with this it seems that while renewable energy projects offer important resources that can have a spill over effect, it could be argued that there is a need to provide similar levels of funding for civil society at the same time so as to ensure that they can carry out their important work as well and through this begin to build self-sufficient societies which have both the resources and the capacity to engage fully in sustainable development processes. For donors such as the EU, the rhetoric seems to be saying one thing, but the actions - as *Table 3* demonstrates - suggests a different story. While the EU speaks of working with civil society and incorporating them into the development process more deeply, the way in which funding is provided is still very much state-centric.

Civil Society: Making the World a Better Place?

So far it has been argued that civil society is a positive influence on achieving sustainable development either through increasing the relevance of initiatives, delivering initiatives, or holding governments to account and, through this, encouraging good governance. However, there is another aspect to this, and that is, as Foley and Edwards (1996: 47) explained, that civil society can also be the leaders of civil unrest and erode political stability. In this sense, there is a need to question the conclusions made above that civil society is a purely positive influence on the development processes of the SIS. In the words of Foley and Edwards (*ibid.*: 45), “to understand the role of civil society in the modern world, we must discern how and under what circumstances a society’s organized components contribute to political strength or political failure”. In terms of contributing to political strength, these scholars argue that it is the ability to mediate conflict and citizens’ demands through listening and channelling ideas to the relevant political mechanism, and through showing an ability to respond to these issues effectively as they arise, where civil society adds value. This is similar to what Griffen (2006) stated in terms of civil society being what people are doing to improve their societies.

Within the Pacific context, this question of whether civil society creates political stability or potentially unrest, is an important one. It is important due to one key point that was raised during an interview with a key informant from USP. The Pacific Island states have recently become democratic and are thus still defining how to incorporate traditional knowledge with modern understandings of democracy into a coherent governance system (Interview 12, Port Vila, October 2017). Given that the state institutions are attempting to build such structures and institutions currently, then it becomes clear that civil society within these states retains an important and positive role in terms of being able

to support citizens and society in these states until the government itself has defined democracy and strengthened the institutions that it believes are important for the democratic running of the country. However, as Farran (2009: 4) makes clear, there have also been instances of civil unrest, where civil society organisations have challenged the governance of the country as they have believed it to be acting against their rights.

While this is concerning in itself, climate change adds another dimension here since it has been argued in recent times that there is a link between climate change and the potential for an increase in conflict and tension within the societies of the Pacific (Weir and Virani, 2011). While there is a body of literature that contests the notion that climate change is leading to more conflict globally (see generally Buhaug and Theisen, 2012; Theisen, Gleditsch and Buhaug, 2013), in the Pacific, as Weir and Virani (2011) explained, there is a growing understanding that climatic concerns can lead to issues related to forced migration, conflict over resources (such as land) and general tension amongst citizens. In order to understand these concerns, two Pacific realities are examined: (1) urbanisation; and (2) sea level rise.

There has been a growing understanding that urbanisation trends have begun to change the dynamics of Pacific societies. Wier and Virani (2011: 198) provided the example that “perceptions of economic inequality drive urbanization, which may lead to a build-up of unemployed and alienated youth if hoped-for economic opportunities are not forthcoming”. The scholars highlight that the lack of forthcoming economic opportunities are accompanied by a reluctance to return to rural areas as it would be seen as failure and thus entail a lowering of status (*ibid.*: 205). Thus, they stay in urban areas, which has the potential to lead to increases in organised crime (such as gangs and theft) as these youths attempt to support themselves and assert some form of identity (*ibid.*, see also Connell, 2011: 124–125, 127). This concern regarding youth and the way in which climate change will impact upon this in the future could have serious implications for civil society. Firstly, associations such as gangs are also a part of civil society and can certainly agitate individuals and groups and cause conflict if there are weak political systems through which to work with such associations. This is an example of an intra-generational concern, whereby there are issues related to equality and opportunities within the current society and if such intra-generational issues are not mitigated and worked with, it would seem that it would impact on civil society’s engagement in sustainable development processes.

However, not only is urbanisation an intra-generational concern, it is also an inter-generational concern, especially in relation to the levels of youth unemployment, which Connell

(2011) explained as being one of the key issues that has come with urbanisation. Connell described the Pacific as having moved from a predominantly rural region to a region that is more urban in nature and the concern about this, Connell explained, is also related to the limited effectiveness of the public authorities. It was explained above that this limited effectiveness hampers the governments' ability to deal with the issues associated with urbanisation. Connell adds to this in saying that the urban environments in the Pacific are shaped "more by the logic of the market than by the needs of its inhabitants" (ibid.: 133) and that this is exacerbated through the lack of efficiency of the public institutions.

Given this, the drive of donors such as the EU for development that is closely aligned with neo-liberal thinking seems to further encourage the logic of the market to drive the development of urban spaces rather than public policy. The logic of the market is not necessarily interested in equality and empowerment of sectors of society such as youth, thus potentially further increasing the intra-generational inequalities within current society. It would seem that the EU has proposed through the *Cotonou Agreement* that economic development is one potential answer to this issue. However, Connell (2011) explained that growth in the island states has been slow and is hampered by, for example, concerns related to size, transport and a narrow production base. Such concerns have proven difficult to overcome, as discussed in *Chapter 4*, especially in relation to transport, and thus it once again calls into question what sort of development external funders are attempting to support. It is here that civil society could once again play an important role in sustainable development since, given its position between the market and the state, it holds the opportunity to mediate between the two with the added benefit of having the knowledge to ensure that measures decided upon are relevant to the local context. If civil society could play such a role then they would be able to assist in creating solutions for the urbanisation (and thus the intra-generational) issue and through this engage more effectively with the sustainable development processes.

The second example, that of sea level rise, not only takes on the forward-looking aspect of the analytical framework - this being inter-generational thinking - but also has a direct impact on the above urbanisation situation. The key concern is, as Edwards (1999: 316) explained, that as the sea levels rise, nations such as Kiribati and Marshall Islands will find it decidedly challenging to meet the needs of their citizens as their lands become uninhabitable (see also Connell 2011: 133). This discussion has been referred to at various stages throughout this thesis, though in this context the key point to highlight is that sea level rise will change the way in which people act and challenge the social fabric that is so important to promoting a constructive civil society within the Pacific. This is not the first time

that the Pacific has faced a serious climatic event which has had an impact upon the societies of the region. As noted in Chapters 1 and 2, Nunn (2008: 81-82) reported on a severe climatic event which seriously affected food sources and consequently increased tension and conflict amongst societies in the Pacific region. This climatic crisis - which Nunn describes as the “AD 1300 Event” - was “marked not only by the outbreak of conflict on many islands, but also by the abandonment of (unprotected) coastal and lowland settlements in favour of ones on hilltops, in caves, or on offshore islands that could be defended. Cross-ocean contacts between islands ceased abruptly” (ibid.: 82). It was also estimated that the sea level dropped by up to 80 centimetres, exposing reefs and fertile lands and leading to food shortages and thus conflict.

While in the above instance the sea level dropped, causing serious social issues, in the current context the sea level is rising but the potential to cause serious social issues remains. Of serious concern within sea level rise is the potential of forced displacement of communities. This is a serious concern in terms of the right to development for while the international view may be that climate change will lead to climate refugees from the Pacific island states (McNamara and Gibson, 2009: 477–479), citizens of the Pacific do not necessarily want to leave. As McNamara and Gibson (2009: 479) explained, after having interviewed Pacific Island ambassadors to the UN, the “dominant view of these ambassadors was that climate change must be curbed to prevent them from having to flee their homelands. Exodus was simply not part of an acceptable future scenario”. The SIS Leaders have recognised this perilous situation as well (Smaller Island States, 2017) and this can be seen through their support of the *United Nations General Assembly Resolution to Give Protection to People Displaced by Climate Change and Other Anthropogenic Environmental Impacts* (Smaller Island States, 2017: 4). Within the Summary of Decisions from the 2017 meeting in Apia, the Leaders agreed to support the Resolution and also “tasked their diplomatic missions in New York and elsewhere to assist the Tuvalu Mission in New York in engendering support for the Resolution” (ibid.).

Mortreux and Barnett (2009: 110) utilised the example of citizens of Funafuti in Tuvalu to portray “the profound attachment to Funafuti and Tuvalu that people feel – so much so that they are prepared to suffer at home rather than move – points to the extent to which full-scale migration would be a tragedy for most Tuvaluans”. Furthermore Farbotko and Lazrus (2012: 385) highlighted that there are many other concerns within Tuvalu, such as unemployment and managing the extensive fisheries resources, which come before climate change for citizens of the nation.

In this sense, the human-induced climate change and the associated sea level rise is impacting upon the rights of citizens of the Pacific to live in their home countries, and to live the life which they see as fulfilling. This places an emphasis on the international community to carry out their obligations to uphold these rights and to find solutions to curb global warming so as to mitigate sea level rise. This would assist in enabling what has been called for from the Pacific - a resistance of the climate refugee status - with the focus instead being placed on the Pacific Island states being able to “negotiate their own identities as sovereign people who want climate change to be curbed to prevent any need for people in their homelands to flee” (McNamara and Gibson, 2009: 481). In this sense, sea level rise challenges people’s ability to live the life that they believe to be fulfilling and if there are enough individuals who suffer from this, then it is not too much of a stretch to infer that the civil society associations which would then be created may not be of the most positive nature given the angst and frustration related to not being able to live a life that one feels is fulfilling. In terms of inter-generational thinking, it would not be sustainable to enable such a situation to arise for future generations to deal with. Thus, for civil society to engage positively with sustainable development processes, these future concerns would need to be mitigated within the present structures of society so as to not impact upon the human rights of future generations.

Conclusion

While there are potential concerns as to the role civil society could play, as described above, the analysis presented in this chapter generally argues that civil society is an important actor for sustainable development processes. This can be seen within the Pacific through, for example, the way in which civil society portrayed thinking that is very similar to *reciprocal duality*. This alignment with the concept from the analytical framework highlights the opportunity for civil society to play an important role in increasing the effectiveness of sustainable development processes. However, even though they are such a prominent actor, there is still concern related to the lack of support, especially funding, which they receive. As Low and Davenport (2002: 377) explained, “NGOs and CBOs are often under-resourced and finding it difficult to meet the increasing demands being placed on them by donors, Pacific Island governments and the needs of the communities they serve”. This lack of funding will severely impact upon civil societies ability to continue to positively engage with sustainable development initiatives in the Pacific and the SIS in turn. As was discussed above, governments and donors have not necessarily provided the essential funding for civil society to be able to continue to fulfil their important role. While governments and donors have been the traditional source of funding for civil society, given the above issues with such funding sources, there seems a need to look beyond

these to new actors who could provide financial support. With this in mind, the next chapter looks to explore one potential funder - the private sector - and how it could engage more effectively with the sustainable development processes and potentially assist civil society as well.

CHAPTER 7

THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The private sector has emerged as an important partner for the process of sustainable development in recent years. As noted in *Chapters 1* and *2*, Scheyvens, Banks and Hughes (2016: 372) emphasised this by portraying that “under the new SDG agenda, however, businesses, governments and civil society actors are *equally* called upon to pursue a more sustainable path forward”. Since sustainability has become the dominant paradigm of the current system (Roosa, 2010; Sachs, 2015), business has attempted to adjust to these new ideals and “awareness is growing that a fundamental transformation in the way society consumes natural resources and produces energy may be needed if we are to make progress on pressing environmental issues such as ecosystem degradation and global climate change”(Hall, Daneke and Lenox, 2010: 440). However, there have also been questions raised as to the role that business and the private sector should play within sustainable development (see, for example, Hendersen’s forward to Sanford, 2011: xvii). For Hall, Daneke and Lenox (*ibid.*), the answer seems to be, in part, that a majority of companies now have a senior member of management with sustainability in their job titles, while it is also an important part of corporate strategies. This chapter seeks to assess whether the private sector plays a valuable role within sustainable development processes, via the analytical framework, and whether this sentiment holds true for the private sector within the Pacific and the SIS specifically. In order to achieve this, the chapter begins by exploring the ways in which the private sector has generally been incorporated into development processes. Within this, there are three different methods for private sector involvement: private sector development (PSD); private sector for development (PS4D); and private sector in development (PSiD) (Vaes and Huyse, 2015).⁸ This chapter analyses each method in turn and concludes that based on examples gathered from within the Pacific, it is PSiD which seems to offer the most effective method of engaging the private sector. The chapter moves on to analyse the way in which the private sector has engaged in making themselves more sustainable, using the examples of eco-efficiency, corporate social responsibility (CSR) and the triple bottom line. While there is some conjecture as to the viability of some of these methods, the key point is that the private sector has been heavily involved in creating some of the serious climatic events that the SIS are facing and thus any actions taken by the private sector, both locally and internationally, to act in a more sustainable manner will be beneficial to the sustainable development of the region.

⁸ PSiD is an acronym that the thesis created because the scholars Vaes and Huyse (2015) did not have an acronym for this concept. However, the acronyms for the other two concepts were generated by those scholars.

Following this, the concepts as to how the private sector has both been engaged and attempted to increase its own sustainability is analysed within the SIS context specifically by looking into the national sustainable development strategies of each of the SIS and how they have incorporated the private sector here. This reveals a prominence of PSD thinking, which does not necessarily align with the findings of the first section of the chapter which determined that PSiD may offer a more effective method of engagement. Given this, the chapter offers an alternative method of enabling positive engagement: public-private partnerships (PPPs). Two examples of PPPs - one from Palau and one from Kiribati – are examined and conclusions are made as to the transformative role the private sector can play within sustainable development in the SIS.

Private Sector Engagement with Sustainable Development: A Chance for Transformation or Business as Usual?

The private sector's role within sustainable development has been questioned as to whether it has a positive or negative impact. Hirschman explained some of the concerns in terms of its potential negative impact in saying that “worries that unfettered markets will destroy the environment and undermine the social fabric are as old as markets themselves” (Hirschman, quoted in Klein and Hadjimichael, 2003: 135). While within the more positive view, given the prominence of the sustainability paradigm, many companies are starting to take on these ideals and “claim to be actively investing in becoming more environmentally sustainable” (Henderson, 2015: 25). In this sense, it would seem that one's opinion as to the role that the private sector could play within sustainable development would be based upon one's theoretical understanding as to the role of the market and what it can or cannot achieve. For example, Moody-Stuart (2014: 127-128) argued that the market, and especially a capitalist market, is a positive thing. While others, such as Storr (2018: 456), have portrayed a more negative opinion: “market sceptics have persuasively argued that the market is a social arena that is not simply amoral but that has negative moral consequences”.⁹

What must be kept in mind though is the point made in *Chapter 5* that the market itself is something that has been a part of humanity's method of exchange for many centuries. As Moody-Stuart (2014: 127) notes, “markets can and do operate regardless of the capital”. In this sense, views on the nature of the private sector must be contextualised in relation to the theoretical epistemology

⁹ For a longer discussion of the positive and negative impacts of the market, see O'Neill (2003: 16).

of the argument as to whether it can positively or negatively impact development. With this in mind, Sanford (2011: xxxvi) raises the point that it is possible to change the standard practices within business so as to enable them to become sustainable in terms of business and environmental viability, as well as employee satisfaction and commitment to sustainability. This also became clear in the Pacific through the interview with PIDF, who explained that there is very little push-back from Pacific business in terms of interest in implementing sustainable practices (Interview 11, Suva, October 2017). Henderson (2015: 25) highlights a body of literature that has argued that there are new business opportunities being presented by the current environmental crisis. Yet, while such opportunities may be present for business, what is important to note is, as Einstein stated, “no problem has been solved from the same level of consciousness that created it” (quoted in Sanford, 2011: xxxv). Whilst the private sector and the current market system may have played a role in creating mass inequalities - as discussed in *Chapter 1* - it does not mean to say that the private sector and the market cannot be (at least part of) the solution, as long as new thinking is incorporated into the processes so as to avoid the issues of the current system. It is this positive role that the current chapter has focussed upon.

Given the role that has been envisaged for the private sector within sustainable development processes, methods to enable this relationship have developed. Vaes and Huyse (2015: 20) identified three main ways in which the private sector can engage in development: (1) private sector in development; (2) private sector development; and (3) private sector for development. Firstly, private sector in development (PSiD) is “an approach to improve the development impact of the private sector’s business as usual” (ibid.). Such developmental impacts are part of the “regular core business operations” and can have both positive impacts (such as the provision of goods and services and job creation) and negative impacts (such as environmental degradation) (ibid.). Secondly, there is private sector development (PSD) which includes “all activities carried out by governments and development organisations with the aim of developing a vibrant private sector” (ibid.). This form of development became popular after the 1980s where development actors wanted to reduce poverty through private economic models as opposed to state-led approaches. With poverty reduction as “the main objective of development cooperation and a target of development policies: Economic growth is essential for development, and growth is best achieved through the private sector, which in turn needs to be adequately promoted” (ibid.). Thirdly, there is private sector for development (PS4D) which “covers initiatives or activities that involve or engage the private sector in development in ways that go beyond their regular business practices” (ibid.). Vaes and Huyse explained that such initiatives look to enable development goals through utilising the “businesses’ resources – e.g. their expertise, networks, [and] data” (ibid.).

Within the Pacific it seemed, based on the interviews, that the most common method of engagement with the private sector was through PSD. One of the main reasons for this was that the government is such a prominent actor within the countries that they had, to some extent, crowded out the private sector, thus there was a feeling that there was a need to create an enabling environment through which the private sector could grow (Interview 7, Suva, October 2017; Interview 4, Suva, October 2017). However, there are concerns with this method of engaging the private sector. As Scheyvens, Banks and Hughes (2016) have highlighted, creating an enabling environment for business needs to be carefully analysed in terms of the environment which is created, for it can merely re-create the neo-liberal paradigm which has caused a number of the underlying structural issues which have led to inequalities at both national and international levels. Here, the structural issues of poverty are not addressed, and the continuing of a neo-liberal paradigm enabled the dominance of the development process by local elites, financial institutions and powerful corporations (ibid.: 377).

If the above holds true, then PSD could be seen as a method of continuing the status quo of the sustainable development process, something that post-development theorists would have a serious issue with. It is also challenging in terms of *reciprocal duality* - this concept speaks of the ability to take into account all views within the creation of a development initiative so as to ensure that through utilising this breadth of knowledge the initiative defined will be as effective as possible - since for many powerful corporations there is usually only an interest in profits and their bottom lines (ibid.: 378). Thus, there is little interest in the impact on civil society, meaning there is little reciprocity in such an exchange as not all views are being incorporated. For the sustainable development process to become more effective, such reciprocity is needed as it would ask the powerful corporations to consider the impact of their actions and to mitigate these through discussions with those affected. This would enable the building of an understanding on both sides regarding each other's constraints and opportunities and such discussions could assist with beginning to change the structures which have entrenched current inequalities. Such discussions would also encourage the voice of those who development is for and thus ensure that any initiatives negotiated are relevant to the local context (this is not necessarily occurring currently, but something that was raised in the interviews with key informants as being crucial to the success of the sustainable development process (Interview 1, Suva, October 2017)).

While PSD may be a prominent method of engaging the private sector in sustainable development, there are a number of concerns related to this method. Among these is its propensity

to potentially re-enforce the status quo of neo-liberalism rather than actually change the structures of the current system so as to amend power dynamics. In terms of enabling the private sector to achieve this, PS4D seems to be a more relevant option. PS4D, as discussed above, are initiatives “that involve or engage the private sector in development in ways that go beyond their regular business practices” (Vaes and Huyse, 2015: 20). This method of engaging the private sector seems to be a more effective option in terms of enabling sustainable development, because it would entail a discussion which, as discussed above, would in turn enable those for whom development is for to be a crucial part of the development process in terms of conceptualising and implementing initiatives.

A group of hotels in Fiji provide a Pacific example of this type of engagement. Here, multiple major hotel chains engaged in community development work related to education and health (Scheyvens, Banks and Hughes, 2016: 379). Such initiatives seem more effective than PSD in terms of enabling sustainable development as it brings the various partners together while also portraying that there is the will on the side of the corporate powers to actually engage in work that will provide much needed assistance to communities. In other words, there are obvious *reciprocal duality* values here, whereby the development partners are taking into account each other’s needs and this is something that would add much value to the sustainable development process. Yet, when one digs a little deeper, it seems that the reciprocity becomes less clear. In the Pacific example, as Scheyvens, Banks and Hughes describe, the concern is that while each hotel may be providing assistance, for the most part these are short-term projects and the hotels have lacked the initiative to collaborate with other hotels doing similar work in the area so as to create a coherent development plan that will have long-term, positive impacts (ibid.: 379). Thus, it could be argued that while the companies engaged in development work external to their business as usual, the way in which they carried this out is not necessarily as effective as it could be and the disinterest in collaboration would point towards a certain level of self-interest. This self-interest severely lessens the possibility of *reciprocal duality* for if such initiatives are self-interest based, then it will be difficult for those with less power in the discussion to have their views heard and taken into account, thus lessening the relevance of the initiatives which may eventuate and thus compromise the effectiveness of the development process.

The other issue is that many of these corporations have been involved in actions which have caused severe harm to the environment and the people who rely on that environment. Nauru provides an example of this, through the phosphate mining which took place there. Nauru was home to substantial deposits of phosphate and thus was of interest to commercial operators from the early 1900’s (see Gowdy and McDaniel, 1999). As Connell (2006: 48) explained:

The Pacific Phosphate Company began mining on Nauru in 1907, when Nauru was a German Protectorate. In 1914 an Australian expeditionary force occupied Nauru and, after the war, although the mandate for Nauru was granted to Great Britain, the island came under Australian administration. In 1920 the British Phosphate Corporation (BPC) took over the mining of phosphate.

This mining has led to the destruction of up to 80% of the island's land (Thaman, 1992: 135; Gowdy and McDaniel, 1999: 333). Phosphate mining was lucrative for Nauru: it is estimated that at its most prominent in the 1970s "the per capita income was around US \$31,000" (Connell, 2006: 49). However, while it may have been lucrative, its impact on the environment of the island has been devastating, with the area that was mined becoming uninhabitable and not usable to grow crops "or anything else that might be of benefit to the people of Nauru" (Gowdy and McDaniel, 1999: 334). While there have been attempts to compensate the nation for these damages, as Gowdy and McDaniel explained, it is unclear even with such funding "how much restoration can be accomplished and how long it will take Topside to recover enough to provide anything of value to the inhabitants of Nauru" (ibid.).¹⁰ This has led to a situation where Connell (2006: 62) has asked whether Nauru will become a failed state.

The above is an example as to why strong sustainability has been identified as a key aspect of the analytical framework since there is a need to ensure that actions occur within the parameters of the environment to ensure that there is a habitable location for both the current and future generations alike. Gowdy and McDaniel (1999), provided the example here, in that they proposed that phosphate mining in Nauru could have been a case that proved weak sustainability could work, as while the natural resources were removed, the population was compensated through other (read financial) means. However, given the query put forth by Connell, it seems that such thinking has not been successful and reinforces the need for strong sustainability thinking in order to ensure that there is a natural environment which can support human activity both in the present and into the future. The above has provided an example of PS4D where the private sector - in this case in close association with the local government - has created much natural destruction and although there were attempts to compensate for this, the core business of the private sector has led to severe environmental degradation.

¹⁰ Topside refers to the area of the island which was mined for phosphate (Gowdy and McDaniel, 1999: 334).

While this concept has proven challenging at the macro-level, as the Nauru example above shows, there are positive examples of this concept at the more micro-, or local, level. One such positive example of PS4D can be found in Palau where the private sector has been involved in attempts to increase connections and collaboration between the sector and society. One company which exemplified this is *Sam's Tours*. *Sam's Tours* is a dive operation which access the renowned 'Rock Islands' (see *Appendix 2*). The organisation has chosen to work closely with the community and government in order to increase the positive impact of the tourism industry both socially and environmentally. In terms of environmental impacts, they have implemented initiatives such as providing guests with reusable bottles for the day and wooden cutlery so as to cut down on plastic and paper usage. Furthermore, they cater through a local company, again minimising the carbon miles on food and also creating a local market for other private sector organisations, in this case in the food sector. *Sam's Tours* is also a part of the Chamber of Commerce and the Belau Tourism Authority which enables them to add value to these organisations and also be able to access new information themselves. Finally, they also support community organisations, for example, the Palau Swimming Association and the Palau Women's Basketball League.¹¹

The actions described above, which are for the most part beyond the scope of their business as usual, enable *Sam's Tours* to build an understanding as to what the issues are within the local community and how they could potentially be of assistance. In this sense, there is reciprocity between the company and society in that the company has become involved in many methods of engaging with other sectors so as to be able to add value to the overall development of not only the tourism sector, but the country as well. Initiatives such as these would be adding value to the effectiveness of sustainable development processes through the way in which they uphold *reciprocal duality* values.

The above examples show that PS4D can be both positive and negative in how it enables the private sector to engage in sustainable development processes. However, the thesis believes that the private sector could be engaged in the development process more effectively if the third version of such engagement identified by Vaes and Huyse is utilised: PSiD. As discussed earlier, PSiD speaks to the way in which businesses have improved their usual practices to increase their sustainability and make them more sustainable and development friendly. An excellent example of this can be found in the Cook Islands where the *Storytellers Eco Cycle Tours* give 10% of their profits to the local community

¹¹ See: <http://www.samstours.com/about/community>; <http://www.samstours.com/about/environmentally-friendly> (accessed January 2018).

for development projects.¹² Where a business would usually be interested in investing profits to grow the business, here *Storytellers* have chosen to provide some of these profits to the local community. Such actions can be seen across the more eco-centric corporations, especially from within the tourism sector, whereby each venture attempts to, for example, protect the environment or raise awareness of social issues through their work (see *Appendix 2* for mapping of eco-tourism ventures in the SIS). This process of development matches closely with one of the notions which became clear in the interview with the PIDF, where it was stated that development in the Pacific could take place without the external assistance of donors, and instead rely on the private sector and the public sector of each state (Interview 11, Suva, October 2017).

There are two reasons why PSiD could realise this hypothesis proposed by PIDF: (1) businesses reliance on customers, or consumers; and (2) an ability to normalise sustainable practices. Customers, and/or consumers, are important actors because they can adjust the market through their demands. Such demands are taking on a new dimension within the sustainability paradigm because, as Prothero et al. (2011) explain, consumers are also citizens. This led to the term consumer-citizens, and such “individual consumer–citizens participating in the marketplace have duties to their community and environment, but they also have duties to their family and themselves” (ibid.: 33). They go on to explain that this has led to “many companies...adopting a more expansive vision of people as not only consumers but also concerned citizens” (ibid.). In some ways this is reciprocal in nature: where there is a demand, there is a business opportunity. So, where people demand certain standards from business, business will attempt to respond for fear of becoming obsolete. Thus, the customer has the ability to shape the future that they would like to see through their purchasing power. This is an example of *reciprocal duality* since the business is attentive to the customer and the customer supports the business which aligns with their values through their purchases.

Secondly, if a business internalises sustainable actions, as *Storytellers Eco Cycle Tours* have, then it normalises the concepts of sustainability for all those within the corporation. This moves sustainability from an add-on or an external prerogative, - like, for example, needing the government to create an enabling environment - to being part of the core functioning of the business. Arguably it would seem that this would be the most effective method of engaging the private sector in sustainable development processes, because it would assist with normalising sustainability through businesses

¹² See: <http://www.storytellers.co.ck/who-are-storytellers/>. (Accessed January 2018).

actions and also prove that such actions do not necessarily challenge viability, thus setting a template for future businesses.

As the above has shown, while there are multiple ways in which to engage the private sector in the sustainable development process, there are many concerns with such engagements. Such concerns range from the promotion of the status quo to self-interest and these issues are not easily overcome. However, there does seem an opportunity through incorporating sustainable practices into corporation's business as usual, to increase the effectiveness of the sustainable development processes. This would seem to add value to the hypothesis proposed by Sanford (2011), spoken of earlier, where business can play an important role within sustainability if there is a change of mindset as to how business is carried out, and if such a mindset can be enabled then the private sector could play an important role within sustainable development processes.

A Want To Do Better: The Private Sector's Sustainability Initiatives

The above analysis has shown that the PSiD method seems to be the method which offers an opportunity to make the sustainable development process more effective. Given this, the following section will explore the ways in which the private sector has attempted to become more sustainable in their actions. There are three main methods through which to incorporate sustainable actions into a corporation's business as usual: (1) eco-efficiency; (2) triple bottom line; and (3) corporate-social responsibility. This section analyses each in turn, using examples from within the Pacific where possible, in order to build an understanding as to how each concept could add value, or detract, from the sustainable development processes.

Firstly, eco-efficiency is an understanding whereby business attempts to do less with more. They streamline processes, reduce the need for raw materials and recycle as much as possible. In short, they attempt to ensure that all the actions involved in creating their products have less or no impact on the environment: "the first word of the concept encompasses both *ecological* and *economic* resources – the second says we have to make optimal use of both" (DeSimone, Popoff and WBCSD, 2000: 2). This concept can be separated into seven aspects - reduce the material intensity of goods and services; reduce the energy intensity of goods and services; reduce toxic dispersion; enhance material recyclability; maximize sustainable use of renewable resources; extend product durability; and increase the service intensity of products (ibid.: 3). However, eco-efficiency does not directly address the sphere of society, and while a healthier environment will in-turn benefit society, there are

other human rights issues (such as worker conditions, labour rights, for example) that are also of crucial importance to achieving sustainable development (Holliday, Schmidheiny and Watts, 2002: 19-21).

The second form of the private sector engaging with sustainability - the triple bottom line - does address the social sphere through “a strategy that integrates socially responsible practices, a company’s analysis of profit, return on investment (ROI), or return on equity (ROE) as the bottom-line should be replaced by a “triple bottom-line” approach, encompassing economic, social, and environmental factors” (Herrmann, 2004: 207). The triple bottom line approach speaks of businesses needing to reach a defined minimum standard across three bottom lines, these being environment, social and economic. If a corporation is able to do so, then they can define themselves as sustainable (Cramer, 2002: 102).

Thirdly, there is corporate social responsibility. Such thinking calls upon corporations to consider themselves more than “just a self-centred profit-making entity, but [as a] company [whose] actions are also integral to the economy, society and environment in which they occur” (Herrmann, 2004: 206). In this sense, there is now a moral aspect to the business decisions that corporations make to ensure that they take into account the impact of their actions and productions on more than just the profit margins. Thus, Herrmann argued that the “business case for such social responsibility among corporations is becoming clearer as globalization progresses” (ibid.). Such corporate social responsibility thinking includes building understandings of future markets, employee and stakeholder relationships, enhancing brand reputations, resource efficiency and access to capital to name but a few (ibid.).

Eco-efficiency, as discussed, is based on the idea of making optimal use of both economic and environmental resources. Within the analytical framework, this notion of working efficiently with the environmental resources available is present through the environmental aspect of the concept of levels of change, wherein it is stated there is a need to limit the damage of human actions on the environment. Given this alignment, it could be argued that fulfilling eco-efficiency would add much value to sustainable development processes. In order to analyse this situation, a number of examples from within the SIS are examined in order to understand the impact of this form of engagement. To begin with, the Cook Islands provided a number of clear examples of practices which looked to make more effective use of the environmental resources available. For example, *Sea Change Villas* have implemented a waste water irrigation system to effectively deal with the sewage that the resort

generates. Furthermore, given that electricity is expensive, they have designed the villas to maximise the airflow to reduce the need for air-conditioning, while they also use environmentally-friendly cleaning products to ensure that they are not impacting upon the surrounding environment with their waste washing water. Guests are also invited to leave recommendations as to how the resort can increase their sustainability. This last initiative is an example of an excellent method of not only increasing the knowledge of the business, but also of engaging the visitors in the sustainable development process. Meanwhile, in Palau, the *Palau Pacific Resort* has engaged in a similar number of environmental initiatives. Firstly, a solar panel was installed in 2011 to service the lobby area. Secondly, the resort invested in a waste plastic oiling system which turns plastic into an oil mix which can be used for small machinery or even in diesel cars, while there is also a composting system on site (see *Appendix 2*).

What these initiatives are portraying is that the private sector is beginning to be a part of change that could be transformational, something which is of key importance to the levels of change aspect of the analytical framework discussed earlier. As became clear through the earlier example of mining in Nauru, and through insights made by scholars such as Holliday, Schmidheiny and Watts (2002), traditionally business has focussed on profit-making and viability, with issues such as sustainability being at best an add-on to this (ibid.: 16). However, as the examples from the Cook Islands and Palau portray, this attitude has changed, or transformed, to incorporate a more sustainable core to business as usual. Such thinking is transformational in the sense that it is moving away from the status quo of business, a status quo which has led to widespread environmental degradation and societal inequalities. While it could be said that the PSiD model does not necessarily question the structures of neo-liberalism which have led to such concerns, the way in which it encourages business to think more holistically about their impacts on the environment that not only surrounds them but, in the case of the SIS, that they rely so heavily upon, means that changing the way in which business is carried out in order to make it more sustainable will encourage such transformation away from the status quo. These examples of eco-efficiency from within the SIS show that such ventures have begun to play a transformative role through the way in which they have incorporated sustainable practices into their business as usual plans. This will have a positive impact on the environment and thus add value to the development process through this off-setting of future damage and a normalisation of sustainability as a concept within the business sector. As such, not only is the environment protected but the attitudes within the private sector are also challenged and changed and this is a positive thing especially in terms of ensuring the environment for future generations.

While eco-efficiency may be able to assist with the private sector engaging more effectively with sustainable development through its ability to more efficiently utilise resources and thus begin to change attitudes, it does not focus specifically on the social sphere of sustainable development, seemingly leaving it as a beneficiary of actions taken within the economic and environmental sphere instead of engaging it in the processes. This is concerning since, as has been highlighted in the analytical framework, sustainable development should be people-centred as it is the social sphere which can drive the most effective change. The triple bottom line approach provided one possible method through which to more deeply incorporate the social sphere, alongside the economic and environmental spheres. As was described earlier, Cramer (2002: 102) explained that the triple bottom line approach is based upon businesses reaching a minimum standard across the three lines of environment, economy and society. In this sense, the 'triple bottom line' approach offers a more holistic method of private sector involvement in sustainable development. Such holistic thinking is of importance, especially when taking into account the notion that the market is a socially constructed system (Sridhar and Jones, 2013: 93). However, even though such thinking is of importance, it is difficult to find specific examples of businesses who have implemented the triple bottom line approach in the SIS. However, within the literature there are differing views as to the positivity of the concept, with some scholars arguing that there are issues with the way in which the triple bottom line is reported on and highlighting how difficult it can be to quantify impacts within the social sphere (Sridhar and Jones, 2013: 94-95).

Without an example from the Pacific setting, it is difficult to analyse the way in which this approach could potentially add to the effectiveness of the sustainable development process. However, in terms of *reciprocal duality* between society and the business sector, the triple bottom line offers a number of opportunities which could prove beneficial in the SIS context. In terms of the social side of this reciprocity, there is an opportunity to enable informed consumers and through this influence the developments within the private sector and encourage these changes to be of a sustainable nature. While for the business side of the reciprocity, through listening to customers and ensuring that they act in-line with triple bottom line thinking, the business ventures can remain relevant to their consumers demands while also not harming the environment within which they depend upon and still maintain economic viability.

Firstly, from society's perspective, the notion of reporting is of importance especially in relation to the impacts of a business's practices on the consuming public. The reason being that if a

company reports on its impacts and mitigation efforts, both positive and negative, across the three pillars, it provides the general public the opportunity to make informed decisions about their consumption. An excellent example of this is provided below, at length, in relation to fossil fuels:

The scale of investor-owned emissions in the fossil fuel industry highlights the importance and potential of investor engagement...Whether through private dialogue or public shareholder resolutions, investors have already demonstrated influence on the actions and board level decision-making of large oil and gas majors. Investors can minimize the carbon risk on their investment by encouraging companies to: Disclose in-line with the Financial Stability Board's (FSB) Taskforce for Climate-related Financial Disclosure (TCFD) recommendations, conduct 1.5-2°C scenario analysis, adopt carbon pricing in financial accounting, communicate transition plans and investment in low-carbon R&D, engage with policy makers on positive environmental issues, and more (Griffin, 2017: 10).

In this sense, reporting enables the general public to support the businesses which they identify or align themselves with based on their own individual understandings regarding sustainability. This in turn would support eco-efficiency efforts as the consumer would be better informed and thus supportive of such eco-efficiency methods which are put in place. Thus, it could be argued that the triple bottom line approach would offer value to businesses in the SIS for they can have a spill-over effect into other useful methods, such as eco-efficiency, of promoting sustainable practices. Furthermore, in relation to the market itself, more informed consumers, especially when taking into account the idea of consumer-citizens, can have an impact upon the market's nature through their consumption methods. Since the market is a social construct (Sridhar and Jones, 2013: 93), society has the power to change what they have created and this can be achieved through more informed purchasing decisions. This is of particular significance for the market since it is currently dominated by neo-liberal ideologies which, as has been discussed, has led to social inequalities (Scheyvens, Banks and Hughes, 2016: 377–378). Through placing the holistic triple-bottom line thinking at the centre of the market through the consumers' actions, it may contribute towards addressing some of these inequalities within the neo-liberal structures or, if not, it may enable a strong questioning of these structures which could lead to transformational change. This would support the idea that the private sector could play a transformative role in the sustainable development process through providing more information to the public and thus increasing the public's ability to make informed purchasing decisions and, through this, question the underlying power dynamics of the current global structures.

While the above discussion shows the social side of the reciprocity within the triple bottom line approach, for business the reciprocity is related to the economic and environmental pillars. Firstly, within the economic pillar, the main advantage is that companies who have a positive view within the social sphere are able to remain relevant, will not become obsolete and will be able to align themselves with the needs of consumers. Meanwhile, within the environmental sphere, business can implement measures which do not damage the environment upon which they depend, and through this also ensure their longevity in terms of ensuring environmental sustainability. However, climate change challenges this situation. On the one hand, business can add to climate change concerns through their emissions, while on the other hand, climate change has been proposed to offer business new market opportunities (Henderson, 2015). As Mori and Chiba (2017: 1) explained, “these climate risks will encourage companies to introduce or create new technologies, services or business models aligned with emerging needs of societies making a transition to decarbonised and more resilient ones, in order to avoid or minimise the negative impacts of those risks”.

Either way, however, the private sector will have to adapt to climate change and adapting to such changes can assist the sustainable development processes through encouraging and implementing sustainable practices which would ensure the business viability in light of climate change. This is of importance to the SIS since, as was discussed in the PIDF interview, the companies within the SIS could learn from the current business practices and ensure that they avoid damaging behaviours and, instead, focus on the sustainable technologies and practices which are available (Interview 11, Suva, October 2017). Furthermore, it was highlighted that there is very little push-back from the private sector to the promotion or implementation of such ‘greening’ initiatives within business practices. If such technologies and practices could be taken onboard by the private sector within the SIS, it would support the hypothesis put forth by PIDF that countries can develop successfully through their own government and private sector alone (Interview 11, Suva, October 2017). As such, the triple bottom line offers an approach that would add much value to the sustainable development process through the way in which it encourages reciprocal interactions between the private sector and society and also sustainable actions within each of these spheres.

While the triple bottom line approach enables businesses to understand their impacts across the three pillars of sustainable development, corporate social responsibility, as discussed earlier, is more of a conscious effort by a business to ensure that their actions are sustainable at their core (Herrmann, 2004: 206). Having sustainability at the core can have a positive role in overcoming climate change as it encourages businesses to take responsibility for their actions and ensure that these

actions do not further impact negatively upon society or the environment. *Star Printery* of Fiji provided an example of this from within the Pacific. *Star Printery* donate exercise books to two schools in Fiji to ensure that stationary is not a barrier to students being able to study. Such a focus on education is of crucial importance to the sustainable development processes, as was mentioned in *Chapter 4*, where education was seen as one of the key aspects of development that should be focussed upon in the Pacific region: this is an example of a local private sector organisation engaging with this very important sector. Such engagement will most certainly have a positive impact upon the development of the country. Secondly, *Star Printery* is engaged in moving away from the use of harmful chemicals and inks in their manufacturing and printing processes.¹³ Given that *Star Printery* is one of the leading printers in Fiji, engaging in such actions can have a positive impact on other businesses in-country as it shows what is possible in terms of balancing environmental concerns and profitability.

These initiatives taking place within the SIS seem to provide an opportunity for the private sector to play a transformative role in enabling sustainable development. If businesses at this micro-level take on such sustainable actions, they will lessen the impact of corporate actions on the local environment which will assist the state's overall initiatives to mitigate climate change concerns. In this sense, such micro-level corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiatives would offer a method through which to increase the effectiveness of sustainable development processes. If a majority of companies could be engaged in such processes that either lessen the companies impact on the environment or assist with a sector such as education, then it will generate positive results in terms of sustainability for the country as a whole. If a majority of businesses were encouraged to engage with such actions then a patchwork of sustainable initiatives across the country would eventuate, something that would be beneficial overall to the sustainable development processes of the country.

Such encouragement is currently offered in the Pacific context by the Pacific Islands Development Forum (PIDF) through their *Pacific Green Business Centre*.¹⁴ Among the many support options that this Centre provides, the Centre looks to assist companies in utilising CSR through offering interested companies connections to projects or initiatives of a sustainable nature that they as a corporate could become involved in. Thus, at this micro-level, it can be argued that CSR is one positive option through which to make the sustainable development process more effective. This provides an insight as to the theoretical debate regarding the private sector's role within sustainable development. As mentioned earlier, the market and business are often critiqued for the negative impact they are

¹³ See: <http://starprintery.net.fj/csr/> (Accessed June 2018).

¹⁴ See: <http://greenbusiness.solutions/corporate-social-responsibility/> (Accessed November 2017).

proposed to have on the social fabric of society. While in some instances this may have proven true - for example the Nauru example spoken of earlier - in other cases, such as the CSR initiatives highlighted above, there seems ample space for the private sector to play a positive role within the enabling of sustainable development in the Pacific, especially at the micro-level.

However, though CSR may offer a positive case at the micro- or local level, at the macro- or more international level, there is a different story. Once again climate change offers an excellent lens through which to view this. Some of the largest creators of pollution and environmental degradation are corporates. This can be seen through the fact that since human-induced climate change was recognised, 25 corporate and state-owned enterprises have accounted for over half of the total emissions during that time (Griffin, 2017: 8). The majority of the companies in this grouping are involved in fossil fuels, including *ExxonMobile*, *Shell*, *BP*, and *Chevron* (ibid.). This brings into question again what role the private sector could play within sustainable development: if they are (a big) part of the problem, how can they then be the answer? This chapter has shown how this is possible at the micro-level (in presenting the printing company as an example of how a local firm offered social good through its actions), yet at a macro-level this can be more difficult to materialise. This is especially the case when considering that some of the more lucrative trades - such as oil - where, even if the corporate may be engaged in actions which are socially or environmentally positive, overall they are not necessarily adding value to sustainable development through their core business. In this sense, it can offer such companies an easy way to give the pretence that they engaged positively in creating a sustainable future when in actuality their core business is still contributing to issues such as emissions. Such emissions have a huge impact on the Pacific, especially in relation to sea-level rise, and thus at the macro-level CSR may not necessarily offer the transformative or value adding option that it does at the micro-level to the processes of sustainable development.

While the above discussion suggests a limited scope for CSR in terms of enabling sustainable development, the case of oil does provide one opportunity where the private sector could play a positive role through CSR. As was explored in *Chapter 4*, the SIS are heavily reliant on fossil fuels for their transportation systems and transport is central to development of any form. Thus, the private sector could take up the opportunity to define sustainable transportation methods which would reduce this reliance on fossil fuels. This could be seen as a market opportunity and would also enable something spoken of by PIPSO who raised the point that there was a lack of private sector-led research (Interview 4, Suva, October 2017). Such private sector-led research could offer, for example, a new method of engaging the private sector in the creation and ownership of solutions for transport-related

issues. Such research would add value to sustainable development as it would incorporate the voice of a sector with the expertise to be able to define what is feasible and relevant to the context, as well as how it could be cost-effective and fiscally sound. Thus, if such research could be encouraged, then there is potential for CSR to enable the private sector to play a positive role within sustainable development in the SIS.

The methods the private sector has utilised in attempting to become more sustainable have the potential to encourage sustainable actions or continue the status quo within the SIS. The main concern is, however, climate change. Climate change will severely impact upon the private sector's viability in the future and thus while there may be negatives involved in the above methods, the fact that they are engaging with them is most important in terms of being able to overcome climate change.

The Private Sector of the Smaller Island States

The discussion above has examined the methods through which the private sector is engaged in sustainability or has attempted to become more sustainable both generally and in the Pacific. The following section has built on this through specifically focussing on the ways in which the SIS have attempted to engage with the private sector. In order to understand this, each of the SIS's national development strategies have been utilised. These strategies set the framework for the way in which each country views and sets out to achieve development goals. Each strategy has made mention of the private sector and how each state would like to (or has) incorporated this sector in their development strategies. *Table 4* below summarises these approaches.

When considering this table, it is important to note firstly that all the strategies paid strong attention to the private sector thus proving its importance in the development process from the viewpoint of the SIS governments. Furthermore, as was highlighted in the interview with PIPSO, approximately 70% of the private sector within the Pacific is informal in nature. As such, creating the correct policies and legislation would be an important goal in order to build methods of working with both the formal and informal sector in order to achieve development goals. Further, as the table below shows, the SIS states through their national development strategies have placed a focus on creating an enabling environment for the private sector so as to encourage growth within this sector. Such a focus on the PSD model could be related to an important point that was raised and discussed earlier during an interview with a key informant from USP, who highlighted that the Pacific Island states are

Table 4: Private Sector Engagement within the SIS

Country	Private sector engagement	Type of private sector engagement
Federated States of Micronesia	Creating an enabling environment for private sector growth through policy and reforms.	Private sector development
Cook Islands	Expand economic opportunities, improve economic resilience and productive employment to ensure decent work for all.	Private sector development
Republic of Marshall Islands	Focus on creating a more stable and conducive economic environment in country through policy and legal framework reforms for example. Focus on “helping ourselves first” (Government of Marshall Islands, 2001: 4) and then ask others.	Private sector development
Tuvalu	Wanting to promote private sector growth through policy, access to finance, business incubators and increase in infrastructure.	Private sector development
Palau	Create an enabling environment for the private sector.	Private sector development
Niue	Focus on economic development.	Private sector development
Nauru	Focusses on creating an enabling environment and also working within specific sectors such as the marine industry to promote sustainable actions.	Private sector development and private sector in development
Kiribati	Want to update laws to encourage the creation of an enabling environment for the private sector	Private sector development

Source: Government of Palau, 1996: E-I; Government of Marshall Islands, 2001: 45; Government of the Federated States of Micronesia, 2003: 75-105; Government of Niue, 2009: 3, 7, 15-17; Nauru Government, 2009: 11-12, 19, 22, 25, 31; Government of the Cook Islands, 2016: 20-23, 39; Government of Kiribati, 2016: 10, 26-27; and Government of Tuvalu, 2016: 30-37, 80).

relatively new states and are thus still attempting to define a democratic method of governance that works within their own contexts. Until such processes of governance have been clearly defined, it is difficult for the private sector to engage effectively with the governments in terms of development

(Interview 12, Port Vila, October 2017). In this sense, it becomes clear why the governments would place a focus on PSD for it is a key part of the process of defining the democratic governance systems which they are shaping. However, this is a lengthy process and, as has been the case in a number of these states, while the goal has been to create a vibrant private sector it has proven decidedly difficult. For example, within Tuvalu, the preceding development strategy contained three main objectives related to tourism, of which two are still in implementation and one having not yet been addressed (Government of Tuvalu, 2016: 30). This demonstrates that even though the sentiment has been present, the results have not necessarily followed. Thus, it brings into question whether a continual focus on the PSD model is the most effective method for assisting with sustainable development.

As was shown in the Cook Islands case earlier in the chapter, there are examples of successful PSiD initiatives. With this in mind, it would seem that the private sector could play a more effective role within the existing process of sustainable development in the SIS. This would be because if the private sector were engaged in both PSD and also PSiD methods, then the country could build both short- and long-term development goals. In the short-term, a PSiD approach would seem to offer much value (based on the Cook Islands example of the Storyteller bicycle tours). If more companies were encouraged or supported in creating such initiatives, it would present an opportunity, for example, to enable the achievement of short-term development goals in the sense that the private sector would be making available necessary funding for the local community. In this sense, the private sector offers a new source of funding which, for example, civil society organisations could link into, something that would assist sustainable development processes as discussed in *Chapter 6*. Such short-term goals could then be matched with long-term development goals as stated in the national development strategies, for at this level it would be important to build the necessary infrastructure and policy frameworks that would enable private sector growth in the long-term.

However, a singular focus on PSD further entrenches the status quo of sustainable development. As the table shows, the Republic of Marshall Islands strategy spoke about a desire to first help ourselves before asking others (Government of Marshall Islands, 2001: 4). Through focussing only on PSD, opportunities are being missed which could assist with the concept of helping oneself first. For example, within the Marshall Islands, all currently functioning private sector enterprises could be made a part of PSiD and through this begin to add value to sustainable development processes. Such businesses could be local supermarkets or hotels who could, for example, offer assistance to education programmes like the *Star Printery* in Fiji does. This would in some way match the idea of helping oneself first and then looking externally for assistance where needed. In this sense,

incorporating a broader scope of private sector engagement into the development process would offer opportunities to build self-resilience and deeply include the local private sector in the sustainable development process.

To not broaden the thinking about private sector engagement beyond PSD could also, in turn, merely promote the status quo. This is because there are many difficulties involved in creating an enabling environment for the private sector in-country as it also involves external actors which can have a significant impact upon the local economy. An example of this is trade and investment, something that is important to growing a private sector anywhere. Brynhildsen (2011) offered an excellent insight into one of the aspects of trade which he believed to be of key concern for trade in developing countries, and also developmental progression more generally, in speaking of export credit agencies (ECAs). ECAs are “public or private institutions that provide credit and/or guarantees to export companies and financial institutions with the aim of supporting the home country’s export industries. Almost all industrial countries have a public ECA, often under the auspices of the Trade or Finance Ministry” (ibid.: 8). ECAs cover both financial and political risk of exports in third countries, and in cases where a default occurs they then also become the debt collector.

There is a myriad of issues surrounding this relationship. Firstly, ECAs have “no development mandate” (Brynhildsen, 2011: 8) but their actions have a serious impact on development. For example, they can encourage projects that have negative impacts upon society or the environment. Furthermore, they are not necessarily the most transparent organisations, meaning that the public do not have access to these agreements or negotiations. Further, ECAs can have a direct impact upon developing countries utilisation of aid budgets. In this instance, two partners may have entered into an agreement where an ECA enabled this opportunity because they cover the risk that would have otherwise halted the partnership, with many of these agreements being between developing and developed countries. If the partner in the developing country were to default for whatever reason, the ECA would then look to recover the costs from them. If it is a private firm in the developing country that has defaulted, then often the local government has to step in pay off the debt, usually resulting in them becoming more indebted. The money is returned to the rich Northern countries and the developing country is further hampered by these exchange credit debts. To off-set this, often money budgeted for aid is used to pay the debt accrued via the ECAs, thus impacting upon the resources that are available for sustainable development initiatives. As Brynhildsen explained, “the main bulk of developing country debt to other governments is created by export credit guarantees, and ECAs

receive significant transfers from aid budgets every year as a result of export credit debts cancelled by donor countries and paid with Official Development Aid” (ibid.: 8).

For the SIS, such as the Marshall Islands, the impact of such a debt situation would be significant and would stand in contrast to the aim of helping themselves first because of the dependencies that this debt could create. As Brynildsen (2011: 5) points out, “80% of poor countries’ debts to European governments come from export credits, not development loans”. This is seriously concerning if one takes into account the self-interest that is current within aid structures and investments, as explored in *Chapter 5*, because ECAs add to a structure that reinforces peripheral countries status, including the SIS, through their inability to not only pay off all their debts, but to also have such debts affect the aid budgets which developing countries are in such desperate need of (as discussed in *Chapter 4*).

In this sense, promoting PSD - which places a focus on developing countries being able to enter into the global trade system and to have the policies in place to be able to achieve this - would not change the current developmental position of countries for there are layers of challenges such as ECAs that would need to be overcome for the domestic private sector to become a vibrant sector and globally competitive. Consequently, the private sector would not be offering transformative change to the development process and, in fact, potentially even be limiting its budding positive impacts. Thus, there is a need to broaden the scope of engagement with the private sector at the local level to make the most of what is available here, as in the example of the Marshall Islands discussed above, and to begin to achieve short-term development goals alongside the long-term aims set out to be achieved through PSD initiatives.

Alternative Methods of Engaging the Private Sector: Public Private Partnerships (PPPs)

The above analysis and discussion has provided an overview of the way in which the private sector has become engaged, both generally and within the SIS, in the development process. Within such general terms, it was discussed that there was a need to expand the engagement methods beyond only PSD, with it being recommended to incorporate PSiD ideologies. The following section will explore further methods that can engage the private sector in the development processes beyond PSD: in particular, public-private partnerships (PPPs).

While there are numerous variations as to what a PPP is and involves (Roehrich, Lewis and Georg, 2014: 112), Bäckstrand (2006: 303) provides a succinct and clear overview: PPPs are a method which can offer “innovative forms of governance that can pool together diverse expertise and resources from civil society, government and business sectors. With their decentralized, flexible and informal features, partnerships can potentially link local practice with global environmental and developmental norms across different sectors”. Miraftab (2004: 92) further argues that to sustain “a partnership, partners must have reciprocal benefits and hold complimentary roles. Philanthropy from the private sector or government benevolence is not a reliable foundation for a partnership”. Accordingly, there are three key components of a PPP: (1) the private sector; (2) the public sector; and (3) the community (ibid.). However, it must be cautioned that each sector must be clearly identified before the partnership is entered into, so as to ensure a clear division of labour and roles and responsibilities. The highlighting of reciprocity by Miraftab provided a clear link between PPPs and the analytical framework created for this thesis. Miraftab explained that there is a need for a relationship with the PPP which is reciprocal in nature: in other words, all the partners’ voices, needs and opinions are deeply incorporated into the PPP. This is very similar to what the analytical framework advocates for through the concept of *reciprocal duality* where there is a need to understand the impact of one’s actions upon others within the partnership. Given this strong link between PPPs and the analytical framework, it would seem important to analyse whether PPPs are actually able to add value to the effectiveness of sustainable development within the SIS.

Miraftab (2004), Mouraviev and Kakabadse (2004), and Sedjari (2004) all placed an emphasis on which partner initiates the partnership. Given such a question of power and resources, understanding who has called for a PPP and why can give an insight as to whose concerns are being looked after and who may be marginalised. As Mouraviev and Kakabadse (2012: 12) posit:

Societal and organisational changes are socially constructed realities with negotiated meaning as outcomes of power relationships and struggles for supremacy...Behind each meaning there is a particular strategy with a focus on power and control, dominance and supremacy, who’s access to resources will be enlarged or reduced, who can stay and who has to go...

Here, again, there are strong links between what PPPs bring into consideration and the analytical framework: understanding power dynamics is a central component of the analytical framework (under the context aspect) that argues for an understanding of the underlying power dynamics of a situation

so as to be able to factor in such dynamics into the sustainable development processes so that these can be managed to allow for a more effective development process.

Mouraviev and Kakabadse (2012) identified four different strands of how PPPs are constructed so as to be of practical use within a given context: (1) contractual partnership; (2) PPPs which focus on the nature of the partnership; (3) PPPs as a shared project; and (4) institutional PPPs. The first is a contractual partnership. Such a partnership “means a legal long-term contractual arrangement that involves asset construction by a private party and service provision on behalf of a public agency with the use of a constructed asset” (Mouraviev and Kakabadse, 2012: 12). Secondly, there are PPPs within which there is a strong emphasis on the nature of the partnership or, as Mouraviev and Kakabadse describe, “PPP as a project in which partner interaction and the parties’ relationship is the most important feature” (ibid.: 12). Thirdly, PPPs can be viewed as a project that requires a shared responsibility from both the public sector partner(s) and the private sector partner(s) for product, risk, costs, and benefits. The fourth variance is understood as an institutional PPP. Within such a PPP, a company or corporation is formed. This entity is jointly owned by the public - that is, the government and private sector - and is mandated to deliver social goods and services (ibid.).

While the above has provided an overview of PPPs and how they portray similar values to those explained in the analytical framework, one of the most important points to arise from the literature surrounding PPPs is that, as Bäckstrand (2006: 303) explained, such partnerships “can potentially operationalize lofty principles of sustainable development and match them with realities on the ground”. Pattberg et al. (2012) argue that partnerships have become an important part of the sustainable development thinking and processes in more recent times. Given this impetus, it is of little wonder that both donors and governments in the Pacific have sought to create such partnerships so as to make the development processes more effective within the region. While partnerships have become somewhat of the norm for development initiatives, it was mentioned during the interviews that there seemed to be few PPPs current within the Pacific (Interview 4, Suva, October 2017). However, there are two examples from within the SIS - one from Kiribati and one from Palau - that provided the opportunity to analyse the role that PPPs could play in providing an alternative way to engage the private sector in sustainable development.

In Kiribati, the government realised that there was a need to make changes to the accommodation situation in-country in order to attract more visitors and to also increase the

satisfaction of those already visiting. The government looked for options to privatise the main hotel in Tarawa which, at the time, was owned by the government (World Bank, 2013). The hotel was in a state of disrepair and needed attention if it was to be able to become an important accommodation provider for the country. The government reached out to the World Bank, and specifically the IFC, asking for assistance with this concern. IFC carried out the necessary research to ascertain how best to solve the issue and it was decided that the best method would be to create a concessional PPP, whereby a tender was put out for companies to show interest in taking over the refurbishment and management of the hotel over a 25-year period (World Bank, 2013). The tender was won by a local company, the *Royal Crown Enterprises Ltd*.

While the project is still ongoing, and thus difficult to fully gauge the success of the methods involved, there are a number of important insights that have become clear already. Firstly, the engagement process was initiated by the country itself. This is important in the sustainable development context because within the societal or organisational change which each partnership seeks to achieve there are questions as to power, control, as well as resource accumulation or deprivation and voice (Mouraviev and Kakabadse, 2012: 12). Given that this process was initiated by the government itself, it means, to some degree, that they have control over the situation and have seen a developmental issue that they believe needs to be overcome and have defined a process whereby a solution to the concern was found. This speaks to the issue raised by the interviewee from USP who highlighted that for development to be successful it must be defined by those for whom the development is aimed (Interview 1, Suva, October 2017). In other words, it moves the power from global development actors who have usually shaped the development agenda, to the developing state itself. While it should be noted that there are most likely complex power dynamics at the local level, at the global level it does seem to be a case of the people for whom development is for, defining development for themselves.

Another significant point is that the model of partnership has enabled a local company to become involved in the sustainable development processes of the country through their business as usual. This is a case of PSiD, an approach discussed above as being a positive method of making the sustainable development process more effective, at least in the short term. The fact that it is a local business also builds on a notion that the Republic of the Marshall Islands believed to be of key importance to sustainable development - being able to help oneself before asking others (Government of Marshall Islands, 2001: 4). The type of partnership that was created also adds value to the overall project as the concessional model offers an option for the local private sector to take a lead role within

the partnership and to guide the initiative in ways that it believes would be most effective. As was mentioned in the Tuvalu national development strategy, one of the best ways to encourage growth is to utilise a hands-off approach and let the private sector function on its own accord (Government of Tuvalu, 2016: 30). It seems that Kiribati has taken on a similar view and will allow the private sector to build the hotel and manage it as they see best. Overall, it would seem that this PPP is an effective method of sustainable development, in that it offers a way for the developing state to take ownership of which issues should be focussed on and thus enables a move away from the status quo method of development in the Pacific which is dominated by the public sector and donors, while also creating space for the private sector to play a key role within the sustainable development process. Consequently, this example portrays a potential method through which the private sector could play a transformative role in sustainable development.

The Palau example is very similar in that a developmental concern was identified by the state and a PPP was decided upon as the most effective model through which to overcome this issue. For Palau, there has been concerns regarding the airport, both in terms of the physical capacity as well as in the management of the port. The arrangement entered into in this example is different from that in Kiribati. In Palau, an institutional PPP model was utilised. This is where the government and the private corporations involved form a separate company which is then charged with running the initiative. In this case, the company created was the *Palau International Airport Corporation*, of which the Government of Palau owns 49% and *Japan Airport Management Partners Co. Ltd*, which is made up of Sojitz and Japan Airport Terminal, own 51% (IslandTimes, 2017; Sojitz Corporation, 2017). The arrangement is structured so that Sojitz will renovate and upgrade the airport and, once complete, the airport will be managed by Japan Airport Terminal Company (JATCO) (IslandTimes, 2017). In such an arrangement it is up to the company created- in this case, the Palau International Airport Corporation - to ensure that the whole project from renovation and upgrade to the everyday management of the whole venture is operating effectively. The private sector organisations involved highlighted that they believed that the venture could assist with the development of the country (IslandTimes, 2017).

It was the Government of Palau who initiated the call for the PPP and so, again, this is an example of the developing country itself stating what they needed and then looking for solutions. It is also an example of PSiD: here, the business as usual actions taken by the private sector actors in the partnership will, as highlighted above, assist with the development of the country through creating more sustainable and consistent air-transport options, something that the *SIS Regional Strategy*

highlighted as being a key priority for sustainable development in the region. Such PSD matched with the PSD initiatives highlighted in the *Palau 2020 National Development Master Plan* in *Table 4*, providing an example of the long- and short-term development impacts that were spoken of in the previous section. In relation to short-term development impacts, the PPP will generate a new state-of-the-art airport which will offer increased air capacity which, as was discussed in *Chapter 4*, is seen as crucial to sustainable development in the region. Such an airport would offer Palau the opportunity to explore new trade and business opportunities or expand upon existing sectors such as tourism. While in the long-term, the Government of Palau is engaged with PSD and the bettering of the private sector environment in the country. Specifically, for the airport, this would be beneficial in the long-term because it would mean that the ease of doing business in Palau would increase as the legislations and policies were changed in accordance with the PSD ambitions of the state. This would enable the created company to function more effectively. In this sense, the private sector is adding much value to the development process through offering Palau the opportunity to build a first-class airport which would in turn have positive impacts on the achievement of other development goals within the country.

Both examples drawn from Kiribati and Palau also promote positive levels of change which could be transformative in nature for sustainable development in-country. This is because from the outset it was the government who had highlighted the concern and had been key in shaping the solutions that were generated for the issues. In other words, it was development defined by those for whom the development was for, and such a level of change supports sustainability in that it ensures that the voice of the developing state is central to the development process, something that places the power in their hands and can assist in reducing dependencies on donors and the global development agendas which they set.

Conclusion

This chapter has concluded that the private sector can play a transformative role within sustainable development processes. Whilst the above examples have focussed on private sector corporations involved in infrastructure creation, for most of the SIS, tourism is the key part of this sector. With this in mind, the next chapter will go on to focus on the tourism industry specifically to understand whether the private sector as a key development partner can make the significant positive change spoken of in this chapter or whether it will merely reinforce the status quo.

CHAPTER 8

A CASE STUDY OF TOURISM'S ROLE IN SIS: TRANSFORMATIONAL TOURISM IN ACTION?

The previous chapter discussed the role of the private sector in sustainable development and identified various methods through which the private sector can have a positive impact upon the development process. This chapter builds on this through utilising a case-study through which to understand the role that tourism plays within sustainable development in the SIS region. However, in order to achieve this, the chapter begins by explaining the importance of the tourism sector to the Pacific generally, as well as the SIS specifically. This discussion includes an overview of the argument that tourism is so influential both within the SIS and more generally that some have argued it could be seen as a human right (McCabe and Diekmann, 2015). Having defined the importance of tourism to the private sector and the region, the chapter moves on to the case-study and assesses the impact tourism has within the social, economic and environmental spheres of the SIS. The chapter critically considers the transformative role of tourism within the sustainable development process and the extent to which tourism can make development more effective.

A Right to Travel: Tourism and its Importance to the Pacific

Tourism is a key sector within the SIS and the Pacific more generally and it is the only sector in the Pacific to have experienced consistent growth within the last decade (Trip Consultants, 2014: 11). In this sense, the tourism sector, as Pratt and Harrison (2015: 5) point out, is a “key driver in the economies of several PICs and is becoming increasingly important in others”. The sector has also been identified within academic literature as being a sector ripe for economic growth, employment expansion and foreign exchange earnings (see, for example, Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008; Cole and Eriksson, 2010; and Hezel, 2017). The SIS themselves though also recognise the importance of tourism since each state makes special mention of the sector in their national development strategies (see *Appendix 6*). However, there are varying levels of tourism across the SIS (see *Table 1* earlier in the thesis), with some of the states, such as the Cook Islands, having built a well performing tourism sector (contributing 69.1% of GDP in 2017), while there are others, such as Tuvalu, where tourism has not grown dramatically (contributed less than 10% to GDP).

Tourism has, in fact, reached such a level of importance that some scholars, such as McCabe and Diekmann (2015) and the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) (WTO General Assembly, 1999),

have spoken of a human right to tourism. McCabe and Diekmann (2015: 200) explained that the “contribution of tourism to the wellbeing of citizens, an often enshrined component of national constitutions, adds significantly to the potential for tourism to be considered a right”. The WTO are forthright in their argument:

The universal right to tourism must be regarded as the corollary of the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay, guaranteed by Article 24 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and Article 7.d of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (WTO General Assembly, 1999: art. 7).

This code of ethics was supported by the UN General Assembly in 2001 - through A/RES/56/212 *Global Code of Ethics for Tourism* - where governments were encouraged to introduce such methods as appropriate in-country. The UN, too, have strengthened this idea by stating that “everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country” (UN Declaration on Human Rights, quoted in Higgins-Desboilles and Blanchard, 2010: 36). However, there has been some contention as to the validity of the claim by WTO for tourism to be seen as a human right. Alston (1984: 611) called such claims “frivolous”. Thus, while there may be some conjecture as to whether there is such a right or not, the very existence of debate signifies the important role tourism does play in the Pacific. Moreover, given tourism is highlighted in the development plans of the individual SIS, it seems pertinent to explore whether this influential sector can add value to the sustainable development process and make them more effective.

Tourism: A Case Study of a Potentially Transformative Development Partner

The case study is a single embedded case which tested for a most-likely scenario. The most-likely scenario which was tested was that tourism can play a transformative role in the processes of sustainable development. This was tested in the case of the SIS which offered the single case, with the eight individual states being the embedded aspect of this single case. In order to examine this, the chapter will sketch out the role tourism plays in the three pillars of sustainable development: that is, the social sphere, the economic sphere and the environmental sphere.

Tourism and the Social Sphere

The social sphere is a crucial sphere for the Pacific because, as has been explained by Kavaliku (2005), culture is so very important to the region. Scheyvens and Momsen (2008) argue that within the

sustainable tourism literature there is a strong focus on the environment and the economy, but there is a lack of attention paid to the social sphere of sustainability and tourism's role within this. Given this gap, and the importance of the social sphere within the Pacific context, it seemed appropriate to begin by focussing on the social sphere of the SIS for it holds such an important place in the sustainable development process. Within the social sphere, tourism proves to enable both positive and negative impacts upon sustainable development. In terms of the positive impact, McCabe and Diekmann (2015) argue that tourism can assist with positive social outcomes such as mental health as well as an ability to build intercultural awareness. Such intercultural awareness is an important notion because tourism has the potential to preserve culture (Tuinabu, 2005). Tuinabu believed that this takes place through tourists moving beyond enclave tourism to a more experiential form of tourism, where experiencing the culture of the country visited is of most importance (ibid.: 187). Through this, it is proposed that culture can be preserved as it is the key focus. There are a number of examples from within the SIS to support this argument, especially from within the eco-tourism ventures of the various SIS (see *Appendix 2*). For example, in the Cook Islands, there is the *Highland Paradise Culture Centre* which offers an opportunity to experience Cook Island culture. In this sense, within the social sphere, tourism offers a method of cultural preservation which is of crucial importance in the SIS setting. In terms of sustainable development processes, culture should be at the core of the implementation of sustainable development as has been described in the 'practical' section of the analytical framework. The framework argues that for development to be sustainable, the implementation of actions should be culturally relevant, both in terms of sensitivity and preservation. With this in mind, it seems that the preservation of culture that Tuinabu is speaking of, and the intercultural awareness which McCabe and Diekmann highlighted, illuminate one of the ways in which tourism is adding value to the sustainable development processes through enabling cultural preservation.

However, whilst this suggests a positive spin on the role tourism can play within the social sphere, there are also negative consequences too. Pezzullo (2007: 1-2) has spoken very strongly on the toxic nature of tourism generally:

By definition, tourists are invasive and ignorant of their surroundings. Tourists make waste, take resources, destroy – or, at minimum, transform-places, and encourage local communities literally to sell themselves and to commodify their culture for money. So, for the most part, it's not just that we don't like tourists or find tourism pointless. Our distain belies a stronger, more powerful, underlying cultural belief: *tourism is toxic*. Tourism contaminates the people and the places where it occurs.

Lipset (2018) continues in this critical vein, arguing that tourists are searching for something primitive which is in its real life state, or that they are searching for an authentic experience which they understand “in static, pre-capitalist, pre-Christian terms as well as in *National Geographic* clichés” (ibid.: 234). However, in search of this real thing they trivialise other tourists and suffer from angst themselves since they are so desperate to see the real thing, or the ‘other’, they even create a form of hierarchy between themselves which leads to judgement amongst tourists (ibid.). This led Lipset to raise a very important query: “what is lacking in their experience of modernity that they turn to cultural tourism as a privileged site of the real, the genuine, and the original” (ibid.). The salient point for our analysis of tourism in the SIS is what kind of tourist the states are attempting to attract. Dann (2002) has sought to address similar queries. Dann examines the way in which postmodernity has shaped the reasons for people wanting to travel (in a similar vein to Lipset above). For Dann, the postmodern condition has led to a feeling that something is missing within a ‘home’ state and in this sense, tourism offers an excellent metaphor for the social world:

Of all the metaphors used to capture the postmodern condition, none has perhaps been employed more frequently than that of the ‘tourist’. Just as modernity had its metaphor of the ‘the traveller’, seeking the rational goal of educational improvement, the moral path of spiritual renewal, the scientific and imperialistic exploration of unknown territories, so too did post modernity seize upon the tourist as connotative of a dilettante life of fun in the sun and hedonism *ad libitum* in placeless destinations where the ‘other’ was cheerfully ignored in favour of the unbridled pursuit of individualism *san frontieres* (ibid.: 6).

In this sense, Dann argued, the tourist can be seen more as a replica of the conditions in the home country rather than having anything important to say about the country visited. Dann exemplified this point using the case of the United Kingdom where “with closed-circuit television (CCTV) everywhere and much of its population treated like quasi-criminals, the conditions for escape through tourism have never been riper” (ibid.: 6-7). Thus, it would seem, there is a need for caution in relation to attempting to attract all types of tourists, because, as Dann makes clear, there is a balance between the traveller and the country to which they travel, why they travel and the negative impacts of such travel.

Teaiwa (1994) used the bikini to describe this relational experience between the visitor and the local in the Pacific context. When Europeans first arrived in the Pacific, the missionaries especially

thought it was critically important to encourage the clothing of those they encountered. As Teaiwa explained, “clothing functioned as a device of colonial social control, not only by eliminating the nude, but...by distinguishing appropriate dress for Islanders from appropriate dress for Europeans” (ibid.: 97). This is of particular interest currently as it is now the Islanders who cover themselves when they swim and it is the Europeans, the tourists, who wear the bikinis and short shorts, a state as close to nude as possible (ibid.: 97-98). According to Teaiwa, this has an impact on the perceptions of Islanders of themselves as “in a tourist economy, the beach became the principle site of leisure – and a clichéd backdrop for bikini-clad tourists. Of course, tourism also affects Islanders’ perceptions of themselves and their environment, and increasingly numbers of upwardly mobile Islanders...may be seen lounging leisurely on the beach in their bikinis” (ibid.: 98). This concept of ‘image’ that Teaiwa raised is built upon by Scheyvens and Momsen (2008: 30) who speak about the fact that within many of the countries that are being visited, poverty is an issue, as well as infrastructure, and that the “presence of wealthy tourists may make local perceptions of relative poverty more keenly felt”. In this sense, tourism can reinforce the inequalities of the current system. Similarly Ringer (2004: 14-16) concluded that tourism offers an external pressure on the way in which people and their social structures develop, and that there is a need to find a balance between the external influence of the tourist and the rights and needs of the host citizens for tourism to offer a positive method of enabling development.

What Ringer and Teaiwa seem to be concerned with is the question of who is influencing the cultural development of Pacific Island nations, inclusive of the SIS. The balance that Ringer speaks of is key because tourists are not necessarily arriving with the most positive of intentions, whether conscious or not (as Dann and Pezzullo have explained), and thus there is a need to question whether the tourist’s views should be able to influence how the host society views itself. This speaks to the *lokua* fish metaphor that Kavaliku (2005) spoke of. Kavaliku believed, as explained in *Chapter 4*, sustainable development was a choice for Pacific Island states between nourishing oneself from one’s own resources and occasionally opening up to external influences, or to engage fully with the outside ‘ocean’ (ibid.: 28-31). In relation to tourism, it would seem that Ringer is making a similar argument in that tourism offers the external influence and there is a choice as to whether such an influence is good, as Tuinabu has proposed, or negative, as Pezzullo and Teaiwa hint towards. This is an important insight for understanding tourism’s role within sustainable development processes because, as the analytical framework portrays, cultural promotion is key to sustainable development, so if tourists are able to negatively influence this, then they would not be changing the status quo and would not be assisting in transforming the sustainable development processes. Given that the negative role that

tourism could play would reinforce the status quo and thus not be transformative, there needs to be further exploration as to whether tourism can align itself with the analytical framework and have a positive impact on the sustainable development process.

Justice tourism may offer an alternative experience. Here, the idea is that tourism is based on “solidarity between visitors and those visited; promotes mutual understanding and relationships based on equity, sharing and respect; supports self-sufficiency and self-determination of local communities; [and] maximizes local economic, cultural and social benefits” (Higgins-Desboilles and Blanchard, 2010: 43). There are five forms of justice tourism: (1) the host telling their stories of past oppression; (2) tourists learning about poverty issues; (3) tourists undertaking voluntary conservation work; (4) tourists undertaking voluntary development work; and (5) revolutionary tourism (ibid.). To a degree, the goal of such tourism can be concluded as being tourism that “works at numerous levels to foster transformations that are intended to spark changes for a more just and sustainable global order” (Higgins-Desboilles, 2010: 200). Or in other words, the focus of justice tourism is to enable people to share stories and engage in voluntary work which can reduce inequalities and raise awareness of key social issues. In this sense, such tourism aligns itself with the ‘levels of change’ aspect of the analytical framework: specifically, it speaks to the need to involve social structures that are open for all to access and have their voice heard. Tourism that encourages such sharing of stories would support the notion of levels of change through the stories which are shared by the tourist and the host. Such sharing of experiences and the knowledge gained or learned also enables tourism to play a role in either addressing, or at least questioning, concerns within the current social order and through this offer a method of transforming these processes. If such tourism can be encouraged, with its ability to question power dynamics and even potentially offer solutions, it can be concluded that such tourism would play a transformative role within contemporary sustainable development.

The above discussion has pointed to the different reasons why people travel and what they are looking for in such travel. Tolkach, Chon and Xiao (2016: 1078) suggest that “future tourism development requires careful long-term strategic planning and policies and regulations on behalf of not only national tourism organisations, but also other government bodies, international organisations and the industry”. Thus, a clear understanding of the type of tourists that one is interested in attracting is of crucial importance. For the SIS, this question is very timely: should the SIS open up to the global system more so as to engage in an expansion of tourism or is there a need to limit the number of tourists so as to ensure that it is mainly internal influences which guide development? The importance of tourism to the Cook Islands has enabled them to become one of the

most well-connected countries within the SIS (see *Table 2*). Palau, however, has chosen to focus on attracting high end tourists through placing a very high price on visas for the country (Plush, 2017), thus limiting the number of tourists who would travel to the country. In the Cook Islands case they have opened up, while in the case of Palau it seems to be more of a limited engagement with the outside 'ocean', at least in relation to tourism. These two examples provide insights into the long-term planning that Tolkach, Chon and Xiao (2016) have highlighted as being crucial to making tourism sustainable.

Such long-term planning considerations may also mean the SIS should explore the possibility of PPPs (as discussed in *Chapter 7*) as a method through which tourism could increase the effectiveness of sustainable development processes. This is because for the long-term planning to create effective strategies for the tourism sector there will need to be strong collaboration between the government and the private sector. These partnerships allow the private sector to offer options to ensure the viability of any plan and the government can ensure that the culture of the state and its citizens are protected from the negative impacts of tourism. In other words, governments could play a key role in ensuring that the way in which culture is impacted upon is controlled and recognised, rather than left to happen ad hoc, while the private sector are tasked with ensuring that the tourism sector is a viable sector that is relevant to the demands of tourists. Through such a PPP collaboration it could be argued that the negative impacts of tourism could be overcome and that, in turn, tourism could offer a method of transforming sustainable development processes to make them more effective through enhancing the one sector that has seen consistent growth in the Pacific region (Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008: 22–23).

There are strong arguments for both the positive and negative impacts of tourism on the social sphere of sustainable development. Thus, in terms of tourism making the process of sustainable development more effective, it is difficult to determine whether within this sphere it would in fact add value to the development process. It could add value if Tuinabu's argument holds true and the more open engagement of the *lokua* metaphor is utilised. However, the critiques of tourists and the damage that they can cause is also valid and something that needs to be kept in mind in the SIS because its consequences can be severe (Ringer, 2004: 15). The examples from Palau and the Cook Islands show how various states have differentially engaged with this concern.

The challenging nature of tourism, especially within the social sphere, could be one of the reasons that the SIS Leaders chose not to include tourism specifically in the *Smaller Island States*

Regional Strategy 2016-2020, even though it features in all the individual country's strategies. Instead, the Regional Strategy has focussed on creating the infrastructure that would open up the possibility of tourism for each of the states. This action means that it is up to each individual state to define how they want to engage with tourism, whether it is a more closed approach (such as in Palau), or whether it is more open (such as in the Cook Islands), it is a choice for the state themselves. In other words, it is a case of the people for whom development is for, defining development for themselves, a method that will make the processes of sustainable development more effective. However, even with this in mind, it seems that within the social sphere it has proven difficult to definitively conclude that tourism can play a transformative role within sustainable development processes in the SIS and in this sense, the hypothesis of the case study has been challenged.

Tourism and the Economic Sphere

Cole and Eriksson (2010: 107-108) point out that "tourism is considered to bring economic development as well as contribute to mutual understanding and respect between peoples and societies". Within the Pacific, as discussed in *Chapter 1*, the importance of tourism to economic development has been further highlighted by Pratt (2015) who spoke of tourism as offering an opportunity to gain much needed foreign exchange and tax revenues, while it also offers employment opportunities. However, while this may be the case, the concern is that many of the Pacific states have few alternatives to tourism development, even though economic prosperity is not guaranteed (Pratt, 2015: 150). Such views were also supported by the SPTO in the interviews for this research. It became clear that there was a belief that tourism offers both economic opportunities and also development opportunities (Interview 6, Suva, October 2017). Interviews with key informants from USP further enforced the view that tourism does play a key role in development, especially in terms of creating income earning opportunities (Interview 1, Suva, October 2017). This also becomes clear in *Table 1*, which is based on statistics compiled by SPTO for 2017, which revealed the economic impact of tourism in the SIS. Tourism does play a key role within all of the states, but especially for the Cook Islands, Niue and Federated States of Micronesia. In terms of employment created, as the table demonstrates, this also varies across the SIS with the countries where tourism is stronger being matched with heightened employment opportunities.

In relation to employment creation, SPTO highlighted that there had been an 88.3% increase in tourism employees in the Pacific region over the period 2014-2017 (SPTO, 2018: 44). While some of this growth will be related to donor-funded regional tourism projects, much of this will also be related to immanent development initiatives that have been undertaken by citizens of the SIS.

Immanent development is an important aspect of the analytical framework in that it enables development actions generated by society without external assistance to be a key part of overall sustainable development in a region. Such developmental actions add much value to the sustainable development processes because they are defined by those for whom the development is for, thus making them more relevant. An example of this emerged from the interview with the Marshall Islands Chamber of Commerce, where it was discussed that they were looking into options to increase tourism in the outer islands (Interview 13, Telephone, November 2017). Such actions were taking place regardless of any external interventions or projects: this push was based on local stakeholders engaging in decision-making on the feasibility of such actions and how to implement them should they be deemed feasible. In other words, it is immanent development at work.

While this example of immanent development is in the planning stages, there are also current tourism initiatives that are operating in outer islands around the SIS which similarly demonstrate such immanent development actions. One example of this can be found on two of Kiribati's outer islands - Kiritimati and Tabuaeran - where surfing camps have been set up to attract tourist surfers to these destinations. These camps, operated by a New Zealand based company, offer surfers a chance to surf some of the best waves the world has to offer, with no crowds.¹⁵ The fact that it is run by a New Zealand outfit may challenge the sustainability of the operation as it is not locally owned, however, the fact that the operator has managed to negotiate access to these surf breaks and the tourists that they bring to these islands does present a positive example of immanent development taking place. The importance of immanent development is that it is self-sufficient, in that it is not tied to external donors and funding cycles. It became clear in the interviews with key informants that such funding cycles challenged sustainable development because as soon as the funding ended, there would be little money to keep paying for the capacity that the project had created (Interview 1, Suva, October 2017; Interview 9, Suva, October 2017). In this sense, immanent tourist development actions, such as the surf camps and the discussions that are taking place in the Marshall Islands, are much more sustainable, and through such actions it would seem that tourism can play a transformative role in the sustainable development processes through the self-sufficiency and the reduction of dependence on funding cycles that this offers. Furthermore, such immanent development actions would benefit from private sector development (PSD), something that SIS governments have discussed (as reported in *Chapter 7*). If a more enabling business environment could be created then such immanent ventures

¹⁵ See: <https://www.fanningislandsurf.com/> ; <https://www.christmasislandsurf.com/> ; <http://southpacificspecialist.org/tourism-contacts-2/> (Accessed October 2018).

would be able to function more effectively and, according to the analytical framework, would thus also enable transformative sustainable development.

Given that foreign ownership has been touched upon briefly above, it seems pertinent to expand on this issue, as it has also been highlighted within the literature as having both a positive and a negative impact within the Pacific (Cheer, et al., 2018). As Cheer et al. (2018: 446-447) explained, “matters related to high economic leakages, lack of financial and human resource capacity, and high levels of foreign ownership are well-documented issues that can diminish the economic contribution of tourism to advances in national development”. They go on to explain that as tourism grows so does the pressure to “monetize the performative aspects of islander culture” and that much of this pressure to monetize can be related to tensions related to ownership (ibid.: 445).

However, while foreign ownership can lead to leakages and issues surrounding control, it can also provide crucial foreign investment for these states (Pratt, 2015: 150) and also monetary benefits for communities linked to foreign-owned ventures or through land leases to foreign investors (Cheer, et al., 2018: 447, 450). Furthermore, outside of Fiji and Vanuatu, the majority of tourism ventures in the Pacific are locally owned so “while most Pacific nations have indicated their desire for long-term growth and recognised the need for increased foreign investment in the tourism sector, there is also a strong desire that this growth is sustainable and proceeds in such a way that benefits of traditional ways of life are retained” (Scheyvens and Russell, 2009: 24). This focus on culture and the maintenance and promotion of culture would enable sustainable development, as can be seen through the analytical framework of the thesis, which explained that there is a need to deeply incorporate culture and cultural knowledge into sustainable development for it to be effective.

However, while this paints a positive picture as to how foreign ownership within tourism can create economic benefits for the SIS, there are also negative impacts associated with this as well, as “the predominance of foreign ownership may reinforce these SIDS dependencies” (Pratt, 2015: 150). Such dependencies would do little to enable the SIS to achieve their sustainable development goals, especially in terms of creating economic self-sufficiency. Such negative impacts of the role that tourism could play within the economic sphere, was further highlighted in interviews with key informants, especially in relation to wages (Interview 1, Suva, October 2017). One of the concerns with wages is that there is an imbalance between the visiting tourist and the wage earner in-country. Cole and Eriksson (2010: 109) portrayed this situation clearly through a cartoon in which two tourists are depicted speaking with two locals, the tourists are saying “so we just wanted to say thanks *ever* so

much for working for poverty wages! It's made a really big difference to our lifestyles! *Honest!* We can even afford lots of holidays in poor countries like yours". This is an important issue because most of the tourists that travel to the Pacific are from industrialised countries such as the USA, New Zealand, Australia and China (Everett, Simpson and Wayne, 2018: 8; SPTO, 2018). Such countries have seen a rise in living standards and disposable income, which in turn has led to an increased interest in tourism with tourism growing globally at a rate of "3.9% annually from 2005-2015" (Everett, Simpson and Wayne, 2018: 6). However, even though incomes may have increased, many of these tourists still seem to be looking for cheap travel opportunities, as the cartoon depicts. This places pressure on the SIS for they offer similar beach and sun holiday opportunities to that of cheap destinations in south-east Asia and thus must attempt to stay competitive price-wise against such destinations. This becomes problematic for wages within the industry in the Pacific region, as competitive edge in business almost always means wage restrictions for those working in the industry.

For some of the SIS, wages issues are exacerbated further through not only the limited transport options to some of these states (as discussed in *Chapter 4* (see *Table 2*)), but also the cost involved in travelling to these destinations. For example, a one-way flight from Sydney to Funafuti costs 891AUD,¹⁶ where as Sydney to Thailand costs 235AUD¹⁷ and a trip to Bali costs 407AUD.¹⁸ However, for other SIS such as the Cook Islands, flights are much more competitive, with a journey from Sydney costing 419AUD.¹⁹ In this sense, the destinations which do not have a strong tourism sector, such as Tuvalu, would struggle to be able to pay appropriate wages and remain a competitive destination in the eyes of tourists in terms of price. While some tourists are aware of the issue of wages, this is unfortunately not the case for all.

When reviewing this context through *reciprocal duality*, tourism's role in enabling sustainable development is questionable, because while on the one hand tourism does create employment opportunities, as shown in *Table 1*, on the other hand tourists themselves are not necessarily aware of the impact that they are having in terms of wages via their demand for cheap tourism options. In terms of *reciprocal duality*, this would signify a concern for the sustainable development processes

¹⁶ Prices found at: https://www.cheapflights.com.au/flight-search/SYD-FUN/2018-10-31?sort=bestflight_a (Accessed September 2018).

¹⁷ Prices found at: https://www.cheapflights.com.au/flight-search/SYD-BKK/2018-10-31?sort=bestflight_a (Accessed September 2018).

¹⁸ Prices found at: https://www.cheapflights.com.au/flight-search/SYD-DPS/2018-10-31?sort=bestflight_a (Accessed September 2018).

¹⁹ Prices found at: https://www.cheapflights.com.au/flight-search/SYD-RAR/2018-10-31?sort=bestflight_a (Accessed September 2018).

and tourism's role within this, because while tourism represents an economic opportunity, the wages are still low and therefore the individual's economic opportunities are not necessarily made greater through tourism. Furthermore, it would seem that tourism is not sustainable in this sense, for it is weighted towards the demands of the visitor and it is their wants and needs that are catered for, rather than the hosts or a combination of both. As was discussed earlier in the chapter, such a visitor focus can have certain issues on the image of self for those who live in the host country and this can be detrimental.

However, there is a positive alternative to this, which could enable tourism to play a transformative role in the sustainable development processes. As Pratt (2015) alluded to earlier, tourism offers an opportunity for economic growth if well managed. There are two sides to this management: the host and the visitor. For the host, Pratt's argument would seem to mean that if governments and tourism departments can set realistic plans and strategies in place then they can make the most of the tourism opportunity and thus tourism could play a positive role within the development of the country. This can be seen within Palau where they have made efforts to attract only a certain type of tourist, preferably from the richer echelon of society (New Zealand Herald, 2017; Plush, 2017; Radio New Zealand, 2017), and in the Marshall Islands where it is stated through the *Marshall Islands Tourism Development Plan 2008-2011* that "tourism in the RMI should be planned so that development is orderly and controlled" (Marshall Islands Visitors Authority 2008: 16).

However, as became clear in the interview with an SIS official, the Cook Islands have potentially become too reliant on the tourism sector and have attempted to attract as much tourism as possible, rather than being strategic in how they plan economic diversity (Interview 3, Skype, October 2017). Furthermore, it was raised in the interview with ADB, that there is a need to be careful about the levels of tourism that a state attempts to attract for while it can be an opportunity and enable much growth, as the Cook Islands have seen, states like Tuvalu could not host such a large number of tourists (Interview 7, Suva, October 2017). This has been advocated for by the Marshall Islands as well who expressed the want "to develop our economic base through tourism and to enable all Marshallese to benefit from controlled tourism development, insisting that this development will complement the Marshallese people, their natural environment and cultural heritage" (Marshall Islands Visitors Authority, 2008: 19).

For such destinations there is a need for clear strategies as to what type and the levels of tourists that are to be attracted, as has been the case in Palau. The opportunity is there for smart,

strategic planning that can manipulate tourism so as to make the most of it for economic gains in the SIS, if the governments and private sector can work together to create coherent and realistic plans and targets. This is already happening to some degree as can be seen through the national development strategies and the tourism related targets within this, and in the SIS Leaders' priority calls for more cost-effective transport to the SIS. In this sense there is a platform from which to build a tourism sector that could be transformative and sustainable and thus add value to the sustainable development processes.

The other side of this is the tourist. If the tourist could be more informed of their impact as a tourist - both in monetary terms and in terms of their social impact - then they in turn change the incentives within tourism destinations in relation to costs and thus also the wages that can be paid. Without tourists being aware of this issue, then there will be little incentive for the businesses to change the way in which they choose to pay their staff. However, there is a positive angle to this as well, for tourism is based on demand, thus as the consumer changes through a broadened knowledge base their demands will change, and the industry will attempt to appease these demands (Cole and Eriksson, 2010: 121). Though the industry itself can also set standards that change behaviour, it seems that this is a slow process and that the consumer could have a much more rapid impact on this.

Though there is some way to go for the tourist to think in terms of *reciprocal duality* and acknowledge the situation where the tourist is able to travel because someone else is working for less. Until this is overcome, tourism would struggle to be seen as an instigator, or crucial element of, sustainable development. There is a need to engage with the consumer so as to encourage smart, cognisant and sustainable behaviours and, at the same time, there is a need to ensure that workers are paid a fair wage in relation to the work that is carried out. With this in mind, tourism does fulfil the hypothesis of the case study in that tourism does assist with sustainable development, at least within the economic sphere as *Table 1* goes to show. While there are certainly concerns related to this as well, especially in relation to wages, this section has argued that well planned and managed tourism would have a positive impact and thus enable tourism to add value to the sustainable development processes.

Tourism and the Environmental Sphere

Reciprocal thinking is also of importance to understanding how tourism can play a transformative role within the environmental sphere. The biggest issue, as has been discussed at length previously, that faces SIS and sustainable development in the region is climate change. In other words, as the analytical

framework highlighted under 'phase-out', there is a need to ensure a habitable geographic space within which sustainable development can occur. The antecedents of climate change, as discussed, come in the most part from industrialised countries (Janssens-Maenhout et al., 2017) yet it is the SIS and the Pacific more generally which are facing the acute impacts of the climatic changes caused. This is challenging from a rights point of view because individual actions in one country can have a serious impact on the opportunities and rights of those in other countries.

However, tourism could offer a way to overcome this issue: significantly, it is the industrial countries that are generating most of the tourists which are visiting the Pacific (as discussed earlier in the chapter) and it is these states that are creating the most emissions (as discussed in *Chapter 4*). Thus, it is the tourist's lifestyles that are impacting upon the lives of the SIS citizens. This was spoken of during the interview with the EU Delegation where it was noted that before the EU would manufacture their own goods, now some of these goods are outsourced and the emissions are thus created elsewhere (Interview 2, Suva, October 2017). So, while the EU has reduced their emissions, their demand remains high and thus, overall, there is not a reduction in emissions and the lifestyle choices remain the same. In a process sense, this challenges the work that the EU then carries out in the Pacific. As was discussed in *Chapter 5*, the EU is active within the Pacific partly because they feel a moral obligation to assist with overcoming the climatic changes that they have been heavily involved in. Though, as of yet, the lifestyles in Europe have not changed that drastically so as to curb climate change dramatically - to some degree it does not matter how much climate-related work the EU carries out in the Pacific because the actions at home in the EU are posing a greater threat than the projects entered into can mitigate. In this sense, it would seem more pertinent to link the actions abroad with the actions at home in a reciprocal manner, to not only attempt to solve issues at the end, or in the regions most affected (such as the SIS), but also at the beginning, in other words within the EU.

This has been recognised in international agreements such as the SDGs which are designed for all states, not only developing states. While it is also recognised in the *Paris Agreement* where in all states have agreed to lower their emissions so as to limit sea level rise (as discussed in *Chapter 4*). However, for sustainable development to be realised at the global and local scale then a more nuanced approach that links the actions both at home and abroad would potentially be of more benefit. In other words, there is a need to more clearly link the impact of lifestyles and actions in developed regions of the globe with impacts and consequences in developing regions so as to begin to change the mindset of citizens in developed states so as to encourage them to partake in more sustainable

actions. It is here that tourism offers one method of creating knowledge sharing opportunities and a chance for positive engagement between the tourist and the community. This is because it can build on people's "ways of understanding and being in the world can be challenged and even dramatically changed through experiencing other modes of existence" (Kuhn, 2002: 118). Social tourism is "tourism with an added moral value, of which the primary aim is to benefit either the host or the visitor in the tourism exchange" (Minnaert, Maitland and Miller, 2011: 407). The interaction between the hosts and the visitors is the main method of enabling an exchange of knowledge and information.

Such exchanges, and the stories told within these exchanges, offers tourism an opportunity to enable sustainable development. This is because, if tourists during their travels gain a deeper understanding of how their lifestyles have impacted upon the lives of those citizens within the places that they are visiting, then it is more likely that they will be interested in changing their behaviours upon their return home. This form of tourism would encourage *reciprocal duality* in that it would enable both sides of tourism - the host and the visitor - to share knowledge as to their reality and through this enable more sustainable choices to be made in the future based on the knowledge gained on the impact of lifestyle choices through such interactions. In the words of the *Pacific Green Business Centre*:

Experience tourism ensures that tourists do not just fly in and out of a tourism bubble leaving the Pacific knowing as little about the Pacific as they knew when they came in. We should consider this to be a learning opportunity for tourists and travellers alike, to give them an opportunity to learn from our cultures and understand our challenges (Pacific Green Business Centre, 2017).

Tourism in Tuvalu also provides an excellent insight into this opportunity as well. This can be seen through the reasoning as to why people travel to Tuvalu and what opportunities this presents, as a Tuvalu Tourism Officer put it during an interview with Radio New Zealand: "people come over here and they are usually really interested in climate change. They usually just want to come and see the effects for themselves. We have a lot of, how would I put it, people who doubt climate change. We have people like that who come over and they want to see the effects for themselves so they can actually see that it's not a hoax" (quoted in Dateline Pacific, 2017b). In the same interview, it is then asked how these travellers who may be climate sceptics respond to the impact of climate change on Tuvalu "with their own eyes and feel how the country is struggling against things like rising sea levels?". The response was:

Well the most common response we get is, they ask us why we aren't doing more? We have to explain the situation and how Tuvalu as a nation we are very vocal about this issue at the world stage, especially our leaders. And that is reflected in that this is being taught also in our schools. So if you were to ask a little kid in primary school they would a general idea of what climate change is. And so we are doing our part but its one that's one of the most common responses we get from them (ibid.).

The end result is that there is a hope that these visitors can return home and continue to share the message of Tuvalu's plight (Dateline Pacific, 2017b). This would enable the two-way nature of the relationship between host and visitor which could encourage *reciprocal duality* and through such knowledge sharing and experiences encourage people to advocate for climate friendly actions in countries the world over.

Furthermore, given the importance of tourism to the SIS, some scholars have coined such states as Small Island Tourism Economies (SITE) (see Pratt, 2015: 158). Such states are highly reliant on the natural environment to attract tourists. If this environment is damaged, then it will potentially have a negative impact upon the tourism industry. Again, climate change is a threat to this environment and if it is not mitigated it will have an impact on the tourism industry. Within this space, tourism could offer an opportunity to share the knowledge of the damage which certain industrialised countries are causing in regions such as the SIS. There are many examples from within the SIS which would provide a knowledge learning, or sharing, opportunity especially in relation to sustainable lifestyles (as discussed in *Chapter 7*) like solar panels and sewage management. Such initiatives could easily be implemented in industrialised countries and what tourism offers is the opportunity for people to experience living comfortably yet sustainably. This portrays to such tourists that it is possible and if this information could be taken back to their homeland and normalised then there would be an opportunity to reduce the emissions created from unsustainable lifestyles in such countries. If emissions could be reduced through such knowledge sharing, then there will be a positive flow-on effect for regions such as SIS. In this sense, tourism could play a transformative role in the sustainable development processes, especially in relation to assisting with the protection of the environment and so could add value to the sustainable development processes.

Is Tourism the Answer? What the Case Study has to Say

Tourism can potentially play a transformative role within sustainable development especially within the environmental and economic spheres. In the economic sphere, there are clear instances where it offers value adding options to sustainable development such as the opportunity to change the incentives of the tourist market to make it more sustainably-focussed. While in the environmental sphere, the knowledge sharing opportunities tourism offers in relation to the negative impacts of climate change caused by certain lifestyle choices, is another instance where it can assist in making the processes of sustainable development more effective because it is encouraging more sustainable lifestyles in industrialised countries. Such positive opportunities offered by tourism align with the 'practical' section of the analytical framework. Here it is stated that within the economic and environmental spheres, that there is a need to ensure environmental viability and economic self-resilience. Based on the analysis presented above, it could be concluded that tourism offers opportunities to enable these aspects of the framework, thus hinting towards its transformative qualities and an ability to add to the effectiveness of sustainable development in the region.

However, within the social sphere, it is a more complex picture and the analysis above has revealed some strong critiques of tourism and its impact upon host societies. In terms of sustainable development, the key arguments seem to be that of Ringer (2004) and Teaiwa (1994) who spoke of the choice as to who should influence the development processes, since tourism will have an impact on the way in which cultural identity is shaped and how people understand themselves and their cultures. However, Ringer also explained that it is an opportunity for tourism planners to create strategies that are able to marry the needs of the host and the tourist communities alike in order to enable sustainable development. One example of this is Palau who, as explained, have shifted their focus to high end tourists (Plush, 2017) because they feel that this is the best method of realising the benefits of tourism while mitigating its negative impacts. In this sense, it is a chance for SIS to define what sort of tourism they would like to attract and to what levels so as to ensure cultural preservation and economic and environmental viability.

While to some degree the discussion above reveals the value adding role that tourism could play, global politics may stand in the way of tourism being able to realise this role. As was discussed in *Chapter 5*, geo-political concerns are never far away when speaking about development. In *Chapter 5* there was a focus on the EU and the reasons why they were involved in sustainable development, but more recently China has shown similar tendencies and has utilised tourism as a tool through which

to emphasise their political ambitions. China has chosen recently to place a ban on Palau as a tourism destination (McMah, 2018). This ban is in relation to the diplomatic ties that Palau shares with Taiwan, ties which China are not happy with and are thus attempting to change (McMah, 2018). China has chosen tourism as the medium through which to attempt to initiate this change, a drastic move as China accounted for 47.2% of arrivals into Palau in 2017 (SPTO, 2018: 32). But now these tourists no longer have easy access as the Chinese Government has “threatened Chinese tour groups with fines of more than \$60,000 if they took tourists there” (McMah, 2018). This has placed severe pressure on a sector that plays a very important role in Palau’s economy (Carreon, 2017) and in turn has placed pressure on the Government of Palau to make global decisions regarding partnerships that are not related to tourism at all. In this sense, the transformative role of tourism is challenged for it can be utilised as a tool for political gain, especially in states such as Palau where tourism plays such a key role. It is also a direct concern for other SIS as many of them including; Tuvalu, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, and Nauru, retain diplomatic ties with Taiwan (Yang, 2011; see also Zhang and Lawson, 2017).

The reason it challenges the potential transformative nature of tourism is that such geo-political concerns are related to maintaining the status quo. If tourism is to merely be a tool of foreign policy then it does not assist in overcoming the post-development critique where-in the global powers ensure their position of prominence through their development assistance, or in the case of China, through halting potential development opportunities. However, the reverse of this is also true because tourism can enable changes within the current system especially in terms of normalising sustainable practices. Given that climate change is one of the most pressing issues in the SIS and that much of these issues are located externally to the SIS, the normalising of sustainability in all regions of the globe will have a positive impact upon the SIS and tourism offers one method of enabling this. Thus, it would seem that tourism, even though there certainly are some issues related to its utilisation, would offer a transformative option in contemporary sustainable development processes. Or in other words, the most-likely case questioned in this chapter has shown that the hypothesis proposed, this being that tourism can play a value adding role in sustainable development processes in the SIS, has held within this particular case and given this it can be utilised more generally across other regions.

Tourism in Action: How Could it be Utilised by Key Stakeholders?

Having shown that tourism can play a positive role in achieving sustainable development in the SIS, the following section analyses how the key stakeholders identified in the thesis could engage with tourism so as to capitalise on this positive role that it could play and thus add to the effectiveness of

existing sustainable development processes. Firstly, the engagement potential for the SIS governments is explored, before the potential for the EU as a donor, civil society and finally the private sector itself are explored.

For the governments of the SIS, one of the key methods of engaging with the tourism sector is to provide it with more space through which it can function. This has been recognised in the SIS with the Government of Tuvalu providing an example where-by it was noted that growth in the private sector had been related to a more hands-off approach taken by the government (Government of Tuvalu, 2016: 30). Kiribati implemented a similar hands-off approach, with this being portrayed through the PPP which they entered into run the main hotel in Tarawa (World Bank, 2013). This venture was discussed in detail in *Chapter 7* with the key point being here that the public sector can reduce its influence over the private sector and this can lead to positive outcomes for the private sector including tourism. However, while this portrayed an example of positive engagement between the government and the private sector, as the interview with ADB made clear, in some cases, island state governments have also competed directly with the private sector through, for example, owning hotels (Interview 7, Suva, October 2017). While Tuvalu recognised the need to move out of this space, it is still an issue in other states and for the private sector to grow and expand and find its own way to make the most of the market opportunities the public sector could potentially reduce its influence over the private sector, so as to enable this.

On the other hand, one area where the government could increase their role in relation to the private sector is through the policy frameworks within which the private sector must function. It was mentioned in the interview with PIPSO that there are often discrepancies between regional policies and national policies, as well as policies that are dated (Interview 4, Suva, October 2017). For the private sector to flourish or grow then such policies would need to be updated and streamlined so that the business sector understands the parameters within which they are functioning, and it would also provide investors with more security as to their investment for it is taking place within a sound framework. For the SIS, this of key importance because much of the private sector is not formalised: in fact, it was mentioned in the interview with PIPSO that 70% of the private sector is informal in nature (Interview 4, Suva, October 2017). Thus, policies and legislation are of crucial importance to being able to assist the informal sector, either through offering opportunities to formalise or at least providing some form of support for ventures within this sector.

Tourism especially could benefit from such a conducive policy environment, because if the policies regulating their actions in-country are matched with global standards then the tourism sector could advertise itself as being compliant with international standards. This would potentially enable an attraction of new or more tourists depending on the goals of the country and in turn potentially assist with economic growth. Policies are also important when taking into account the ‘implementation’ aspect of the analytical framework, where it speaks of needing to ensure that a rights-based approach is utilised in development initiatives. Policies would enable SIS countries to define a rights-based approach that would be effective in the specific context and would in turn ensure that the business ventures, including tourism which would then function within that framework, would also be upholding these rights’ obligations. If this could take place, then tourism would assist with the effectiveness of current sustainable development methods through having human rights at the core of their ventures through working within the policy framework. This would in turn assist with reducing inequalities within the current system and, in this sense, would present tourism with an opportunity to play a transformative role in sustainable development.

Furthermore, governments would need to ensure that within the policy and legislation frameworks the environment is protected and promoted. This is potentially less of an issue within the SIS where there is already a deep understanding of, and commitment to, environmental issues and how to mitigate and adapt to these. Yet, in terms of the environmental pillar of the ‘implementation’ aspect of the analytical framework, it is important that environmental standards are clearly set for the tourism sector and that there are measuring methods implemented as well so as to ensure that the sector is upholding these standards, because as soon as they stop upholding the standards the sector will in-turn stop contributing to sustainable development. This was shown in *Chapter 7* where the analysis concluded that one of the key elements enabling positive change on behalf of the private sector was the ability to report thoroughly on their actions. However, based on the fieldwork carried out, it seems that the most important actions that the governments of the SIS could undertake to enable tourism to play a transformative role within the current sustainable development processes is to create an enabling environment for the private sector in-country. This can be achieved through the policy framework spoken of above, but it is also about a mindset change. In the interview with PIDF, it was highlighted that at times the governments have seen the private sector as something which should be exploited rather than as a partner which can be worked with (Interview 11, Suva, October 2017).

This idea was further expressed in an interview with a large donor, where it was highlighted that the public sector often competes with the private sector as well through having large portfolios (for example owning hotels and other services) thus making it difficult for the private sector to flourish (Interview 7, Suva, October 2017). Another interview noted that there was a tendency for governments to take the lead on all actions and not necessarily give space to the private sector to flourish (Interview 4, Suva, October 2017). This has been recognised in Tuvalu through their National Strategy for Sustainable Development 2016-2020, *Te Kakeega III*, where it is stated that “the private sector has made significant strides in recent years – as any casual observer will notice – roughly in tandem with overall economic growth. It has done this, among other reasons, by government taking a hands-off approach” (Government of Tuvalu, 2016: 30).

Such a hands-off approach has also been highlighted by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) as being an important action if the private sector is to flourish in the Pacific (Holden, Bale and Holden, 2004). Specifically, in the ADB Report, *Swimming Against the Tide*, which explored the role of the private and public sectors in the Pacific, it stated that, “as a general principle, it is most efficient and least distortionary to private incentives when government intervention in an economy is minimal” (Holden, Bale and Holden, 2004: 43). However, it noted that in the Pacific “the private sector in most Pacific countries is partially crowded out by the dominant presence of the state” (ibid.). To portray this in detail the ADB provided an example from the Marshall Islands where the government owns most of the crucial infrastructure and services, such as “interisland shipping,...the energy company, the telecommunications authority, the water and sewerage company, an interisland airline, a hotel, a dry dock, the postal service, a development bank, [and] the airport authority” (ibid.: 45).

For the private sector, including tourism, to thrive this mindset would need to change to a more conducive and equal understanding. While this has started to take place, as can be seen through the Pacific leaders highlighting the need to continue to embrace the private sector (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2018: 47) and deepen the private sector’s involvement in development processes (Pacific Sustainable Development Goals Taskforce, 2018: 8), there is still some way to go. Though there may be a need for a mindset change, the governments have begun to address two key issues, infrastructure and transportation, through the *SIS Regional Strategy 2016-2020* and these efforts show that the governments are working towards the creation of an enabling environment where the tourism sector could take advantage of and in turn assist with the achievement of the sustainable development goals of the SIS.

Given the importance of creating an enabling environment, it is no wonder that donors have also shown a strong interest in assisting with this. The EU, for example, have shown a strong interest in assisting Pacific countries in the creation of such an enabling environment, especially at the regional level so as to assist with private sector growth (Interview 2, Suva, October 2017). Working at the regional level in relation to the private sector was noted as a more comfortable fit for the EU because it was easier to fulfil the transparency and accountability requirements of their development assistance (Interview 2, Suva, October 2017). This is something that would be much more difficult at the micro-level, where in a worst-case scenario supporting the private sector at this more local level could be seen as providing tax-payer generated aid directly to the profits of individual businesses (Interview 2, Suva, October 2017). Added to this, PIDF highlighted that donors can also crowd out the private sector through some of their regional projects and the way in which they constantly bring in external experts (Interview 11, Suva, October 2017). Furthermore, SPTO highlighted that there are issues with donor funding and the project cycle that is prevalent within the development space (Interview 6, Suva, October 2017).

This issue is also something that has been recognised in the literature through the concept of aid volatility: “Aid volatility has been demonstrated to have a negative impact on economic growth...investment and government expenditure” (Dornan and Pryke, 2017: 11). Within this concept, the “tendency for aid to be pro-cyclical makes aid-dependent countries more prone to external shocks, reduces the effectiveness of counter-cyclical policy tools...and adversely affects the ability of governments to plan expenditure” (ibid.). Leaders from within the Pacific have also looked to address this issue, as can be seen through the *Cairns Compact* put forth by Pacific Leaders in 2009. Within this Compact it is stated that donors are encouraged to “ease the burden of aid administration and improve aid effectiveness, through measures such as increased use of country partner systems, multi-year funding commitments, pooled funding, the delegation of aid delivery to lead donors, and collaborative analytical work” (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2009).

As mentioned above, the issue of aid cycles is something that has impacted upon Pacific tourism as well, with this becoming especially clear in the relationship between the SPTO and the EU. While SPTO have an excellent relationship with the EU and have had a very successful partnership, there have also been cases where as soon as a funding cycle ends, the ability of the partner organisations to maintain capacity is limited. Though donors such as the EU have a clear understanding of the need to build long-term capacity, it seems that until now it has been difficult to implement in reality. This is of concern because if the regional organisation such as SPTO struggle to maintain

capacity, then they will struggle to represent and support their member organisations at the national level. This is of serious concern because SPTO have many excellent resources and training materials available²⁰ to support their members and it would be detrimental should this not be able to expand due to a lack of capacity.

Added to this context is, as PIPSO explained, that at the micro-level there is a lack of time for planning, where individual tourism operators or business people in general, are too busy running their venture to stop and create clear strategies and plans (Interview 4, Suva, October 2017). With this in mind, a point that was raised in the interview with ADB becomes pertinent: it was explained that donors need to focus on more than just creating an enabling environment, there was also a need to drive business training for people too (Interview 7, Suva, October 2017). It became clear through the fieldwork that education was one of the most important factors to not only allow tourism to play a transformative role within the sustainable development processes but to the general success of sustainable development as well. However, while it was spoken about as one of the key aspects of sustainable development, one of the issues that was also raised during the interview with the EU was that the educated are also those who seek to migrate for better work opportunities elsewhere (Interview 2, Suva, October 2017). Thus, there is a challenge here for SIS where promoting education is key but there is also a need to ensure that there are then opportunities in-country for such graduates. Migration in search of work opportunities is not necessarily a negative, however, as within the Pacific there are strong social connections which mean that those who travel overseas for work often send remittances back to their families. Therefore, education is still important for those who choose to stay and offer increased capacity in-country, while the remittances from those who choose to migrate are also important.

In relation to education itself, it was mentioned in the interviews that there seemed to be a tendency to create job seekers rather than job creators (Interview 1, Suva, October 2017; Interview 4, Suva, October 2017), something that challenges growth and innovation within the private sector. It is here that the EU as a donor could play a different role in relation to the way in which they choose to spend or utilise their development funding. Currently the EU funds very few education initiatives in the SIS (see *Appendix 1*). While it can be argued that this was not necessarily the choice of the EU as the sectors that they have chosen to work in were decided upon through deep consultation with the partner country, it would seem given the importance placed on education and the need to build and

²⁰ See: <https://corporate.southpacificislands.travel/resources/> (Accessed June 2017).

maintain capacity, that the EU could potentially revisit what they chose to fund. This is directly related to the question of why the EU as a donor is active in the SIS. In terms of the analytical framework, under the 'practical' section it speaks about phase-out, the idea that donors slowly reduce their influence in a developing region as a method of encouraging self-sufficiency in the partner country. If this is the end goal for the donor then it also goes some way to prove that the assistance provided in whatever capacity is for altruistic and developmental purposes rather than as an aspect of foreign policy and a part of geo-political concerns. If the EU were to place a stronger emphasis on education and assisting in this sector, then it would go a long way to assisting in creating self-sufficient states and reducing dependencies on external experts, because there would be experts in-country. This was recognised in the interview with the EU Delegation where it was mentioned that the EU could potentially focus more on education and health as focal sectors for support (Interview 2, Suva, October 2017).

One potential method of overcoming this is through a PPP. As was discussed in *Chapter 7*, PPPs have been implemented in SIS, via the hotel initiative in Kiribati and the airport upgrade, expansion and management in Palau. With these initiatives in mind, there is potential for PPPs to be utilised to bring the tourism sector and the education sector into closer cooperation. Currently there have been attempts from PIPSO to enable this. As was explained in the interview, they have a seat on the Board of USP and attempt to ensure that the voice of the private sector is heard at this level (Interview 4, Suva, October 2017). However, more could potentially be done at the micro-level through the assistance of EU funds. As was mentioned earlier, there is a lack of time and potentially capacity at the micro-, or local level, in businesses, and thus they do not seem to create strategies or business plans. However, organisations such as SPTO,²¹ PIPSO,²² and PIDF²³ through the Pacific Green Business Centre all have excellent resources related green business models, or strategic and financial planning which businesses can use as templates, as well as providing a list of training providers. Given that the resources are available in the region, the EU could potentially look at methods of using a PPP model to expand upon the support that they have already provided here, to attempt to distribute these resources to the various tourism providers in the SIS, especially those on the outer islands.

Such a PPP model should focus on encouraging PSiD. This, as discussed in *Chapter 7*, offers great potential for enabling the private sector, including tourism, to play a value adding role in current

²¹ <https://corporate.southpacificislands.travel/resources/> (Accessed November 2017).

²² <http://www.pipso.org.fj/for-pacific-businesses/> (Accessed September 2017).

²³ <http://greenbusiness.solutions/about-us/> (Accessed September 2017).

sustainable development processes. Further, a PPP should focus on deeply incorporating businesses in the outer islands so as to build self-sufficiency within these ventures. Such self-sufficiency is an important aspect of the analytical framework, especially in relation to the phase-out part of the practical section. As such, it speaks of enabling self-resilience in terms of the economic pillar and a reduction of dependencies through building capacity in the social sphere. With this in mind, if a donor such as the EU were to generate a PPP that would deeply connect the already existing resources and support networks with the individual ventures, matched with an enabling environment created by the government, then it would assist the donor with phasing themselves out of the region. Given that tourism is one of the key sectors for many of the island states, deeply incorporating this sector into such a PPP would increase the ability of this sector to support self-sufficiency within the SIS and, as such, add value to the current sustainable development processes.

While it must be noted that an over-reliance on tourism can also lead to issues, as can be seen through the way in which China has had a significant impact upon Palau through their travel ban, a PPP within the tourism sector, if successful, could offer a model that could be spread across the private sector as a whole and encourage growth in other areas, thus reducing the reliance on the tourism sector. It became clear through the interview with the PIDF that a Pacific that was self-sufficient, in other words did not rely on donors and instead was self-sufficient through the work of governments and the private sector, was a very real possibility in the near future (Interview 11, Suva, October 2017). While this view was not shared by all - for example, some key informants were sceptical as to such a positive view of the future (Interview 9, Suva, October 2017) - it does portray to donors that they could phase themselves out of the region and leave it to the private sector and governments if their aims with aid are altruistic and development-centred rather than geo-political in nature. However, if donors are more interested in the geo-political aspect, then tourism, given its importance to SIS, could also be an Achilles heel as can be seen through the case of Palau and China.

Within the PIDF hypothesis, there seems to be one aspect missing: civil society. As was discussed in *Chapter 6*, civil society and the organisations within civil society (such as NGOs) play a crucial role in the current processes of sustainable development. They are seen as a key actors in these processes by donors as being an alternative to the government in terms of social service delivery and connection to the grassroots and, in this sense, they also play a role in shaping development. Furthermore, it was also highlighted that within the Pacific, including the SIS, civil society provides important social support and protection for communities and individuals alike, which is of key

importance for, as Mohanty (2011) explained, the governments have not created strong social safety nets and thus there is a reliance on civil society to provide this.

However, even though civil society has such an important role within the societies of the Pacific, as *Chapter 6* explained, they lack the necessary funding to continue such important work and engage fully in the development processes. This is one space where the private sector, especially tourism, could offer value to the sustainable development process. As was spoken about previously, within the SIS, there are tourism ventures who contribute directly to the community within which they are based, with the example being that of the *Storytellers Eco Cycle Tours* in the Cook Islands who give 10% of profits directly back to the community for development projects (see *Appendix 2*). This is an excellent example as to how the tourism sector can add value to the sustainable development processes through offering much needed financial assistance to civil society.

However, this is not a one-way relationship, as civil society can also offer tourism something, especially when taking into account, as Hailey (1987: 28) explained, “the future of indigenous business in the Pacific appears to depend on the ability of local entrepreneurs to resolve the inherent contradictions between contemporary business practices and the communal commitments that are integral to Pacific cultures and the island way of life”. Added to this is the idea highlighted by Saffu (2003: 62) that “going into business may stem from communal obligations and values such as the need to help the clan or the extended family. In other words, business may be seen as an extension of the entrepreneur’s clan”. In this sense, there is little room for business failure as this would reflect directly on the wider family group. While this seems quite a strong statement, it does offer an opportunity for civil society to support the private sector. If civil society organisations could assist in changing the attitudes around business successes, or lack thereof, they would be providing private sector ventures, including tourism ventures, space within which to function as they see best and to also learn should the first attempt not be successful. If, in turn, the successful ventures were willing to financially support civil society then they could continue their important development work as well. This could be seen as a form of *reciprocal duality* and would add much value to the sustainable development processes. Put simply, it could lead to a case of local business supporting local society and would build self-sufficiency. This would be of crucial importance to the SIS because, as was mentioned in the interview with ADB, it has proven difficult to create economies of scale in these states (Interview 7, Suva, October 2017) and, in this sense, local business supporting local society would be beneficial to sustainable development in the SIS.

The above has portrayed one method through which civil society and the private sector, in this case tourism, could work together in a manner which is aligned with *reciprocal duality* thinking. While the above reflects a general view as to how the two sectors could successfully work together, PPPs offer a more specific method through which the two sectors could work together in order to encourage the situation described above where the private sector and civil society mutually support each other.

In *Chapter 7*, four different forms of PPPs were discussed - contractual partnership; PPPs which focus on the nature of the partnership; PPPs as a shared project; and institutional PPPs - and in the case of civil society and the private sector, or tourism, it seems that the PPP which places a focus on the nature of the partnership would be the most effective model of enabling the mutually beneficial relationship described above. This is because in this understanding a PPP is seen “as a project in which partner interaction and the parties’ relationship is the most important feature” (Mouraviev and Kakabadse, 2012: 12). When taking into consideration the fact that civil society could play a role in enabling the private sector more space to act through attempting to breakdown the issues with failure that were discussed above, and in return the private sector could fund civil society initiatives as with the example from the Cook Islands tourism venture. Entering in to a PPP where there is a focus on the nature of the relationship between the partners would enable each of the partners to understand the constraints of each other and offer their expertise within their spheres of influence in order to assist the partner overcome the given issue and for the partner to do the same in return.

Furthermore, within PPPs, it is also important to understand who initiated the PPP (Miraftab, 2004; Sedjari, 2004; Mouraviev and Kakabadse, 2012). This is because in any partnership there are always power-dynamics that must be taken into consideration (Mouraviev and Kakabadse, 2012: 12). Given this, if civil society and the private sector were to be the initiators of the discussed PPP, then it could be argued that this would be a case of those for whom development is for actually defining the development that they would like to enable and be a part of, a key idea that was raised during the interviews (Interview 1, Suva, October 2017) and which has been discussed throughout this thesis.

Within such a PPP, one aspect of civil society could offer an effective method of enabling the voice of those development is for to shape the development created through the PPP and the nature of the partnerships with the other partners: this is the cooperative movement. Cooperatives, according to the ILO, are “autonomous associations of persons united voluntarily to meet their common economic, social and cultural needs and aspirations through a jointly owned and

democratically-controlled enterprise” (COPAC, 2015; see also International Cooperative Alliance, 2018). Such cooperatives are seen as being central to achieving the SDGs as well as development which is sustainable in nature more generally (Llamas and Sundaram, 2018). As Llamas and Sundaram (2018: 135) explained, “the UN recognizes the cooperative movement as an important partner in achieving the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, including poverty eradication, employment generation and social inclusion”. If such a cooperative model could be at the core of the PPP, and this PPP be called for by civil society, then it could be seen as a case of those for whom development is for defining the development which is to take place. Initiatives from such a partnership would be more effective as they would be more closely aligned with the developmental context within which they are supposed to function.

The above discussion has made clear the role that civil society could play within making sustainable development more effective. The main focus proposed would be assisting the tourism, and more generally the private sector, overcome the issue of ‘fear of failure’ while in turn leaning on the private sector as a source of funding for civil society. One method which was proposed was a PPP which is initiated by both civil society and tourism, where there is a focus on the relationship between the partners by focussing on *reciprocal duality* thinking and potentially using a cooperative model through which to achieve this. In this sense, civil society’s role within the PPP would be, firstly, in partnership with the private sector, to initiate the PPP and thus ensure that it is those whom the sustainable development is for, who actually define it. Secondly, they would play a role within the PPP in ensuring a relationship which is reciprocal in nature with civil societies role being to assist with overcoming the fear of failure which has hampered some private sector growth. While, finally, civil society could achieve this through using a ‘cooperative model’ to ensure that development work engaged in is relevant to the context within which it is supposed to function.

While the above has spoken of ways in which key actors can engage tourism, and the private sector, into sustainable development processes, the private sector itself also has potential to redefine its engagement with partners in sustainable development processes. During the interview with PIDF, it was mentioned that transportation costs were very high and thus prove a barrier to growth in the private sector (Interview 11, Suva, October 2017). This was expanded upon in *Chapter 4* where it was also mentioned that a lack of transportation has a direct negative impact upon development. This has been recognised within the SIS as well and was included as one of the key goals of the *SIS Regional Strategy 2016-2020* (discussed in *Chapter 4*). What PIDF suggested was to switch quickly to renewable forms of transport to reduce the reliance on fossil fuels and thus cut the cost of transport and begin

to make products from the region more competitive in terms of price. In order to understand the best methods of enabling such a transition, research would need to be carried out. This again presents an opportunity for the private sector, because as PIPSO explained, there is a need for more private sector-led research and it would seem that the transition to renewables would be a prime opportunity for the private sector to take a lead in creating the necessary research which could inform this process. Furthermore, PIPSO explained that they are interested in supporting regional business linkages in areas such as taro and coconuts (Interview 4, Suva, October 2017). Tourism could be another sector which could benefit from this, while it is also an opportunity for private sector-led research to define as to how such regional linkages could be created, implemented and managed.

While tourism may add, in some cases, value to the sustainable development processes, it can also be a hindrance to it as well. For example, it was highlighted by a key informant that people have left the traditional sectors of agriculture to search for work within the tourism industry and have therefore become solely reliant on the income from this sector (Interview 1, Suva, October 2017). It would seem that the private sector would need to mitigate these issues, potentially through creating closer ties between the tourism venture and the agricultural sector, to ensure the employees livelihoods should something like a Chinese ban on tourism occur (again) and the tourism related work decrease. If tourism could create such linkages and support systems, then it would be adding value to the sustainable development processes. In terms of the transformative option that tourism can play within the sustainable development processes, a query related to the monetary system which dominates today's world which was raised in the interview with ADB seems very pertinent. The idea is that in the outer islands, while money is important to some degree, there is still a large amount of alternative forms of exchange taking place which are just as important. In such situations, one could question how much worth money actually has. Tourism could offer a way in which to engage with these forms of exchange. For example, tourists could volunteer their time in exchange for being able to visit and stay at an island. While there are many concerns regarding such 'voluntourism' (see, for example, Sin, 2010; Wearing and McGehee, 2013; and Ong, et al., 2014), it does provide an insight as to new methods of exchange which could be explored that go beyond merely money and would potentially be more effective in some destinations' contexts. This again offers tourism an opportunity to play a key role within the sustainable development processes, through questioning the standard methods of exchange and encouraging alternative options.

Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to prove that tourism could play a transformative role within current sustainable development frameworks through a single-embedded most-likely case. This most-likely case has portrayed that there is reason to believe that tourism can play a value adding role in sustainable development processes. However, while it has proven to play a positive role within the economic and environmental spheres, it seems that there remain issues within the social sphere. Within this sphere there is a question of influence on culture and who should be able to influence this culture. If tourism cannot be implemented in a manner that enables positive engagement with the cultures within the SIS, then it would seem that regardless of the benefits it may offer - environmentally and/or economically - it would not be able to fulfil a transformative role within sustainable development. However, while this may be the case, as the chapter also highlighted, there is space for tourism to play a positive role within the social sphere. It can enable positive exchanges and can increase awareness around important issues such as climate change. As discussed, if this form of tourism can be promoted within the SIS, then it would enable transformative change within contemporary sustainable development processes through enabling tourism to lead the way in terms of normalising sustainable thinking, promotion of culture and allowing a space for the voice of those outside of the current power structures to be heard.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSIONS: THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR'S ACTIONS TO ENABLE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT IN THE SIS

This thesis set out to build an understanding as to what role the private sector can play in enabling more effective processes of sustainable development in SIS. Specifically, this thesis sought to analyse the effectiveness of development assistance by looking at the scope and opportunity to improve existing processes of sustainable development in the Smaller Island States (SIS) in the Pacific, with a particular focus on the tourism sector to provide a deeper analysis of the transformative potential within these sustainable development processes. The central research question was: how do the existing actors in the development field fully engage with sustainable development in the SIS in light of contemporary challenges, and how can the tourism sector enable transformative change within these processes?

In order to explore this question, an analytical framework was created in order to guide the analysis of the role of the private sector in the SIS. The thesis chapters utilised this analytical framework in order to evaluate the methods which each key actor utilised to engage with sustainable development in the Pacific region and then employed this analysis to build a case for the ways in which the processes of sustainable development can be made more effective. This final chapter will build upon the analysis conducted in order to form a conclusion as to the role that the private sector could play within sustainable development processes in the SIS.

Firstly, the chapter will explain the way in which the analytical framework created has added to sustainable development thinking, especially in relation to the way in which the processes involved can be made more effective. This concept of effectiveness links into the next section of the chapter, which highlights how each key sustainable development actor could engage more effectively with the sustainable development processes in light of the analytical framework. These ideas are drawn together in an overall conclusion which presents an answer to the central research question. With this in mind, the chapter then explains one of the key additions that the thesis has made to the theory of sustainable development through the concept of *reciprocal duality*. It is argued that this concept could offer much value to sustainable development through the way in which it encourages a certain type of thinking that has been portrayed throughout the thesis as being a method of increasing the effectiveness of sustainable development. Having defined this addition to the theory, the chapter

makes some broader assessments as to the future of our planet in light of the epic environmental challenges it faces.

The Analytical Framework: An Addition to the Theory of Sustainable Development

One of the critiques of sustainable development theory is that it is too ambiguous (see, for example, Robinson, 2004; Grunwald, 2015) and thus it is difficult to implement in reality because there are many competing ideologies (Grunwald, 2015: 18). Given this, the thesis has created its own version of sustainable development theory as explained in *Chapter 2*. In *Chapter 2* it was stated that sustainable development is development which functions on the basis of a process that aims to enable the right to development and a deep incorporation of society, the environment and the economy. It is a process which strongly considers the developmental context through balancing cultural, historical and power dynamics in order to be relevant to the context. It defines limitations on humans actions so as to maintain the viability of the planet, engages with this through the incorporation of the rights of the present generation so that the rights of future generations are not impacted upon, whilst also linking actions and lifestyle choices taken in both developed and developing states in order to enable *reciprocal duality*. It also uses these measures as a means of attempting to enable self-sufficiency through development actions. This whole process needs to be transformative in order to ensure that there is a constant querying of the status quo so that the effectiveness of the development processes is continually improved upon. As discussed in *Chapter 2*, this definition is the summary version of what is presented in *Figure 2*, and it is the aspects of *Figure 2* which have been utilised to analyse sustainable development and actors engagement in this throughout the thesis.

The most original contribution the analytical framework has generated is the way in which it encourages thinking about the process of development and what should be considered in the formulation of sustainable development so as to enable it to overcome issues of ambiguity and be effective. Initially this is achieved through the context aspect, where the framework defined the need to build an understanding as to the cultural dynamics, the power dynamics and the history of the region in which the development work is to take place. As became clear throughout the thesis, within the Pacific and the SIS, understanding such dynamics and historical contexts are of crucial importance to being able to ensure that the development efforts are relevant and sensitive to the local context. An example of this was raised in *Chapter 8* by Hailey (1987: 28) who stated that “the future of indigenous business in the Pacific appears to depend on the ability of local entrepreneurs to resolve

the inherent contradictions between contemporary business practices and the communal commitments that are integral to Pacific cultures and the island way of life”.

While ensuring that an understanding of the context within which development is to occur would add much value to the field of sustainable development, there is also a need to define how sustainable development could take place in this setting. Within the analytical framework, this was described through the five aspects of the concept section: strong sustainability; intentional and immanent development; inter- and intra-generational thinking; *reciprocal duality*; and levels of change. The key addition that these concepts have made to the field of sustainable development is the way in which it has enabled for clear indicators as to how to potentially enable development to be sustainable through utilising these concepts in the creation of development initiatives. One clear example of this was the way in which it has been argued that the levels of change concept can assist in overcoming the post-development critique of sustainable development. As has been discussed, post-developmentalists believe that development is an imperial project (Ziai, 2004: 1045) and has generally failed (Sachs, 2009: 17). This is because, in part, it reinforces certain power dynamics and thus the status quo of the current system (Escobar, 1995: 5, 13, 221; Ziai, 2004: 1045). However, there is a right to development that must be upheld, and, in this sense, there is a need to question the structures of society so as to understand how to make them more equitable and overcome the post-development critique, something which the concept of levels of change has offered.

Thirdly, the practical aspect offers the field of sustainable development a way in which to ensure that development projects, when being implemented, are still adhering to the important points raised above, such as cultural sensitivity and ensuring access to funding, while also looking to build capacity through phase-out thinking. In other words, phase-out thinking was designed to support the enabling of self-sufficiency in-country, especially within the economic sphere and also through building capacity in the social sphere. An example of the importance of such thinking became clear in *Chapter 8* where there was a discussion as to the role that PPPs could play in enabling self-sufficiency within a country. Such PPPs, it was proposed, could assist in linking existing private sector ventures with capacity-building opportunities offered by regional organisations such as SPTO, PIPSO and PIDF. Building such regional linkages, and also the growth in capacity that this would potentially offer, could greatly assist in making sustainable development more effective, thus portraying the importance of phase-out thinking.

With this in mind, the above framework provides a potential method for overcoming some of the ambiguities that are current within sustainable development theory. This was achieved through bringing together various ideas from within the field and incorporating them into a framework which could provide a template for the way in which to firstly understand a development context, then to go about conceptualising ways of engaging with that context, and then being able to ensure that the initiatives conceptualised are relevant to and take into account the nuances of the context engaged with. Thus, it is argued that the analytical framework could be utilised in regions other than the SIS, in order to build an understanding as to how development actors are engaging with the processes and whether this engagement is effective or not.

What the Framework Uncovered: Key Actors Engagement in Sustainable Development in the SIS

In *Chapters 1* and *2*, it was noted that the SIS are a grouping that has not been heavily researched, especially in relation to sustainable development. The analyses conducted in the preceding chapters add to this small but emerging body of research. The analytical framework highlighted the methods through which each key actor has engaged with in the sustainable development process in the SIS and how effective this engagement is and where this engagement could potentially be made more effective. This knowledge has hopefully generated some new insights into research on the SIS and, through this, potentially inspired others to continue to add to this field so as to build a deeper understanding as to how to increase the effectiveness of sustainable development within the SIS.

The analytical framework enabled the thesis to also understand the way in which key actors within sustainable development, in this case the SIS governments, the EU as a donor, civil society and the private sector, could more effectively engage in such development so as to uphold the right to development and assist in curbing climate change with the SIS. Firstly, for the SIS, there is the question of global power dynamics and the impact that these dynamics have on sustainable development in the region. This was hinted at in *Chapter 1* but became clearer through exploring the tourism sector in *Chapter 8* where the impact of China's political ambitions, and how this has led them to set in place heavy fines for any Chinese citizen or tour operator who travel to Palau, was discussed especially in relation to the negative impact this has had on this Smaller Island State. In this sense, there is a choice for these states, as Kavaliku (2005) spoke of, as to whether there is a want to engage deeply with this international community or to limit their engagement in favour of only entering into this realm when it is felt necessary. Tourism has further exacerbated this situation since tourism can also influence the

way in which a culture progresses, and in some cases perceive itself, as Teaiwa (1994) and Ringer (2004) explained. Though this is the negative side, tourism also offers the SIS an opportunity to speak about climate concerns and use tourists as a means of spreading this story and thus working towards the normalising of sustainable practices. This was made clear through the example of Tuvalu in *Chapter 8*. Thus, in terms of effectiveness in relation to sustainable development, it seems that Kavaliku's point (2005: 28-29) remains significant and that there is a decision to be made as to how much outside influence is wanted and, based on this decision, the way in which sustainable development is conceptualised and engaged with will alter.

While for the SIS, effective engagement with sustainable development seemed to be related to either an opening up or a limiting of engagement with the international sphere, for donors (in this case the EU), it seemed that it was more of a question of why they are engaged in sustainable development. As was discussed in *Chapter 1*, the EU is one of the largest donors in terms of tourism assistance in the Pacific (European Commission, 2011: 6). They have also been a key actor in terms of shaping the global development agenda. Given this, the reasoning why they are active in the region as a development partner becomes important because they are key to shaping the agenda within the region. In *Chapter 5*, one of the reasons why the EU is active as a donor in the region became clear: there was a moral sense of obligation related to the EU's involvement in climate change which has led to them being active in the Pacific. As was analysed in *Chapter 5*, should this moral or altruistic reason for engaging in development be the sole purpose of the donor, in this case the EU, being active in a region, then it can add to the effectiveness of the sustainable development processes. Yet, what quickly became apparent in the same chapter was that there is more to the EU's engagement in the SIS than a moral sense of obligation related to climate change: the analysis uncovered a sense of self-interest and the presence of geo-political concerns as well. As the case study in *Chapter 8* then portrayed, if these geo-political concerns are the reason for an actor engaging in sustainable development then they will not be adding to the effectiveness of these processes, in fact they would be hindering them.

Continuing with the notion of power, in *Chapter 6* civil society was shown to be a crucial part of development in the Pacific, though while it was understood as a key actor, it still struggled to fully engage in sustainable development. This was related, in part, to a lack of funding for things such as on-going administrative costs. It is here that the thesis proposed that the private sector could play a key role, in that the private sector could actually add to the effectiveness of civil society through offering it funding options outside of the traditional donor or government routes. In this sense, the

private sector would be adding to the effectiveness of the sustainable development process if they could assist in enabling civil society to access the needed funding which would, in turn, allow them to expand upon the important work they are already involved in and have led.

While the private sector can assist other sectors, such as civil society, it can also, itself, offer transformative potential to sustainable development processes. One of the key methods through which the private sector is able to assist with this is through PPPs. As discussed in *Chapter 7*, the PPPs that have been setup within the SIS have provided an opportunity for the private sector to play an enabling role within sustainable development in these states and add to the overall effectiveness of development initiatives in-country. However, potentially of most importance is the conclusion that was drawn from the case study in *Chapter 8* which tested whether or not the tourism sector, as a key aspect of the private sector within the SIS, could add value to the effectiveness of sustainable development processes. A case study analysis argued that the tourism sector could in fact fulfil a role that would add much value to these processes. In other words, well-managed tourism can add to the effectiveness of sustainable development processes. This conclusion builds upon the prevailing feeling that was discussed in *Chapters 1* and *2* where Scheyvens, Banks and Hughes (2016: 372) emphasised that “under the new SDG agenda, however, businesses, governments and civil society actors are *equally* called upon to pursue a more sustainable path forward”.

The above has portrayed the way in which the various actors could engage more effectively in sustainable development processes, and thus in part, provided an answer to the central research question through highlighting how the actors have engaged and how this engagement could be made more effective. It also has portrayed the role that tourism could play within sustainable development, with the analysis conducted in *Chapter 8* concluding that tourism could enable transformative change within these processes. An example of this provided in *Chapter 8* was the way in which tourism could assist in curbing climate change through offering knowledge sharing opportunities for tourists and local citizens alike as to the impact of certain lifestyle choices in relation to emissions, thus encouraging more sustainable lifestyle choices. However, while the thesis has generally answered that the private sector, with a specific focus on tourism, could play a positive and key role within the processes of sustainable development, this must be contextualised by one of the main findings of the thesis. If geo-political concerns are not overcome, then it will matter little what role tourism could or could not play within sustainable development. In this sense, if such geo-political concerns are not either overcome or mitigated, then it will be difficult to challenge the post-development critique of current development methods, while also demanding sustainable development’s ability to enable the

right to development. In other words, if the right to development cannot be upheld and the post-development critique not overcome because of geo-political concerns, then any advancements as to the effectiveness of sustainable development processes will be nullified and merely reinforce the status quo of the current world system. This is of concern because of the inequalities within the current system and the fact that given these inequalities, people's rights are being challenged. There is a need to enable change within this system so as to overcome structural walls (Udombana, 2000: 753).

Future Opportunities: Specific Additions to Sustainable Development and the Fear of Inactivity

In terms of a sustainable path forward, the analytical framework provided a great insight as to how to encourage this, especially through the concept *reciprocal duality*. As became clear throughout the thesis, *reciprocal duality* is a key concept that could be utilised to encourage effective development cooperation. If there is an opportunity to build *reciprocal duality* within the SIS between the key actors of development, then it will go a long way to making sustainable development more effective through incorporating all voices and ideas and ensuring that the initiatives which are chosen to be entered into are relevant to the context. In other words, it enables a process through which those whom development is for, are able to shape the development process.

Utilising *reciprocal duality* as a lens can also enable an uncovering of where self-interest and the draw of geo-political concerns are present. As has been discussed at length throughout the thesis, such geo-political concerns stand in the way of effective sustainable development. The concept also enabled an uncovering of areas where development interventions may be theoretically sound but are not relevant to the specific context. An example of this was when donors do not engage with or fund the sectors which are in most need of assistance so as to enable development (such as in education). In such situations it seemed that the theory may have been coherent, but it lacked relevance to the local context in terms of building the capacity in-country to make it self-sufficient. If there is a mismatch between the theory and reality, then interventions related to this will not be as successful as hoped. Given this, *reciprocal duality* offers a method through which to analyse whether an intervention is not only theoretically robust, but that it also matches with the context within which the intervention is supposed to function.

In this sense, the thesis has added to the field of sustainable development not only through highlighting the transformative role that the private sector could play, but also by offering *reciprocal duality* as a part of an analytical framework which can enable more effective cooperation within attempts to achieve sustainable development. Such thinking may also potentially offer some value to the post-Cotonou negotiations which, as discussed in *Chapter 1*, are taking place currently to define future operations between the EU and the Pacific region, inclusive of the SIS.

While the thesis has portrayed methods through which to increase the effective engagement of key actors in sustainable development and how this in turn could enable the right to development and overcome the post-development critique, one issue that cannot be overlooked is the urgency inherent in achieving development which is sustainable in nature. Jacobson (quoted in McNamara and Gibson, 2009: 478) highlighted this over a decade ago in saying that the impacts of climate change are “a far greater threat to humans than any other environmental issue”. This was added to by Figir who stated that climate change will threaten nations’ survival (Hon. Isaac V. Figir in UNFCCC, 2005: 24). Moving to this current step in time, the urgency to act and to act swiftly, sustainably and effectively has not lessened. As Rahman points out, “there is no plan B, there is no planet B, this is all we have” (quoted in Thirty Million, 2016). In this sense, there is no room for inactivity if the habitability of the planet is to be maintained. The defining of a clear understanding of sustainable development will help ensure that development work is as effective as it can possibly be. It is hoped that this thesis and its analytical framework have added, in some small way, to the process of clarifying sustainable development to such a degree that it will offer some guidance as to how to potentially ensure a sustainable future.

While this thesis has proposed that *reciprocal duality* would be one potential starting point in terms of encouraging and enabling the urgent action needed, this must be added to by the notion of humility, the importance of which became clear during the fieldwork conducted for the thesis. There is a need for humility in how we as humans act in relation to each other and the choices that we make, because each choice has an impact on individuals elsewhere around the globe. In this sense, achieving sustainable development matters because there is no planet B, there is no alternative earth to which humanity can move, this planet is all we have. If societies around the globe are not able to understand this, and through such an understanding engage in sustainable practices, then it will portray levels of self-interest which stand in the way of the humility which is needed to enable sustainable development. If this occurs then there is, regrettably, little hope of overcoming the post-development critique, enabling the right to development and realising a sustainable future.

APPENDICES

Appendix 1: EU Funding to SIS 2006-2018

EU Policies & Funding to SIS and Pacific																			
Country	Federated States of Micronesia					Republic of Marshall Islands					Tuvalu				Palau				
Budget (Euro)	6,200,000	9,000,000	7,470,000	1,420,000	1,800,000	4,600,000	6,100,000	4,500,000	9,100,000	1,575,000		5,400,000	1,500,000	6,800,000	2,600,000	3,200,000	2,470,000	1,600,000	
Programme/Project	Country Strategy Paper & National Indicative Programme	Country Strategy Paper & National Indicative Programme	The Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of the Marshall Islands and the republic of Palau - ACP	Country Strategy Paper & Indicative Programme	EU-North Pacific Readiness for El Nino	Country Strategy Paper & Indicative Programme	Country Strategy Paper & Indicative Programme	The Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of the Marshall Islands and the republic of Palau - ACP	National Indicative Programme	Readiness for El Niño project: Pro-resilience in response to food insecurity in ACP countries	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme	TUVALU Vflex Budget Support	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme	Renewable Energy and Efficiency Project	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme
			Renewable Energy and Efficiency Project																
Timeframe	2002-2007	2008-2013	2009-2013	2014-2020	2017-2020	2002-2007	2008-2013	2009-2013	2014-2020	2017-2020	2002-2007	2008-2013	2010	2014-2020	2002-2007	2008-2013	2009-2013	2014-2020	
EU Policies & Funding to SIS and Pacific																			
Country	Niue			Nauru			Kiribati			Cook Islands			Regional			Tourism Funding			
Budget (Euro)	2,600,000	3,300,000	300,000	2,300,000	2,900,000	2,400,000	10,000,000	13,800,000	23,000,000	2,600,000	3,300,000	1,400,000	29,000,000	95,000,000	166,000,000	24,200,000	600,000	708,300	4,733,981
Programme/Project	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme	National Indicative Programme	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme	National Indicative Programme	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme	National Indicative Programme	Regional Strategy Paper & Regional Indicative Programme	Regional Strategy Paper & Regional Indicative Programme	Pacific Regional Porgramme	Pacific Regional Tourism Development Program (PRTDP)	Technical Assistance	Pacific Regional Economic Integration Programme (PACREIP) (Above sum specific for tourism)	The Pacific Regional Tourism Capacity Building Program (PRTCBBP), which is part of the Strengthening Pacific Economic Integration Programme which is part of the Pacific Regional Indicative Programme
Timeframe	2002-2007	2008-2013	2014-2020	2002-2007	2008-2013	2014-2020	2002-2007	2008-2013	2014-2020	2002-2007	2008-2013	2014-2020	2002-2007	2008-2013	2014-2020	1986-2001	2003-2005	2004-2009	2012-2015

EU projects in the SIS under the National Indicative Programmes										
Country	Federated States of Micronesia					Republic of the Marshall Islands		Niue		
Program	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme 2002-2007	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme 2008-2013	The Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of the Marshall Islands and the republic of Palau - ACP Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency Project 2009-2013	National Indicative Programme 2014-2020	EU-North Pacific Readiness for EI Nino 2017-2020	Country Strategy Paper & Indicative Programme 2002-2007	Country Strategy Paper & Indicative Programme 2008-2013	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme 2002-2007	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme 2008-2013	National Indicative Programme 2014-2020
Funding (Euro)	6.2 million from 9th EDF	9 million from 10th EDF	7.47 million	14.2 million from 11th EDF	1.8 million	4.6 million from 9th EDF	6.1 million from 10th EDF	2.6 million from 9th EDF	3.3 million from 10th EDF	0.3 million from 11th EDF
Projects related to program				An Eligibility Assessment for an Energy Sector Reform Contract (SRC) for the Federated States of Micronesia (FSM)				Niue village economic development programme		Annual Action Plan 2016

Actions of the project	<p>Identification and promotion of new and renewable sources of energy (e.g. solar, wind, thermal, waves, hydro) for outer island development will absorb 85% of the allocation, i.e. € 4.08 million. For activities implemented by Non-State Actors in the area of Conservation and Environmental Protection will be earmarked 15 % of the allocation, i.e. € 0.72 million. This allocation shall also support NSA capacity building projects (p.15). Intervention Objectives:- National energy study – work programme. Cost-effective and appropriate new and renewable energy sources. Drafting of national environmental policy. Environmental guidelines and regulations. Develop programmes of energy conservation and efficiency for the government, commercial sector and households. Provide the infrastructure for appropriate new and</p>	<p>The supply and installation of renewable energy systems in rural areas/outer islands</p>				<p>New and renewable sources of energy for outer island development will absorb 65% of the allocation, i.e. € 2.3 million. Enhancement of Human resource development/capacity building on the outer islands will absorb 20% of the allocation, i.e. € 0.7 million. For activities implemented by Non-State Actors in the area of human resources development/capacity building, 15% of the allocation, i.e. € 0.5 million will be earmarked (p.16)</p>				<p>A1: Procure of the associated hardware to complete the replacement of the underground of the national grid transmission network. A2: Improving capacity for implementation and maintenance of transmission and distribution (T&D) lines of the NPC staff. NPC intends to train personnel in the area of T&D maintenance in accordance with NZ standards. Personnel are also intended to be trained in the area of generation efficiency.A3: Support to the NAO and/or relevant offices/agencies for the whole EDF lifecycle or other EU instruments, including programming of the next development cooperation cycle. A4: Support the organisation and/or</p>
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	renewable sources of energy (p.20).									participation for conferences/seminars in ACP and/or EU countries on relevant EU cooperation issues, for key Niuean stakeholders. A5: Support to day-to-day administration of the NIP by the NAO, including visibility and communications aspects. A6: Provide relevant information upon requests of the EU Delegation and EU Member States. A7: Undertake or assist in evaluations, expenditure verification and audits of EU programmes and projects, if required.
Private sector involvement		Funded indicated for the Non Focal Sector which included the creation of a technical facility that would support the NAO in terms of	Private sector involvement and education: Improved energy efficiency. This will be achieved by (3.1) installing on-grid PV systems (3.2) conducting EE	Improved investment framework by providing incentives in the sustainable energy sector (p.10)				Democratic participation and civil society		

		capacity building and funding for research etc	training and awareness campaigns and (3.3) promoting RE/EE through Development Banks and other private sector institutions (copied from document). Promoting the use of RE for small business development Education: Training through the College of Micronesia and other training institutions as well as specialised training for RE/EE providers.							
Budget for private sector involvement		830000								
Timeframe			2009-2013					2006-2008		2016

Partners					Implementing partner: Aide a la Discussion Economique SA.					
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Country	Nauru			Tuvalu				Kiribati		
Program	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme 2002-2007	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme 2008-2013	National Indicative Programme 2014-2020	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme 2002-2007	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme 2008-2013	TUVALU Vflex Budget Support 2010	National Indicative Programme 2014-2020	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme 2002-2007	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme 2008-2013	National Indicative Programme 2014-2020
Funding (Euro)	2.3 million from 9th EDF	2.9 million from 10th EDF	2.4 million from 11th EDF		5.4 million from 10th EDF	1.5 million from 10th EDF	6.8 million from 11th EDF	10 million from 9th EDF	13.8 million from 10th EDF	23 million from 11th EDF
Projects related to program			Electricity Supply Security and Sustainability in Nauru:		Improving reliable access to modern energy services through solar PV systems for 3 outer islands of Tuvalu		Scaling up eco-sanitation in the Outer Islands of Tuvalu		Improved drinking water supply for Kiritimati Island	Water and Sanitation in Kiribati outer islands (KIRIWATSAN II)
Actions of the project			New diesel-fired generation put into service. A new, medium-speed, 2.6-3.0MW diesel generator will be installed in at Nauru Utilities Corporations (NUC) together with related auxiliary equipment; NUC		Supply, delivery, installation, capacity building, commissioning and monitoring of battery backed solar photovoltaic (PV) systems for the three islands of Nukulaelae, Nukufetau and Nui in Tuvalu. The PV	The overall objective of the present action fiche is to further support the implementation of macro economic and fiscal policy driven by the Government of Tuvalu to	The project aims at achieving sustainable household sanitation services provided at households in selected outer islands of Tuvalu, accompanied by a sustainable transformation of		This action intends at improving livelihoods and enabling human, social and economic development on Kiritimati Island in the Republic of Kiribati. The purpose is to assist the Government of Kiribati in securing safe and sustainable drinking water supply to Kiritimati Island communities, notably in the priority areas of London and Tennessee. Expected results and main activities: Key result 1: Improved Government and community participation in the management of Kiritimati Island drinking water supplies, including the	This Action will focus on increased access to safe and sustainable water and sanitation and reduce WASH related diseases in

			<p>personnel will be trained on its operation and maintenance.</p> <p>Repair/replacement of existing roof and structural reinforcements of NUC's powerhouse. The NUC powerhouse roof will be rehabilitated and all asbestos will be removed and safely disposed.</p>		<p>systems are to be integrated with local mini-grids and diesel fuelled generators. The design of the systems shall maximise the diesel savings and the utilisation of the provided funds. The nominal rating of the combined PV systems of the three islands is 180 kWp or more.</p>	<p>mitigate the impact of the crisis on the country. The European Commission short term support provided through the Vulnerability FLEX (VFLEX) will be critical in order to close or reduce significantly the residual fiscal financing gap with a view to maintaining priority expenditures in 2010, especially as they relate to social spending.</p>	<p>hygiene and sanitation practices in the target households and communities.</p>		<p>management of drinking water safety and water use efficiency. Activities 1.1 Establish a Project Management Unit (PMU) within the MLPD, a Project Steering Committee (PSC) 1.2 Design and implement a programme of on-the-job training activities for the safe and efficient operation, maintenance and management of the water supply system to benefit the staff from MPLD and local communities in particular. 1.3 Assist MLPD and the London-Tennessee community to develop a Water Use Efficiency Plan for the Decca-London system. Key result 2: Improved understanding of the condition and sustainability of Kiritimati Island's potable groundwater resources. Activities 2.1 Install/rehabilitate and operate monitoring bores for the Decca and Four Wells Groundwater Lenses. 2.2 Assess the sustainable yield and determine optimal extraction rates for the Decca and Four Wells Groundwater Lenses. 2.3 Prepare and submit Environmental Impact Assessment to Ministry of Environment, Lands and Agricultural Development Key result 3: Improved quality, quantity and reliability of potable water supplied to the priority areas of London and Tennessee in particular. Activities 3.1 Undertake urgent improvement works to the existing water supply system, including: a. rehabilitation of galleries, pumps and pipe work; b. installation/replacement of flow meters, meter boxes and fittings; c. refurbishment of water disinfection facilities.</p>	<p>Gilbert outer island group.</p>
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									3.2 Develop, implement and monitor a trial hybrid solar/wind groundwater extraction and transfer system. 3.3 Undertake detail design work of the proposed water supply upgrade works taking into account forecast water demands. 3.4 Construct new groundwater abstraction galleries. 3.5 Install hybrid solar/wind pumping systems, backup diesel pumps, pipe work and headworks system tanks. 3.6 Construct the designed water supply upgrade works.	
Private sector involvement					It seems that a PS organisation from Fiji was employed to assist with the implementation of the project					
Budget for private sector involvement										
Timeframe			2014-2016		2014-2015		2015-2017		2013-2018	2014-2018
Partners			Asian Development Bank						SPC	SPC

Country	Cook Islands				Palau			
Program	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme 2002-2007	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme 2008-2013	National Indicative Programme 2014-2020		Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme 2002-2007	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme 2008-2013	The Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of the Marshall Islands and the republic of Palau - ACP Renewable Energy and Energy Efficiency Project 2009-2013	Country Strategy & National Indicative Programme 2014-2020
Funding (Euro)	2.6 million from 9th EDF	3.3 million from 10th EDF	1.4 million from 12th EDF		2.6 million from 9th EDF	3.2 million from 10th EDF	2.47 million	1.6 million from 11th EDF
Projects related to program			Solar photovoltaic power generation capacity in Cook Islands	Cook Islands sanitation sector reform				
Actions of the project			The proposed project will assist the government's efforts to reduce the country's heavy reliance on imported fossil fuels for power generation by providing a secure, sustainable and environmentally sound source of electricity for private and commercial consumers.	The sector reform contract intends to support the national development vision of a high quality of life for communities in harmony with Cook Islands culture and environment as outlined in Te Kaveinga Nui and to assist Government in implementing its Sanitation Reform Program. Under this programme, two framework contracts have been launched to undertake the following components: Feasibility studies to scope options to establish a Centralised Laboratory. Interdisciplinary assessment of the Muri lagoon. The objective of this assignment is to undertake a multidisciplinary review of Muri lagoon of key parameters impacting on the health and quality of the marine ecosystems, adverse impacts from land activities, aesthetic attributes of the area and rejuvenation of the lagoon ecosystem for the safe public use and contribute to marine tourism.				

Private sector involvement								
Budget for private sector involvement								
Timeframe			2014-2017	2015-2018				
Partners			Asian Development Bank	INTERNATIONAL CONSULTING EXPERTISEGEIE, AECOM INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT EUROPE SL				

Appendix 2: Eco-Tourism Ventures in SIS

Country	Name of Organisation/Venture	District/Island	Type of Venture	Size/Capacity	Current Funding/Projects	Past Funding/Projects	Partners	Development Involvement	Website/Contact [all accessed January 2018]
Cook Islands	Cook Islands Whale and Wildlife Centre	Rarotonga	Interactive Museum						http://www.rarotonga.travel/things-to-do-detail/?location=All&category=All&subcategory=&detail=Cook+Islands+Whale+and+Wildlife+Centre
	Centre for Cetacean Research & Conservation	Rarotonga	Conservation and Research				see: www.whaleresearch.org		www.whaleresearch.org
	Storytellers Eco Cycle Tours	Rarotonga	Cycle Tours					Give 10% of profits back to the local community for developmental efforts	http://www.storytellers.co.ck/community/
	Sea Change Villa's	Rarotonga	Resort				Incorporated sustainable techniques such as sewage conversion schemes and chlorine free swimming pools, light bulbs etc. see:		http://www.sea-change-rarotonga.com/ -

							http://www.sea-change-rarotonga.com/environment-policy#offer		
	Takitumu Conservation Area	Rarotonga	Nature Walk/Reserve			Strengthening the management of the Kakerori Recovery Programm - Local based organisations Takitumu Conservation Area: US\$ 18,330.00 (2006-2008)	The GEF Small Grants Programme (SGP)		https://www.tripadvisor.co.nz/Attraction_Review-g309713-d310489-Reviews-Takitumu_Conservation_Area-Rarotonga_Southern_Cook_Islands.html
	Highland Paradise, Cook Island Culture Centre	Rarotonga	Culture and Nature Conservation/experience					Culture promotion and protection. Environmental protection and care. Member of International Eco-Tourism Society, see: http://www.highlandparadise.co.ck/education.htm	http://www.highlandparadise.co.ck/index.htm

	Pa's Treks	Rarotonga	Nature walk/environment education					Assist with giving guests an understanding of the local environment and methods to protect it.	http://www.pastreks.com/
	Tik-e Tours	Rarotonga	Eco-friendly tuk tuk tours and transport options	5 tuk tuks					https://www.tiketours.com/
	Raro Tours	Rarotonga	Culture tours/experience						http://www.rarotours.com/raro-tours/island-discovery-tour_idl=1_idt=269_id=1308_.html
	Anatakitaki Kopeka Bird Caves	Atiu	Nature experience						http://www.rarotonga.travel/things-to-do-detail/?location=All&category=All&subcategory=&detail=Atiu+Tours+-+Anatakitaki+Kopeka+Bird+Caves
	Bird Spotting on Atiu	Atiu	Cultural and Nature experience						http://www.beautifulpacific.com/cook-islands-travel/atiu-birdman/index.php

Kiribati	No eco-tourism ventures found to date								
Tuvalu	No eco-tourism ventures found to date								
Nauru	No eco-tourism ventures found to date								
Niue	Misa's Nature Walk		Nature walk, cultural experiences						https://www.facebook.com/Misa.Kulatea70/
	Tali's Cave Tours		Cave tours						http://www.niueisland.com/tours/
	The Avatele Village Tour	Avatele	Village tour, cultural experience						http://www.niueisland.com/tours/
	Handcraft Tour	Makefu	Cultural Experience						http://www.niueisland.com/tours/
	Hermans Reef and Fishing Tours		Fishing tours, Cultural Experience, Information						http://www.niueisland.com/tours/
	A5 Rainforest & Plantation Tour		"Explain traditional farming methods, old and new. You'll see how Niueans grow their staple crops of Taro,						http://www.niueisland.com/tours/

			Cassava, Kumara, Watermelon, Paw Paw and Banana and also get to taste the local seasonal fruit".						
	Taue Uga and Vaka Tours		Coconut Crab experience tours / cultural experiences						http://www.niueisland.com/tours/
	Hermans Forest Walk		"Take a guided tour through traditional family and plantation grounds. Learn about the various uses for the different plants and listen to some of the myths and legends of Niue".						http://www.niueisland.com/tours/
	Ebony Forest Tours		Forest Tours/Cultural Experience						http://www.niueisland.com/tours/
	Huvalu Conservation Area		Community project/conservation area				SPREP		http://niue.southpacific.org/island/naturepark.html

Palau	Dolphin Bay Resort & Peleliu Divers	Peleliu	Resort						Relevant website: https://pristineparadisepalau.com/ ; http://www.dolphinbay-resort-peleliu.com/index.html ; travel blog http://blogs.nicholas.duke.edu/palau/the-growing-impact-of-tourism-in-palau/ ; https://prezi.com/8systply82ki/eco-tourism-in-palau/
	Palau Eco-Theme Park	Koror	Outdoor adventure				Palau Leisure Group Inc., the Korean company that built the complex		http://visit-palau.blogspot.com.au/2011/08/palau-introduces-new-eco-theme-park.html
	The Palau Pacific Resort		Resort					Involved in protecting the Dugong, solar panels, water treatment systems, nature walks and Marine Reserve promotion & protection: https://www.palaupr.com/en	

								om/en/about/palau-eco-friendly-hotels	
	The Nature Conservatory		Development partner				The Nature Conservatory, community, local government		https://www.nature.org/en-us/about-us/where-we-work/asia-pacific/the-pacific-islands/
	Sam's Tours		Diving and tours including walking and kayaks etc.	Approximately 8 employees				Sam's Tours works closely with business organizations, government agencies and local educational institutions to support the development of a sustainable tourist industry and greater economic independence through expanding workforce opportunities for Palauan's.	http://www.samstours.com/about/environmentally-friendly: http://www.samstours.com/about/community
	Dolphins Pacific		Interactive engagement with dolphins, educational and research facility					Dolphins Pacific was chartered as a non-profit corporation in January 2000, and we contracted with International Bridge Corp. of Guam to build	http://www.dolphin-specific.com/top-e.html

								this massive \$2.5 million dollar facility	
Republic of the Marshall Islands	Marshall Islands Eco-Tourism Project	Bikini Atoll/Enewetak					Southern Cross University, NSW		A study of the feasibility of reviving the unique and celebrated Bikini wreck-diving site by establishing a new air link through Enewetak.
Federated States of Micronesia	Kosrae Village Ecolodge & Dive Resort	Kosrae							We take actions to: install eco-friendly lighting, reduce oil/gas carbon emissions, compost waste food, recycle wherever possible, use bio degradable cleaning agents, use reclamation building materials, use renewable natural furnishings, source food locally, offer local employment, instruct staff in green practices, include green room info packs,

									conserve/care for wildlife in our area, Membership The International Ecotourism Society Awards from Pata Micronesia Chapter and PADI Project Aware for our Reef Protection Program, All construction done by hand in the traditional manner, no petroleum powered motors on the property, Properly designed septic systems.
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Appendix 3: Ethics Approval



HUMAN ETHICS COMMITTEE
Secretary, Rebecca Robinson
Telephone: +64 03 369 4588, Extn 94588
Email: human-ethics@canterbury.ac.nz

Ref: HEC 2016/01 Amendment 2

15 September 2017

Thomas Gillman
National Centre for Research on Europe
UNIVERSITY OF CANTERBURY

Dear Thomas

Thank you for your request for an amendment to your research proposal "Sustainable development and resilience promotion in Oceania" as outlined in your email dated 12th September 2017.

I am pleased to advise that this request has been considered and approved by the Human Ethics Committee.

Yours sincerely

pp. R. Robinson

Associate Professor Jane Maidment
Chair, Human Ethics Committee

Appendix 4: List of Interviewees

Interview 1	USP Senior Lecturer a, Suva, October 2017
Interview 2	EU Delegation Official, Suva, October 2017
Interview 3	SIS Official, Skype, October 2017
Interview 4	PIPSO Official, Suva, October 2017
Interview 5	UK High Commission Official, Suva, October 2017
Interview 6	SPTO Official, Suva, October 2017
Interview 7	ADB Official, Suva, October 2017
Interview 8	IFC Consultant, Suva, October 2017
Interview 9	USP Lecturer, Suva, October 2017
Interview 10	SIS Official, Suva, October 2017
Interview 11	PIDF Officials, Suva, October 2017
Interview 12	USP Senior Lecturer, Port Vila, October 2017
Interview 13	Marshall Islands Office of Commerce and Investment Official, Telephone, November 2017

Appendix 5: Fieldwork Questions

1. What do you see as the greatest issues facing the Pacific and especially the Smaller Island States (SIS)?
2. What do you think the key components to sustainable development within the Pacific region are?
3. The Pacific is a region that receives amongst the highest levels of aid assistance per capita within the world today. Do you think that these levels of funding are reasonable?
Given the above are there any ways you would change / improve to access funding?
4. To what extent do you believe the Smaller Island States (SIS) bloc can influence regional policy making, in order to assist the SIS with their sustainable development goals?
5. How do you see this (the issue they have mentioned) impacting on the right to development?
6. From your perspective how do you see this translating into any projects you are currently working on or involved with?
7. Currently, it seems that Public-Private Partnerships are a favoured method through which to achieve sustainable development objectives. To what extent do you believe such PPP's encourage closer cooperation between donors and streamline development processes within the SIS?
Is there a want to understand the partner properly?
8. How much value do you think donor engagement with the private sector adds?
9. How do you believe the private sector contributes to developmental efforts?
10. How do you feel that the sustainable development process could be further streamlined?

Appendix 6: National Development Strategies of SIS: Engagement with Tourism

Country	Strategy	Tourism component
Cook Islands	Te Kaveinga Nui National Sustainable Development Plan 2016 - 2020	Goal 2 (p. 13)
Federated States of Micronesia	Strategic Development Plan 2004-2023	p. 8, 12, 213-271
Kiribati	Kiribati Development Plan 2016-19	Goal 4 (p. 38), Goal 6 (p. 46), see also p. 37
Nauru	National Sustainable Development Strategy 2005-2025 (as revised in 2009)	Part III (p. 10), see also p. 27
Niue	Niue National Strategic Plan 2009-2015*	Goal 3 (p. 7)
Palau	Palau 2020 National Master Development Plan	Chapter 8
Republic of the Marshall Islands	The Strategic Development Plan Framework 2003-2018	See p. 40 and p. 84-5
Tuvalu	Te Kakeega III National Strategy for Sustainable Development 2016 to 2020	See p. 33-5

* For Niue, have not been able to access the full Niue National Strategic Plan 2016-2026, thus basing this statement on the fact that tourism is mentioned under Goal 3: Economic Development in the Niue National Strategic Plan 2009-2015.

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