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**The tourist resort and the village:
Local perspectives of
corporate community development in Fiji**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Development Studies

at Massey University, Manawatu

New Zealand

Emma Louise Hughes

2016

Dedication

No nomu I qaiqai ga Qei, na noqu I qaiqai

I'll walk how you walked mother

Nainoca (2011, p. 15) explains that this Fijian saying reminds both mother and child that learning is passed from one generation to another. For my daughters, Layla and Marama: you accompanied me on my fieldwork, learned alongside me, tolerated the many hours spent at the computer whilst the thesis was written, and you also appear in its pages. You have walked each step of the way with me - this thesis is dedicated to you.

Abstract

A new global development model prioritises the role of the private sector, with 17 Sustainable Development Goals aiming to achieve economic, social and environmental sustainability in partnership with business. This study examines the capability of tourism sector-led development initiatives, or Corporate Community Development (CCD), to bring about positive, locally meaningful change for two Indigenous communities in Fiji. A Development First framework for CCD developed in this thesis foregrounds community perspectives. Findings suggest the capacity of the private sector to contribute to community development in line with community priorities is constrained by an overriding Tourism First focus on prioritising the business, even where companies aspire to longer-term sustainable development outcomes. Whilst specific initiatives focusing on supporting development projects and running a socially responsible business achieve positive outcomes for communities, much CCD is charity-focused and confined to a narrow spectrum of immediately visible needs largely defined by hotels and tourists.

Approaching CCD from local perspectives also suggests ways to reconceptualise CCD. It focuses attention on the interconnected impact of all company activities (both core operations such as employment and voluntary activities such as donations), whilst an Indigenous perspective of CCD reframes its purpose as obligation. This can be understood in terms of community expectations around entitlements, reciprocity and fulfilling collective rights. A focus on Indigenous understandings of wellbeing and development shows that tourism is seen as an opportunity to contribute to *vanua* priorities for both current and future generations, but makes it clear that communities do not want more charity or aid, instead seeking to be an integral part of development conversations determining a fair share of their resources. The twin concepts of corporate social *coherence* and corporate social *obligation* acknowledge the significance of people and place underpinning tourism in Fiji and prompt a critical rethink of private sector-led development. Findings underline the risks of charging the private sector with responsibility for community development and demonstrate the current limitations to what the tourism industry can be expected to deliver. Community perspectives present a starting point from which to challenge current ways of thinking and allow alternative conceptualisations of development to flourish.

Acknowledgements

vakavinavinaka

An important Fijian protocol is honouring those who have ‘looked after you or given something of value to you’ (Nabobo Baba 2008, p. 148). This thesis is the result of the hard work, time, generosity, kindness and wisdom of many.

Firstly, I want to acknowledge my supervisors, Professor Regina Scheyvens and Associate Professor Glenn Banks. Thank you for sharing your time, knowledge, wisdom, advice and good humour so willingly and generously to help me shape this thesis into its final form. You made the PhD process engaging, enlightening and enjoyable throughout and I am exceedingly grateful for all your support.

I was incredibly lucky to be part of such a fantastic Marsden team. The financial support from the Royal Society of New Zealand, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the School of People, Environment and Planning enabled this research but a team of people gave the project wings. Thank you to Sharon for all your patient advice, helpful insights and practical support, both in New Zealand and during our adventures in Fiji. Thanks also to Professor Tony Bebbington, for coming all the way to Palmerston North, Auckland and Queenstown to share your wisdom with us! Appreciation also goes to project advisors, Associate Professor Yvonne Underhill-Sem, Gavin Murray, Associate Professor Deanna Kemp and Dr Annemarie Gillies for all your contributions to project conversations and debates. Emma, I will be forever glad I had the opportunity to study alongside you. Thank you for being there, through thick and thin. You brought intellectual inspiration, sound advice, and made me laugh when I most needed it.

Litea, I don't know how to thank you for all you have done to support this work. Your commitment has underpinned this whole thesis from establishing connections for me in Fiji, to providing me with language tips and practical and cultural advice and hosting my Fijian visitors in Palmerston North, to sharing your knowledge, proof reading, and motivating me to keep going! Vinaka vakalevu!

To my Fijian families in the field. Meme Gaunavou and Ateca Volavola, you were both generous and welcoming and worked untiringly to help me undertake my fieldwork. You were there for Layla, Marama and I throughout. A huge thank you also to the families and friends who so warmly hosted us and cared for us during our stay, especially Gavidi, Suluweti, Selina, Ratu Tevita, Virisila, Abo and Louata, Ratu Waka and Bulou Lele. Also thanks to Tokasa, John, Josateki, Wise and Kim. I am also grateful to the schools and students that so warmly welcomed my daughters, Cuvu District and Namaka Public, with special mentions to Paula, Mitieli, Atelina and Salote!

Thank you to the staff of Shangri-La and Radisson Blu for being so open to this study and providing your time and input on so many occasions. An especially big thank you goes to Mereoni Mataika, Lata Yaqona, Finau Leggett and Trish Knight for facilitating much of my work with the hotels.

I am also very grateful to the School of Tourism and Hospitality Management at the University of the South Pacific for all their help with the study and for hosting the Tourism and Community Development Symposium; particular thanks go to Dr Dawn Gibson for all her support.

In New Zealand, thank you to Nigel for your support for Layla and Marama, which allowed me to study. It is greatly appreciated. Thanks also to the staff in PEP who have been so encouraging throughout. Rochelle - without that chance conversation at kids' hockey practice and the encouragement you gave me this might never have happened at all! My heartfelt thanks! To my fellow PhD students Andrew and Amaliah, we have travelled this journey together from day one: you have been a constant source of support and motivation. To all the other PEP postgrads who have created such a wonderful community - thanks for all the coffee, cake and conversation over the years: Sharon, Dora, Axel, Gabriel, Natalie and all the Development Studies crew, you are all fabulous! Thank you especially to Sharon Bell for a listening ear and a PhD checklist at just the right moments!!

At work, I am indebted firstly to Mark Cleaver and Professor Brigid Heywood for making my shift to PhD study possible and then to Dr Jo Innes and Dr Michael Millan for continuing to support this venture. To all my other colleagues in Research &

Enterprise who accommodated my comings and goings in such good spirit, thank you, especially to Hazel, Ross, Kate N, Kate A, Beck, Simon, Vern and Marise. Thank you also to other colleagues from inside and outside Massey who provided me with invaluable nuggets of information and advice along the way, particularly Dr Maureen Holdaway, Dr Lesley Batten, Professor Rukmani Gounder, Dr Trisia Farrelly, Kate Nolan, Tarisi Vunidilo, Adele Broadbent, and to my mentoring circle, for all your encouragement. To the Fourth Tuesday book club: the books, wine and conversations all kept me sane!

And most importantly to my family near and far, for sharing the excitement of this journey with me, and for all your practical and emotional support as I saw it through. Laura and Abby you have been my rocks from afar. Layla and Marama, I continue to learn from you every day. Thank you for your love, encouragement and endless patience! To my parents, you first set me on the path that has led me here by instilling in me the values which support my goals and dreams. I am forever grateful.

Last but not least, my greatest thanks go to the communities of this study. I am incredibly grateful to the chiefs, Ratu Kini and Tui Nadi, who welcomed me into their villages and to the village heads who enabled the research to occur. My sincere thanks go to all of my participants who so generously gave their time to contribute to this study. None of this would have happened without your good will, kindness, openness and hospitality. You have taught me so much. The final acknowledgement is to Matila Mudunavere, who passed away during the course of this study. Your compassionate nature, kind heart, warm smile and immense support for others was humbling. May you rest in peace.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

CCD	Corporate Community Development
CR	Corporate Responsibility
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
ECPAT	End Child Prostitution, Child Pornography and Trafficking of Children for Sexual Purposes
FHTA	Fiji Hotel and Tourism Association
GM	General Manager
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Foundation
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MNCs	Multinational corporations
MNMCs	Multinational Mining Companies
MPA	Marine Protected Area
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PCDF	Partners in Community Development Fiji
PNG	Papua New Guinea
PPT	Pro-Poor Tourism
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
TLTB	iTaukei Land Trust Board
SPTO	South Pacific Tourism Organisation
UN	United Nations
USP	University of the South Pacific
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council

Glossary of Fijian terms¹

bele	Fijian spinach
bete	priest
bilibili	raft
bose ni Vanua	<i>Vanua</i> council
bose ni koro	village council
bula	life, thriving
bula taucoko	the achievement of a state of completion
bure	traditional Fijian house
dalo	taro
dauvakarogo	being a good listener
davo donu	lying straight
duavata	togetherness, unity
i tatau	departure, a presentation by visitors before returning to their village
iTaukei	Indigenous Fijians
i tovo vakavanua	customs, values, acceptable customary behaviour
i tukutuku	reporting, analysis, writing
i vakarau	manners, customs, standards, traditions, rules
Ka levu (turaga na ka levu)	Paramount chief of the province
Kalou	Christian God
Kalou Vu	ancestral Gods
kanakana	eating place
kava	common name for <i>yaqona</i> , ceremonial drink
kerekere	borrowing practised by Fijians
koro	village

¹ Sources: Nabobo-Baba 2006; Ravuvu 1983, 1988; Meo-Sewabu 2015

lewe na vanua	members of the land
lotu	spirituality, religion
lovo	an oven dug in the ground
mamaroi/maroroya	stewardship of the environment
mataqali	sub-clan
matanitikina	district head
matanitu	government or state
matanivanua	herald or spokesperson
meke	traditional Fijian dance
navunavuci	conception
qaravi itavi	unquestionable duty and service
qele ni teitei	gardening land
qoliqoli	fishing ground
reguregu	paying of respects prior to a funeral
roko tui	head of a province
sautu	good quality life, wealthy
sevusevu	a presentation of kava to welcome a visitor or make a request
solesolevaki	to work together to achieve a common purpose
solu	fundraising
sulu	skirt
sulu jiaba	traditional dress
tabu	taboo/prohibition. Used here to describe a quarantine placed on a marine area with no fishing permitted
talanoa	sharing of conversation and knowledge
tanoa	a carved wooden bowl used to prepare kava (<i>yaqona</i>)
tikina	district
tokatoka	extended family
tui	king, chief

turaga ni koro	village head
vaka matanitu	the way of the government
vakarogotaki lesu tale	reporting back
vakavakarau	preparation and planning
vakavanua	the way of the land, belonging to the <i>Vanua</i>
vakarorogo	listening
vakanomodi	silence
vakavinavinaka	gifting/thank yous
vakaviti	Fijian way of life
vale levu	Chief's house
vanua	a people, their chief, their defined territory, their waterways of fishing grounds, their environment, their spirituality, their history, their epistemology and culture (Nabobo-Baba, 2006)
veidokai	to act with respect and humility
veidolei	reciprocity, giving and sharing
veikau	forest land
veikauwaitaki	showing care and empathy
veilomani	to act with love and kindness
veimaroroi	protection - of research participants
veinanumi	being considerate of others
veisiko	to visit someone
veivakatorocaketaki	enhancement - benefitting the community
veivukei	giving a helping hand
veiwekani	relationships
vosa vaka dodonu	talking straight
vosota	patience
vutuniyau	wealthy
yalomatua	wise
yalo vata	of the same spirit
yaqona	kava - a plant and drink made from <i>Piper Methysticum</i>
yavusa	clan - largest kin grouping
yavutu	sites of founding ancestors' houses, place of origin

Chapter One

Introduction

*Reversing the lens*²

1 The Project

In March 2013 I was fortunate enough to become part of a research programme examining the private sector's role in community development in the Pacific.³ The overarching research aim of the project is to assess whether the community development initiatives of mining and tourism corporations operating in the Pacific can bring about locally-meaningful development. This aim emerged from increasing calls globally for the private sector to play roles in international development, and the corresponding recognition that there is a need for more evidence of how corporations undertake community development to better understand the potential, the risks and the limitations associated with this. Specifically, the project aims to prioritise community perspectives of private sector-led development projects; in other words, it 'reverses the lens' (Banks et al., 2016, p. 252).

The contribution of this thesis to the project is to examine the capability of multinational tourism corporations to bring about locally meaningful development, centring on two Fijian landowning communities located in the vicinity of international hotel chains. My thesis journey began by joining a multidisciplinary team jointly focused on identifying ways to improve development outcomes in the Pacific, and it led me to explore ideas about what constitutes locally meaningful development for communities in Fiji, how company actions intersect with community

² Banks, Scheyvens, McLennan, & Bebbington (2016, p. 252)

³ The research programme is led by Professor Regina Scheyvens and Associate Professor Glenn Banks of Massey University. Dr Sharon McLennan and Emma Richardson, also from Massey, and Professor Anthony Bebbington from Clarke University made up the team. Funding was received from the Royal Society of New Zealand with additional fieldwork funding from the NZ Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the School of People, Environment & Planning.

priorities, and how to make visible both the intended and unintended consequences. I had the opportunity to spend four months in Fiji, accompanied by my then 9 and 11 year-old daughters, and learn from the stories of the people most affected by tourism sector-led development. This included not only landowning communities, but also other villages neighbouring some of the Pacific's tourism giants and those communities who are off the tourist trail altogether. It led me to local organisations that advocate tirelessly for better development outcomes for the Fijian people and to the doors of a wide range of stakeholders in the tourism industry. During the course of writing this thesis, Fiji elected its first democratic government in eight years, and then suffered the impact of a devastating cyclone. The Millennium Development Goals drew to a close and the world endorsed 17 new Sustainable Development Goals. The global development space has now shifted again. As the mandate from the top changes, this thesis seeks to present the views from below.

2 Context

In the context of the failure of states and international institutions to eliminate poverty, a greater role has been envisaged for the private sector in development efforts. International bodies such as the United Nations and OECD assert that businesses have greater responsibilities for development than ever before (High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness, 2011; United Nations, 2013). The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development, with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) at its core, contains a 'call on all businesses to apply their creativity and innovation to solving sustainable development challenges' (United Nations, 2015, para. 67). The 17 SDGs aim to balance economic, social and environmental sustainability and focus on inclusivity, shared prosperity and shared responsibility, with businesses assuming a key role alongside governments and civil society in delivering on the targets (Scheyvens, Banks, & Hughes, 2016). In the run-up to the release of the goals it was claimed that the SDGs would provide 'an historic opportunity to scale up and align business efforts in order to contribute to United Nations priorities at unprecedented levels' (UN Global Compact, 2013, p. 2). A UN high-level panel report (2013) described a 'new global partnership' (p. 10) where business is seen as 'an essential partner that can drive economic growth' (p. 11). A report published this year by the Global Opportunity Network in association with the UN's Global Compact now refers to the

goals as 'the job description for business' (2016, p. 11) reiterating the mantra 'what is good for business is also good for society' (p. 11). It can be argued that 'the conceptualization of the role of business in development has fundamentally changed' (Banks et al., 2016, p. 248).

An increased focus of companies on CSR and 'Shared Value' (Porter & Kramer, 2011) over the last decade appears to point to a win-win solution for both the private sector and the poor: businesses acquire consumer and community support and the poor communities where businesses are located benefit from greater resources. In reality, this is at odds with the business imperative to make a profit, what Blowfield and Dolan refer to as 'the Porter paradox' (2014, p. 34). Rajak, meanwhile, points to corporate rhetoric around 'shared value' and 'win-win outcomes' as '[t]he celebration of corporate virtue, underpinned by a moral register of compassionate capitalism' (2010, p. 31). She argues that in fact a normative view of whether CSR is a force for good or bad misses a more significant point, that CSR plays a role in providing corporations with the moral authority to shape social relations to suit their own interests. Corporations become 'architects of social improvement' operating in 'the new orthodoxy of corporate-led development' (p. 14). Furthermore, Banks et al. show that the very way businesses conceptualise development is different from that of governments and NGOs:

a focus by corporations on concrete outcomes (often literally) in the form of roads and buildings, and on the relatively safe, high-profile and often locally highly prized fields of health and education, may obscure more fundamental questions about rights, power, social justice and community empowerment' (Banks et al., 2016, p. 250).

Just as CSR is 'reshaping the local meanings of development itself' (Banks et al., 2016, p. 253), the broader (neoliberal) development agenda appears to be tapering towards a specific set of interests.

There is little research which examines the material impact of private sector-led initiatives; in particular there is a lack of community perspectives of private sector development, and very little research focused on the Pacific. Without a counterpoint to the business perspective the actual benefits and limitations of this approach will remain unknown, as will the suitability or otherwise of the private sector as a key development actor. By employing in depth case studies of the development activities

of international hotel chains in the Pacific, this research will investigate the benefits of private sector-led development from community points of view. Using a Development First framework developed in this thesis, I will assess whether meaningful, sustainable change can be achieved at a local level. This will incorporate an analysis of corporate-community relationships, community agency, local understandings of wellbeing and development and issues of exclusion and inclusion, whilst locating the study in a specific social and cultural context. Ultimately this research will contribute to an assessment of the potential and limitations of the private sector in delivering development in the Pacific.

3 Scope

This section delineates the scope of the project which has been narrowed to the intentional corporate community development activities, or CCD, of multinational hotels in Fiji. Below, I provide the rationale for this focus and explain the parameters of the research.

Corporate Community Development

The study focuses on corporate activities that directly and intentionally impact on development outcomes for communities, or Corporate Community Development (CCD) (Banks et al., 2016, p. 2). This is broader than Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), which usually focuses on those activities with an element of voluntariness beyond regulatory obligations (Dahlsrud, 2008). Looking across core and non-core hotel business practices (Meyer, 2007), CCD covers both core practices such as lease commitments and procurement of local services, as well as non-core voluntary CSR activities such as support for local schools and environmental restoration. Both types of activities impact on development outcomes for communities. Blowfield and Dolan (2014) refer to a company undertaking such a development role as a 'development agent', that is 'an organisation that consciously seeks to deliver outcomes that contribute to international development goals' (p. 23).

In the tourism sector, the most common way to engage in development activities is through Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR), referring to a company's

responsiveness to the ‘triple bottom line’ of financial, social and environmental outcomes. Variations of this are referred to as corporate citizenship, corporate responsibility, corporate social action, corporate community investment, corporate accountability and corporate community involvement (Coles, Fenclova, & Dinan, 2013). According to Telfer and Sharpley, CSR in tourism is ‘considered to be a key element in the achievement of sustainable development in general’ (2008, p. 52). However, when we look closely at CSR activities, many are unrelated to community development: examples include reduction of carbon emissions or providing guests with eco products. Other activities benefit communities in addition to delivering or supporting business operations, for example procurement of local goods and services and staff health checks. Such activities often fulfil social responsibility commitments and may also contribute to community development. Various negotiated activities specifically benefit communities, for example lease money, preferential employment and scholarships for landowning communities, but are not considered CSR as they constitute an obligation of the company to meet lease conditions. Other core business practices such as cultural entertainment aim to benefit local communities but are not part of social responsibility commitments. Further voluntary activities not traditionally seen as CSR, for example advocating for policy change, can also constitute CCD. Figure 1.1 provides some examples of core business practices and voluntary, non-core practices that can be said to constitute CCD and CSR, showing the overlap between classifications.

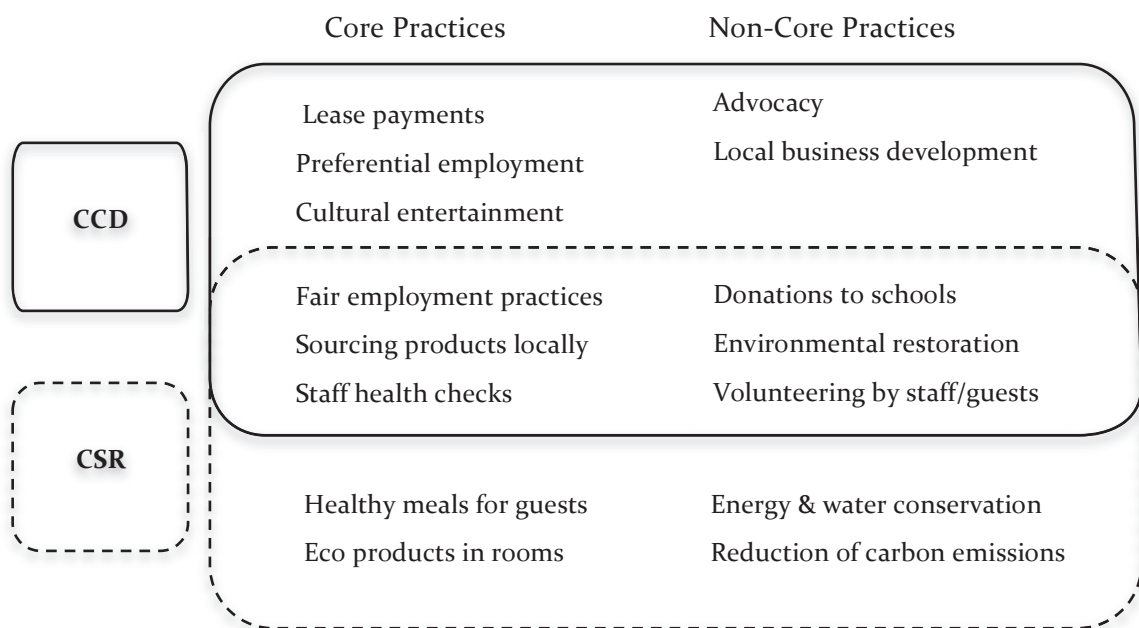


Figure 1.1 Examples of CCD and CSR in hotels

Noting that actual initiatives will vary between hotels and result in some movement between categories, this provides an indication of the types of activities of focus. Examples of these activities will be discussed further in Chapter Two. To encompass the range of initiatives which are intended to deliver benefits to communities, whether or not this is their primary purpose, the term Corporate Community Development is used in this thesis. Since the most common term used by the industry to describe activities benefitting communities is 'CSR', this term is used when presenting company narratives of private sector-led development activities.

If the private sector is to be tasked with contributing to development then it is also necessary to consider the resulting development outcomes: are they inclusive, sustainable and meaningful for communities or tokenistic, primarily benefiting the company? The analysis, then, focuses specifically on local-level perspectives of these initiatives, including the views of communities impacted directly and indirectly by initiatives and of other local stakeholders who are connected in some way to these activities.

Large-scale mass tourism

Given that tourism is the 'world's largest single industry' (Mowforth & Munt, 2009, p. 183) and a major economic sector in many developing countries, it is a logical choice for closer examination of its CCD activities. More specifically, the focus of this thesis lies particularly with large-scale tourism, which has the greatest reach and impact globally and the potential to effect change at scale. It is also at this level where CSR is most visibly promoted.

The debate on the future of sustainable tourism is cognisant of the inherent limitations to both mass tourism and alternative, small-scale tourism. Existing research demonstrates the evidence for community empowerment in small scale or alternative tourism initiatives (e.g. Scheyvens, 2002): small scale ventures offer the possibility of maintaining autonomous status and control at a community level, and tend to be more attuned to their local environment than large scale multinational companies (see Telfer & Sharpley, 2008 p. 43 for a discussion of this). However, small scale, piecemeal change can result in fragmentary outcomes which are not easily replicable. Larger scale initiatives present the opportunity for broader impact and

institutionalisation of positive practices, yet can suffer from a lack of responsiveness to those who stand to benefit most (see Mowforth & Munt, 2009, p. 190; Scheyvens, 2002, pp. 11-14 for examples). The pro-poor tourism literature (PPT) emerged in recognition of the necessity for tourism to change its approach across all sectors in order to contribute to poverty alleviation rather than focusing on either small-scale or mass tourism (Goodwin, 2009). However, critiques of PPT maintain that the very poor are still excluded from its benefits (Mowforth & Munt, 2009; Schilcher, 2007).

Writing in 2000, Weaver demonstrates the potential of mass tourism to bring about sustainable change. He proposed that the tourism sector could be divided into four categories based on level of intensity and regulation, resulting in a continuum from non-regulated, small-scale, alternative tourism through to unsustainable mass tourism (2000, p. 218). He observes that for long-term sustainable development to occur, a move from the norm for unsustainable mass tourism towards sustainable mass tourism and deliberate alternative tourism is required. Applying this to the Caribbean (2001), Weaver suggests that tourism here 'has developed along an environmentally, socially and economically unsustainable trajectory' (p. 165) with its combination of resorts managing profit margins and governments seeking to encourage investment, in competition with other islands (p. 166). A similar pattern can be observed in the Pacific. But it is within mass tourism that Weaver identifies the greatest capacity for change:

the same corporations that control the mega-resorts are probably in the best position to effect the transition toward sustainability, relative to their smaller counterparts. This is owing to the critical mass that allows them to allocate significant resources specifically for environmental and social purposes (Weaver, 2001, p. 167).

Returning to this theme in 2012, Weaver concludes that sustainable mass tourism has now become the desired outcome for most destinations, albeit through an 'evolutionary rather than revolutionary process' (2012, p. 1030). It should be noted however that the evidence cited in support of this argument heavily favours environmental measures, with limited reference to social and economic sustainability.

Whether or not the tourist industry has the capacity to become more sustainable, the power of multinational corporations remains indisputable. The industry is dominated by multinational companies, which are estimated to subsume 80 per cent of the

market, variously managing, leasing, franchising or directly owning hotels (Mowforth & Munt, 2009, p. 186). This only seems likely to increase: '[r]ecent years have seen consolidation of the power of the largest tourism-related organisations through mergers and growth, rather than a dismantling of their power' (Scheyvens, 2011, p. 110). Weaver (2001) remarks that the power of international capital is now such that 'national sovereignty poses less of a constraint to the business of making a profit' (p. 166). If the private sector is expected to contribute significantly to development, then a focus on small-scale initiatives would seem to be a case of tinkering at the margins. The present study takes as its focus therefore, case studies of international hotel chains as prime examples of mass tourism. In selecting hotels recognised for their contributions to responsible business and sustainable tourism, the study aims to analyse the impact of CCD where it is seen to be working well. It is hoped that this will shed light on the capacity and limitations of the industry to contribute to long-term sustainable change.

Fiji and the Pacific

Social and economic support for host communities is of high significance in the Global South, and more so for those countries heavily reliant on tourism: this is particularly the case for small island developing states. In the South Pacific, tourism is a key growth area: arrivals reached 1.77 million in 2012 and are predicted to reach up to 2.9 million by 2019 with a contribution of between US\$ 2.5 and 3 billion to the regional economy (South Pacific Tourism Organisation, 2014, p. 2). Although this is a small percentage of global arrivals, in a region where all countries but Papua New Guinea have a population below 1 million, this constitutes a major component of national GDP. Fiji receives 44 per cent of the region's tourist arrivals (Harrison & Prasad, 2013, p. 744) and is the only South Pacific location for some of the world's largest multinational hotel chains. Research shows that private sector development initiatives in the tourism industry can play a significant role in improving community wellbeing in Fiji (e.g. Bradly, 2015; Harrison & Prasad, 2013; Scheyvens & Russell, 2012a), but there has so far been limited attention to community perspectives of tourism-led development initiatives.

iTaukei (Indigenous Fijians) make up just over half the population and are owners of 87 per cent of land in Fiji.⁴ The remaining land is divided between Crown land and freehold land. Effectively, this means that many hotels in Fiji are located on *iTaukei* land and are subject to the provisions of lease agreements negotiated by the *iTaukei* Land Trust Board. These provisions often entail obligations to the landowning community such as preferential employment and assistance with infrastructure in addition to the payment of lease money. CSR initiatives are also often directed towards local Indigenous communities. For this reason, the communities of focus in this study are Indigenous Fijian villages neighbouring multinational hotels. In both case studies, hotels are located on land belonging to Indigenous Fijians.⁵ To understand local level perspectives of CCD, the study therefore explores Indigenous Fijian understandings of meaningful development.⁶

4 Acknowledging Fijian ways of knowing

In order to understand community priorities for development among landowning communities in Fiji it is necessary firstly to begin to understand the Fijian worldview. Nabobo-Baba explains that for Indigenous Fijians ‘the *vanua* and, specifically, *na i vakarau vakavanua* (culture), define life as it is lived on a day-to-day basis’ (2006, p. 72). The *vanua* can be translated as ‘a people, their chief, their defined territory, their waterways or fishing grounds, their environment, their spirituality, their history, their epistemology and culture’ (Nabobo-Baba, 2006, p. 155). It is of physical, social and spiritual significance, encompassing physical area, social systems and cultural values; it provides a source of *mana* or power and identity, and it gives a sense of belonging. Following the obligations of the *Vanua* provides a means to achieve harmony,

⁴ *iTaukei* Land Trust Board (2016). TLTB is a government body established to protect and manage *iTaukei* land ownership. www.tltb.com.fj.

⁵ Selection of case study sites is detailed in Chapter Four.

⁶ A note on orthography: ‘Indigenous’ is capitalised throughout the thesis, following style guides which increasingly capitalise Indigenous along with Native, First Nations and Aboriginal as a sign of respect (Buhr, 2012). *Vanua* used as a concept or referring to the land is italicised and where it is used as a generic reference to a tribe it is italicised and capitalised. Other Fijian words are italicised, except for where they form part of a name or title, e.g. *iTaukei* Land Trust Board, *Vanua* Research Framework. Where part of a quotation, the original formatting is retained.

solidarity and prosperity for the people of the *vanua* (Ravuvu, 1988, p. 6). The *vanua* also describes belief systems:

Culturally, the word vanua also embodies the values and beliefs which people of a particular locality have in common. It includes their philosophy of living, and their beliefs about life in this world and in the supernatural world. An appreciation, therefore, of the cultural permits insights into people's actions...(Ravuvu, 1987, pp. 14-15).

In the context of development, Nabobo-Baba stresses the importance of hearing 'the silenced voices of once colonized peoples so that we may discover new perspectives on knowledge'. In response to Spivak's question, Can the subaltern speak? she suggests that the appropriate response is: 'Has "the [dominant] other" the capacity to hear their voices and decipher their silences?' (2006, p. 125). Nabobo-Baba has outlined a cultural taxonomy of silence: listening and hearing are critical to understanding (2006, p. 95), emphasising that development must identify and respect cultural aspirations. Concerns about a dominant other are also highlighted in Ravuvu's description of the changes that 'development' has wrought on Fiji, as a postcolonial nation:

'Development', which started with pacification and education by the missionaries, has loosened the bonds of total moral commitment and social responsibility, producing new degrees of individualism and dependence. It has created new social, economic and political structures and institutions which have either superseded or superimposed themselves on those already existing. This created a situation in which concepts of "uncivilised", "primitive", "colonised", "underdeveloped", "non-industrialised" or "partially commercial" which have been attached to whatever aspects of life do not comply or compare favourably with these newly introduced western systems. The people have been reminded often that they are poor, oppressed and underdeveloped (Ravuvu, 1988, p. 22).

It is clear therefore that identifying the particular understandings of wellbeing and aspirations for development at once requires an appreciation of Fijian 'ways of knowing' (Nabobo-Baba, 2006, p. 60) and of the legacy of (neo)colonialism which continues to impact on Fijian society.

5 Aims, Objectives and Research Questions

Research Aims

The research has dual aims:

1. To investigate community perspectives of corporate community development initiatives in the tourism sector in Fiji and
2. To assess the capacity of these initiatives to bring about positive, locally meaningful change for the community

These aims will be examined through a series of three research objectives and five research questions.

Research Objectives and Questions

Objective 1: To identify community priorities for development in two case study locations

- What does positive locally meaningful change mean to women and men living in two host communities in Fiji?

Objective 2: To explore how CCD initiatives enable or limit community priorities in these locations.

- How are CCD initiatives identified, developed and implemented in each location?
- How does CCD contribute, or is perceived to contribute, to identified community priorities?

Objective 3: To evaluate the potential contribution of CCD to community development

- What are the implications of CCD in tourism in Fiji for the future of private sector driven development and its potential to contribute to development outcomes?
- What are the implications of CCD for the future of private sector driven development more broadly and its potential to contribute to development outcomes?

6 Chapter Outline

Chapter One has introduced the scope and purpose of the study and has outlined key concepts including Corporate Community Development and the *vanua*. It has indicated a research need for community perspectives of private sector-led development in the context of the new global development agenda as the Sustainable Development Goals come to the fore. It has shown how the selection of case studies of Pacific tourism communities will provide a regionally-relevant analysis and inform wider debate on the private sector and community development.

Chapter Two begins by reviewing the role of the private sector in development, exploring debates around business, poverty and CSR. It examines how current CCD practices benefit communities in the Global South and specifically in the South Pacific and in the tourism industry. A critique of the private sector as a development agent is offered, presenting a review of the limiting and enabling factors that exist in connection with private sector-led development.

Chapter Three builds a case for using community perspectives as a starting point to analyse CCD. It shows how community views are critical to understanding the development potential of CCD by analysing issues of community engagement, agency and inclusion and exclusion within the overarching global system. This chapter then constructs a Development First framework by adapting Burns' (1999, 2004) tourism planning model. This will later be used to analyse research findings.

Chapter Four presents the study methodology. Two approaches are adopted: the Vanua Research Framework (Nabobo-Baba, 2008) and an Actor-oriented approach (Long, 2001). Both are outlined here and the fieldwork process described, from planning and entry to the field, to data collection, departure and analysis, and then returning to the field. It also addresses issues in cross-cultural fieldwork and deals with representation, ethics and protocols.

Chapter Five situates the study in Fiji. In establishing the study context, place, culture and capital are all important. This chapter provides details on the socio-economic, political, historical and geographical background necessary to make sense of the findings, including an analysis of Fiji's interaction with international capital. It

explains in more detail the cultural significance of the *vanua* in order to begin to contextualise local understandings of development and wellbeing. It is also in this chapter that the case study locations are introduced.

Chapter Six explores community priorities for development. Based on the centrality of the *vanua* to community perspectives of meaningful development, it considers what positive, locally-meaningful change means to the communities in the study. The Vanua Research Framework and its four important knowledge categories are used to structure the discussion.

Chapter Seven moves on to the CCD initiatives themselves. Adopting an actor-oriented approach, this chapter analyses the development interfaces between corporates and communities to observe the effects of CCD. Voluntary CSR initiatives in the areas of education and health, and core employment and procurement practices are examined. The analysis focuses particularly on the negotiations and interactions that occur as CCD initiatives are developed and implemented in order to understand how the development space is constituted and what affects development outcomes.

Chapter Eight returns to the Development First framework presented in Chapter Four. It analyses findings from both Chapter Six and Chapter Seven using the questions developed within the framework to interrogate the development potential of CCD initiatives.

Chapter Nine offers some conclusions and reflections based on this analysis, both for CCD in tourism in Fiji and the implications for private sector-led development more broadly as we move into the era of the 2030 Agenda.

Chapter Two

Corporate Community Development in Tourism

*The road we are on will not lead us to the road we aspire to*⁷

1 The role of the private sector in development

Current development efforts of states, international donors and NGOs are recognised to be insufficient to tackle global challenges, with Official Development Assistance (ODA) still falling far short of the UN's 0.7 per cent target.⁸ In this context, a greater role has been envisaged for the private sector in eliminating poverty and addressing development needs. Whilst progress was made towards achieving many of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), the UN emphasises that the fulfilment of their successors, the Sustainable Development Goals, is premised on establishing a 'global partnership for sustainable development', which anticipates a key role for the private sector (United Nations, 2015). Following the global financial crisis of 2008, private sector accountability gained a growing profile, evidenced by public demand for greater responsibility from business and expectations for ethical practice.⁹ The ability of business to fill the development gap may seem like a panacea for the wicked problems (Rittel & Webber, 1973) of poverty and poor governance; authors such as Porter and Kramer would certainly advocate that this presents a win-win scenario where business and communities work together to create 'shared value' (2011). However, there has been little consideration of what this means in practice for the

⁷ Kabini Sanga, Pacific Futures Symposium, Natural Resource Security in the Pacific, Massey University 27 April, 2016.

⁸ 0.7 per cent of gross national income is a UN target for development assistance from DAC (development assistance committee) countries; data from 2015 shows DAC country assistance remains at 0.3 per cent. (OECD, 2016).

⁹ See for example Oxfam's 'Behind the Brands' campaign <http://www.behindthebrands.org/> and media articles such as 'Why Companies Can No Longer Afford to Ignore Their Social Responsibilities' Time, 28 May 2012. <http://business.time.com/2012/05/28/why-companies-can-no-longer-afford-to-ignore-their-social-responsibilities/>

development of the countries and localities concerned and how positive locally meaningful change can be brought about through this model.

Private sector-led development can occur through a range of initiatives including private foundations, social and micro enterprises, social investment, individual philanthropic donations and Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) programmes (Boyle & Boguslaw, 2007; Sagebien & Whellams, 2010; Tracey, Phillips, & Haugh, 2005); in large hotels, the mechanism of CSR is largely used to distribute funds, and activities evidenced through company CSR reports. There is a growing body of literature exploring the nature of CSR from a business perspective (for examples in tourism see Bohdanowicz & Zientara, 2009; Dodds & Joppe, 2005; Henderson, 2007; Inoue & Lee, 2011; Kang, Lee, & Huh, 2010; Levy & Hawkins, 2009; Lynn, 2009; Njite, Hancer, & Slevitch, 2011; Van der Merwe & Wocke, 2007), but there is limited discussion about how such practices might support longer-term sustainable, inclusive development, as envisaged by the UN and the SDGs. If the private sector is to act as a development agent by engaging in what we can term 'Corporate Community Development' (Banks, Kuir-Ayius, Kombako, & Sagir, 2013; Banks et al., 2016) then there is a clear need to assess the impact of such initiatives. A call has been made for attention to development imperatives within CSR (e.g. Boyle & Boguslaw, 2007; Sagebien & Whellams, 2010), but other voices contend that business is incapable of responding to the demands of development (Frynas, 2005; Utting, 2007). There are few examples of where community perspectives of CSR have been taken into account which would further inform this debate, but findings from Sub-Saharan Africa (e.g. Akpan, 2008; Idemudia, 2009) demonstrate that this is key in evaluating the potential for CSR to respond to development needs.

This chapter begins by exploring how current research on CSR with respect to development, tourism and the Pacific can advance our understanding of the role of the private sector in development (see Hughes & Scheyvens, 2015). It goes on to provide examples of how the tourism sector can contribute to community wellbeing in practice and discusses the use of CCD as a development strategy (see Hughes & Scheyvens, 2015; Scheyvens & Hughes, 2015). It concludes by outlining the need for a community-level analysis of development initiatives.

CSR and development: business, poverty and social change

A number of authors draw attention to the uncomfortable relationship business has with poverty and its lack of engagement with social priorities and a poverty agenda (e.g. Fox, 2004; Frynas, 2008; Prieto-Carrón, Lund-Thomsen, Chan, Muro, & Bhushan, 2006): after all, the purpose of business is to create profit and be responsive to shareholders rather than to fulfil a development role. Where these apparently mutually exclusive functions coincide is through CSR. This creates agendas simultaneously inhabited by both profit and poverty, raising interesting questions around the purpose of business, how poverty alleviation can best be supported, whether or not this nexus can generate a force for good and whether CSR strategies effectively disrupt or in fact perpetuate the status quo.

Current debates focus on the disjuncture between the perceived need for private sector participation in poverty alleviation agendas on the one hand, and the structural limitations to the ability of business to prioritise community wellbeing on the other. The extremes of the debate are occupied on the one side by 'proponents of CSR as an agent of development', and on the other by critics who claim that business '*does not* and *cannot* lead to sustainable development' (Sagebien & Whellams, 2010, p. 489 & 484, emphasis in original) .

The misplaced faith in CSR to deliver development is evident from a glance at CSR theories. Boyle and Boguslaw point out that these largely ignore poverty: 'poor people or impoverished communities are not typically named as stakeholders in analyses of corporate decisions, contributing to the invisibility of the poor' (2007, p. 108). Prieto-Carrón et al. pinpoint the lack of conceptualisation of development terminology within CSR, noting the absence of definitions for either poverty or development in current literature (2006, p. 980). Certainly, of the 37 definitions listed by Dahlsrud (Dahlsrud, 2008), there is no mention of poverty and only one reference to sustainable development. Instead, definitions encompass a much more elusive commitment to social good or community concerns. Poverty reduction initiatives do not feature in CSR objectives (Jenkins, 2005, p. 539) and this is apparent in conventional practice of CSR, where poverty reduction is implied but not explicit. For example, employment opportunities, scholarships and employee volunteer programmes all have the capacity to reduce poverty levels even though this is not their

primary intention (Boyle & Boguslaw, 2007, p. 106). In fact, analysis of CSR activities often reveals a conservative agenda, reliant on satisfying the business case for CSR (Banks et al., 2013, p. 4; Hamann, 2006, p. 179).

The narrow focus of current responses to poverty reduction interprets poverty as primarily income-based: this does not address asset poverty or tackle the structures that cause poverty (Boyle & Boguslaw, 2007, pp. 113-114). The 'failure to address the more structural determinants of underdevelopment' referred to by Sagebien and Whellams (2010, p. 485) parallels these concerns and can be interpreted as a way of perpetuating the business agenda, protecting and maintaining the status quo and prioritising shareholder interests (Banerjee, 2008). Frynas describes this as a focus on micro-level change, which will always restrict the ability of CSR to address macro-level governance issues (2005, p. 597); this along with other structural issues in low-income countries continue to limit the capacity of CSR (Prieto-Carrón et al., 2006, p. 983). Furthermore, conservative, and seemingly innocuous, activities run the risk of counteracting, marginalising or obscuring alternative initiatives (Bendell, 2005). Sagebien and Whellams argue for the necessity to locate debates in the broader context of the neoliberal approach to development of which CSR is a part, and which has gained traction in recent decades. Within the prevailing capitalist framework, CSR is seen as 'incapable of delivering sustained comprehensive and equitable development' (Sagebien & Whellams, 2010, p. 506), Frynas also concluding that there are 'fundamental problems about the capacity of private firms to deliver development' (2005, p. 597). Rajak contends that CSR in fact plays a role in *sustaining* corporate capitalism: 'not because it provides corporations with ethics, but because it provides them with a moral mechanism through which their authority is extended over the social order' (Rajak, 2010, p. 13).

These arguments signal an underlying incompatibility between business and development agendas; nonetheless there are important touch points where partnerships may be forged. Sagebien and Whellams focus on the leverage that can be gained through interactions between business and other players within the system (2010, p. 506). The necessity for a coordinated approach is echoed by other contributors to the literature: Boyle and Boguslaw outline a four-step approach for businesses, focusing on creating opportunities, sustainable, long-term solutions, collaboration with public and non-profit sectors, and advocacy for anti-poverty

policies (2007, p. 106). Prieto-Carrón et al. also highlight the ‘potential for companies to do good work by entering into new partnerships with NGOs’ (2006, p. 981). This solution, in a variety of forms, is a recurring theme and will be returned to later.

An agenda for future research is also signposted. The need is identified for greater evidence-based assessment of the impacts of CSR (Sagebien & Whellams, 2010, p. 507), the accountability of activities to beneficiaries (Bendell, 2005, p. 364), the actual and potential contribution they can make to development (Frynas, 2005, p. 582) and the specific impact on poverty reduction, including both intended and unintended outcomes (Prieto-Carrón et al., 2006, p. 981). Prieto-Carrón et al. specifically distinguish between assessing ‘compliance’ and ‘impact’ and go on to note that ‘we lack methodologies that would allow us to compare in a more quantitative way the impact of the CSR initiatives within a given industry’ (2006, p. 982). Addressing the gap in our understanding of the impacts and limitations of CSR in development could allow more appropriate implementation and management of initiatives, potentially leading to enhanced outcomes. More importantly, it could provide an indication of the suitability, or otherwise, of the private sector as a vehicle for community development as the 2030 Agenda is rolled out.

CSR and Tourism: seeking the ‘social’ in CSR

Attention to CSR in tourism in general has been noted to be lacking in comparison to other industries (Coles et al., 2013; Dodds & Joppe, 2009) and literature on CSR in tourism in low-income countries is yet more limited. In their review of literature on CSR in tourism management, Coles et al. (2013) identify examples from China, Malaysia and the Caribbean but otherwise note that the focus of the majority of research has been either on northern or western countries and in total represents a ‘fragmented body of knowledge’ (p. 129). They utilise Lindgreen and Swaen’s (2010) analysis of five themes in CSR to classify existing work in the field. These are: implementation of initiatives, the business case for CSR, measurement, communications, and stakeholder engagement. This categorisation provides a convenient framework to identify attention to the potential significance of actions for the community and the levels of consideration of community engagement across all five domains. The following paragraphs draw both from Coles’ review and from other sources. Firstly, with regard to *implementation*, evidence of ‘selective sustainability’

(p. 131) is identified where a focus on environmental initiatives predominates. This skewed focus is also echoed by others (see for example Ashley & Roe, 2002; Dodds & Joppe, 2009) and can be viewed as consistent with global concerns with climate change. It is also reflected in reporting and measurement indices where environmental initiatives lend themselves more readily to statistical data analysis (Font, Walmsley, Cogotti, McCombes, & Häusler, 2012). Further, a number of accreditation schemes have environmental actions as their foundation, for example Agenda 21 and Green Globe. Social and economic domains are relatively neglected. Kalisch (2002) points out that where social and economic issues are addressed by businesses, they tend to have a primary focus on charity. There is little mention of human rights or distribution of benefits for example (p. 25). Coles et al. also find that this selective focus applies to the reach of initiatives: where responsibility might be expected to extend to the destination and supply chains as well as the firm itself, a lack of capacity and infrastructure impede this for many companies, leading to a limited focus on simpler gains (2013, p. 130). This inevitably entails greater focus on the firm and less on the destination communities.

In terms of the *business case*, Coles et al. (2013) demonstrate that studies on the impact of CSR on company performance show mixed results. Despite this, literature on the benefits of CSR in the tourism sector still revolves almost entirely around the advantages to business. This is consistent with Margolis and Walsh's findings that empirical CSR research in general demonstrates evidence of the financial impact of CSR on companies, but 'little is known about any other consequences of corporate social initiatives' (2003, p. 289). Blowfield terms these consequences the 'instrumental benefits of ethical, environmental and social criteria for the company' (2007, p. 687). A range of studies show clear evidence of instrumental benefits motivating engagement in CSR practices; in the hotel sector this includes increasing competitive advantage (Inoue & Lee, 2011), establishing a social licence to operate (Williams, Gill, & Ponsford, 2007), building reputation and avoiding the imposition of external regulation (Kalisch, 2002), attracting and retaining employees and customers (Ashley & Haysom, 2006), mitigating risk to the business, and access to branding, marketing and finance options (Ashley, De Brine, Lehr, & Wilde, 2007). Other motivating factors which encourage hotels and tour operators to embed CSR in business practices include tourist demand for ethical practices (de Grosbois, 2012; Dodds & Joppe, 2005) and the imperative to protect the local environment and

culture as part of the tourism 'product' (Kalisch, 2002). An increasing number of awards, accreditation systems and reporting frameworks reward progress towards company goals (Dodds & Joppe, 2005). Consideration of the social and economic value of CSR to host destinations, however, remains largely absent.

The next two strands are identified by Coles as receiving minimal attention in comparison to the state of analysis for other sectors. A wide range of indices and metrics for *measurement* are in use, making comparison difficult, along with a lack of reported data overall. Although the development of international codes of practice (such as the Global Reporting Initiative) may incentivise measurement, Coles et al. point out that selection and communication of initiatives remain at the firm's discretion (2013, p. 134). Although there is increased reporting of CSR indices, this is used as a means of enhancing image (Holcomb, Upchurch, & Okumus, 2007, p. 472) and while environmental performance is often quantified, this does not apply to community wellbeing initiatives (de Grosbois, 2012). It is unlikely then that this can be expected to positively influence community engagement.

Communications would be anticipated to be a high priority, given the concern of tourism with image but little analytical discussion is in evidence (Coles et al., 2013, p. 134). Where reference is made to communications, it is within the context of public relations rather than community engagement. Worth highlights numerous cases of 'greenwashing' in corporate communications of CSR in general, arguing that 'CR is primarily a strategy to divert attention away from the negative social and environmental impacts of their activities, and to continue operating without being forced by governments to change their core business practices' (2007). In their study of the CSR practices of global hotel chains, Font et al. discover that in the absence of external audits, hotels frequently engage in both greenwashing and greenhushing (2012, p. 1552). Mowforth and Munt draw attention to the award of logos (such as Green Globe) for commitment to the scheme, rather than for compliance (2009, p. 203) and suggest that in many instances CSR 'serves as good publicity but makes little effective difference' (p. 223). Of significance for community outcomes, there is an absence overall of company reporting of CSR performance, its implementation, impact or quality (de Grosbois, 2012; Esrock & Leichty, 1998; Holcomb et al., 2007).

The final category, *stakeholder engagement* holds the greatest promise for identifying the potential for community benefit. The main focus of current literature is on social relations between businesses and stakeholders but Coles et al. contend that this lacks a nuanced view (p. 134). There is little recognition, for example, of differences related to the geographical locations of tourism headquarters compared to host destinations and how this might impact on stakeholder expectations and company operations. 'Stakeholders', defined by Dahlsrud as 'employees, suppliers, customers and communities' (2008, p. 4) include both internal and external parties and Coles et al. suggest that discussions to date tend to simplify perspectives, with little room for stakeholder voices. Whilst 'inclusive business models' can be successful in engaging community stakeholders (Ashley et al., 2007) other research underscores the barriers to engagement with the poorest of the poor in tourism (Tosun, 2000; Zhao & Ritchie, 2007) and advocates for an integrated, multi-institutional approach to CSR (Koutra, 2013). Examples of several discrete studies focusing on engagement with destination stakeholders are used to illustrate the 'protracted process of negotiation and appraisal for all parties' (Coles et al., 2013, p. 134), but there is little discussion of the impact of such activities. This remains a clear gap. At the same time, the importance of community engagement is now recognised by tourism organisations such as Green Hotelier and NGOs such as Tourism Concern (Kalisch, 2002). Hotel CSR reports are also starting to evidence consultation and partnership with community organisations.¹⁰ This indicates a rising awareness of the need to engage community stakeholders in the process, however the extent and scope of engagement, and therefore the implications of CSR for communities, is unclear.

CSR and the Pacific

The Pacific constitutes a notable gap in the study of CSR (Bradly, 2015, p. 245). Some research exists on CSR in other sectors, primarily mining, yet consideration of CSR in tourism, one of the main drivers of economic growth in the region (Harrison & Prasad, 2013, p. 741) and the principal service sector industry (Narayan, Narayan,

¹⁰ Rezidor and Intercontinental Hotels Group, for example, name local communities as key stakeholders in their 2014 annual CSR reports. http://media.corporate-ir.net/media_files/IROL/20/205430/Reports/Rezidor_RB%20Report%202014_Final.pdf; http://www.ihgplc.com/files/pdf/2014_cr_report.pdf;

Prasad, & Prasad, 2010), appears only in a small number of studies outlined below. It should be noted firstly, however, that CSR is an essentially western concept. This section begins by highlighting cultural bias in CSR, before examining existing studies of CSR in the Pacific, and specifically in tourism.

CSR in non-western contexts

The universal applicability of CSR has been questioned by a number of authors (for example Bendell, 2005; Blowfield & Frynas, 2005; Fox, 2004; Idemudia, 2011; Prieto-Carrón et al., 2006). This has led to a call for more nuanced analyses of CSR, with respect to Southern stakeholders in particular (Blowfield & Frynas, 2005; Fox, 2004). Explorations of cultural bias in CSR in other geographical contexts suggest that it is not a one-size-fits-all model (for example Visser (2005) and Kayuni (2012) on African humanism (Ubuntu) and CSR in Africa, Lund-Thomsen (2004) on Pakistan, Jatana and Crowther (2007) on India and See (2009) on China). In relation to tourism, Chan Yu et al. (2012) show the impact of cultural traditions on the decisions of managers to engage in CSR. Qualitative interviews with 17 hotel managers revealed the strong influence of traditional Confucian values including respect, honesty, humility, sincerity, helpfulness, modesty and responsibility for society (p. 4). Although the CSR activities themselves may be similar to those practised in the West, Chan Yu concludes that Chinese CSR practices 'are justified through a different cultural paradigm' (p. 8) and highlights the need to 'further explore CSR from different cultural perspectives'. Huimi et al (2011) surveyed 257 senior managers in mainland Chinese hotels and similarly found that engagement with CSR practices was affected by Chinese ethical traditions including empathy, dignity and an 'orientation toward others' (p. 884). It follows that in the Pacific, the form CSR takes, and its potential impact, will be shaped by the cultural context.

Given the principally western focus of CSR, it is important to mention that there will be instances of responsible practice which are not termed CSR (Coles et al., 2013, p. 130); furthermore there is also a larger volume of literature exploring the impact of tourism more broadly on communities in a development context (e.g. Din, 1996; Scheyvens, 2002; Simpson, 2007; Tosun, 2006), including community perceptions of the impact of tourism (King, Pizam, & Milman, 1993; Sharpley, 2014) and the contribution of tourism to wellbeing (Naidoo & Sharpley, 2016). The scope of this

study is to look in particular at the activities of international companies that have an intentional development impact. The next sections look at examples of these in the literature on the South Pacific.

CSR research in the Pacific

The main body of work addressing CSR in the Pacific focuses on the mining sector in Papua New Guinea (PNG). CSR has attained a high profile in PNG over the last few decades, largely due to the closure of the Bougainville copper mine in the 1980s and the lawsuit brought against Ok Tedi mine in the 1990s. Both of these events are said to have catalysed greater responsiveness to CSR on the part of the multinational mining companies (MNNCs) in PNG (Banks, 2006b; Banks et al., 2013; Filer & Imbun, 2004; Imbun, 2007). A brief look at some of the precursors and consequences of the rise in CSR in the mining sector locates some of the issues of importance to companies and communities in the Pacific.

Contributory factors to the Panguna mine closure (Bougainville) were identified as 'compensation and benefit-sharing issues, land availability, and environmental impacts (Mining Minerals & Sustainable Development Project, 2002, p. 192), whilst the Ok Tedi litigation was filed on the basis of environmental and social damage to communities downriver from the mine (Filer & Imbun, 2004, p. 23). Imbun (2007) emphasises that mining companies subsequently 'embraced CSR' as a means of business success and risk management and cautions that the Bougainville revolt 'has sounded a bleak warning to existing and other prospective mine developers to embrace local communities as an integral part of project management as necessary to avoid the potentially disruptive conflicts' (p. 187). For MNNCs then, this has become an issue of survival (Imbun, 2007, p. 190). As a result, it is now common for mines to have a Community Relations or Community Affairs section that is integral to operations, along with the production of annual Corporate Sustainability Reports and an appointed Sustainability Manager (Banks, 2006b, p. 268; Banks et al., 2013, pp. 7-8).

While the imperative of risk management for mining differs in some respects from that of the tourism sector, other aspects of the business case for responsibility have obvious parallels to the operation of tourism companies in the region. These include

lower labour costs, lower health costs, lower production costs (associated with cleaner production), access to loans and insurance, enhancing profile, reputation and establishing market advantage and a social licence to operate (Mining Minerals & Sustainable Development Project, 2002, pp. 115-117).

In turn, communities are able to exert pressure on MMNCs to provide benefits as a form of compensation for the impacts of the mine, in part due to the ever-present threat of community discontent, but also from a position of strength as landowners. As 97 per cent of land in PNG is communally owned, land is leased to MMNCs in a similar process to that in Fiji under the iTaukei Land Trust Board. In PNG however, the negotiations take place within the apparatus of the Development Forum: this is a government-instituted model which allows for participatory decision-making between government, company and community representatives prior to mine contracts being developed. As a participatory governance strategy, it has been heralded as a 'ground-breaking measure', in theory if not always in practice (Filer & Imbun, 2004, p. 27).

As in Fiji, such negotiated agreements within development contracts can include commitments to preferential employment and training. In addition to this, direct aid such as donations and disaster-relief are also common. Unlike Fiji however, community expectations regularly extend to infrastructural projects such as roads, schools, bridges and health centres (Imbun, 2007, p. 178). Further incentives for companies arise from government tax credit schemes for company-funded community projects. This allows companies to use existing capacities to respond to community demands for infrastructure, and then 'bill the Government for their achievement' (Filer & Imbun, 2004, p. 12). The importance of such projects are attested to in Imbun's study of communities' attitudes, perceptions and demands of CSR at two PNG mines. Findings show that the highest value is attached to projects relating to health, education and transport infrastructure along with income-earning activities, indicative of the lack of government provision in these areas. Other assistance such as donations to church activities, school fees and agricultural support was regarded as less important and referred to as 'on the fringe of activities for CSR' (2007, pp. 182-183). This provides a strong indication of the level of reliance on MMNCs where government support is absent or has retreated.

Although 'local development is not the sole or even primary driver' for CSR (Banks et al., 2013, p. 12), global CSR imperatives have further bolstered the significance of this approach for mining companies. Increasing emphasis on social and environmental sustainability at a global level impacts at a local level on mine operations, the type of CSR activities, and company perceptions of the limits of corporate responsibility for sustainability (Banks, 2006b). This shift in the relationships between companies and MNMCs is categorised as a move from a purely risk management approach to more systematic engagement with communities. Banks suggests that this not only impacts on CSR initiatives, but has influenced company practices, structures and discourse around sustainability and responsibility more broadly (pp. 270-271). This is also an emerging issue within the tourism sector where global discourses around sustainable tourism are impacting on shifting approaches and practices at community level.

Aside from mining there have been few studies of CSR in the Pacific, but those available underline the imperative for CSR to be responsive to local contexts. In their study of the international banking sector in Fiji for example, Sharma and Brimble propose that the CSR strategies employed are universal rather than localised, and that approaches are categorised by the 'reflexivity and dialog' (2012, p. 6) which would allow them to develop a locally appropriate framework (p. 8). Finding existing CSR strategies to be deficient and the positions of the banks not favourable towards engaging with social objectives, they propose state regulation and monitoring of banking behaviour as a viable alternative to ensure greater benefits accrue to Fijians.

Hotels and community development in the Pacific

A small number of studies of CSR in tourism in the Pacific offer important insights with respect to community development and draw attention to several themes of specific relevance to the Pacific: the cultural context and local drivers, the significance of individual and organisational relationships, the impact of communal land tenure arrangements, and the function of large multinational companies. These studies include community investment practices of hotels across Fiji (Bradly, 2015), a social and cultural audit of an upscale resort (Harrison, 2004), and an analysis of CSR's contribution to development with reference to the Pacific (Scheyvens, 2011). There is also mention of the economic impact of CSR in Fiji (Harrison & Prasad, 2013). In addition, other studies refer to activities which can be termed CCD. These include

Schyevens and Russell's work on small and large tourism corporations and poverty reduction in Fiji (2009, 2010, 2012a), and studies considering the impact of lease agreements on tourism communities, such as Movono's tale of two villages (Movono, 2012; Movono, Pratt, & Harrison, 2015), Burns' analysis of tourism on Beqa Island (Burns, 2003) and Sofield's extended discussion of the impact of Mana Island resort on communities (Sofield, 2003).

Bradly's qualitative study of the community investment practices of 42 tourism companies in Fiji, comprising over half of all rooms available in the country, provides an overview of CSR drivers in the region and underlines the critical importance of communities to the tourism sector, as well as the significance of tourism for communities. Support from businesses for communities was found to be a regular activity comprising philanthropic donations, volunteering, provision of services and direct funding (2015, p. 246). The study revealed differences in community-corporation relationships for local companies or multi-nationals: whilst kinship obligations characterised the relationships between local firms and the community, foreign-owned companies were more likely to have a formalised process for engagement in place and clear policies and criteria for funding community needs (p. 247). Notably, for both foreign and local companies, CSR initiatives were predominantly reliant on the personal commitment of managers (p. 248). The findings show a strong commitment and sense of responsibility to local communities; however, this is clearly subject to a combination of individual motivations and external impetus, whether this stems from cultural expectations or from management policy. Either way, the incentive to support local villages was found to be stronger for firms on *iTaukei* land. Bradly goes on to argue that company commitment to Indigenous communities is particularly important as the communities themselves form part of the tourism attraction. In the Fijian context, customary traditions such as *kerekere*¹¹ also play a part in the community's expectations of support (p. 250).

Of significance for corporate-community interactions, relationships were typified by interdependence and reciprocity: CSR initiatives were found to 'form the core of a

¹¹ Borrowing practised by Fijians. See Glossary

social contract that exists between a firm and its local community' (p. 251). The majority of managers surveyed identified both tangible and intangible benefits of building strong relationships with the community, most importantly conferring long-term sustainability to the company:

[F]irms which more generously contributed to village development enjoyed higher levels of support and cooperation from these villages. Although village members were remunerated for the goods or services they provided to the firm, most respondents [managers] believed that voluntary support of projects for the whole village was necessary because of their firm's economic and cultural dependence on these communities (p. 252).

Whilst the community provides the company with significant benefits (e.g. in terms of labour, services and legitimacy), social and economic expectations of the company can also be high, in some cases affecting business viability for small firms. Brady suggests that this interdependent relationship is 'perhaps the most overlooked driver of CSR initiatives in developing countries' (p. 251). It is evident that the relationships developed between companies and communities constitute a basis for the on-going operationalisation of CSR. In turn, this implies that an analysis of community-business engagement is more complex than a simple donor-recipient relationship and requires a more nuanced interpretation of community-level interactions.

Harrison (2004) provides an analysis of an in-depth study of the social and cultural impact of CSR on one community in the locality of a Fijian resort, with their findings echoing the value of the relationships established. The resort, an exclusive boutique establishment on Turtle Island, supported local schools and provided medical services, including the running and funding of health clinics for Fijians (p. 11). Categories covered spanned labour issues, procurement of food and supplies, social interaction and financial contribution to local villages (p. 13) and encompassed perceptions of staff, guests and local communities. Findings demonstrated a positive social impact on nearby villages, but identified areas for improvement, suggesting that the resort 'brought genuine and tangible benefits to local communities, but required a much higher degree of community involvement and liaison' (p. 19). A strong recommendation of their final analysis was for the resort to develop a partnership with local communities 'based on a more equal and listening relationship' which would allow better identification of local needs (p. 20). Environmental audits are relatively commonplace for hotels and other branches of tourism, for example

airlines, (Mowforth & Munt, 2009, p. 199) and in fact had also been previously carried out for the Turtle Island resort, but audits of social and cultural activities are less frequent. For this reason, this study provides a useful analysis of the type and scope of analysis needed to assess social impact. If such social and cultural audits were to become as commonplace as environmental audits, this may provide a much more effective benchmark of good practice for hotels and potentially lead to greater benefits for local communities. Harrison suggests that this approach could equally be applied to larger, international hotel chains. To my knowledge such an audit has not yet been carried out elsewhere in the South Pacific.

Scheyvens' study of tourism and poverty includes examination of the direct efforts of hotels to contribute to poverty alleviation and community wellbeing beyond CSR (2011, pp. 110-144). Examples are drawn from across the globe, but include a number of relevant examples from the Pacific which focus on the particular situation of landowning communities and provide important context around the provision of obligatory lease-stipulated benefits to communities. Aside from lease payments, obligations in land leases signed by companies can include preferential employment or training opportunities for local residents for example. As they are not voluntary on the part of the company, they cannot be said to constitute CSR; however they do represent examples of CCD. Many negotiated activities have the potential to contribute to community development, for example use of lease money to improve infrastructure and provide scholarships, or fees to village development committees used to develop community facilities (Scheyvens, 2011, p. 129). This has particular relevance for the Pacific where the proportion of land under communal ownership is typically high, for example 81 per cent in Samoa, 97 per cent in Papua New Guinea and 98 per cent in Vanuatu; in Fiji 87 per cent is under communal ownership.¹² The impact of land-tenure arrangements on businesses and communities is an area of contention, where historically this has been assumed to limit business opportunities and impede development (e.g. Helen Hughes, 2004). Conversely, Scheyvens and Russell have argued that communal land tenure is not incompatible with community development and in fact offers the potential for empowerment and improving

¹² iTaukei Land Trust Board (2016). <http://www.tltb.com.fj/>

livelihoods (2012b, p. 20). This is consistent with Bradley's findings that in practice accommodation providers on leased land in Fiji were those who exceeded lease obligations in terms of providing for local communities (2015, p. 251). In fact, land tenure requirements were seen to establish the foundations for an on-going relationship between the company and the community.

Scheyvens also demonstrates that beyond these direct economic transfers, CSR creates additional economic, social and cultural benefits. This can include use of local skills and services through contracting local craftspeople and musicians to entertain guests, fees earned from village tours, post-disaster assistance and other ad hoc support from both the hotel and hotel guests (pp. 128-9). The economic benefits of CSR are reiterated by Harrison and Prasad (2013), who note that the significance of this contribution should not be underestimated. They cite a claim that, over the last decade, the Fiji Hotel and Tourism Association had raised Fijian FJ\$5 million for the Coral Coast community (p. 752).¹³ Examples of the CSR practices of four major Fijian resorts which are part of this community demonstrate a clear focus on health and education, which includes donations with potential for long-term impact such as an ambulance, generator and laptops for the regional hospital and health centre (p. 753).¹⁴ Educational assistance in the form of provision of scholarships or facilities is made available from kindergarten level through to higher education. Other forms of indirect economic support provide examples of the varied activities in place, including tree-planting and clean-up campaigns, and donations to children's charities, sports teams and local churches (pp. 753-754). Aside from direct financial assistance, practices such as localisation policies can have a significant impact on local incomes; Accor is provided as an example where its employment policy has resulted in only three expatriates in management positions across its four hotels in Fiji (p. 751). The authors conclude that the contribution of tourism to development must take a broader view than its influence on GDP (p. 752). It could also be added that private sector initiated development is clearly broader than the sum of its CSR

¹³ The exchange rate was NZ\$1 = FJ\$1.5 as at 9 July 2016.

¹⁴ Further details of the Coral Coast Health and Safety Fund were shared by participants in my study, see Chapter Seven.

initiatives, in turn signalling a need for attention to the *development-oriented practices* of the sector.

The value of a partnership approach to CCD can be seen in the different impacts of the development activities of large and small resorts on communities in Fiji (Scheyvens & Russell, 2010, 2012a). A positive impact on communities was found to stem from good labour conditions, local procurement through backward linkages and business mentoring. Findings indicated that small or medium sized resorts are more able to have a positive impact on local communities than large resorts whose decision-making can be limited by 'chain standards' (2010, p.42); however, large resorts have more resources at their disposal to make a difference (2010, p.58). This includes 'more jobs, higher amounts of lease monies and bigger donations to community and environmental causes' (2010, p. 50). The authors conclude that 'much could be achieved if resorts switched from a charitable to a partnership model of working with local communities' (2010, p. 91), emphasising that this must be underpinned by a supportive government tourism strategy.

Further studies examining the engagement of landowners with tourism corporations (Burns, 2003; Movono, 2012; Sofield, 2003) show the development impact that can result for communities. Tourism provides communities with income to meet household needs and *Vanua* obligations to church and village, but benefits are also unequally shared (Burns, 2003 p. 89), and there is often little opportunity to advance careers (Movono, 2012, p. 89) or to take part in decision-making (Burns, 2003, p. 91). Movono found that access to preferential employment impacted negatively on education, with those living in a village with guaranteed access to work less likely to complete school. Benefits were more readily identifiable where the community held some control. Sofield's example of Mana Island illustrated that with part of the land on the island remaining under community ownership, they were able to create economic opportunities independent of resort employment, for example fishing tours, a backpacker resort, boat hire and a craft shop. Sofield observed that as a result, 'the residents have put tourism to work for them rather than simply working for tourism' (p. 327). A key element to this success was the role of the TLTB (then Native Land Trust Board), along with *mataqali* (sub-clan) representation on the hotel board.

Drawing together these themes, a contextual analysis is critical in understanding the potential of private sector-led development. This includes the perceptions of local communities as well as local management, the impact of relationships on how initiatives are developed and implemented, the intersection of governance structures with the policies of multinational companies, and an understanding of the cultural norms and expectations governing these interactions. The nature of the relationship between companies and communities can be seen to act as a driver for CSR and to determine the community's perception of the benefits tourism brings. The need is therefore identified for more dialogue and relationship-building between resorts and communities along with greater government support for locally-owned businesses (Movono et al., 2015; Scheyvens & Russell, 2012a). Further research on the impact of tourism on Indigenous communities is also recommended (Movono et al., 2015, pp. 113-114).

It is also clear that in considering the impact of CCD on community development and wellbeing, it is important to look beyond CSR to assess the potential of a wider range of development activities. The next section therefore examines in more detail the benefits that can be generated by CCD.

2 How CCD benefits communities: the 'development case'

Initial indications show that CSR in the tourism industry has the potential to play a significant role in improving community wellbeing, but as a whole this potential is unfulfilled. Consistent with the conservative agenda referred to earlier, Ashley and Haysom have noted that the majority of CSR initiatives consist mainly of philanthropic donations (2006, p. 268). Whilst there are obvious benefits for companies in this approach (and instances where this may be the most appropriate response, for example disaster relief), there is also a high risk of activities occurring which are not necessarily responsive to community needs. The nature of the obligations implicit in the receipt of 'gifts' from donors can also be problematic for

communities, as Rajak demonstrates in her ethnography of Anglo American in South Africa (Rajak, 2010).¹⁵

Ashley and Haysom adapt Locke's (2002) typology to categorise the different approaches of tourism organisations to CSR along a continuum from minimalist support, to encompassing where partnerships begin to be in evidence, through to social activist, which has the intention of catalysing change. Scheyvens (2011) points out that '[m]ost companies have not, unfortunately, moved beyond a minimalist or philanthropic approach whereby they are likely to be interested in local community development for pragmatic reasons rather than having a philosophical commitment to equity and justice' (p. 142). Part of the difficulty inherent in categorising and defining CSR is the wide range of activities which span these four approaches, including those which are not directly related to community development. In order to narrow the focus to community development initiatives, this section explores the development case for CCD in particular.

As outlined in Chapter One, CCD includes carrying out core business responsibilities in an ethical way, for example adhering to employment codes, in addition to voluntary ethical initiatives that supplement the day-to-day practices of the company, for example charitable donations or support for education projects. Meyer's (2007) typology of core and non-core practices with respect to building linkages can usefully be applied to categorise CCD activities: core business practices are identified as central to the operation of the business such as employment and training responsibilities and procurement of food and other supplies for example, whilst non-core business practices encompass voluntary, supplementary activities such as mentoring, donations and capacity building (p. 12). Whilst non-core CCD activities tend to be favoured in promotional material associating hotels with charitable donations (Holcomb et al., 2007), a practice referred to by Esrock and Leighty (1998) as 'good deeds' reporting, responsibility in core practices often has the potential to establish longer term benefits and should not be overlooked. For example, tourism

¹⁵ Rajak draws on Mauss (1954) to highlight 'the veiled power of the gift to empower the donor while oppressing the recipient' (p.1).

corporations are in a position to capitalise on their core strengths, including facilitating economic opportunity via training opportunities and fair procurement strategies (Ashley et al., 2007; Porter & Kramer, 2011; Scheyvens, 2011). With this in mind, the following section provides examples of how specific CCD initiatives in tourism in the Pacific can support community development and poverty alleviation in practice.

Core practices

Procurement

Berno (2011) reports that spending on food in Fiji approximates 20 per cent of total tourist expenditure (at around FJ\$ 150 m) but represents the highest leakage: the Ministry of Tourism Fiji has estimated up to 80 per cent of food is imported and both the Ministry and the South Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO) have highlighted the need to increase linkages in order to benefit the local economy (p. 87). In a more recent study, Harrison and Pratt estimate that 67 per cent of food and beverages are still imported from overseas (Harrison & Pratt, 2015, p. 13). This is not unusual: Meyer's review of linkages in the Caribbean suggests 30 per cent of tourist spending is on food and beverages and again up to 80 per cent of food is imported (2006, pp. 20, 34). It is also an area that has the capacity to create a significant shift in how communities can benefit from responsible hotel practices. South African hotel Spier Leisure, for example, identified that a shift in as little as ten per cent of their procurement would generate income for local suppliers that surpassed its CSR budget (Ashley & Haysom, 2006, p. 273) and Scheyvens has identified procurement as 'one of the most effective means of bringing more benefits from tourism to the poor' (2011, p. 121). In an investigation into the contribution of tourism to island residents on Mauritius, Naidoo and Sharpley find that agritourism enhances community wellbeing (2016). Yet the statistics show that there is still much progress to be made establishing backward linkages in Pacific Island countries; in particular, Bernardo isolates mass tourism as the most difficult sector to work with on 'farm-to-fork' linkages (2011, p. 99).

Local procurement also covers the use of local materials: local thatch, timber and locally produced furniture and other items can be purchased locally, as in the construction of Fiji's Uprising Resort, which directly benefitted three local villages

(Scheyvens, 2011, p. 121). In addition to local produce and materials, responsible procurement can entail use of local labour, including maintenance, gardening and laundry services, sourcing locally crafted souvenirs and food, and other contracts with local businesses (Ashley et al., 2007; Kalisch, 2002; Meyer, 2006; Scheyvens, 2011).

Procurement of local entertainment or schemes to contribute to local cultural programmes, and protect cultural heritage, including the hosting of cultural programmes can also promote respect for culture and traditions (Scheyvens & Russell, 2012a, p. 424). Tourists can also be informed of social, economic, cultural and environmental issues and be encouraged to spend money on local ventures, restaurants and tours (Meyer, 2006). In this way, ethical procurement practices ensure that the tourist business builds cultural respect rather than undermines it.

Bradly's research with Fijian resorts demonstrated that 'local villages were often an important supplier of goods, such as fresh food and vegetables, and traditional skills such as thatching of bure (huts), which were more difficult or expensive to obtain elsewhere' (2015, p. 252). The potential impact of ethical procurement policies is significant enough for Ashley et al. to suggest that '[i]n some instances, incorporating local enterprises into hotel supply chains supports more households than direct employment' (2007, p. 17).

Employment conditions

Fair working conditions and a stable work environment with opportunities for training and promotion all constitute ethical employment practices. Although these often constitute legal requirements, depending on the specific legal and political environment these requirements may be weak or not enforced, particularly in low-income countries. The result is that the provision of fair work practices becomes a key element of CCD. In comparing the practices of small and large providers in Fiji, Scheyvens and Russell (2012a) found that larger resorts were more likely to have the capacity to implement positive employment practices, highlighting the responsibility of foreign-owned resorts to undertake to provide fair working conditions:

Many employees at Resort A were receiving rates of pay in excess of the minimum wage, and a number of those interviewed had received a pay increase in the past year. All received training of some sort, and if they chose to undertake training outside the resort at their own cost, this significantly improved their

opportunities for promotion. Some employees had opportunities to broaden their skills base by cross-training across departments. (Resort A's Food and Beverage Manager, December 2009 (cited in Scheyvens & Russell, 2012a, p. 427).

At the same time, it is in the interests of hotels to ensure that employment practices are fair in order to reduce staff turnover and ensure guest satisfaction; Harrison and Prasad point out that 'it is common for hoteliers (and other employers) to argue they are fulfilling a public service in employing workers (as if somehow they could operate without them)' (2013, p. 751).

Where there is capacity to do more than meet minimum requirements, foreign-owned resorts can add value in a number of ways: health and safety practices, health care provision, pension plans and commitment to equal opportunity and diversity in recruitment can all exceed legal requirements and contribute to employee wellbeing (Kalisch, 2002; Scheyvens, 2011). Other initiatives to provide a safe work environment include the commitment to avoid child labour and preventing sexual exploitation through signing the ECPAT Code of Conduct for the Protection of Children from Commercial Sexual Exploitation in Travel and Tourism, and ensuring employees are trained in human rights standards (ILO cited in Meyer, 2006, p. 14), as well as providing industry training to young people through scholarships or training centres (Ashley et al., 2007) and allowing labour unions to operate freely.

Non-core practices

Partnerships

Partnerships or joint ventures between hotels and local enterprises can provide local entrepreneurs with the support to establish a profitable, sustainable business at the same time as strengthening the supply chain for hotels. Small or micro enterprises can be lacking in business expertise, financial and marketing skills or access to credit, whilst foreign-owned hotels have less access to local knowledge and networks (Scheyvens, 2011, p. 125). Joint ventures can constitute an effective way of establishing and maintaining a new business. Business partnerships can also be established with local charities or NGOs with the hotel usually providing the financial support and the NGO the project implementation skills. This takes advantage of the NGO's local knowledge of community needs and their expertise and capacity to carry out projects.

The Intercontinental Hotels Group, for example, partners with CARE, and Hilton with Room to Read.¹⁶

There are also examples of joint management of natural resources, such as mangroves (Levett & McNally, 2003, p. 17) and examples of partnerships to share resources. In principle, this can benefit both the hotel and its guests and local people (Kalisch, 2002; Meyer, 2006). Examples of shared resources include infrastructure and corresponding service facilities, for example transportation, communications, road infrastructure, energy systems, water supply, waste management, and recycling facilities.

Mentoring and capacity building

Rather than direct partnership, hotels can provide mentoring to local businesses to allow them to build capacity and enhance chances of sustainability. Foreign-owned hotels can share business knowledge, technical expertise, management systems investment advice, access to credit, marketing, customer relations and training (Meyer, 2006; Scheyvens, 2011). Scheyvens and Russell conclude that ‘one of the best ways to strengthen local enterprise is to encourage partnerships between communities and larger tourism investors’ (2012a, p. 432). Examples of this in Fiji illustrate the long-term impact that can result:

The Manager assisted the mataqali to establish their own taxi company, which is based at the resort’s taxi base, drawing up specific performance requirements, assisting with the formation of pricing structures and with negotiating the vehicle lease deal (Resort A’s Manager, December 2009; and Taxi Company’s Manager, February 2010). The taxi company grew to employ 10 people (six drivers and four other staff members), and depending on occupancy rates at the resort, generates between US\$ 1000 and US\$ 2000 weekly. Two drivers and the manager were interviewed, and all talked with pride of the achievements of the enterprise. They spoke of the benefits of gaining new experience and the knowledge and confidence to operate a business, and the increased morale and self-esteem which has resulted for the landowning mataqali (Scheyvens & Russell, 2012a, p. 428).

¹⁶ Hilton Worldwide, 8 May, 2012. <http://news.hiltonworldwide.com/index.cfm/news/hilton-worldwide-partners-with-room-to-read-to-empower-and-educate-young-people-in-south-and-southeast-asia>; IHG 2 March 2016

<http://www.ihgplc.com/index.asp?pageid=980&categoryid=1&newsid=16>

Furthermore, Scheyvens' examples of business mentoring show that similar initiatives can have different impacts depending on *how* they are implemented. She compares the paternalistic business mentoring approach taken by Turtle Island that created a dependency on the resort, to the empowering approach taken by the Uprising resort that resulted in a sense of ownership and pride for the local business (2011, pp. 131-132). 'It is essential that good business mentoring is provided to the indigenous owners so that they can eventually manage their own enterprise effectively. A paternalistic approach will not ensure that the "partner" develops the necessary business and management skills' (p. 131).

Philanthropy

This is often the most common and most publicised form of CSR and describes direct donations to local communities and organisations. Financial donations are either on behalf of the hotel or its staff and guests, and may entail support for educational initiatives, scholarships, local NGOs, sponsored charities, religious institutions, sports teams, health care programmes, disaster response and environmental causes, among others (Meyer, 2006; Scheyvens, 2011). Donation of unwanted hotel items, for example furniture, toiletries and linen and guest donations of clothes, books, medicine are also common (Meyer, 2006). Donations are often ad hoc and most frequently short-term, although some hotels may adopt a particular charity or NGO that can then count on on-going support. Other hotels support the visits of international health professionals to provide low-cost or free medical treatment, including eye, dental, general health and dermatology clinics (Harrison, 2004, p. 11).

Volunteering

Volunteering is promoted by a number of hotel chains that report the number of 'volunteer-days' or 'volunteer-hours' donated per year. Activities can draw on the contributions of both employees and guests, and time can be spent refurbishing a local school or hospital or working for a chosen charity for example. Corporate event volunteering is also becoming more common, with Scheyvens citing an example from Fiji where corporate groups assist in building and equipping a village kindergarten (2011, p. 129).

Together, these examples highlight that the tourism industry has the potential to play a key role in improving community wellbeing, and in some cases can contribute to longer-term sustainable community development. It also indicates that activities can more often be ad hoc, short term and reliant on the commitment of individuals within hotels. This suggests that there is perhaps a missed opportunity to employ the momentum of CCD to greater effect. The question remains, however, of the suitability of CCD as a tool for poverty alleviation and sustainable development.

3 The private sector as a development agent?

It is clear that CSR generates benefits for hotels and tour operators, but the benefits to communities are not as straightforward as they might first seem. Blowfield and Dolan's definition of a 'development agent' requires a calculated development benefit that principally benefits the poor and actively addresses poverty and marginalisation (2014). The potential for CSR to contribute meaningfully and sustainably to poverty alleviation and community development in this way is limited by a number of significant factors.

Limitations

Self-regulation. Whilst certain business and community interests may coincide, corporations are unlikely to prioritise community needs without consistent external regulation or pressure. Typically, external pressures change over time and regulations such as agreements and accords are generally voluntary and non-enforceable which continues to limit what these can achieve in practice. Mowforth and Munt suggest that self-regulation is 'at best questionable and at worst meaningless' (2009, p. 208) with companies signing up to accords as a way of avoiding external regulation. The reliance on committed individuals within hotels to advance goals, suggests that this is not an effective large-scale strategy.

The gap between reporting and practice. A study examining the operational practices of 10 international hotel groups not only found discrepancies between reporting and practice but also identified that many policies in place were in fact satisfying compliance with legal requirements with a strong focus overall on legal and economic

concerns of stakeholders. (Font et al., 2012). Where CSR initiatives are implemented there still remain contradictions in practice – for example making philanthropic donations to a local school at the same time as employing unfair labour practices (Scheyvens, 2011, p. 137).

Scale and scope. CSR initiatives tend to focus on ‘safe’ issues such as environmental initiatives or support for children’s charities or schools; a focus on human rights or social justice is less common (McEwan, Mawdsley, Banks, & Scheyvens, in press; Scheyvens, 2011, pp. 136-137). The effect is a much narrower focus than would be taken by a development agency: this selective nature of initiatives can risk other significant issues being neglected (Aakhus & Bzdak, 2012, p. 238). What is more, CSR budgets usually represent a tiny fraction of annual turnover, and do not generally result in a change to core business practice (Hamann, 2006, p. 189). To extend this last point, Harvey points out that it is the ethical practice of core business responsibilities and genuine community engagement, which he terms ‘in-reach activities’ that hold the greatest scope for affecting development outcomes; non-core ‘out-reach’ activities can be marginal and lack local accountability and continuity. Whilst the latter may carry ‘the seeds of overall failure’ for securing a social license (Harvey, 2014, p. 8), this also underlines the often peripheral impact of CSR.

Reaching the poor. A further criticism of CSR initiatives is their lack of ability to reach the very poor and it is this above all which suggests CSR is unsuitable as a tool for development. CSR strategies, with their focus on ‘stakeholders’ may end up excluding the poorest: as Jenkins points out, ‘[a]lmost by definition, the poor are those who do not have a stake’ (2005, p. 540). Not only does CSR often engage from a western or northern standpoint, where the poor are ‘either ignored in this process or considered only as passive recipients’ (Newell, 2005, p. 557), but initiatives also fail to ‘change the structures that keep poor people poor’ (Boyle & Boguslaw, 2007, p. 114). CSR has the effect of framing poverty as a lack of market opportunities, effectively silencing the debate around equity in the distribution of wealth (Rajak, 2010, p. 34). Jenkins maintains that ‘CSR is unlikely to have a significant impact on poverty in the South, except in a limited number of rather specific cases’ (2005, p. 540).

Facilitating Factors

Current evidence shows that, despite wide acceptance of the inherent difficulties in linking business with poverty alleviation strategies, there is still recognition of the potential of business to contribute as a 'critical component of development' (Sagebien & Whellams, 2010, p. 485). Faced with the intractable issues of business accountability and the overriding motivation of profit, the need for long-term strategies within the private sector in coordination with government and NGOs is proposed (Ashley et al., 2007; Boyle & Boguslaw, 2007; Kasim, 2006; Meyer, 2006).

Collaboration. Cooperation across sectors and partnerships between relevant institutions and organisations is seen as one way to mitigate limitations and enhance the potential of CSR policies to address poverty. This may also create an avenue for increased community participation through intermediary organisations. Greater coordination between government efforts and CSR could also enhance outcomes. On CSR in Papua New Guinea, Banks et al. caution that 'stand-alone CCD projects are less likely to succeed than those that are integrated with local community and government programmes and plans' (2013, p. 14). Sagebien and Whellams also draw attention to the potential of CSR to complement government efforts, but find that activities often lack of coordination. They note that there is increasing evidence of multinational corporations (MNCs) working in partnership with governments to design participatory projects (2010, p. 489); however there is little evidence of this as yet in Pacific tourism.

A key role for the state. Greater collaboration facilitated by a strong regulatory state framework is advocated by a number of authors, including Hamann (2006), Ashley and Roe (2002) and Scheyvens and Russell (2012b). The state is in a position to create an environment which can both safeguard rights and enable communities to act on their own behalf:

The role of the state is central in terms of setting up an environment which either protects, or undermines, customary land tenure systems. It also has resources which can be devoted to raising awareness and building capacity of communities so that they can engage, from a position of power, with outside investors or potential joint venture partners (Scheyvens & Russell, 2012b, pp. 4-5).

A supportive global system. Others note that the system itself must require ethical practice (Doane, 2005; Fox, 2004; Korten, 1996): ‘In the absence of government oversight, corporations are formally accountable only to their owners, which in our present day means global financial markets’ (Korten, 1996). Blowfield and Dolan suggest a supportive legal environment is also needed, encompassing the role of international financial institutions (2014, p. 36). Schilcher outlines an additional role for the international system in supporting changes which would allow developing country governments greater agency to act in support of their citizens:

Such ideological change would need to be accompanied by a change in the international system so that developing countries are granted greater decision-making power in institutions such as the World Trade Organisation, the World Bank and IMF. Flexibility and genuine policy-ownership allowing for individual responses to poverty are key. One-size-fits-all approaches – such as the promotion of tourism per se – are entirely unsuitable for the multi-dimensional problem of poverty (Schilcher, 2007, p. 183).

In order to support achievement of the 2030 Agenda then, enabling tactics will be required at multiple levels: in an environment where MNCs often hold greater power than national governments, and small island states have limited influence in the international arena, this is more than a national or regional challenge. In combination with a supportive system at national and international levels to allow adequate regulation of MNCs, CCD may have greater potential to lead to better community engagement and improved community outcomes. However, without such a facilitatory environment, this impact is likely to remain limited. Furthermore, whilst the impact of CSR can be maximised (Sagebien & Whellams, 2010, p. 505), in itself a positive outcome, there is currently little evidence for the potential of private sector-led development as a broad development strategy.

The limits of CCD as a development strategy

The most commonly used definitions of CSR prioritise social concerns and sustainable economic development (Commission of the European Communities and World Business Council for Sustainable Development, cited in Dahlsrud, 2008, p. 7), yet this appears to be at odds with the prevailing approach evidenced in the sector which prioritises the benefits to companies over communities. Where significant gains are achieved, these are noted to be ad hoc (Harrison & Prasad, 2013, p. 752) or piecemeal (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2002, p. 7). This does not provide

good grounding for a case for CCD as an avenue to fulfil 'worldwide sustainability and development objectives', or evidence of the ability of business to enable a 'shift to a new paradigm in development thinking' (UN Global Compact, 2013, p. 3).

Ashley et al. remind us that 'tourism companies are not development agencies' (2007, p. 6) and we should not expect them to act as such; yet there is now an increasing expectation that companies will act as 'development agents' (Blowfield & Dolan, 2014). There is also limited evidence of the outcomes. Blowfield points out that while companies frequently refer to their contribution to the MDGs, and there is evidence of this occurring in individual instances, 'the impact of business on the MDG targets is unknown' (2007, p. 689). This is essentially because we lack information about the broad *impact* of these activities. This suggests that similar difficulties will be encountered in fulfilling the SDGs and resonates with Sanga's comment quoted at the start of the chapter: 'the road we are on will not lead us to the road we aspire to'.

4 Conclusion

This chapter has located the definition of CCD in current debates around the role of business, poverty and development and has outlined current practices of CSR and CCD in tourism and in the Pacific. Examples from the Pacific show how CSR and CCD are able to make a significant difference to communities via the ethical practices and philanthropic activities of tourism providers. However, it is also clear that expectations of what the private sector can achieve should be tempered by the nature of business and of the system within which it operates which do not prioritise development goals. Initiatives can also be ad hoc, discretionary, inconsistent, narrow in scope and fail to reach the very poor. Although facilitating factors can be identified, it is clear that CCD as a development strategy is limited by expectations of business and the constraints of the global economic system. It is also clear that there is a move towards more deliberate use of capital for development outcomes in the expectations laid out in the 2030 Agenda. Blowfield and Dolan describe this shift as requiring a move from a 'Mark I' development agent where 'the primary intended beneficiaries conform to the requirements of business' towards a 'Mark II' model which would be 'built around and judged upon what it achieved for the primary beneficiaries' (2014, p. 36). If the private sector is to assume responsibility for this challenge, as currently

envisaged by the SDGs, not only will external incentives and regulation be required, but also a better understanding of the development outcomes which can be achieved.

Banks et al. suggest that ‘the potential of such activities is more likely to be realised when sufficient attention is paid to analysing them from the perspectives of impacted communities in developing countries’ (Banks et al., 2016). The South Pacific constitutes a unique case study in many ways. There are contextual factors affecting CCD which are critical to understanding community perspectives in the Pacific, including the centrality of relationships, the interdependence between company and community and the impact of land ownership and lease payments. Within this context, an exploration of the potential and limitation of CCD necessitates attention to how the benefits accrue to communities, who benefits, the broader impacts on communities beyond the immediate benefits of individual initiatives and how effects might intersect. The next chapter establishes the rationale for a community perspective of CCD within a Pacific context, and develops a conceptual framework of analysis.

Chapter Three

Community Perspectives in CCD: a ‘Development First’ framework

*paying the price for other peoples’ development*¹⁷

1 Introduction

If effective CSR can be seen as ‘the attainment of social outcomes, rather than the benefits that accrue to corporations’ (Tracey et al., 2005, p. 331), then how can the outcomes of private sector led development initiatives best be examined? This chapter builds a case for using community perspectives as a point of departure to examine CCD, showing how analysis of the community’s experiences is critical to understanding its development potential. I then construct a bottom-up framework to assess CCD by adapting Burns’ tourism planning model (Burns, 1999, 2004). The model uses a Development First approach to enable analysis of CCD and its capacity to bring about positive, locally meaningful change for communities.

2 The case for a community-centred analysis

The rationale for adding community perspectives to advance the debate is supported by evidence from Sub-Saharan Africa. Studies examine beneficiary perspectives in the oil (Akpan, 2008; Idemudia, 2009) and mining (Kapelus, 2002; Rajak, 2010) industries, establishing ‘counter-narratives’ (Kapelus, 2002, p. 285) to the corporation perspective. These show that there are clear differences in how initiatives are perceived from a corporate or community perspective. For example, differences in cultural and operational norms between foreign-owned companies and local communities leads to the potential for a mismatch between corporate and community expectations (Akpan, 2008), interpretations of the scope and mode of

¹⁷ Teaiwa (2000)

operationalisation of CSR (Kapelus, 2002) and assessment of the impacts (Idemudia, 2009). The discrepancy in perceptions is also evident between adjacent communities, indicative of the poor distribution of benefits across localities (Idemudia, 2009, p. 139). This suggests that particular groups may benefit disproportionately where they have greater capacity to impact on company operations. Rajak's ethnography of Anglo-American, for example, found that company CSR activities were 'embedded in personal relations of giving' with selection of beneficiaries targeted according to company priorities (Rajak, 2010, pp. 210-214). Furthermore, the 'benefits' of CSR are not universally seen as positive: projects can be a source of conflict and discontent. Oil company public relations commentary on CSR projects reports on community development 'for all', water projects that are 'long overdue' and 'world class standards of community development', whilst beneficiary experiences of the same projects tell a tale of 'inducements and pacifications' incomplete projects and 'little commitment...to genuine community development' (Akpan, 2008, pp. 507-508). A 'beneficiary-centred approach' would make room for distinctions between CSR done 'for', 'to' or 'with' communities, conceptualising CSR as a space where these interactions occur (Akpan, 2008, pp. 497-498). This bears similarities to Long's 'social interface' or 'social arena' which makes the contests between different actors over issues, resources and values visible (2001, p. 242) .

A point of reference for a community-level analysis of CCD can be found in Idemudia's (2011) South-Centred CSR agenda. In response to the neglect of southern stakeholders in much of the CSR literature, Idemudia shows how scholars are beginning to examine the potentials and limitations of CSR policies and practices in the South. The agenda reflects local priorities and is informed by local communities' values, at the same time as it considers the constraints of the operating environment and the specifics of the cultural context. It focuses on the relationship between CSR and development, including attention to the processes that inform CSR and also generates detail on the specific nature of CSR practice in the Global South (Idemudia, 2011). Idemudia suggests that a future agenda should prioritise a bottom-up approach that integrates context, practice and impact, and adopts a frame of reference that emphasises linkages between processes and relationships at macro, meso and micro levels. Mindful of these priorities, in order to establish a foundation for a community-centred investigation the analysis below focuses on three areas in particular: firstly, community engagement and agency in company-community interactions at local

level, secondly, the specific cultural and social context at national level and how this affects processes of inclusion and exclusion in CCD, and thirdly the global-level processes and wider environment influencing the practice of CCD. Each of the following sections explores the debates in each area in relation to CSR and reflects on the implications for CCD in a Pacific context.

Community engagement and agency

Community engagement literature demonstrates evidence of a desire on the part of communities to be active participants in company-initiated development in order to exert 'control over their own destinies' (Ballard & Banks, 2003, p. 298) and precipitate 'an equitable distribution of the company's wealth' (Kepore & Imbun, 2011, p. 230). Yet, as identified in Chapter Two, the issue of community agency in CSR and how this shapes outcomes is one element missing from debates. The community is often presented as a passive recipient of CSR practice, rather than an active agent in the development process. Ignoring community perspectives 'leads to blind spots about what societies value' (Aakhus & Bzdak, 2012, p. 237), resulting in a divergence between development projects and development needs. McEwan et al. (in press) point to a 'meaningful degree of community agency' as a distinctive feature of community development, yet community viewpoints are rarely discussed in relation to the value and impact of CSR. The following sections explore the presence of community agency within company-community relationships and community engagement processes.

Company - Community dynamics

The analysis of community roles in tourism development processes reveals an interplay of multi-level power dynamics which can influence outcomes (e.g. Bendell, 2005; Din, 1996; Reed, 1997; Sofield, 2003); these relationships also impact on the practice of CSR (Garvey & Newell, 2005). Companies' long-term strategic interests are served by engaging with communities: in order to establish a stable operating environment, community support provides a 'social license to operate' (Williams et al., 2007), as outlined in Chapter Two. For tourism providers, local communities constitute a key part of the tourist experience and so must be courted in the development of tourism services; they can also constitute a threat to the smooth running of the enterprise if they are disaffected. Case studies of Canadian resorts

demonstrate the power of communities to influence the development process, identifying the key pivots where community stakeholders may exert leverage (Williams et al., 2007). Communities are recognised as potential ‘gatekeepers to resources’ (p. 135) with the capacity to ‘revoke the organization’s “privileges” to operate at any time’ (p. 137), prevent ‘the use of “divide and conquer” strategies’ (p. 136) and ‘issue a credible social license to operate’ (p. 140). The critical element here is the *organised* nature of the community, Williams et al. contending that the same outcome cannot be achieved through a collection of disparate and competing individuals (p. 140). Their findings demonstrate, unsurprisingly, that firms engage based on company interest:

Corporations only engage community stakeholders who present themselves as possessors of resources the firm requires to gain competitive advantage. Stakeholders who are neither legitimate enough to revoke the social license to operate nor able to present effective solutions-based alternatives for the firm are excluded from the decision-making sphere (Williams et al., 2007, p. 141).

But furthermore, they assert that the community must engage on the firm’s terms:

To gain access to corporation decision makers, stakeholders must present themselves as legitimate representatives of specific destination community interests and offer solutions-based and business-oriented solutions for addressing key local concerns (ibid., p. 141).

This is particularly meaningful in regards to CSR/CCD practices, where the firm is the ultimate decision-maker in terms of the allocation of resources, but the community may be able to play a significant role in shaping these decisions. Participatory community tourism development processes, however, are problematic.

Participatory processes are often assumed to create equal access to power because they are ‘closer to the people’ (Hall, 2007, p. 309). Hall sees this as the tendency to ‘romanticise the collective capacity of local communities to undertake participative decision-making’ (p. 313). Reed similarly points to our over-estimation of the capability of collaboration: ‘it is frequently assumed that collaboration can overcome power imbalances by involving all stakeholders in a process that meets their needs’ whilst in reality ‘power relations may alter the outcome of collaborative efforts or even preclude collaborative action’ (1997, p. 567). The decisions about who participates can be profoundly political (Reed, 1997) and can alter according to the

situation: the community may have greater or lesser capacity to exert power depending on the circumstance (Hall, 2007; Williams et al., 2007). What appears to be a one-side power relationship is actually a complex interaction with different leverage points on both sides. Power is exerted in a variety of ways: it is about the decisions that are made and the decisions that are not made, the decisions which are implemented and those which are ignored. In tourism development 'the way 'things do not happen' is as important as what does' (Hall, 2007, p. 314). There is much to be learned from critical observation of these decision-making processes.

In Fiji, systems of engagement do not function on the same basis as western decision-making processes and setting expectations for democratic decision-making processes may even trigger conflict. Farrelly shows how assumptions on the part of tourism developers that communities are cohesive and that benefits can be shared equitably through (western) democratic processes can ultimately be damaging to communities, undermining social capital and community empowerment (Farrelly, 2011). Where Western processes rely on the functioning of formal institutions, decision-making in Indigenous Fijian communities is built on the foundations of informal institutions including family, kinship structures, traditions and social norms (2011, p. 821). Gibson also points out that community participation is not always equitable: 'power and control generally remain in the hands of chiefs, elders and wealthy elites, who are predominantly male' (2015, p. 119). Farrelly therefore argues for a consideration of 'community, place and power' (p. 820) and attention to the complexities of local norms of decision-making and representation' (p. 824).

Community engagement and social capital

The very defining of a 'community' of beneficiaries by a corporation can be 'arbitrary, divisive and a source of conflict within and between communities' (McEwan et al., in press). Different communities, or groups within communities, engage with companies according to local processes and relationships. Research in Pro-Poor Tourism and Indigenous tourism has shown that communities engage in tourism decision-making processes through the use of social capital. Defined as '[t]he social cohesion of the group and the strength of its networks' (Goodwin, 2007), social capital is utilised in order to maximise the benefits and minimise the negative impacts of tourism (p.90). At the same time, it is noted that tourism can also 'erode social capital if conflict over

tourism undermines social and reciprocal relations' (Ashley, Boyd, & Goodwin, 2000, p. 4). The consideration of social capital in community-based and alternative or eco tourism has much to inform the debate on the role of community participation in tourism, but frequently focuses on what are usually small-scale tourism ventures (e.g. Bricker, 2001; Gibson, 2015). This raises the question of how community relationships with multinational corporations might differ. The relationship between communities and tourism companies in the Pacific is also based on the expectations and demands of a foreign company in a developing country context and on local cultural values (for example reciprocity). How these are realised will depend on the extent to which the company is embedded in the local community. Bradley's research (2015) would suggest that locally-owned tourism firms are embedded within communities to a greater extent than multinationals, as detailed in Chapter Two, but also that this is affected by personal relationships and commitments.

For Indigenous communities in Fiji, the importance of social capital in enabling community development has been demonstrated by a number of authors in relation to community based tourism (Gibson, 2015) ecotourism (Bricker, 2001; Farrelly, 2009) natural resource management (Clark, 2008), marine conservation (Nainoca, 2011) and the Fijian way of life (*vakaviti*) as a whole (Qalo, 1998). Fijian communities function on the basis of networks of relationships and social exchange. Bricker stresses that 'the value of the agreements lies not on the paper on which they are written, but the relationships between the tour operator and the villagers' (2001, p. 240). For Nainoca (2011), these relationships (*veiwekani*) constitute the hub of social capital in the Fijian context. She identifies four aspects of social capital connected to this hub: loving one another (*veilomani*); respect (*veidokadokai*); unquestionable duty and service (*qaravi itavi*); and Fijian borrowing (*kerekere*) (Nainoca, 2011, p. 11). These are also described as Fijian ideals, identified by Ravuvu (1988) as important to the Fijian way of life. Understanding local norms of engagement and the importance of relationships provides a bottom-up context to the practice of CCD.

Models of engagement

What is broadly referred to as 'community engagement' can take many shapes in practice. Ballard and Banks refer to 'a continuum of public involvement in decision making that spans the range from persuasion (which can involve considerable

violence at mining projects), to consultation, to the selective delegation of authority, and ultimately to self-determination' (Ballard & Banks, 2003, p. 303). There have also been systematic attempts to categorise the different approaches to community engagement which can be used to help analyse CCD processes (see Table 3.1) and which are discussed further below.

Bowen et al. (2010) outline a typology of engagement strategies across three stages, based on a methodical review of sources on antecedents and consequences of community engagement. Transactional engagement is categorised as one-way provision of donations, information and training, where the company 'retains overall control of the engagement process' (p. 305). At the other end of the spectrum, transformational engagement is distinguished by shared control of the engagement process and requires a 'shared organizational language' (p. 306). In this scenario, the community plays a joint role in identifying problems and solutions and the company 'may achieve outcomes that were unattainable without the engagement of the community' (pp. 305-306). Transitional engagement, as the name suggests, bridges the two: communication is two-way, involving greater consultation and collaboration, but the identification of problems and solutions is still not shared. The authors determine that transformational approaches can be distinguished by three criteria: in general few partners are involved in this type of engagement, trust is established through affect and personal relationships and the resulting outcomes lead to shared rather than independent benefits. They note that this approach is rare in practice, and in fact their identification of community engagement strategies across different sectors shows the least evidence of transformational approaches in the corporate sector (p. 304).

Kemp (2010) has developed four models of company-community interaction, based on Kelly and Burkett's (2008) community engagement training framework. Models one and two are identified as traditional approaches, which are company-centric and focused on risk management. The first centres on information dissemination, whilst the second is primarily concerned with public relations and reputation management. Models three and four are emergent approaches that show greater evidence of community engagement. Model three focuses on managing social risk as well as company risk and takes a human rights stance by including disempowered groups and seeking to understand community perspectives (pp. 5-6). Model four is

characterised as the right to development. It is people-centred and has a focus on empowerment, livelihoods, development and anti-poverty agendas. If model three can be described as a community relations model, model four is a community development model, inclusive of the most vulnerable members of the community. Like the transformational approach described above, this model is not commonly practised; Kemp questions the extent to which company actions can be participatory and development focused in the context of company-community power inequities (p. 10).

A central focus of the models is how community relations workers interact with both company and community. Community relations workers have a liaison, facilitation and connecting role - their function is to understand linkages between individuals, households and other groups, identify community needs and facilitate change where required. Kemp, like Bowen, singles out the importance of the language used: community relations workers are challenged to defend corporate interests at the same time as understand community perspectives and must find a way to bridge community and corporate language and modes of communication in order to achieve a shared language (p. 8). The models are summarised in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Models of Community Engagement

Model	Community Engagement		Company-community interaction		CSR approaches	
Source	Bowen, Newenham-Kahindi & Herremans, 2010		Kemp 2010		Ashley & Haysom 2006	
	<i>Transactional</i>	One-way provision of donations, information and training; Company retains control	<i>Risk Management Model 1</i>	One way information dissemination	<i>Minimalist</i>	Tokenstic, support e.g. ad hoc donations
			<i>Risk Management Model 2</i>	Managing public relations		
	<i>Transitional</i>	Two-way communication consultation and collaboration Company retains control	<i>Community Relations Model 3</i>	Manages social risk as well as company risk; Human rights stance	<i>Philanthropic</i>	Support for development projects
					<i>Encompassing</i>	Socially responsible business; ongoing project support; Partnerships in evidence
	<i>Transformational</i>	Shared control of the engagement process; Community plays joint role in identifying problems and solutions	<i>Community Development Model 4</i>	The right to development; people-centred, focus on empowerment, livelihoods, anti-poverty	<i>Social Activist</i>	Aims to catalyse change

Source: Adapted from Bowen, Newenham-Kahindi & Herremans, 2010, Kemp, 2010 and Ashley and Haysom, 2006.

In a tourism context, these models share parallels with the continuum of approaches to CSR devised by Ashley and Haysom (2006), referred to in Chapter Two. A minimalist approach to CSR would be consistent with transactional or model one and two engagement, whilst a social activist approach shares aspects of transformational or model four engagement. Whilst Kemp's models were developed based on engagement with mining communities where most companies have an identified community relations officer, there is also potential to apply this to the engagement strategies of hotels. Together, these engagement strategies are indicative of the insight that can be generated through attention to the relationships built between companies and communities and the ways in which community relations representatives interact with both company head office and community members. They provide concrete examples of interactions in the development 'space' (Akpan, 2008) or at the 'interface' (Long, 2001) and have implications for differences in potential outcomes.

The Pacific context: asymmetry and reciprocity

In the Pacific, studies of stakeholder engagement primarily emerge from the literature on mining (see Chapter Two). These identify that communities are not passive recipients of mining companies' largesse, but that they are proactive in exerting pressure on the mines to provide services, facilities and infrastructure, particularly in areas where government provision is lacking (Imbun, 2007). Investigation into communities' perceptions of the effectiveness of community engagement strategies, finds that this is an area 'laden with tensions and challenges' (Kepore & Imbun, 2011, p. 222) and shows evidence of communities' 'love-hate relationship' (p. 230) with the mine. The mine provides communities with important development benefits not otherwise accessible, but which at times were identified as 'too slow, shallow and ineffective' (p. 229).

In Fiji, community agency can be derived from traditional social and political structures, including customary governance and TLTB leasing processes. For example, Sofield shows how a landowning community leveraged social capital to assert control over community resources on Mana Island (Sofield, 2003). The relationship between resort and community was shaped by management's awareness of the power of the local residents to disrupt operations (pp. 312-313), but also by the

fact that the *mataqali* (sub-clan) retained some control over resources in negotiations through agreements drawn up with the TLTB. This did not result in an absence of conflict: communities are not cohesive and internal disputes are ever present. The relationship is rather represented as an ongoing process which is continually re-negotiated by the parties involved to manage social tensions and conflict. In a relationship 'characterised by both asymmetry and reciprocity' (Sofield, 2003, p. 79), the community was able to carve out acceptable benefits; however, this is in the context of an environment skewed towards the developers and is reliant on creative strategies on the part of the community to mitigate negative outcomes.

It is also important to remember that although, in the abstract, individual communities are interacting with global corporate bodies whose GDP often exceeds that of the state, on a practical level lines are much more blurred. Company managers can also be community members, community members are part of the body of company staff, companies are reliant on community buy-in and communities have power to assert demands through lease agreements and the granting of social licence. Williams refers to this as a 'web of entanglement', where individuals, place, culture, geography, social political and economic history all play a role (Williams et al., 2007, p. 141). An analysis of how CCD impacts on the intended beneficiaries, who actually benefits and who is marginalised needs to take into account the interplay both between companies and communities and within communities, along with the range of interests represented and the attendant power differentials.

This examination of company-community interactions shows that at a micro level, community engagement is shaped by the need for companies to establish 'social licence to operate'. The literature shows a lack of community agency in the development process, acknowledging also that participatory models can be problematic. Actual engagement is affected by local cultural norms which may differ from company practices. It varies across a spectrum from the more functional interactions to further reaching change-oriented actions, with corporate engagement strategies rarely featuring in transformative approaches. The next section shifts attention to the meso-level social and cultural context, and looks at how the parameters of CCD are drawn through inclusionary and exclusionary practices.

The social and cultural context: inclusion and exclusion

CSR is connected to issues of social equality, for example through the provision of social protection and access to services, and less commonly through the empowerment of communities and redistribution of wealth (Utting, 2007). However, whilst '[e]quality depends crucially on the recognition and realisation of the rights of workers, women, children, indigenous peoples and other groups that have historically been oppressed, exploited and marginalised', (Utting, 2007, p. 701), these are not generally the priorities of CSR programmes. According to Utting, the potential of CSR to support equality and equity will depend on things such as the level of accountability of the powerful to the disadvantaged and the capacity of initiatives to increase the voice of marginalised groups. In reality, 'the practice of CSR creates geographies of inclusion, and exclusion' (Rajak, 2010, p. 214).

Uneven distribution of the benefits created through development activities can prioritise particular sectors or groups over others leading to the exclusion of certain groups, or exacerbating existing exclusionary conditions. Bebbington points out that 'access to compensation and CSR activities is unequally distributed, with some persons *included* and others not' (Bebbington, 2013, p. 17, emphasis in original). Blowfield and Dolan similarly highlight issues of inclusivity and exclusivity created by the company as development agent; certain groups may be differentially affected, for example contract workers, women and Indigenous peoples (Blowfield & Dolan, 2014, p. 23). At the same time, Banks reminds us that these boundaries can be far from clear: 'murky (in the sense of ambiguous and/or flexible) rules of community inclusion and exclusion' govern CSR in the mining sector in Papua New Guinea (2006b, p. 271). This section gathers evidence of CSR practices in relation to gender issues, labour rights, race, and Indigenous peoples, in tourism and in the Pacific, to identify the ways that inclusivity is fostered, or conversely, exclusionary practices created.

Gender, labour rights and the public-private interface

It is recognised that women's perspectives in tourism are frequently marginalised - over developers, government officials, chiefs and corporate managers who are most often male (Scheyvens, 2007). Although literature exists around the role of gender in tourism (e.g. Apostolopoulos, Sönmez, & Timothy, 2001; Ferguson, 2011; Kinnaird &

Hall, 1994; Scheyvens, 2007), there has been no discussion of the gendered nature of CSR practices in tourism, this despite the highly gendered nature of the industry (Enloe, 2000). Where links are made between gender and CSR these draw predominantly on the export sector, particularly the garment and horticulture industries. Debates mainly deal with core activities of corporations with a concentration on labour issues and working conditions in the global economy, for example codes of conduct (Pearson, 2007; Pearson & Seyfang, 2001; Prieto-Carrón, 2008), core labour standards (Elias, 2007) and supply chains (Elias, 2007; Prieto-Carrón, 2008). Much of the argument related to the export industries, however, could readily be applied to the tourism sector. The situation of women's employment in tourism is similarly precarious: often in part time, low skilled, low paid, temporary employment (Berno & Jones, 2001; Enloe, 2000; Gibson, 2001; Momsen & Kinnaird, 1994), where 'women fill the jobs at the bottom of the tourism hierarchy' (Gibson, 2001, p. 28). The type of employment engaged in often mirrors domestic roles and women are assumed to be 'a passive, flexible workforce' (Elias, 2007, p. 53).

Assessing the gendered impact of CSR outside of the workplace, Pearson looks beyond the immediate work environment with a call for CSR initiatives to focus on addressing social reproduction in order to enhance women's lives beyond work hours and contribute towards the wellbeing of the community. Pearson contends that there is a need to take into account women's gendered responsibilities outside of work, that is, the production of labour power (Pearson, 2007, p. 739). She notes that corporations are 'key stakeholders in the continuation of social reproduction' (p. 739), particularly in developing countries where there is often limited state input into social reproduction. Taking a feminist economics approach to CSR permits recognition of this role and the impact on women's, men's and community wellbeing.

The literature on gender and CSR contains an acknowledgement of the necessity of accounting for cultural and racial differences (Elias, 2007; Prieto-Carrón, 2008) underlining the importance of situating experiences in cultural context and calls for a greater consideration of diversity (Coleman, 2002). A more comprehensive picture of the lives of women workers can be found in place-based empirical studies, for example Auger-Andrews looks specifically at the impact of hotel work on working mothers in Fiji and points to the risk of this overburdening women, introducing conflict to the community and reducing quality of life (1995; quoted in Berno & Jones,

2001, p. 101). Empirical studies support the call for a gender analysis of CSR to be grounded in its cultural context. A contextual analysis of the public-private interface would extend Tucker and Boonabaana's call for a culturally specific approach to gender and tourism (2012, p. 439) to CCD. This would take into account the interaction between the public and private sphere and the space created between corporations, communities and households, alongside the impact of socio-cultural norms and practices.

Poverty and ethnicity: historical-political influences

The social, historical and economic context impacts on the parameters of inclusion in CCD. Bird argues for the necessity for a 'due regard to history' in business ethics (2009, p. 204), noting that the 'current social responsibilities of international businesses in developing countries are directly shaped by their historical circumstances' (p. 210). He emphasises, for example, that it is the social responsibility of businesses to address the heritage of abuse and exploitation of the Apartheid system in South Africa through contemporary ethical business practices.

Daye stresses that in order for firms to respond to current challenges, they need to understand the antecedents for the current social and cultural context in which they are located. He identifies the ways in which historically international business in Fiji has contributed to contemporary social challenges - specifically poverty and race relations - from the time of the colonial administration and the mistreatment of Indian indentured labourers to the current operations of foreign-owned businesses where employees work for low wages and little job security. Moreover, he asserts that 'the long-standing and increasing hegemony of internationally connected business exacerbates, even engenders, racial conflict' (Daye, 2009, p. 122), for example through occupational segregation in employment practices and undermining traditional practices such as *kerekere* [borrowing]. This has also been evidenced by the role of the state in the promotion of the tourism industry, where Harrison points to 'a wide consensus in government...that the main emphasis of Fijian tourism should be the indigenous Fijian, and that other ethnic groups are to be largely unrepresented.' (2001, p. 37). A 2013 Minority Rights Group report describes the ethnic and gendered division of labour in the Fijian tourist industry:

In most tourist resorts and hotels, there is an ethnic and gender division of labour. Front office positions, waitressing and chamber maid positions are generally allocated to iTaukei and people of mixed ethnic origin. The back office jobs of keeping records, accounting and administration, as well as gardening and trade jobs, are allocated to Indo-Fijians. Much of the cleaning and laundry work is done by women. Generally, senior managerial positions are held by whites and Asian expatriates (Naidu, 2013, p.15).

The social responsibilities of the tourism industry in Fiji, therefore, might also encompass employment practices and Indigenous rights, as well as consideration of social challenges such as gender, race and income inequalities. The way CSR assistance is targeted impacts to a greater or lesser extent on these issues. For example, CSR is largely directed at local communities in coastal tourist areas, typically landowning units (Bradly, 2015, p. 246); however, the highest poverty rates in Fiji are found in rural areas (Narsey, 2008).

Indigenous Peoples, Tourism and CSR

The impact of multinational companies on Indigenous peoples, inequality and exclusion is well-documented, particularly in connection with resource extraction industries, although it is also pertinent to tourism where Indigenous groups frequently experience little control (Goodwin, 2007, p. 85). In the case of gas extraction in the Bolivian Chaco, Humphreys Bebbington identifies both inequities of opportunity and procedural inequities which result in inequality of outcomes for Indigenous peoples. Uneven flows of benefits are further impacted by asymmetries of power: such asymmetries 'are part of underlying relationships of inequity whose effect is that different stakeholders do not enjoy the same access to economic opportunity or political participation' (Humphreys Bebbington, 2013, p. 440). Here, Humphreys Bebbington distinguishes between inequity, the product of unequal underlying relationships, and inequality, the unequal distribution of benefits and losses (p. 440). In this context, where distribution of benefits occurs under conditions of inequity, the presence of a multinational company 'introduces new asymmetries into social relationships' (p. 445); this in turn impacts on access to opportunities and equality of outcomes for the Indigenous population. In his analysis of inclusive development in natural resource extraction, Bebbington contends that our understanding must be historically and spatially grounded (2013, p. 4), noting that inclusion can extend to ideas as well as benefits (such as involvement in planning)

and across time as well as geographical space: environmental damage or protection affects current and future generations for example (2013, p. 26).

The few accounts of CSR and its impact on Indigenous peoples focus primarily on contexts where Indigenous exclusion and dispossession of land, rights and citizenship shape the degree of inclusion in or exclusion from development processes (e.g. O'Faircheallaigh & Ali, 2008). In contrast, in parts of the Pacific, Indigenous groups can operate from a position of relative power due to their landowning status combined with protective state measures, as in Fiji where the hotel industry engages with Indigenous landowners via the iTaukei Land Trust Board (see Mana Island example above). However, this does not translate to equalities in the balance of power or equalities of outcomes. Burns found that Indigenous communities of Beqa Island who leased their land to a Canadian-owned resort felt excluded from land, access to resources, decision-making processes and an equitable share of benefits, suggesting this relationship bears 'the imprint of colonial factors' (2003, p. 86).

Implications for CCD in the Pacific: the international is personal

In the Pacific context, the particular power asymmetries encountered, the geographical, temporal and social issues affecting communities and how inclusion or exclusion is manifested through ideas and material benefits all have implications for CCD. Thompson points out that '[i]nstitutions and their cultures are not neutral; their norms, expectations and practices reflect the interests and biases of their origins as well as those of powerful stakeholders (2008, p. 96). In the same way that some MNCs profit from the social construction of gender whilst at the same time operating on the assumption that they are gender-neutral (Kilgour, 2013, p. 124), it is possible for MNCs to adopt an 'anti-politics' (Ferguson, 1994) stance to CSR. By presenting political decisions as apolitical, technical solutions, the role of exclusionary or politically biased practices which shape decision-making and resource allocation are negated. In-depth exploration of these intersections in relation to CSR, however, is limited, and analysis focusing on the Pacific context is missing.

In examining whether initiatives are able to respond to local-level priorities, it is necessary to interrogate the nature of the initiatives at the 'development interface' (Long, 2001, p. 191): how are the priorities determined, initiatives constructed and

what and who are included or excluded, asking the questions: 'who has the power to make decisions, what power structures are implicit in CSR,...who has a voice in the debate' (Prieto-Carrón, 2008, p. 984), 'what is on the agenda and who is being invited to the negotiating table?' (Pearson, 2007, p. 50). In any analysis of CSR and CCD, asking these questions can expose sites of exclusion or marginalisation that otherwise may be invisible and can reveal the absences in the process. As Enloe points out, not only is the personal political, but the 'international is personal' (2000, p. 196).

Having touched on micro and meso level factors influencing corporate-community interactions, the next section now moves to consider the impact of global, macro-level processes.

Linking the global with the local

CCD is influenced by multi-scalar processes. The structures and relationships at global, national and local levels dictate how CCD initiatives are shaped and impacted by linkages across these scales, for example between the neoliberal economic system and corporate tax breaks, the legacy of colonialism and current government structures, between corporate strategy and hotel CCD goals, and between tourist demand and the produce on the menu. In studying the dynamics of tourism, Salazar (2011) proposes that detailed studies of the local 'gain in significance when placed in larger global and historic frameworks' (p. 184), using what he terms 'glocal ethnography' (p. 180) to focus on the local and the ways it is linked with global processes. The following discussion examines the influence of global forces on CCD and how it is shaped by international frameworks, national institutions and public pressure.

Global power and tourism: international frameworks

The frameworks within which multinational companies operate are influenced at an international level by the regulations of international bodies such as the UN, the ILO, WTO and the World Bank, supra-national organisations such as the OECD and global networks and initiatives, for example the Global Compact and the Global Reporting Initiative. It can include alliances, protocols, charters, conventions, regulations, agreements, policies, and strategic plans. These can affect how logistical support is

put in place at a national level, including regional plans, financial requirements, infrastructure and human resources such as training opportunities and financial and business support, and impact on the policies of multinational companies with respect to local communities.

Kapelus (2002) demonstrates how the global impacts on the local by examining how CSR policies formulated at global HQ and shaped by the international system, are ultimately played out at local level. He suggests that whereas at a global level it may be possible to 'pave over the tension' (p. 282) between company profit and community concerns, at a local level concrete obligations must be made, which can result in a failure to effectively implement CSR. When principles must be put into practice and costs are weighed against short-term benefits, local-level decisions may be to limit costs and restrict claims rather than fully implement global commitments (p. 283). In this case, the nature of local-level relationships may strongly influence outcomes.

Rajak shows how global values not only shape local CSR practices but also have the effect of positioning companies as development actors:

Global values articulated and established in the cosmopolitan realms of CSR in London, New York, Geneva or Beijing and established in international codes and compacts, are seen to give rise to a corresponding set of local practices as they elevate corporations as vehicles of social improvement in localities across the world (Rajak, 2010, p. 7).

This suggests we look critically at systemic issues that shape the practice of CCD at all levels. Harcourt recommends we interrogate private sector development activities closely, adopting 'a healthy skepticism that questions and "denormalizes" business practices as we would do any other development activity'. She urges academics to 'shake our tacit assumption that CSR is somehow given and therefore to look with scrutiny at the role it plays in the global governance structures we face today' (2004, p.2).

International protocols and regulations in turn influence the operations of country-level institutions and the national environment that shapes CCD, examined next.

Global power and tourism: national institutions

In the Pacific, large corporations are frequently perceived as exploiting Pacific Island resources for the profit of overseas investors without significant benefits accruing to the communities where they are located (Plange, 1996). Goodwin (2007) points to the role of the state in channelling the benefits of tourism to communities. The realisation of these potential benefits will depend to a large degree on the policy and regulatory framework in which they operate, the support of national and local government, the nature of the engagement with the private sector and the social capital of the community (p.89). However, states can be weak in relation to the heft of corporations, with a lack of resources at their disposal and, in the case of Fiji, also subject to political upheaval, all of which significantly affect their capacity to provide a strong institutional framework that can generate benefits for local communities. Governments are also subject to the requirements of donors and lending agencies. Scheyvens and Russell, for example, note the contradiction between the priority evident for culture and sustainability in the tourism plans of Pacific Island countries and their national economic policies:

This rhetoric, however, often stands in contradiction to the neoliberal, growth-oriented economic policies being implemented by the same governments at the behest of lending agencies and donors which often leads to market-led development which may not always contribute to enhanced wellbeing of communities (Scheyvens & Russell 2009, p. 57).

In terms of landowning communities, relationships with hotels are mediated by the governmental iTaukei Land Trust Board (TLTB), which can have both positive and negative effects. Sofield suggests the TLTB (then the NLTB: Native Land Trust Board) provides not only protective, but empowering structures, which allows landowners to retain control over resources and future developments (2003, p. 301). As mentioned in Chapter Two, Scheyvens and Russell also demonstrate the benefits to the community more widely, finding that through the lease monies resulting from communal land tenure 'real empowerment has been broadly felt at a community level' (2012b, p. 18). However, they also note that these gains can be limited by a lack of capacity of the community to act in their own interests, and by the unequal distribution of benefits. More broadly, they draw attention to the anomaly of the role of TLTB in positioning Indigenous Fijians as beneficiaries of tourism rather than owners. The tension between the government role as advocate for landowners and the

imperative to increase competitiveness in the arena of international tourism is reflected in the development requirements made of lessees: companies are obligated to provide development benefits to communities, but these are not always seen as a fair reflection of the value of the land (see Chapter Five).

Global power and tourism: public pressure

Public pressure globally can also shape the operations of multinational companies; mines, for example are affected by pressure from environmental groups (Kirsch, 2014). However, the extent of pressure on tourism companies in the Pacific is less clear. Landowner protests at tourist resorts in Fiji have occurred sporadically, regarding land and fishing rights (Levett & McNally, 2003, pp. 26-27), unfair work conditions¹⁸ and access to financial benefits from tourism more generally (Kanemasu, 2015, p. 75). However, there is less evidence of consistent or significant pressure from tourists. International campaigns such as 'Sun, Sand, Sea and Sweatshops' and 'Putting Tourism to Rights'¹⁹ have raised awareness of (un)ethical practices of tourism companies, but research suggests that even when consumers are aware of ethical issues, travel booking decisions are ultimately affected by price and quality (Dodds & Joppe, 2005). Sharpley therefore argues it is unrealistic to expect tourists to be accountable for ethical behaviour, suggesting the responsibility for the consequences of tourism development lies with destination planners (2015, p. 377).

Intervention from third parties such as brokers (Cheong & Miller, 2000) or NGOs (e.g. Salole, 2007) can influence outcomes at a local level, but greater pressure for change may be achieved at a regional level, for example from pan-regional organisations such as the Pacific Islands Forum and Melanesian Spearhead Group. What these may be able to achieve, however, will be circumscribed by the political and economic climate, currently shaped by neoliberalism, freemarketeerism and the power of capital.

¹⁸ See for example 'Hotel Strike', Fiji Times, 1 January 2014. <http://www.fjitime.com/story.aspx?id=255707>

¹⁹ Tourism Concern. 'Sun, Sand, Sea and Sweatshops' was launched in 2004 whilst 'Putting Tourism to Rights' ran as a campaign in 2014. <https://www.tourismconcern.org.uk/reports/>

Institutional forces and CCD in the Pacific

As the prevailing political and economic context shapes how multinational businesses operate in the global south, it also therefore shapes CCD. This can be seen in the risk management focus of CSR in mining, described in Chapter Two and flexible employment contracts in the tourism industry, detailed in Chapter Seven. Plange explains how Fiji's Hotel Aid Ordinance Bill in 1960 first established the conditions that preferred international over local capital in Fiji (1996, p. 208) and it is clear that international capital continues to shape operations today. For example, tourism industry stakeholders have recently called for a reprieve on an increase in tax levies on the tourism industry in order to be able to compete globally for tourists.²⁰ Whilst it is said that 'Fiji remains a costly place to do business' (Mahadevan, 2009, p. 11), the demands of multinational capital also exact a cost on Fiji in their quest to maximise profits.

Micro level practices therefore cannot be understood without a macro-level framing. Conversely, the global imperative to embed the private sector into development initiatives worldwide should be considered in the context of the experience of corporate development practices on the ground. To what extent tourism corporation concerns in Fiji speak to the global debates of development, for example the environment and human rights, and to what extent they are focused on the specifics of local development warrants investigation. Within the broader concerns of this thesis then, areas to be explored include the implications of CCD initiatives carried out by MNCs, how participants and initiatives are identified and by whom, what are their roles, how access to resources and opportunities is negotiated and how the process is managed. As Sofield puts it, 'who gets what, when, where and how' (Sofield, 2003, p. 92).

Through carrying out contextual, place-based analyses within communities, links can then be made between local and global processes. A community-oriented view of the

²⁰ 'FHTA want new taxes gone'. Fiji Broadcasting Corporation, 4 May, 2016. <http://www.fbc.com.fj/fiji/39982/fhta-want-new-taxes-gone>.

Investments of over FJ\$7 million are already entitled to a 10-year tax holiday plus import duty exemptions. Fiji Revenue and Customs Authority. <http://www.frca.org.fj/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/Fiji-Revenue-Custom-2015-Incentive.pdf>.

CCD practices of tourism providers in the Pacific is anticipated to generate a more in-depth assessment of the value to the community of corporate activities and provide regional and sectoral insights into whether CCD is an appropriate tool for development. The next sections aim to identify a suitable framework to undertake this task.

3 A Development First framework for CCD

With its emphasis on sustainable human development, and on the importance of local knowledge, an adaptation of Burns' 'Development First' model for tourism planning (Burns, 2004, p. 27) provides an ideal way to frame bottom-up perspectives of CCD in the tourism context. It can take account of the heterogeneity of communities, relationships and power imbalances between companies and communities and community agency in shaping outcomes. It has the potential to highlight the actual impact of initiatives and explore who benefits and allows CCD to be framed with development thinking.

This section firstly outlines Burns' tourism planning approaches and identifies the touchpoints with CCD. I then examine the relationship between mass tourism and development that could constitute a basis for Development First CCD. By synthesising these views it is possible to begin to outline a potential Development First approach to CCD, or how CCD can be framed with development thinking. Finally, I propose elements to include in this approach and questions that should be asked of CCD initiatives in this context (see Hughes & Scheyvens, 2016).

Tourism First/Development First CCD

Burns' model outlines an approach to tourism planning that has sustainable human development at its core and benefits a wide range of stakeholders. This contrasts with the 'Tourism First' approach which focuses on economic planning and building the tourism industry and is the dominant paradigm of the World Bank and aid-assisted tourism planning (Burns, 1999). Economic growth and benefits are prioritised, with development as an assumed by-product: 'the over-riding agenda is always, without exception, growth' (p. 333). In contrast, Development First planning

has a focus on addressing social development. Tourism is seen as a tool that can be used to achieve national social and economic development goals; such goals coincide with UNDP priorities including the elimination of poverty, rural development and gender equity. Whilst Burns acknowledges that development itself is a contested term, a Tourism First approach is not seen as capable of fostering sustainable human development: 'if development is taken to mean economic enlargement, then Tourism First has delivered. However, if development consists of the promises made by various aid agencies and financial institutions as they have sought to promote tourism as an agent for human development over some four decades, then it seems not to have worked' (1999, p. 345). Similarly, when the CCD practices outlined in Chapter Two are considered in light of Burns' dichotomy of planning approaches, it is clear that 'Tourism First' is the dominant approach: this prioritises business interests and takes a universal (westernised) approach to CCD. Whilst examples can be found of practices that could be aligned with a Development First approach, these are less common. If the expectation is for the private sector, via tourism, to deliver development, then a Tourism First approach is clearly insufficient, whilst examples of Development First approaches are piecemeal. Table 3.2 below applies Burn's tourism planning spectrum to CCD by identifying corresponding examples of CCD practice for key elements of the model.

Table 3.2: Tourism First CCD and Development First CCD

Tourism planning	CCD
‘Tourism First’ planning	‘Tourism First’ CCD
Economic growth	Business case for participation in CSR/CCD; cost-saving initiatives
Industry focus	Industry expectations of CCD practices; obtaining social license to operate
Consumerism & commoditisation are central	CCD used to enhance the tourism ‘product’ and build reputation, e.g. eco-initiatives
Globalisation	Western models of CSR, developed by MNCs responding to global issues of concern e.g. environment, child labour
Free market will drive distribution	CCD responds to tourist demand
‘Development First’ planning	‘Development First’ CCD
Sustainable human development	Long-term initiatives developed to respond to a broad definition of community wellbeing
Holistic focus	Enhancing social and cultural wellbeing as well as delivering economic benefits
Culture is central	Indigenous partnerships; valuing local culture
Goals defined by local people	CCD defined and developed in partnership with community
Benefits a wide range of local people	Benefits of CCD are equitably shared

Source: Author, based on Burns 1999 & 2004

The approach was originally conceived (1999) with Development First and Tourism First at two ends of a spectrum whereby Development First is characteristic of iterative, small scale, alternative tourism, and Tourism First focuses on the international tourism industry. Burns points out the tensions inherent in this model: mass tourism carries a risk of over-development whilst Development First tourism may not deliver sufficient economic benefits for development to occur. At the same time, the value placed on culture for tourism can risk ‘museumising’ Indigenous

people and local practices.²¹ In order to resolve these tensions, the model was subsequently advanced through the proposition for a 'Third Way' (2004) where it is suggested that the overarching economic development goals of mass tourism can also be consistent with development priorities, provided certain elements of planning and pre-planning are put into place to facilitate a wider spread of benefits. Stipulating that community voices and power imbalances are taken into account, it places emphasis on relationships, collaboration and the role for international players, acknowledging that the private sector is one actor among many. This has obvious parallels with Weaver's argument, which advances the idea that the greatest capacity for change lies in Sustainable Mass Tourism (2001, p. 167), as suggested in Chapter One. It also suggests that application of the model in a mass tourism environment is apt.

Another way to distinguish between Tourism First and Development First approaches is to examine where the balance of benefits lies. Burns employs Strange's development question as a starting point: 'who benefits?' (1988, cited in Burns, 2004, p. 26). This can usefully be applied to an analysis of CSR and CCD. Whilst the primary beneficiary of Tourism First CCD is the company, Development First CCD should benefit the community. Drawing from the literature, Table 3.3 attempts to identify who principally benefits from commonly practised strategies, with the primary beneficiary identified in bold.

²¹ This term is attributable to Benedict Anderson, in reference to the political nature of the process of appropriation and cataloguing of cultural artefacts during times of colonial administration (Anderson, 2006).

Table 3.3: Who benefits from CCD

Strategy	Company benefit	Community benefit
Core practices		
Good labour practices	Takes advantage of community skills and builds a stable workforce	Wider employment opportunities and stable income
Health and safety systems	Good working practices Employees more effective	Safe work space and more productive employees
Training programmes	Employees more effective	Opportunity to upskill; NB management opportunities might be restricted
Responsible procurement	Potentially cost-saving and takes advantage of local produce	Provides employment and income for local community and beyond: multiplier effects.
Community consultation	Obtains community buy-in Manages risk	Can ensure tourism development benefits community, if genuine consultation occurs
Environmental initiatives		
Support for environmental programmes	Protect environment as tourism product	Local environmental programmes may have community benefit e.g. protecting fishing grounds
Conservation of resources	Cost saving Good Public Relations	Conservation of local resources may have positive benefit for community
Cultural initiatives		
Hosting cultural performances	Fulfilling guest expectations, offering diverse entertainment options	Can showcase culture, diversity and encourage understanding. Income-earning potential. NB. Cultural capital can be valued or commodified.
Contribution to cultural programmes	Protect as part of tourism product	Protects/values cultural capital
Heritage preservation	Protect as part of tourism product	Protects cultural heritage
Non-core practices		
Charitable donation	Enhances reputation; builds good relationship with neighbours	e.g. support for local schools and hospitals; rebuilding communities post-disaster
Educational initiatives	Enhances reputation; Builds future pool of employees	Access to educational opportunities
Mentoring of small businesses	Improves access to viable local businesses	Builds capacity, increases income-earning potential
Community health initiatives	Improves health of current/ future pool of employees and families	Access to health care
Volunteering	Enhances reputation and builds goodwill	e.g. support for schools, community projects, environmental protection

Source: Author

It should be noted that, in many instances, who benefits will be dictated by how the initiative is implemented and the relationships on which this is based; there will also be much variation across different contexts. Nevertheless, despite the underlying principle of CSR as a means of creating social benefit, it is evident that many CSR activities primarily benefit the company, and all initiatives have a company benefit as well as a community benefit (e.g. see Williams et al., 2007 on the environmental priorities of corporation and community). This is a logical outcome of the imperative to pay attention to the bottom line and be responsive to shareholders and can be seen as consistent with a Tourism First perspective. To probe the beneficiary perspective still further, even if the simple necessity to add to shareholder value is taken as a given, we are still left with the assumption that all CSR activities automatically add value to the community (e.g. Bohdanowicz & Zientara, 2009; Nicolau, 2008). This does not allow for a more nuanced analysis of *how* the benefits accrue to communities and *who does not* benefit, along with attention to the broader impacts on communities beyond the immediate benefits of individual initiatives or how effects might intersect. Burns juxtaposes assumed community benefit in tourism planning with the lack of community access to the planning process, which makes community benefit difficult to identify (Burns, 1999); similarly, the extent of community inclusion in the development of CCD will affect outcomes. Further, the assumption of communities as passive recipients of CSR or CCD negates the role of community agency in this process and how this impacts on the benefits gained.

So, what then is needed to ensure that the community benefit identified in the right hand column is inclusive, locally-meaningful and sustainable? How can it be evaluated against the expectations of the SDGs and is there a possibility to deliver these outcomes at the same time as responding to the company bottom line? Telfer and Sharpley (2008) refer to this as the 'tourism-development dilemma' facing planners, that is, 'how to meet the broader developmental objectives of each destination by optimizing the contribution of tourism, while, at the same time, keeping the costs or negative consequences of tourism development to a minimum' (p. 174). Similarly, the Third Way envisages that '[a]t the international level, a new attitude towards planning on the part of donor agencies should define their role as human development, in essence a Third Way framed by a "Development First" approach' (Burns, 2004, p. 39) which could provide 'a platform for sustainable growth and human development' (p. 40). This is essentially the scenario advocated within

the 2030 Agenda (United Nations, 2015), but it is not clear what this approach would look like for business, how it would be fostered and how it could be sustained. Without an appropriate framework to guide, enable or even require implementation, the private sector will naturally gravitate towards a Tourism First approach (Scheyvens, 2011, p. 114).

The next section interrogates the development possibilities of mass tourism and whether there is a basis on which CCD in the tourism sector can demonstrate a sustained Development First approach.

Connecting large-scale mass tourism and development

Burns' model is used in this thesis to focus on multinational companies, aiming to investigate whether any of the key principles of a Development First approach in CCD initiatives (as outlined in Table 2) are practised by mass tourism providers and to explore what this means for the private sector's involvement in development in tourism. I firstly seek to gather evidence for an established connection between mass tourism and private sector led development that could be used to identify characteristics of a Development First approach. Or, in Telfer and Sharpley's words, 'how the industry can operate so that the destination developmental needs are taken into account and how the power that multinationals hold can be used to that end' (2008, p. 58).

Although there has been little analysis to date on the capacity of CSR to link tourism and development, the connection between large-scale mass tourism and development has been advanced through approaches such as PPT and tourism and poverty research. In contrast to the niche markets targeted by alternative, community-based and ecotourism initiatives, PPT describes an approach which focuses on achieving net benefits for the poor across the industry as a whole, through partnerships, policy reform and responsible consumer and business behaviour (Ashley et al., 2000). Key principles include the participation of the poor, a holistic livelihoods approach and attention to the distribution of benefits. Despite the focus on poverty elimination, this approach has received some criticism. Schilcher challenges the PPT agenda on the basis that it fails to benefit the poor disproportionately (2007), Torres and Momsen (2004) draw attention to the lack of linkages between tourism and

agriculture in PPT which neglects the rural poor, and Higgins-Desbiolles highlights its lack of an agenda for broader systemic change (2006, p. 1201). As Mowforth and Munt point out, PPT is 'principally a measure for making some sections of the community 'better-off' and of reducing the vulnerability of poorer groups to shocks (such as hunger)' (2009, p. 349). Furthermore, given tourism's position within a global neo-liberal market economy, Chok, Macbeth and Warren note that 'tourism policies and plans are less likely to be reflective of a community's social, cultural and environmental concerns than they are of the economic imperatives of those in power' (2007, p. 159). If the private sector is to be singled out as an agent for development via the SDGs, then these outcomes are insufficient to satisfy Development First criteria.

Moving beyond PPT, tourism and poverty research points towards a number of characteristics that Development First CCD may incorporate. Spenceley and Meyer suggest that within the tourism and poverty research agenda,

[r]ather than viewing tourism simply as an industry aligned to neo-liberal thinking, tourism [is] perceived as a powerful social force that needs to be better understood in order to connect it more effectively to development agendas that go beyond purely economic considerations (2012, p. 301).

Within this agenda, Higgins-Desbiolles underscores the 'transformative capacity' of tourism (2006, p. 1196). She refers particularly to the right to travel, and to rest and relaxation as a human right, that is, the positive benefits to tourists (p. 1197), but this approach could also be applied to an analysis of the transformative capacity for host destinations. Higgins-Desbiolles recommends the use of Inayatollah's set of questions based on the values of 'distribution, growth, structural peace, personal peace, cultural pluralism and economic democracy' (Inayatullah, 1995, p. 413) as a benchmarking tool and calls for academia to identify 'the tangible and intangible benefits such a progressive policy could deliver the entire community (not just the business sector) through research' (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006, p. 1206). A critical tourism approach similarly suggests that empathy in tourists 'may open up new forms of intersubjective understanding and thereby create more ethical relations between people across cultural and social divides' (Tucker, 2016, p. 37).

Scheyvens observes that neoliberalism necessitates a focus on outside (foreign) interests, for example tourists, foreign investors and supranational organisations, and

contends that what is needed is an inward-oriented focus to deliver national and local development needs (2002, p. 234). In this way, tourism can be an agent for development, if supported by the 'integration of local, national and international level strategies' (p. 232). It should also be noted that development outcomes can reflect existing inequalities: Tucker and Boonabanna, for example, stipulate that a consideration of gender inequalities is needed to avoid reproducing existing inequalities in the distribution of the benefits of tourism (2012, p. 438). Zhao and Ritchie point out that the poorest of the poor should be the focus of anti-poverty tourism 'as they are least capable of directly participating in tourism enterprises' (2007, p. 349), whilst Schilcher proposes a redistributive approach rather than a growth approach, supported by a strong regulatory framework 'which gives the poor a voice, incorporates cultural as well as political and economic capital, values local knowledge and bridges the micro-macro dichotomy (2007, p. 184).

Following Burns, Telfer and Sharpley advocate for a Development First planning focus in tourism and link its capacity to enable poverty reduction as articulated in the Millennium Development Goals (2008, p. 230). They contend that if development is the intended outcome from tourism then the impacts of tourism must be effectively managed in order to allow this (pp. 179-180) and propose a framework which incorporates assessment of the influences, responses and trade-offs in tourism (p. 216). There is evidence that CCD can play a role in mitigating or enhancing a number of these tourism trade-offs, for instance economic development, employment, poverty reduction, leakages, environmental protection and social empowerment. In terms of resolving the tourism-development dilemma, however, Telfer and Sharpley question whether it is possible to ensure that environment, society and economy all benefit (p. 227); likewise Burns queries the capacity of masterplanning to achieve sustainable human development (2004, p. 40). The question can similarly be posed in relation to CCD and the potential of realising the 2030 Agenda. Constructing a framework to assess this potential can be used to examine this in greater detail.

A Development First Framework for CCD

By synthesising the views above it is possible to begin to outline the characteristics of a Development First framework for CCD. Such an approach might include the following:

- A focus on human development and community wellbeing
- Collaboration regionally, nationally, internationally
- A focus on building capabilities
- Reducing vulnerability of the poorest
- Valuing cultural capital
- Attention to distribution of benefits
- Consideration of gender norms and inequalities
- Utilisation of local knowledge
- Acknowledgement of micro as well as macro impacts
- Monitoring and Evaluation processes
- Accountability to local communities

Informed by the tourism and poverty research described above, relevant questions to be asked of the capability of CCD initiatives to deliver inclusive, sustainable and meaningful outcomes have been developed and are grouped into the key areas of the Tourism First/Development First approaches identified previously. Table 3.4 outlines the Development First Framework.

Table 3.4. A Development First Framework

Sustainable human Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does CCD have a long-term or short-term focus? • Does CCD focus on building local capabilities? • Does CCD reduce vulnerabilities? • Is there evidence of collaboration with other actors, locally, regionally or nationally, and alignment with government goals for enhancing human wellbeing?
Holistic focus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does CCD contribute to economic, social, cultural and community wellbeing? • Can multiplier (indirect) effects be identified?
Culture is central	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is cultural capital valued rather than commodified or museumised? • Is local knowledge valued and respected? • How is cultural capital sustained?
Community-focused goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who defines local development needs to be addressed by CCD? • How are the poorest or most marginalised sections of the community represented in decision-making? • Does CCD help the community to achieve goals that they value as a people?
Distribution of benefits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who benefits and how are benefits shared/distributed? • Who does not benefit or is marginalised? • Does CCD counteract or reinforce existing inequalities?
Building relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How are meaningful relationships between a tourism business and local communities supported? • Is there accountability for CCD to local communities?
Monitoring and Evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is there evidence of monitoring and evaluation processes in place? Who is responsible for a) determining positive indicators of change, and b) conducting monitoring and evaluation? • Does monitoring and evaluation lead to reflection by tourism businesses, and changes in their practices?

Source: author

Asking these questions of CSR initiatives can generate insight into the scope of initiatives to bring about locally meaningful development and at the same time highlight where contradictions and ambiguities may lie. To return to Burns' analysis, he asserts that there is a role for tourism to play in achieving sustainable human development and that 'planning could be framed by development thinking' (p. 40). This thesis seeks to investigate this role further.

4 Conclusion

This chapter has established the case for examining CCD from a community perspective, drawing on evidence from the literature on community engagement and the dynamics of company-community relationships, social capital, tourism and community development, and on inclusion and exclusion in development. Discussion has been situated in the global context within which tourism operates, and localised for the Pacific setting, with specific reference to Fiji. This provides evidence for the importance of relationships and community engagement in the Fijian context. Identifying issues of equity and the distribution of benefits draws attention to the 'demarcation' of communities and beneficiaries referred to by Rajak (2010, p. 214) and the boundaries of CCD drawn according to status, location and perceived need. These boundaries intentionally or unintentionally involve processes of inclusion and exclusion - of either particular groups or areas of focus and can result in inequality of outcomes.

Based on this examination, a framework of analysis has been developed that is able to prioritise community perspectives in CCD, centralising the importance of relationships and the minutiae of development processes as well as acknowledging the heterogeneity of communities and the presence of power differentials. The framework has been constructed by drawing on Burns' tourism planning model and adapting it for CCD, informed by literature on tourism and development. This framework allows analysis of the 'Development First' potential of CCD: who benefits and how, who is marginalised, and in what ways long-term community goals and priorities are addressed. I return to the framework in Chapter Eight to interrogate my fieldwork findings and assess whether CCD could be framed by development thinking.

The next chapter explains the selection of methodologies appropriate to a local-level investigation of CCD, explores my approach to cross-cultural fieldwork, and details the research process I followed.

Chapter Four

Methodology

*Knowledge is seen as a gift by Fijians*²²

1 Approach

My choice of methodology needs to be suitable for case-study research that examines lived experience at a local level in a Pacific context, but also allows responsiveness to the larger forces that shape corporate community development. My main focus is directed at the micro-level, with a need to interpret the diversity of local actions, but at the same time to retain the capacity to link to global processes. My methodology also needs to be appropriate for working with Indigenous communities in the Pacific. Whilst exploring possible approaches I found two that neatly complement one another and enable me to be responsive to these different demands. An *actor-oriented approach* (Long, 2001) pays attention to micro-level specifics in order to give meaning to macro-level structures: this allows the study of community perspectives at a micro-level whilst opening up the possibility of making connections to macro-level processes. In this way, connections can be made between tourism communities in Fiji, decisions at corporate head office and the international system shaping corporate community development more broadly. Concurrent with this, following Nabobo-Baba's Vanua Research Framework allows for the incorporation of 'Fijian world views, knowledge systems, lived experience, representations, cultures and values' (Nabobo-Baba, 2008, p. 143). It provides a framework for the conduct of research with Indigenous Fijians, a guide for the research process and a method by which to begin to understand community perspectives of positive, locally-meaningful change. Both approaches enable a focus on lived realities and a prioritisation of participant points of view. Together, they offer complementary ways to address the questions laid out in the Development First framework. In seeking out community perspectives of development I have also advanced a number of ideas throughout the thesis which

²² Nabobo-Baba (2008, p. 146)

draw on post-development thinkers. Although I have not explicitly employed post-development as a methodology, it is important to acknowledge its contribution to the process of recognising alternative modes of development.

This chapter first outlines both methodological approaches and their suitability for this research. I then go on to engage with issues of representation and ethics integral to the fieldwork process, detailing how I have navigated these. Next, I present an outline of the research process, following the nine steps Nabobo-Baba (2008) designates in the *vanua* research process, detailed below. These steps acknowledge the research as beginning at the point where the idea is first conceptualised and continuing beyond the completion of research reports. I document how I approached each stage, the support and guidance I received and how my fieldwork was consequently shaped.

Actor-oriented approach

An actor-oriented approach emphasises the importance of context-specific social relations and networks of relations. The focus is on the points of interface ‘where different, and often conflicting, lifeworlds or social fields intersect’ (Long, 2001, p. 65) and the negotiations and interactions that occur in these spaces. The importance of agency in individual actions is recognised, where both ‘knowledgeability’ and ‘capability’ are used to create ‘room for manoeuvre’ (pp. 16-17), leading to differential responses in different contexts.

One key feature of this approach is the connection made between local level actions and global processes and ‘the ways in which “micro-scale” interactional settings and localised arenas are connected to wider “macro-scale” phenomena and vice versa’ (Long, 2001, p. 50). In examining individual actions, investigation is called for how these are shaped by larger forces, for example class or power, and how these same social practices and interactions can affect larger-scale systems (pp. 64-65). Villarreal notes that ‘if the intention is to understand the causes, connections and consequences of power processes, we have to look very closely at the everyday lives of the actors, explore the small, ordinary issues that take place within different contexts and show how compliance, adaptation, but also resistance and open struggle are generated’ (Villarreal, 1992, p. 258). At the same time, actors are seen as active participants

rather than passive beneficiaries of interventions (Long & Long, 1992, p. 21), with their own 'self-organising' processes and strategies (Long, 2015, p. 39).

Examining the specificities of lived experience demands that concepts are 'translated culturally' (Long, 2001, p. 18) in order to understand how agency, knowledge, power and status are constructed, experienced and interpreted differently depending on the cultural context (p. 19). For example, Marilyn Strathern's 'indigenous theory of agency' reveals the different constructions of agency in African and Melanesian contexts (1985, cited in Long, 2001, p. 19). Importantly, the characteristic of agency is ascribed to institutions, organisations and collectives such as companies, state and church organisations, as well as to individuals (p.16), so this approach is well-suited to the study of collectives in an Indigenous context. Long identifies three types of collective actors: coalitions of actors, actor-networks, and things, people and institutions attributed with agency (2001, p. 56-57). His definitions for each of these types can be unpacked to reflect on agency within Indigenous collectives. Firstly, patterns of relations within coalitions of actors may either involve the granting of reciprocal rights, or representation by an authoritative body. In the Fijian context, the latter can be characterised by the iTaukei Land Trust Board, as representative of the landowning unit. Reciprocal rights between landowners and lessees are embedded within the regulations of land ownership and the structure of the *Vanua* and demonstrate a certain type of 'exchange relationship'. Actor-networks meanwhile, encompass the interaction of human and non-human elements, which in an Indigenous context can be connected to the significance of land and environment as integral to social action. *Vanua*, which can be understood as the connection between the people and the land, is defined by its incorporation of human and natural components (Batibasaqa, Overton, & Horsley, 1999, p. 101). Lastly, consideration of people and institutions endowed with agency and influencing action, for example the state or the community, can prompt attention in an Indigenous context to the social structure of the *Vanua*, structures of chiefly power and relationships with both community members and external institutions (such as corporates for instance). Studying these patterns of relations in detail can shed light on collective actions at a micro-level and the interface with the global.

Consistent with the overall project aim to 'reverse the lens', this approach considers development interventions and what 'these same "projects"' might mean for the

“beneficiaries”, the implications of recipients’ *agency* upon the project, and its everyday outcomes’ (Villarreal, 1992, p. 258, emphasis in original). Consistent with a focus on community and household-level interactions it creates a ‘space to study the social dynamics of everyday life’ (Villarreal, 1992, p. 265), including a focus on ‘power, hegemony, actor strategies, gender and intervention’ (Villarreal, 1992, p. 248). It acknowledges the agency of actors, negotiated within networks of social relations and shaped by social values and power relations and examines how these interact with other social actors, frameworks and institutions. Whilst this approach aims to connect to macro-scale processes, the starting point is ‘actor-defined issues’ which are grounded in a study of everyday practices, or what Long refers to as ‘Lifeworlds’ (p. 54).

The critical space for analysis is the development or social ‘interface’ where these different lifeworlds intersect. This can be a site for conflict and negotiation around multiple discourses and the intersection of different cultural paradigms and forms of knowledge, values and beliefs, alongside struggles for power, authority and resources. Long specifies that ‘[a] major task of interface analysis is to spell out the knowledge and power implications of this interplay and the blending or segregation of opposing discourses’, particularly at points of conflict between different worldviews or ‘critical junctures’ (2001, pp. 71-72).

An actor-oriented approach analyses the development interface created between corporates and communities: the relationships developed, priorities negotiated and resources distributed. It examines the intersection of multiple discourses and how agency is enacted in everyday contexts to create ‘room for manoeuvre’. Of significance for examining CCD, it allows a distinction to be made between more autonomous self-organising processes and externally-planned development programmes (Long, 2015, p. 39). Applying an actor-oriented paradigm to the Development First framework interrogates the development initiatives originating from globalised mass tourism providers and their everyday impact at a community level. In this way, analysis of the quotidian is used to inform our understanding of the larger processes of international development: ‘it is only in these micro situations that the “macro” becomes socially meaningful’ (Villarreal, 1992, p. 250).

Vanua Research Framework

As the study focus is the Pacific, it is important to locate the study within a culturally relevant framework. For a non-Indigenous researcher in the Pacific this presents ethical and methodological challenges. Smith (2004) points out that '[f]or Pacific peoples and other indigenous communities, research is embedded in our history as natives under the gaze of western science and colonialism' and that resulting scholarship has 'marginalised the indigenous knowledge systems of the Pacific and Pacific authority over its own knowledge' (p. 5). This is echoed by Nabobo-Baba in the same volume, stressing that such 'truths' can 'disregard and oppress our knowledges, epistemologies and consequently our indigeneity' (Nabobo-Baba, 2004, p. 20). One might question whether it is appropriate at all for a non-Indigenous researcher to engage in Indigenous research. Nabobo-Baba, however, also states that '[r]esearch can allow the silenced to speak, through decolonising research methods which will take cognisance of indigenous philosophies, cultural worldviews and processes' (p. 26). In searching for appropriate methods of engagement I also came across Teaiwa's advice for avoiding an approach that is 'parasitic of indigenous knowledges':

if the academy is to have a meaningful relationship with people in the rest of the world, urgent attention to audience and the forms of communication that those audiences best engage with is needed...We have to learn how to produce knowledge in the same forms we encounter it, and to share the results with communities in effective ways (Teaiwa, 2004, p. 226).

In order, then, to draw on Pacific methodologies, a deeper understanding of the principles supporting the 'unique epistemologies' of Pacific peoples is needed (Vaioliti, 2006, p. 22). Stewart-Withers et al. emphasise that a key principle underpinning Indigenous research across the Pacific is reciprocity: 'All over Oceania, for example, reciprocity is the essence of communal and collective values and is the glue that builds and binds the social capital of communities' (Stewart-Withers, Banks, McGregor, & Meo-Sewabu, 2014, p. 74). This refers to gifts, knowledge and time. Linda Smith's seminal work on decolonising research methodologies (1999) provides a powerful orientation for research with Indigenous peoples. These include showing respect for people, meeting face to face, looking and listening before speaking, sharing, hosting and being generous, being cautious and protecting *mana* (dignity), and not flaunting knowledge (1999, p. 120).

Whilst Indigenous Pacific research is ‘not a single body of thought’ (Sanga, 2004, p. 43), these principles point to the existence of shared philosophies (Huffer & Qalo, 2004; Sanga, 2004; also see Chapter Five). According to Sanga, Indigenous Pacific research can be seen as research that

- Expresses the social spiritual and cultural worlds of a people in a particular time, space and context;
- Assumes that knowledge is relativist and inseparable from the context and the social realities of Pacific peoples;
- Assumes that research is value-bound and research findings are value-laden;
- Employs research methods with a focus on obtaining rich contextual details of insider perspectives and capturing multiple realities and voices. (Sanga, 2004, pp. 44-48).

Other researchers have suggested guidelines and principles for undertaking culturally appropriate research in Fiji. Nainoca outlines five ethical values required of a researcher in an Indigenous Fijian community: *veidokai* (respect); *veidolei* (reciprocity), *vosota* (patience), *veimaroroi* (protection - of research participants) and *veivakatorocaketaki* (enhancement - benefitting the community) (2011, p. 46). Ravuvu stresses the importance of Fijian ideals broadly encompassed by the idea of ‘share and care’: *veivukei* (giving a helping hand), *veinanumi* (being considerate of others), *veilomani* (being loving and friendly to one another), *dua vata* (togetherness) and *yalo vata* (of the same spirit) (1988, p. 8). Otsuka (2006) highlights the importance of oral tradition, of paying attention to non-verbal communication clues and of being a good listener (*dauvakarogo*).

However, Nabobo-Baba’s (2008) Vanua Research Framework is ‘conspicuous as the only comprehensive framework for understanding specifically ‘Fijian’ Indigenous research methodology’ (Farrelly & Nabobo - Baba, 2014, p. 321). This framework emerges from the imperative to decolonise research and encompasses the values above. It provided an important guide for me throughout the research process.

The Vanua Research Framework is framed by an understanding of the *vanua*. According to Nabobo-Baba's method, 'the philosophy behind Vanua Framing is one of the interconnectedness of people to their land, environment, cultures, relationships, spirit world, beliefs, knowledge systems, values and God(s)' (Nabobo-Baba, 2008, p. 143).

Research is vanua research when it is based on the vanua, related to it, or has implications for the vanua and the welfare of its people...it derives its data and validation from the vanua, because it affirms protocols of knowledge access and because it acknowledges the role played by the vanua in shaping the process and product of the study (Nabobo-Baba, 2006, p. 25).

The Vanua Research Framework describes a process for undertaking *vanua* research that incorporates 'indigenous Fijian world views, knowledge systems, lived experience, representations, cultures and values' (Nabobo-Baba, 2008, p.143). Nabobo-Baba elucidates differences between *vanua* research and 'westernised' academic research which include prioritising subjective over objective knowledge, showing an appreciation of the contribution of interviewees by according sufficient time for the exchange, adhering to customary *sevusevu* protocols (introductory offering) over and above consent forms and information sheets, and respecting Indigenous ownership of the knowledge generated. Outlined further in Chapter Five, the *vanua* combines ideas of land, culture, history and beliefs. This is encapsulated by Batibasaqa et al. as 'an expression of Fijian values [which] provides both a geographical and sociological point of reference and links the ecological, social, spiritual and economic dimensions together' (1999, p. 102). An understanding of the *vanua* and its physical, social and cultural points of reference is central to research undertaken with Indigenous Fijians and is integral to the Vanua Research Framework. The principles of the framework state that research should

- benefit the researched community;
- focus on indigenous peoples' needs and take into account indigenous cultural values, protocols, knowledge processes and philosophies;
- recognise the importance of language in understanding, critiquing and verifying indigenous concepts, and in documenting aspects of their lives appropriately;
- ensure local people are part of the research team and indigenous persons are in principal roles;

- show respect and reciprocity;
- build accountability into research procedures;
- seek permission from *Vanua* chiefs, as well as village chiefs and elders at all levels (Nabobo-Baba, 2008, pp. 144-145).

These principles are integral to a *vanua* research process that ‘needs to recognize and be grounded in the four important knowledge categories (*vanua*, *lotu* or spirituality, *I tovo vakavanua* or custom, and *veiwekani* or kinship)’ (Nabobo-Baba, 2006, p. 135). Of these, *vanua* is the foundation, incorporating both its physical and abstract aspects, whilst spirituality and worship, customs and behavior and kinship relationships are all integral parts of *vanua* knowledge. Knowledge here refers to ‘things important to know in the *Vanua* as well as to values, skills and acceptable behaviour’ (2006, p. 73). The recognition of cultural knowledges grounds the research and provides it with ‘methodological integrity’ (Nabobo-Baba, 2008, p. 143). Mindful of these principles, I aimed to follow them as far as possible. The framework details nine steps that should be followed through the research process, and at each stage consideration must be given to the principles outlined above. The steps are:

1. *Na navunavuci* (conception)
2. *Na vakavakarau* (preparation and planning)
3. *Na i curucuru/na i sevusevu* (entry)
4. *Na talanoa/veitalanoa* (multilogue/dialogue/monologue/story collection)
5. *Na i tukutuku* (reporting/analysis/writing)
6. *Na vakavinavinaka* (gifting/thank yous)
7. *I tatau* (departure)
8. *Vakarogotaki lesu tale/taleva lesu* (reporting back, revisiting site for the purposes of presentation/informing chiefs and people researched of completion)
9. *Me vakilai/me na I vurevure ni veisau se na vei ka e vou ka na kauta main a bula e sautu* (transformative processes/change as a result of research reports) (2008, pp.146-148).

These nine steps provided a guide as I prepared for and initiated my fieldwork and anchor points that I returned to throughout the research process. The following sections describe the research process, firstly discussing how I attempted to weave

these principles into my approach to undertaking cross-cultural fieldwork and then detailing the research steps taken.

2 Cross-cultural fieldwork

The politics of representation

Positionality

Locating the researcher in the research process includes acknowledging positionality with respect to ethnicity, class, nationality, gender, age, marital status and sexuality (Scheyvens, Scheyvens, & Murray, 2014b, p. 213), or as O'Reilly puts it, 'conveying the context and your place in it' (2009, p. 191). England argues that 'the researcher's positionality and biography directly affect fieldwork and that fieldwork is a dialogical process which is structured by the researcher and the participants' (1994, p. 80). My position as a non-Pasifika, white European researcher and mother, based in New Zealand but originally from the UK, shapes my approach to the research. Having spent almost half my life living outside my own country, I have learned the significance of the everyday, the routines and rituals, the moments of understanding and insight gained from sharing different ways of living. As a mother I am constantly taught by my children to see the world with fresh eyes, to ask questions and to learn through new experiences. As an outsider to the Pacific I am concerned with issues of interpretation and representation - of people, of communities, of cultures, of languages and of practices. As a 'non-indigenous ally' (Eva Mackey, cited by Venkateswar et al., 2011, p. 246), and with an overall philosophical approach to research as a feminist, my priority is to identify how I can most faithfully present the stories of the participants in my research. I have reflected on the ideas of Kapoor, who asks, 'To what extent do our depictions and actions marginalize or silence these groups and mask our own complicities? What social and institutional power relationships do these representations, even those aimed at 'empowerment', set up or neglect? And to what extent can we attenuate these pitfalls?' (Kapoor, 2004, p. 628). Drawing on Spivak (1988) whose challenge is for us 'to engage in an intimate and dialogical manner' (Kapoor, 2004, p. 644), Kapoor suggests that we represent through "intimately inhabiting" and "negotiating" discourse', being vigilant about our complicities, and unlearning dominant systems of knowledge and representation (pp.

640 - 642). The following sections describe my engagement with issues of representation and positionality and how this has influenced my research approach.

Power - of researcher and researched

In investigating the experiences of both companies and communities I found myself in the position of researching the experiences of participants with different levels of power. According to Scheyvens et al., 'studying up' allows us to understand processes of differentiation and how power relations on a global scale affect local outcomes: 'If we do not understand the motivations or actions of those with power we will struggle to conceive of ways to dismantle privilege and build more equitable societies' (2014b, p. 212). Principles for ethical research with marginalised groups, meanwhile, necessitates respect for knowledge, skills and experience, treating participants as active subjects and formulating questions that address their priorities and aim to achieve positive outcomes for them (Scheyvens et al., 2014b, p. 201). This mirrors a feminist approach to ethnographic research, identified by O'Reilly as listening more, empowering interviewees to set the agenda, taking a long-term view, giving participants a voice, emphasising lived experience, and undertaking an analysis of the everyday in relation to power (2009, pp. 67-68). Connecting Indigenous and feminist perspectives, Teaiwa notes that 'the process of decolonization has been part of an ongoing agenda in feminist research for decades' (Haraway 1988, cited by Teaiwa, 2004, p. 227).

Gender and ethnicity

The consideration of gender issues is connected to issues of socioeconomic position and ethnicity. In a post-colonial context this also compels recognition of the intersection of gender-based inequalities with the effects of (neo)colonialism and imperialism. Fife contends that in fact 'the researcher has the obligation to reconcile [his/her] stances with more localized concerns in order to avoid becoming the ugly colonialist' (2005, p. 193) and Cleaver provides fascinating examples of how adopting a western perspective of the right for women to be heard at public meetings completely overlooks the local processes in which women exert influence (2001, pp. 42-45). In the Pacific context, Underhill-Sem further demonstrates the need to contextually locate a gender analysis (2010). In order to avoid 'assumptions of ethnocentric universality' (Mohanty, 1988) therefore, analysis will be contextual: what Friedman calls 'locational

feminist criticism...attuned to the intersection of gender with other constituents of identity' (1998, p. 34).

Arriving at a self-reflexive position

Together, consideration of issues of cross-cultural representation, power, gender and race led me towards a self-reflexive position on the research process. England concludes that fieldwork is always disruptive and the best we can hope for is to minimise this through reflexivity and self-awareness (1994, p. 86). This allows a 'self-critical sympathetic introspection and the self-conscious *analytical* scrutiny of the self as researcher... induces self-discovery and can lead to insight and new hypotheses about the research questions' (England, 1994, p. 82, emphasis in original). The practice of 'hyper-self-reflexivity' referred to by Kapoor (2004) can be a useful form of self-assessment which can help avoid misrepresentation. I aimed to approach my fieldwork in the spirit of 'learning to learn from below' as advocated by Kapoor (2004, p. 641) and 'to see, not just look; to hear, not just listen' (Vaiolenti, 2006, p. 30). In this way I aimed to continually reflect on the impact of my questions and actions and foster an awareness of the cultural expectations of each step of my research. The next section details specific ethics and protocols that I negotiated through the research process.

Ethics and protocols

Seeking permission and consent

Massey University's ethics process began with a discussion around ethical considerations for the researcher and participants, convened by my School (the School of People, Environment and Planning). The research was determined to be low risk and an application was lodged with (and subsequently approved by) the Ethics office (see Appendix 1). In preparation for fieldwork I compiled information sheets and consent forms for communities and for companies, both translated for me into the Fijian language (see Appendices 2 and 3).

Study sites: In selecting case studies, permission was initially sought from managers at the Shangri-La Resort on the Coral Coast, and Raddison Blu on Denarau Island. These were selected for their location, representing two of the four main areas where

tourism is concentrated in Fiji (Harrison & Prasad, 2013, p. 747), namely the Coral Coast and Nadi. Together with the Mamanuca and Yasawa Islands and Suva these areas make up 90 per cent of the beds in Fiji. Siting the case studies in these locations is therefore anticipated to generate insights that can inform analysis of CCD in tourism more generally, both in Fiji and in the region. They also satisfied criteria that they are internationally-owned chains and located on *iTaukei*-owned land.

At the same time, permission was requested from the chiefs for the respective landowning communities in Cuvu and Nadi. For Cuvu this was the paramount chief of the province or *Ka Levu*, and for Nadi the chief of the district, or *Tui Nadi*. A scoping visit was made to Fiji in 2013 to establish the case study sites and seek approval for the research to go ahead. This was undertaken by my supervisor Professor Regina Scheyvens, accompanied by Dr Litea Meo-Sewabu who provided cultural advice and support. Further details of the study sites are provided in Chapter Five.

Fieldwork: My fieldwork began in June 2014 and I spent 2 months living in each location. In the interests of building accountability into the research process, two further short return trips were undertaken in April and June 2015, as will be explained further below. The ability to undertake fieldwork in the villages was entirely reliant on gaining the approval of the chief and establishing a connection with the *turaga ni koro* (village head). This connection was made through the Provincial Council and was part of the permission process to obtain a research permit in Fiji initiated prior to leaving New Zealand. The requirements of the research permit application process involved seeking approval from the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Tourism, Department of Immigration and Provincial Councils. Of these steps, the contact with the Provincial Councils had the most direct impact on my fieldwork. When I arrived in Cuvu, the *Roko Tui* (administrative head) for Nadroga province had already made contact with the *Matanitikina* (district head) for Cuvu who then facilitated the *sevusevu* (introductory offering) to the chief where kava roots are offered and permission to enter the village is granted. A similar process occurred in Nadi.

At a village level, consent was sought from the *turaga ni koro*. A *sevusevu* was performed at each village on my first visit and then subsequently when I returned to discuss findings. My information sheets were welcomed, participants appreciative of

the effort that had been made to translate them into the Fijian language, but the consent forms were used less consistently. Written consent was sought from all organisation-based interviewees including government bodies and hotel staff. In the village settings the *sevusevu* provided the opportunity to communicate information about the research and answer questions and this itself constituted an important part of the consent process (as also noted by Farrelly, 2009, p. 45; Nabobo-Baba, 2006, p. 32). Following the *sevusevu*, at village-based focus group interviews with community members this process was verbal consent process was repeated: I provided the information sheets along with an explanation of the research, assisted by my research assistants. There was an opportunity for questions and clarification around the purpose of the study before the interview commenced.

Less formally, at individual or group discussions and interviews, I would also offer fresh rolls or cakes from the bakery or a pack of flour, rice, oil and cocoa to my host.²³ Sometimes I brought a kilo of mandarins from the market vendors and my daughters usually brought a supply of loom bands, popular at that time, to share with the village children. They would all sit happily creating colourful bracelets together and discussing whom they knew in their respective year groups at school whilst I carried out my interviews. An awareness of the importance of time also factored into this process: arriving at an appropriate time, waiting patiently for the right people to be present, not rushing discussions and being prepared to give time to assist in other ways (for example with writing a letter, helping with household or village tasks or watching children). Nabobo-Baba stresses the importance of allowing for, respecting and understanding periods of silence (2006, pp. 94-98). We also ensured that we always adhered to village rules such as always wearing a *sulu* (skirt), not wearing a hat or sunglasses, and carrying bags low rather than over shoulders. These actions all contributed to establishing the principles of respect and reciprocity that are integral to the process of gaining and retaining consent for research in Fiji.

²³ This is referred to as *veisiko*, meaning to visit, which would always involve taking a gift to honour the relationship and demonstrate caring for each other (Meo-Sewabu, 2015, p. 136).

Representation (communities)

In line with the aim of the thesis to ‘reverse the lens’, community voices and perspectives are prioritised. In my findings chapters I have included direct quotes where possible in order for participant voices to be foregrounded, acknowledging at the same time that I am not speaking *for* communities. I also recognise that homogeneity does not exist across or within communities and I have attempted to present different voices in order to present a more balanced view. It is also the case, as Movono notes, that due to strict adherence to the obligations of kinship and the social order, ‘respondents will rarely provide a straightforward answer if it affects commonly held beliefs or perceptions concerning the whole community’ (Movono, 2012, p. 45). This is particularly the case regarding inter- and intra-community conflict. In some cases conflict has been created or exacerbated by the presence of hotels and it was important to be able to acknowledge this, but at the same time it is not in the interests of this thesis to detail rifts within the *Vanua*. Nabobo-Baba emphasises that:

a vanua researcher ensures that no harm is done to the vanua, which means that all information is carefully checked to ensure that that which might be unsettling or have the potential to damage relationships is not made public (2006, p. 25).

The reasons behind conflicts and the approach to resolving them are therefore alluded to, but the specific details of how conflicts unfolded are deliberately vague.

Representation (hotels)

The case study hotels agreed to participate in the research prior to fieldwork, but were understandably cautious about how the hotels would be reflected in any published material. How best to present the hotel and its management in the thesis was an ethical dilemma that I engaged with throughout the fieldwork and the writing up. It was essential for me to be able to retain a critical voice, yet it is also important to note that the hotels selected were among the forerunners of the international hotel chains in Fiji in terms of their efforts to achieve socially responsible business. This enables analysis of CCD in businesses committed to sustainable development. Indeed, their management teams were populated with extremely hard-working individuals committed to their communities and working for positive change. It became clear that many of the issues highlighted in interviews existed *despite* this

commitment and were certainly not unique to these hotels. Although the two case study hotels provide the main focus, villagers discussed their interactions with a number of different hotels, particularly in Nadi where eight international hotels sit shoulder to shoulder. Although there are fewer international hotel chains on the Coral Coast, villagers often drew on experiences with other hotels. Furthermore, discussions revolved around not only current management, but also previous management, spanning several decades. For these reasons, and in the interests of my ethical responsibility to all my participants, although details of hotel activities are provided, in most cases comments and discussion are not attributed to a specific hotel.

Anonymity and confidentiality

For both communities and hotels, names of individuals have not been used in order to protect participant confidentiality. Although the majority of community interviews were undertaken in the landowning case study villages, altogether interviews were undertaken in 12 different villages. Village participants are identified as either landowners or non-landowners and by gender and status in the community where relevant, but in most instances the specific villages are not identified. Community participants also include the targeted beneficiaries of CSR activities, including school principals and hospital staff. Comments of principals are not linked to specific schools.

For hotel interviews, where the general managers are quoted they are not linked to a specific hotel. This also includes a former manager and a manager of another hotel, as detailed in the data collection section. All other managers are identified by the generic term 'manager'. There is rarely a dedicated position to manage CSR; instead a range of individuals take responsibility for CSR programmes including hotel managers, human resource managers, external relations, communications managers and other staff members across a variety of departments. Participants with specific responsibility for CSR activities are referred to as 'CSR champions'. Other participants are identified by their role, as agreed at the time of interview. Where possible these are identified as generic roles rather than identifying an individual. The dates of interviews are also excluded in order to avoid identification of a specific case study.

Research assistants

Conscious of the fact that this is not a Fijian-led study and of the importance of involving local researchers, I employed a Fijian research assistant to work with me in each location. As facilitating access to communities was my primary concern, it was important for me to find research assistants who held a position of trust in the community (McLennan, Storey, & Leslie, 2014, p. 153). Through the support of Fijian contacts in New Zealand I was able to recruit two research assistants who were closely connected with the case study villages, either directly (in the case of Cuvu) or through family connections (as in the case of Narewa and Nakavu). Their main role was to ensure the cultural integrity of the research by ensuring the correct processes were followed. They also assisted with making connections in the villages, navigated access to gatekeepers and ensured I followed the correct communication channels, supported the interviews, interpreted where required, and undertook the household surveys (detailed later). They also supported the process of reporting back on my return visits.

Turner notes that ‘research assistants/interpreters come to the field with their own preconceptions, values and belief systems, just like any researcher’ (Turner, 2010, p. 210). In the same way that positionality and reflexivity is an important consideration for the researcher, so it is in relation to research assistants. This was particularly relevant for research assistants closely linked to the community. This level of access to local knowledge conferred a number of advantages on the research, including the brokering of key relationships, building a trust relationship with the community and generally enabling the smooth running of the research. Insider research assistants can also create ethical concerns, for example due to the potential for the research assistant to control the form of data collection (McLennan et al., 2014, p. 153). Where interpreting is also carried out, this results in what Temple and Edwards call ‘triple subjectivity’, encompassing the interaction between research participant, researcher and interpreter (Temple & Edwards, 2002, p. 6). These issues were carefully navigated through ongoing discussions with the research assistants outside of community interviews which allowed me to gain a better understanding of their position in the community and to enable the direction of the research to be shaped in a collaborative manner. For me, this was all part of the listening process that led me to engage more fully with the communities and ‘learn from below’ (Kapoor, 2004, p.641).

Language

Recognising the importance of language, identified in the Vanua Research Framework, I undertook a course in the Fijian language before I left for Fiji. This provided me with the ability to undertake basic conversational exchanges and give a rudimentary description of my research. However, interviews were carried out in English. Where Fijian language was used by participants during an interview this was interpreted by my research assistant. The quotes used in this thesis have been left as close to the original as possible; however minor changes to grammar and vocabulary have been made to retain the sense of the comments and ensure accessibility for the reader.

3 The Research Process

This section details the specifics of the research process, following the nine steps of the Vanua Research Framework. This covers conceptualising and planning the research at the outset, carrying out the fieldwork, data (story) collection, leaving the field, undertaking analysis and returning to the field and reporting back.

Conception, preparation and planning: *Na navunavuci, Na vakavakarau*

In order to ensure that the principles and values of the Vanua Research Framework were followed as closely as possible, I endeavoured to seek cultural advice from my research assistants in addition to following advice from Fijian researchers, mentors and advisors in both New Zealand and Fiji. My mentors included Pasifika scholars in New Zealand, researchers at the University of the South Pacific, the owner of the house where I stayed in the village and the families of my research assistants and advisors who became my Fijian family in the field. This support covered everything from finding a place to live and school places for my children, to arranging for made-to-measure *sulu jiaba* (traditional dress) for us all, organising the *sevusevu* with the chief and introducing me to key contacts in each location. It included advice on cultural protocols and language, translations and ensuring the cultural fit of my research. It also involved regular *talanoa*, sometimes around the kava bowl, but more often than not over lemon tea, to deepen my understanding of the history, customs

and relationships important to each village. I came to think of my mentors as my 'cultural discernment group' (Meo-Sewabu, 2014). Meo-Sewabu defines the process of cultural discernment as one in which 'a community or a group of people collaborate to ensure that the research process is ethical within the cultural context of the research setting (2014, p. 345). She describes the group as one able to draw on their knowledge and wisdom to make decisions that will avoid harm or achieve the greater good within the village and for participants (p. 349). Each person in their own way provided me with cultural advice, at times bluntly telling me what I should or should not do when it was required, for example when to take kava roots to the village or to an interview and how much was appropriate. The value of this advice cannot be underestimated. Although I engaged this support particularly at the conception and planning stages, it was an essential component at each of the steps outlined by Nabobo-Baba above and drawn on throughout fieldwork and during analysis and writing up.

Entry: *Na i curucuru/na i sevusevu*

Entry to the village:

As a visitor, I was welcomed into both villages. After performing the *sevusevu* to the chief in each location, I was then free to come and go from the village as I pleased. In Cuvu the *sevusevu* was delayed due to the village focus on the re-thatching of Naqeladamu, the chiefly *bure* (house), which was in its final stages of completion when I arrived. As I was staying in the house of the chief's daughter, however, she reassured me that I was already accepted and the *sevusevu* could wait. I was also hosted by a number of families who invited me in to their homes over the course of my stay to share kava (*yaqona*), lemon tea and coconut pie or a meal of pumpkin curry with homemade naan bread. On a few occasions we were invited to share Sunday dinner with the extended family where a large number of dishes are shared including fish, sausages or chicken, chop suey, plantain cooked in coconut and fruit platters. After the meal, we would sit or lie on the mats and talk and my daughters would play with the other children in the village. In Cuvu, being part of the village, but living outside of the village boundaries, meant that we were able to interact with villagers regularly and develop trust and acceptance locally, but at the same time we were not subject to the necessity to adhere to village conventions (for example dress codes and *kerekere* requests) on a daily basis. Towards the end of my stay in Cuvu I

was beginning to become part of village life. My host commented, 'People will see you walking past and say, oh that's Emma - she lives up the top.' We were almost starting to feel as if we belonged. Once we were in Nadi and living in a town environment we missed the intimacy of the village setting. Living away from the village meant that ordinarily it would be much more difficult to establish relationships with my participants; however my wonderful and widely respected research assistant circumvented every issue in this regard by connecting me with all the right people in my first weeks there. This, along with some fortuitous encounters at a school fundraising event, meant that I was able to establish links with other villages in the vicinity of Denarau at an early stage. Although we moved to Nadi mid-way through my fieldwork we retained connections with Cuvu throughout this period as it was an easy 40-minute mini-bus ride along the coast (see Maps in Chapter Five). This accessibility meant that I was able to return to the sites of some of my initial interviews to report on progress before I left the field.

Family in the field

There is now a body of research exploring the issues associated with taking children into the field and outlining the way that this can impact on fieldwork (e.g. Cupples & Kindon, 2003; Farrelly, Stewart-Withers, & Dombroski, 2014; Scheyvens, Scheyvens, & Nowak, 2014a). In my case, the advantages of undertaking fieldwork with my children by far outweighed the disadvantages. While the learning experience for them was tremendous, they were also of great assistance to me and we all appreciated one another's company as we navigated language, transport, shopping and meeting new people. In terms of my fieldwork, their presence had the effect of 'humanising' me to the community (Scheyvens et al., 2014a, p. 136) and allowing me to develop more 'egalitarian relationships' with participants (Cupples & Kindon, 2003, p. 214). It took some time to develop a trust relationship with our neighbours and my study participants; in Cuvu this was greatly facilitated by the children attending the village school where they became well-liked. As a mother it was easy to initiate conversations with other parents and this led to a degree of acceptance that I do not think I would have achieved had the children attended a school outside the village. In fact even when away from the village it was common knowledge that my children were attending the district school. I was also able to draw on the assistance of other families to care for the girls after school if I needed to be away from the village or at a

meeting at the hotel and the girls soon became accustomed to making themselves at home in my research assistant's village where they made good friends. On other days their class-mates would come back to our house to do their homework and watch re-runs of the handful of movies we had on DVD. This became enough of a routine that when one mother was looking for her daughter at nightfall, my neighbour's immediate suggestion was to check at my house. Of course both my children and the village children greatly missed each other on our departure.

Yet I also worried for my children: they had different hurdles to navigate such as integrating into classes where they were the only native English speakers, managing different academic and disciplinary expectations, and their first experience travelling solo on a public bus system. They also suffered from a variety of minor health problems during the course of our stay including strep throat, eye and ear infections and food poisoning, and I spent one sleepless night convinced that I was dealing with a case of dengue fever. But they also successfully completed their school assignments, made new friendships, learnt to manage without home comforts such as a shower and a washing machine and learnt a lot about themselves in the process. Cupples and Kindon point to the positive impact on children as 'co-participant observers' in fieldwork despite the challenges they may face (2003, p. 216) and for me this benefit was reinforced by a comment from the school principal: 'you have taken a bold step. Your daughters will be empowered'.

Data (story) collection: *Na talanoa/veitalanoa*

I used a case study approach, selecting two 'instrumental' cases, where the issue (of corporate community development) is more important than the case (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 24) and employed ethnographic methods to collect data. Both an actor-oriented approach and the Vanua Research Framework lend themselves to an ethnographic approach to 'story collection'. This emphasises prioritisation of local knowledge, values and philosophies and participant-defined issues. O'Reilly stresses the importance of ethnographic methods in building rapport, reciprocal relationships, mutual trust and understanding (2009, p. 178) and England describes methods characterised by 'empathy and mutual respect' and acknowledgement that 'the

knowledge of the person being researched...is greater than that of the researcher' (England, 1994, p. 82).

I aimed to use *talanoa* processes to collect data. *Talanoa* describes a 'process in which two or more people talk together, or when one person is the storyteller and has an audience who largely are listeners' (Nabobo-Baba, 2008, p. 148). Nabobo-Baba explains that *talanoa* is shaped by Fijian understandings of knowledge exchange and knowledge gifting: '[k]nowledge is seen as a gift by Fijians; hence within the frame of Vanua research the gift is sought for and derived accordingly' (2008, p. 146). As Nabobo-Baba and Farrelly point out, however, genuine *talanoa* is produced from a specific combination of circumstances: 'only with prolonged periods of participant observation can the trust and mutual understanding and respect required of meaningful, ethical and empowering *talanoa* research be developed (2014, p. 324). In fact, my research conditions did not enable genuine *talanoa* to take place with interviewees in all but two or maybe three, instances. Instead I can say that my methods of data collection worked *towards talanoa*. The practice of listening, allowing silences, and exercising patience and humility in guiding discussions was used to move closer to the process of *talanoa*. This is perhaps similar to what O'Reilly calls 'interviews as conversations' (O'Reilly, 2009, p. 129).

In sum, my methods were chosen to allow me to listen fully to participant voices and to foreground grassroots perspectives. Methods cover four distinct types of data collection, enumerated below and detailed in Tables 4.1 and 4.2.

i) Semi-structured interviews

Interviews were loosely structured around an interview guide of open-ended questions; however the trajectory of the interview developed along the themes raised by participants in order to pursue an inductive approach to collecting data (Stewart-Withers et al., 2014, p. 59). Different interview guides were developed for landowners and other community members, hotels and government and tourist bodies (see Appendix 4). The majority of hotel and organisational interviews were voice recorded whilst at most village interviews participants preferred me to take notes. Interviews were then transcribed from recordings or written up from detailed notes soon after the interview. In total 87 interviews were undertaken: 17 with landowners, 14 with

non-landowning community members, 20 interviews with resort management and staff, 6 with tourism organisations, 7 with schools and hospital staff, 11 with government employees, and 12 with third sector organisations (including hotel unions, NGOs, private sector organisations and tertiary institutions). Table 4.1 below details the number of interviews undertaken in each category. Most were individual interviews and 9 involved group discussions among community members. Where a group discussion occurred, this is identified as a single interview. Although there is also crossover between some of the categories, each interview has been identified only once.

Table 4.1: Semi-structured interviews

Type of interview	Number of interviews
Community	
Landowners	17
Non-landowners	14
School principals	6
Hospital staff	1
Hotel	
General Managers (includes a former GM and a FHTA representative who is also a GM)	4
Other hotel management (including communications, external relations, HR, procurement, food & beverage)	9
Other hotel employees	2
CSR champions (may also have a management role, but with specific responsibility for CSR activities)	5
Denarau Corporation Limited	1
Tourism organisations	
South Pacific Tourism Organisation	1
Tourism Fiji	1
Fiji Hotel and Tourism Association	4
Government bodies	
Provincial/local councils	4
iTaukei Land Trust Board	3
Ministry of Education	3
Ministry of Tourism	1
Third sector organisations	
Hotel Unions	3
NGOs	2
Marine ecologists	2
University of the South Pacific	2
Tour Guides	2
TOTAL	87

ii) Participant observation

In addition to the interviews itemised above I undertook unstructured participant observation around key hotel CCD activities. This is used to ‘observe, notice, record and try to make sense of actions and events’ (O’Reilly, 2009, p. 152). This included observing school tours and a school library run by hotels, a school review implemented by the hotel CSR committee, a CSR committee meeting, a Fiji Hotel and Tourism Association chapter meeting, a hotel-sponsored health and safety workshop for school teachers, two CSR activities for hotel staff as part of their volunteer commitments to CSR, a community *solu* (fundraising event) and the annual hotel-sponsored *bili-bili* (raft) race which is a community event. It is also an opportunity to collect ‘unofficial data’ which is used to ‘gradually build up a more complex picture of the entire culture’ (O’Reilly, 2009, p. 130). In each instance I observed and/or participated in activities, took photographs and wrote up notes afterwards.

iii) Household survey

In order to try to quantify the numbers of villagers directly reliant on the hotels for employment I devised a household survey in the landowning villages of Cuvu and Narewa with the help of research assistants in each location. I provided notebooks with questions written out to be answered by a representative from each household to determine the number of people in each village employed in tourism and the roles that they held (see Appendix 5). Research assistants visited 50 houses in each location: this constitutes around one third of the households in Narewa and two thirds of the households in Cuvu (see Table 4.2). Household members identified the number of adults and children who usually reside in the house, the number of people employed either directly or indirectly by the hotels (including, for example, taxi drivers and babysitters) either currently or previously, and the roles held. Some gaps exist in the data gathered; however, this provides a useful informal record of the proportion and types of employment in the hotels and differences between the two locations. Survey data is discussed in Chapter Five.

Table 4.2 Household survey

	Cuvu	Narewa
Total households (approx.)	75	150
Number of households surveyed	50	50
Total adults	154	153
Total children	67	166

iv) Document analysis

Long suggests discourse analysis can be used to ‘unravel the discourses utilised in specific arenas of struggle’ (2001, p. 53). A small amount of documentary evidence was collected which supplemented the primary data above. This included hotel CSR reports from head office, CSR web and social media pages for each hotel, hotel newsletters for guests, meeting minutes from the CSR committee and hotel loyalty club and school tour information.

Combined, the semi-structured interviews, *talanoa*, participant observation and document analysis were all used to elicit local level perspectives of CCD. In addition, I kept field journals of my observations throughout the fieldwork period and this data was also used to inform findings. Methodological techniques of an actor-oriented approach lend themselves to the interrogation of community relationships, information flows and power dynamics (Biggs & Matsuert, 2004). The Vanua Research Framework guided interactions at a community level and allowed an understanding of community development priorities to be developed. At a company level, questions and observation explored how initiatives were identified, carried out and implemented and were used to ascertain the perceived impact on the community in general, individuals or groups within the community, and for the company itself.

Departure and thank yous: *I tatau, Na vakavinavinaka*

I was fortunate to be in a position to revisit many of my key participants in the villages and hotels before leaving, to thank them again for their participation, and to leave small gifts and an indication of when they might hear from me next. This also included visiting the children’s schools and ensuring they had the opportunity to farewell their friends: a key part of my experience as a researcher was also my

presence in the field as their mother. The ability to return on two further occasions to discuss and share findings (described below) was also a significant component of my commitment to observing the Vanua Research Framework, always keeping in mind the need for respect, reciprocity and accountability.

Analysis: *Na i tukutuku*

Interviews were either recorded and transcribed or detailed notes taken during the interview and written up immediately afterwards. Nvivo was used to manage, categorise, code and analyse the data. Interview transcriptions were uploaded to Nvivo and each interview coded thematically. Themes corresponding with the research methodology were pre-selected and findings categorised according to these themes. Following the Vanua Research Framework, findings were coded into the four important knowledge categories: *vanua*, spirituality, custom and kinship. To take an actor-oriented approach to examining CCD initiatives, I categorised findings into the voluntary (non-core) practices of health and education projects and into core practices of employment and procurement and coded findings according to these four categories. I then ran Nvivo analyses to group findings into the eight categories and after an initial analysis, re-coded data where required. The eight categories subsequently formed the eight key sections of the two findings chapters.

Returning to the field: *Vakarogotaki lesu tale/taleva lesu*

Importantly, the relationships I developed during fieldwork were reinforced by two return visits, undertaken in the following year. The first return visit in April 2015 allowed me to return to both case study villages, fill in some gaps identified in my data, and make preliminary arrangements for a more formal feedback trip in June. The June visit also included the majority of the study team (see Chapter One), with the main focus being two discussion fora, one held in Denarau and a second at the University of the South Pacific. These convened tourism stakeholders, landowners, government, private sector and NGO representatives, as well as academics and students to discuss preliminary findings. On the basis of these discussions, a final report was prepared to share with participants. The recommendations from this report are included in Appendix 6.

Respecting the importance of reciprocity, the *talanoa* process was also used to share findings with village participants wherever possible and verify the data collected. The household survey data was recorded in spreadsheets and returned to village heads. Visits to the villages and discussions with village elders enabled further discussion of the findings. My experience of the first return visit reflected the gradual increase in trust that had developed over the fieldwork period, illustrated by my reflections on my return published in the study blog:²⁴

Returning to the field was a very different experience from my initial arrival! Many of the uncertainties of my first weeks there were now known quantities: I knew the best place to buy kava, which bus to catch, and how to get to the right house in the village (there are no numbers or street addresses). I could discuss the names of the different schools as we watched the high school athletics, exchange updates on our respective children with the shop owners and even pass on information from out of town on who is getting married and who has a new baby. The smells and sounds of the village were now familiar: the smoke from the cooking fires, the sounds of singing and *talanoa*, the clang of pestle on mortar for pounding kava and the chanting of the kava ceremony, kids running and playing, and through the night the noises of roosters, geckos and fruit bats.

Even more striking was the welcome I received as a returning guest. I was greeted like an old friend and special meals were prepared on my behalf: fresh Mangrove Jack caught at 2 am that morning with miti (coconut and chilli relish), ota (fern) salad and plantain. Everyone was happy to update me on the latest developments in the village and the kids were all excited to receive letters and news from my children. Most of all, I think people were pleasantly surprised that I had returned to spend time with them; many times during my fieldwork I heard tales of researchers who had come and gone before me but nobody could say what the outcome of that research was, or remember the researcher's name. (Returning to the Field, May 22 2015)

It might be over-optimistic, and certainly a little early, to suggest that this research should result in transformative processes and change, as the Vanua Research Framework guides (*Me vakilai/me na I vurevure ni veisau se na vei ka e vou ka na kauta main a bula e sautu*). However, the fora that we were able to convene on the return visits suggest that the study has provoked thought and further stimulated an existing

²⁴ The broader research programme maintained a website with updates on presentations, publications and a study blog: Conch Shell. Tales of Tourism, Mines and Communities. <http://masseyblogs.ac.nz/ccdresearch/2015/05/22/returning-to-the-field/>

desire for change. My hope is that the study will provide a contribution towards reinforcing and advancing these aspirations.

The findings chapters are based around my choice of methodology and are organised as follows: Chapter Six uses the Vanua Research Framework to explore development priorities of the two village locations and then Chapter Seven takes an actor-oriented approach to examine the development interfaces produced through CCD. Before presenting my fieldwork findings, Chapter Five gives contextual background relevant to the location of the study in Fiji.

Chapter Five

Place, Culture and Capital

To keep it only to feed the earth

Maroroya me qai kena na qele²⁵

1 Introduction

This chapter situates the study of corporate community development in the Fijian context. The specifics of geography and the socioeconomic, political and cultural context determine the environment that tourism corporations operate within. Local political and economic conditions intersect with the global forces governing multinational companies, which in turn impact on local operations. Engagements between company representatives and communities are shaped by a combination of these factors. In pursuing a better understanding of development outcomes, consideration is also required concerning what may be understood as ‘meaningful development’ at a community level and how this relates to local culture and values. An exploration of local conceptualisations of wellbeing and development is used to help shape analyses of CCD outcomes relative to community perceptions of positive, locally meaningful change. The intersection of local culture with multinational capital is also mediated by the local business environment and other place-based and contextual factors. This includes the specifics of the tourism industry in Fiji, its political, social and economic background and interactions with local communities. The following overview of the country, its people and culture, community development aspirations and local intersections with international capital provides a place-based background for my study and aims to ensure that local perspectives are foregrounded in the coming chapters.

²⁵ Fijian expression meaning accumulating material things is pointless as possessions are left behind when one dies (Ravuvu, 1983, p. 107).

2 Place

Geo-political landscape

Fiji has a population of around 900,000, inhabiting a third of its archipelago of 330 islands, with the majority concentrated on the two largest islands, Viti Levu and Vanua Levu. Situated in the South Pacific, east of Vanuatu and New Caledonia and west of Samoa and Tonga, Fiji straddles Polynesia and Melanesia (see maps 5.1 and 5.2). Just over half the population are *iTaukei* (Indigenous Fijian) of Melanesian and Polynesian descent and around 37 per cent are Indo-Fijian.²⁶ Around 90 per cent of the Indo-Fijian population are descended of indentured labourers brought from India to work on Fiji's sugar plantations under British colonial rule. Access to land and resources remains contentious; with many Indo-Fijians becoming landless as land leases expire and Indigenous Fijians fearing they will lose their land to government development (Naidu, 2013, p. 4). In 2010, as part of a move to address ethnic discrimination and develop a common national identity, a military decree established 'Fijian' as the common name for all citizens. A Minority Rights Group study found that this was seen as an 'important symbolic move that recognized [Indo-Fijians'] equal citizenship; it was also welcomed by a number of indigenous Fijian respondents' (Naidu, 2013, p. 2). Indigenous Fijians henceforth became known as *iTaukei*; thus the Native Land Trust Board became the *iTaukei* Land Trust Board, the Fijian Affairs Board the *iTaukei* Affairs Board, and so on. The term Indo-Fijian continues to be used by many scholars.²⁷ Ethnic tensions have been a contributory factor to on-going political unrest, playing a part in Fiji's succession of four coups between 1987 and 2006 (Harrison & Pratt, 2010). The tourism industry has suffered the impacts of this unrest, Harrison and Pratt suggesting the combined coups may have cost Fiji one million tourists (p. 165). They also point out that the industry itself is not apolitical, having actively influenced political process, for example in opposing the Qoliqoli Bill, detailed later.

²⁶ The last census was undertaken in 2007. <http://www.statsfiji.gov.fj/index.php/2007-census-of-population>; on Fiji's history see Scarr (1984).

²⁷ 'I-Taukei' or 'Fijian'? Name change by decree can't change ethnic mind-set'. Pacific Scoop, 7 February, 2011. <http://pacific.scoop.co.nz/2011/02/i-taukei-or-fijian-name-change-by-decree-alone-cant-change-an-ethnic-mind-set/>



Map 5.1 Map of the South Pacific.

Source: Wikieducator



Map 5.2 Map of the Fiji Islands.

This shows the main islands of Viti Levu and Vanua Levu. The location of the case study villages is near Nadi and Sigatoka. Source: Google maps

Democratic elections were held on September 17 2014, whilst I was in Fiji undertaking my fieldwork. Frank Bainimarama, architect of the last coup, was elected under his party, Fiji First, with 59 per cent of the vote. Accusations of human rights abuses persist including restrictions on freedom of expression, bargaining rights for workers and media freedoms (Amnesty International, 2016), yet Bainimarama still garnered broad appeal for his reformist agenda from both *iTaukei* and Indo-Fijians (Ratuva, 2015). During my stay in Fiji in the run-up to the election and during the election itself I heard stories from friends, acquaintances, taxi drivers and public and private sector employees attesting to the faith of the population at large in Bainimarama's ability to unite the population. On election day, voters could be seen proudly displayed their inked forefingers, in public and on social media, demonstrating that they had voted and many people commented on the ease of the voting process, with polling booths set up in schools and village community halls throughout the country. One village head showed me the tally tacked to the door of their community hall showing a clear majority for Bainimarama. This was repeated across Fiji: the election result then set the stage for a more stable political climate henceforward, and soon led to the resumption of diplomatic ties, aid and increased foreign investment to Fiji.²⁸



Photograph 5.1 A village head shows the votes for Bainimarama on the door of the village community hall.

This was one of 1,337 polling stations in the 2014 elections.²⁹

²⁸ Full development cooperation has now resumed with the EU, US, Australia and New Zealand, for example see Fiji Times, November 1 2014 <http://www.fjitime.com/story.aspx?id=284803> and October 10 2015, <http://www.fjitime.com/story.aspx?id=325377>. On foreign investment in the tourism industry: Financial Times, November 27 2015. <http://www.ft.com/intl/cms/s/o/a26a6696-8e35-11e5-a549-b89a1dfede9b.html>

²⁹ All photographs taken by author.

In the years prior to the election, Fiji had become more reliant on non-traditional donors while restrictions were in place from DAC (Development Assistance Committee) donors (Schmaljohann & Prizzon, 2015). Official Development Assistance to Fiji declined by 50 per cent between 1990 and 2008; this is in the context of an overall increase for the region of 100 per cent since 2002 (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2013, p. 12). In this environment, private sector assistance acquires greater significance. As a small island state vulnerable to cyclones, floods and tsunamis, post-disaster recovery efforts also rely on private sector donations to supplement the assistance from bilateral donors and charities. At the time of writing, Cyclone Winston had caused devastating impact to settlements across Fiji with 44 lives lost and an estimated FJ\$1 billion worth of damage to homes, infrastructure and crops.³⁰

Socio-economic context

Whilst Fiji is classed as an ‘upper-middle income country’ by the World Bank, over one third of the population remain below the poverty line. The picture presented by Millennium Development Goal (MDG) reporting shows socioeconomic gains in some areas and widening inequalities in others over the last 15 years. Fiji ultimately met four of the MDGs: achieving universal primary education, reducing child and maternal mortality and ensuring environmental sustainability.³¹ Advancements in the provision of primary education for all have been achieved due to strong education policies providing for free tuition and school transport, whilst a focus on child and maternal health have contributed to the ability to meet goals four and five. Progress on combatting major diseases has, however, been mixed, partly due to a lack of data. The MDG focus is also placed on HIV and AIDS, whereas the high prevalence of NCDs (non-communicable diseases) has been identified locally as a pressing priority, not only in Fiji but regionally. A decline in the food production index and the increase in food imports have contributed to these negative health consequences (Ministry of National Planning, 2010, p. 15).

³⁰Fiji Village 26 February 2016. <http://fjivillage.com/news/Fiji-suffered-over-1-billion-worth-of-damage-2sr9k5/>

³¹ Fiji Times, 13 November 2015. <http://fjitime.com/story.aspx?id=329599>

Whilst Fiji had already met the target of halving the proportion of people suffering from hunger by 2010, the proportion of the population living in poverty increased from around 25 per cent in 1990 to an estimated 40 per cent by 2008 (Narayan 2009, cited by Ministry of National Planning, 2010, p. 10). Furthermore, rural populations experience more severe poverty, with more rural Indo-Fijians now in poverty than Indigenous Fijians, and Fiji's squatter population doubled over the reporting period where leases expire and are not renewed. Furthermore, there has been little improvement to poverty indices since the 2008-2009 Income and Expenditure survey and the number of those in hardship in both rural and urban areas is growing (Bryant-Tokalau, 2012).

As a corollary to increasing poverty, unemployment has increased and of those employed, around 65 per cent are estimated to work in the informal sector with the limited protection this affords workers. The highest percentage of informal workers are found in the agriculture sector, but it is also significant in tourism-related activities, resulting in 'an employment deficit, rights deficits, and a social protection deficit' (Narayan 2010, cited by Ministry of National Planning, 2010, p. 14). The extreme vulnerability of much of the population to crises and disasters has been overwhelmingly demonstrated by the recent cyclone.

Gender inequalities persist in labour force participation and politics while domestic violence remains a significant issue. The work environment for women is characterised by low health and safety standards with women under-represented as owners of microenterprises, seen as an important source of asset-building. In an environment where women are under-represented across all industries, the hotel, retail and restaurant industry has one of the highest proportions of female employees (at 41 per cent) (Ministry of National Planning, 2010, p. 31). This is consistent with the representation of women in the service industry in general (Berno & Jones, 2001, p. 99). There is also a gender segregation of employment within the tourism sector in the South Pacific, with women often occupying the lower hierarchy of jobs, in addition to a predominance in frontline roles, in keeping with images promoted through marketing campaigns (Berno & Jones, 2001; also see Chapter Three). As noted previously, the tourism sector houses a high proportion of informal workers; it has also been associated with a rise in prostitution and in child sex tourism (Save the Children Fiji, 2005). At the same time, a steady increase has occurred in the

representation of women in parliament. With no parliamentary seats held by women in 1990, this increased to 12 per cent in 2008 and to 16 per cent in the 2014 elections. This includes female opposition leader, Ro Teimumu Kepa and the first female speaker of the house, Jiko Luveni, perhaps indicative of a positive force for change.

Fiji has met environmental targets by increasing the proportion of forested land, the number of terrestrial and marine protected areas and access to clean drinking water, but implementation and enforcement of environmental policies and regulations remain weak and the squatter population presents additional environmental challenges (Ministry of National Planning, 2010). Significant environmental issues and challenges which intersect closely with the demands of the tourism industry include marine and coastal resources, biodiversity resources, water resources, energy and pollution, natural hazards and climate change. In a report for the ILO, Narayan also notes that advances to create an environmentally sustainable tourism industry include the establishment of the Green Star Accreditation based on achieving energy efficiency, minimising waste and efficient water management; however, the impact of climate change on coastal areas poses a significant risk (Narayan, 2010). Tourism development is itself an ongoing challenge. Linked factors of low private investment, political instability and weak economic growth are identified as contributory factors to the slow progress on some goals, the 2010 MDG report specifically noting the negative impact of political instability on the tourism industry on which Fiji relies for employment (Ministry of National Planning, 2010, p. 16). In a detailed examination of sustainable tourism and the Millennium Development Goals globally, Bricker et al. emphasise the significance of sustainable tourism to development, concluding that tourism has the capacity 'to be a tool or a partial solution' in addressing the MDGs (Bricker, Black, & Cottrell, 2013, p. 330).

From a regional perspective, of the 14 Pacific Island countries only the Cook Islands and Niue met all eight goals with PNG unable to meet any (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2015). This should be set in the context of regional scepticism around the development of the goals themselves: critics claimed that significant regional issues such as climate change were omitted from the goals and not all indicators were relevant to the Pacific (Dornan, 2015). Consequently, during the SDG negotiations regional approaches stressed the need to contextualise and localise goals. The Pacific Consultation on Progress on the Millennium Development Goals and the Post-2015

Development Agenda suggested that this may require ‘an alternative model of development other than a conventional “growth” model, to one that puts the humans at the centre and is linked to justice’ (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2015, p. 159).

Maiava and King (2007) advocate for making Indigenous development visible as an alternative development strategy. As implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals begins, this may be one way to support calls for an ‘alternative model of development’ appropriate to the Pacific. Or in the words of the SDG Pacific consultation group: ‘Use what we have and enhance what we have’ (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2015, p. 160).

The next section looks particularly at the social and cultural context in Fiji.

3 Culture

The *Vanua*

iTaukei culture and society is shaped by an understanding of the *vanua*. This embraces a literal description of the land and everything on it as well as symbolic meanings associated with the *vanua* as a source of livelihood, a way of marking the passing of time and events, as an integral component of creation myths and as the provider of a sense of identity (Tuwere, 2002). The *vanua* consists of three main aspects. The physical aspect of the *vanua* consists of the land and water belonging to a clan including gardening land (*qele ni teitei*), forest land (*veikau*), the sites of founding ancestors’ houses (*yavutu*) and the fishing area (*qoligoli*). The social dimension refers to the people and the social structure whilst the cultural dimension refers to values and beliefs (Ravuvu, 1983, pp. 70-76). Understanding the centrality of the *vanua* to everyday life is a prerequisite for beginning to understand priorities for community development and how communities engage with tourism companies. Each aspect of the *vanua* shapes community interactions with the hotels leasing their land.

Land and Sea

Communal land ownership in Fiji stands at 87 per cent.³² The landowning unit - usually the *yavusa* (clan) or its sub-divisions, *mataqali* (sub-clan) and *tokatoka* (extended family) - functions to provide a community voice and governs interactions with lessees. This relationship is mediated by the TLTB (iTaukei Land Trust Board)³³ whose role is to protect community interests. TLTB's mandate includes provision to ensure that the *yavusa* retains sufficient land for communal use, but at the same time a tension arises from the government imperative to create new economic leases and to lease any idle land for productive use, what Harrison refers to as 'sitting on an uneasy fence' between the tourism industry and local traditions (1997, p. 183). Tourism lease agreements can include provisions for preferential employment, new infrastructure, fees for village tours, access to the foreshore, resource sharing or scholarships as well as lease money, which in principle creates scope for landowner agency to prioritise community needs. In practice, agreements have been shown to generate a number of positive benefits to communities, as described in Chapter Two. Nevertheless, as most tourism leases are in place for 99 years, this effectively means that control over leased land is lost; negotiation of these benefits is therefore critical to future opportunities for the landowning unit.

The *qoliqoli* (traditional fishing ground) includes 'all rivers, creeks, lakes and stretches of sea which a particular *Vanua* or its component *yavusa* and *mataqali* claimed as their traditional fishing grounds' (Ravuvu, 1983, p. 75) and unlike the land, is not leased. Whilst the land belongs to a specific *yavusa*, *mataqali* or *tokatoka*, the *qoliqoli* belongs to a much wider social grouping (Veitayaki, 1998), usually known as 'customary resource owners'. Although all resource owners have the right to access the *qoliqoli*, in practice each village or *mataqali* (sub-clan) is allocated its own '*kanakana*' (eating place) from where they have the right to fish for their families (Nainoca, 2011, pp. 5-6). Resource owners are recorded on the iTaukei Land

³² iTaukei Land Trust Board (2016). www.tltb.com.fj

³³ TLTB was established in 1940 by the colonial government as an independent body to administer *iTaukei* land. The board of trustees comprises the Minister for iTaukei Affairs as chair (the President), five members appointed by the government, three Fijian members appointed by the iTaukei Affairs Board (of which the president is chair) and two further members appointed by the president. See <https://www.tltb.com.fj/>

Commission's register of native customary fishing rights, with a recent project to map and register all *qoliqoli* demarcating boundaries for around 410 *qoliqoli*³⁴. The vast majority of these are marine areas and together they provide livelihoods for more than 300,000 people (Aalbersberg, Tawake, & Parras, 2005). Whilst resource owners have the right to fish, ownership remains vested in the government.³⁵ Clarke and Jupiter note that across the Pacific legislation protects land tenure but recognition of customary marine tenure is uneven (2010, p. 98). In Fiji, government ownership of the *qoliqoli* was established when Fiji was ceded to Great Britain in 1874 but was not returned at independence and remains a contentious issue (Clark, 2008, p. 22; Veitayaki, 1998, p. 53). For example, the controversial 'Qoliqoli Bill' which proposed to return ownership of the seabed to Indigenous Fijians was one of two bills (along with the Promotion of Reconciliation, Tolerance and Unity bill) instrumental in triggering the 2006 coup. The tourism industry vigorously opposed the bill and there were suggestions of the industry's involvement in bringing about the ensuing coup (Harrison & Pratt, 2010, p. 167; Lal, 2007, p. 140). The more recent (2010) surfing decree has liberalised tourist access to surfing areas, removing the rights of *qoliqoli* owners to restrict or charge for access. This follows a pattern of prioritising business interests in resource management whilst limiting control for resource owners. According to Ponting and O'Brien's study on the consequences of this decree, a focus on increasing the numbers of surf tourists has come 'at the expense of productive joint ventures where iTaukei (indigenous resource owners) have leveraged *qoliqoli*, the traditional Fijian tenure of marine common pool resources, as equity' and as a result compromises the potential for poverty alleviation (Ponting & O'Brien, 2014, p. 395). Given that the majority of Fiji's population lives on the coast, any environmental change or changes in access to coastal waters can impact significantly on livelihoods.

³⁴ Carried out by the iTaukei Lands and Fisheries Commission in 1989. <http://www.itaukeiaffairs.gov.fj/index.php/sections/itaukei-lands-fisheries-commission>

³⁵ 'All foreshore lands below mean high water mark, the soil under Fiji waters and the beds of navigable rivers and streams are Crown Land'. Department of Town and Country Planning. www.townplanning.gov.fj/index.php/planning/planning-issues/land-tenure

Fijian society

The populace is also referred to as the *Vanua* or *lewe na vanua* (the members of the land), who are divided into subgroupings, as mentioned above. The *yavusa* (clan) is the largest group, descended from a common ancestor, further divided into *mataqali* (sub-clan) and *tokatoka* (extended family) units (See Ravuvu, 1983, p. 77 and Figure 3 below).

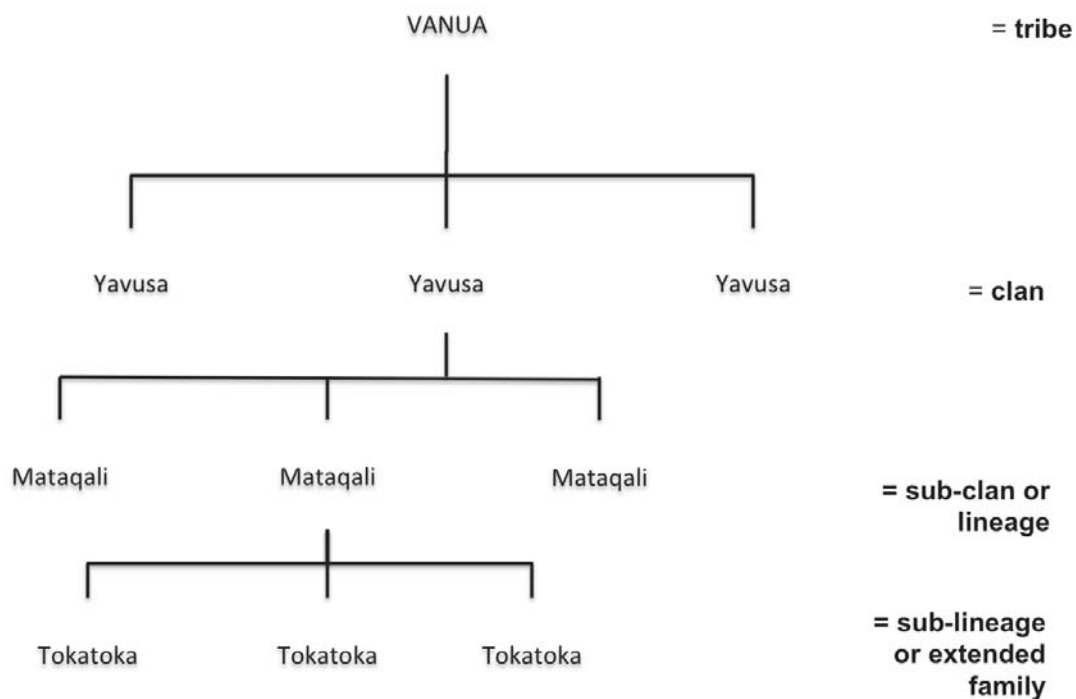


Figure 5.1: Fijian Social Structure

Source: Ravuvu, 1983

Each village (*koro*) may be inhabited by one or more *yavusa* and its sub-groups. Ravuvu describes the connection between the people as the human manifestation of the *vanua* and the physical layout of the village, its dwellings and the expected social behaviour for village members (1983, pp. 76-81). This encompasses social hierarchies and cultural values and beliefs, for example the position of the chief, and therefore the location of the chiefly *bure* (house) in the village, the centrality of religion, and the importance of respectful, humble behaviour. An extract from my journal describing a village neighbouring one of the hotels, illustrates some of these aspects.

The village is quiet and calm, yet busy as people go about their daily tasks. Houses are not numbered, but are identifiable by their location, size and colour; each also has a name although this is not written. Houses are very often extended structures with the outside being used as a room as much as the inside - kitchen areas in particular are usually outside. Pathways wind between the houses and breadfruit trees, under washing lines and beside bedding and mattresses airing in the sun. Some houses have small flower gardens, but there are no boundaries marking one home from another. The main village plantation is located outside the village. The chiefly *bure* (house) stands facing the entrance to the village; further back in the village is a newer, modern community hall. A small cemetery and large church stand in the centre of the village and a larger cemetery across the railway tracks. Monday is village clean-up day: as I arrived the men were tidying up the cemetery and the women cleaning the foreshore, with the (preschool) children running and playing. After this, a village meeting will be called with the leaders of the *yavusa* and the *turaga ni koro*, to discuss any events or issues that require village cooperation. It is a system that has endured and one which works to ensure everyone in the village is supported (field notes, 21 July 2014).



Photograph 5.2.
Village entrance

Tuwere explains that the *vanua*, *lotu* (spirituality) and *matanitu* (kingdom or government) are ‘three closely connected strands’ of the Fijian way of life, such that ‘one cannot be disconnected from the other without collapsing the whole’ (2002, p. 52). Beginning in the first half of the nineteenth century with the arrival of Western missionaries, polytheism has been almost entirely substituted by Christianity. Beliefs in ancestor gods were discredited and Christian priests replaced the Fijian *bete*

(priests). Ravuvu explains that this was indicative of ‘the need from within for a change’ as much as the commitment of the missionaries (1988, p. 25); however, by the time Fiji was ceded to Britain, Christianity had become well-established, and today the Methodist Church continues to be a powerful institution holding great influence in all aspects of Fijian life. *Matanitu* is now used to describe the governing Indigenous Fijian Administration, established during colonial times (2002, p. 67). Chiefs or *roko* are appointed by the Administration to represent each province alongside customary chiefs, and in conjunction with village heads (*turaga ni koro*). A district head (*matanitikina*, literally face or representative of the tikina) was also appointed to each village (See Clark, 2008, pp. 24-26). In practice, Tuwere suggests that ‘[m]ost Fijians today live in the gap between the establishment and adoption of the Fijian Administration on the one hand and the modern economy introduced by the Whites on the other (2002, p. 68). He goes on to explain that it is the *vanua* that remains the most ‘cohesive force’ for Fijians along with a sense of community and belonging:

What is conceptualised in the vanua is life that acquires its meaning when lived in community with others - not only with other human beings but also with ancestors, with seasons and festivals, plants and animals, land and sea and everything on it (Tuwere, 2002, p. 69).

It is this context that shapes local views of development and what constitutes and contributes to community wellbeing.

Values and beliefs: contextualising development and wellbeing

Values and belief systems shape an understanding of development priorities and expectations at community level. The notion of achieving ‘wellbeing’ is used here as a marker for positive, holistic and subjectively defined change (White, 2010). Exploring Pacific and Fijian conceptualisations of wellbeing and happiness informs a localised understanding of community development.

Wellbeing in the Pacific

Literature focusing specifically on wellbeing in the Pacific is relatively sparse. There are, however, several concepts describing wellbeing which share similar attributes, including the Kwara’ae perspective of ‘the good life’ in the Solomon Islands (Gegeo,

1998), *gutpela sindaun* in Papua New Guinea (Kero, 1998; Wani, 2010) and *sautu* and *bula taucoko* in Fiji (Meo-Sewabu, 2015; Nabobo-Baba, 2006). Each emphasises a holistic notion of wellbeing with Indigenous knowledge at its foundation.

Achieving 'the good life' in the Solomon Islands (Gegeo, 1998) is fulfilled through meeting spiritual, psychological and physical needs and is underpinned by cultural values such as kin love and kindness, sharing and hospitality and honesty and humility. Similarly, in Papua New Guinea, the pidgin term *gutpela sindaun* describes an 'abundant life' (Kero, 1998) or 'good life' (Wani, 2010) which provides for 'harmony, peace, unity, social justice, wholeness, restoration, freedom, security, plenitude, and release from oppression.' This ideal state is achieved through maintaining 'the right relationship with others, nature, and the supernatural' (Wani, 2010, p. 89). From Fiji, Nabobo-Baba (2006) outlines the concept of *sautu* and Meo-Sewabu (2015) the related idea of *bula taucoko* meaning wellbeing. *Sautu* is 'a life of good health and wealth' incorporating 'physical, emotional, psychological and spiritual wellbeing' (Nabobo-Baba, 2006, p. 74). Healthy relationships and the respect of *vanua* knowledge and obligations are critical in achieving *sautu* (p.75). The holistic nature of wellbeing is described by Meo-Sewabu as *na bula taucoko* or *na bula sautu* which is translated as 'the achievement of a state of completion or wholeness' (p.109). Meo-Sewabu's research identified five criteria that contribute to wellbeing, emphasising relationships and communal and religious obligations:

The first criteria participants made reference to is Dau veiqaravi which translates as to be of service; and secondly Taucoko ni qaravi itavi or the ability to complete tasks to the best of their ability and gaining a sense of completeness. Both criteria relate to tasks assigned within the various institutions such as the church, schools, as well as the social structures within the Vanua. Third is Na veiwekani which means relationships and practices that enhances maintaining harmony within relationships. The fourth criteria, Ke na I rairai, means physical appearance; and the fifth criteria, Bula vakayalo, means spirituality as an outward reflection of happiness (2015, p.112).

Together these definitions encompass shared ideas of fulfilling communal obligations, prioritising collective wellbeing and practising reciprocity, sustained by local, Indigenous knowledge. The wellbeing of the individual is inseparable from maintaining healthy relationships and responding to the needs of others. Characteristics of those who have achieved wellbeing reflect the importance of place in the community and relationships with others. A person with *sautu* therefore is

vutuniyau (wealthy) and has a good or beautiful heart, and a soul that is mindful and protective of people, God and the *vanua*. S/he is also a person who is *yalomatua* (wise) and attends to her/his *vanua* roles seriously (Nabobo-Baba, 2006, p. 75).

Similarly, within the Solomon Islands, a person who achieves *gwaumauri'anga* (the good life) in Kwara'ae philosophy can be described as

a ngwae ali'afu 'a complete person' and a ngwae lalifu 'a rooted person'... [who] shows fu'usi'inoto'a'anga 'respect', is fu'usi'inoto'oa 'respected' by others, and is said to live in manata fauto'o'anga 'contentment' (Gegeo, 1998, p. 299).

At the same time, discourses of communal wellbeing include notions of independence and self-sufficiency. The discourse of *gwaumauri'anga* incorporates concepts of completeness, 'standing on one's own' (the ability to meet all economic, spiritual and psychological needs) and the ability to carry out plans independently (Gegeo, 1998, p. 307).

Other comparable concepts can be found across the region. For example, in their review of the cultural aspects of health in Polynesia, Capstick, Norris, Sapoag and Tobata (2009) describe how health is viewed in terms of the relational self, including carrying out family obligations, maintaining social order and living in harmony with the environment. Huffer and Qalo emphasise that shared philosophies can allow a comparison between concepts and beliefs in the region: '[b]ecause Pacific philosophies are based on relationships and interconnectedness, fundamental concepts cover a whole range of areas of life, beliefs, and ways of doing and being' (2004, p. 103). These incorporate related ideas of interdependence and prioritising the common good. They cite examples of commonalities in the philosophies of Indigenous theologians and educators including in the concepts of wisdom and the *vanua*. In both cases the notion of service and the common good are paramount. For example, it is the practice and application of wisdom for the good of society that is important in order to generate communal wellbeing, an idea integral to the understanding of *poto* in Tonga, *yalomatua* in Fiji and *wanawana* in Kiribati (p. 102). Key components of the *vanua* which emphasise service include responsibility (through the *matanivanua* or herald who speaks on behalf of the people), listening (*vakarorogo*), and silence (*vakanomodi*), all of which facilitate community building

(p.97). The notion of silence also has a place in Teaero's analysis of Indigenous education in Kiribati (Huffer & Qalo, 2004, p. 100), and in Nabobo-Baba's Vanua Research Framework (2006). In both Fiji and Kiribati silence is linked to the concept of social interdependence (Huffer & Qalo, 2004, p. 103). There are also parallels in accepted ways of living which lead to communal wellbeing or happiness - including 'lying straight' (*davo donu*) in Fiji which prescribes a life lived with respect for others, for ancestors, for God and for nature (Tuwere 2002, cited by Huffer & Qalo, 2004, p. 96) and achieving the 'good life' (*gwaumauri'anga*) through showing and being respected and engaging in culturally appropriate and humanitarian activities (Gegeo, 1998, p. 299).

Wellbeing and happiness

This sense of wellbeing stemming from the pursuit of the collective good is also evident in explorations of cultural differences in the construct of happiness. Kingfisher employs an analysis of *fa'asamoa* (the Samoan Way) to distinguish the Samoan construct of happiness from Euro-American constructs based on its collective rather than individual orientation (2013, p. 75). Although Pacific Island nations do not feature in the major cross-cultural studies of happiness (namely the UN World Happiness Report, Helliwell, Layard, & Sachs, 2012; and the World Database of Happiness, Veenhoven, 2015),³⁶ two studies specifically look at the constructions of happiness in the Pacific, namely Moore, Young-Leslie and Lavis (2005) and Pratt, McCabe and Movono (2016) in Samoa and Fiji respectively. These each lend similar weight to the significance of the collective above the individual. The Tonga study uses the WHO's Subjective Wellbeing Inventory (SUBI) which emerged from the WHO's broadened definition of health to include a state of wellbeing (Moore et al., 2005, p. 289). This was adapted to the Tongan context to assess participant experience of positive and negative emotions and overall life satisfaction. The Fiji study adapted Bhutan's Gross National Happiness survey for the Fijian context and used it to assess

³⁶ The 2006 Happy Planet Index, however, did include Pacific Island nations, with Vanuatu ranked as the happiest country and island nations in general ranking highly (New Economic Foundation 2006, p.30).

https://www.foe.co.uk/sites/default/files/downloads/happy_planet_index.pdf

happiness across nine different dimensions incorporating both objective and subjective assessments of wellbeing.

Both surveys found that high levels of satisfaction were reflected in the fulfilment of collective, social and kinship obligations. Participants from the Ha'apai region of Tonga demonstrated that positive emotions were associated with collectivistic and interdependent value orientations and smooth kin relations (Moore et al., 2005, p. 299). This characterises the Tongan understanding of wellbeing:

'health' identified as mo'ui lelei or 'living well' is defined by appropriate social relations, described in the Tongan language as va lelei and tauhi vaha'a, and is established through proper fulfillment of kinship based obligations, gender roles, and achievement of success (p. 305).

In Fiji, levels of happiness were compared in a village located in one of the main tourist areas with those in a traditional village dependent on the subsistence economy. Despite the fact that the subsistence village scored lower on education, health and living standards, over three quarters of the village was 'deeply happy' compared to less than a quarter of the tourism village (Pratt et al., 2016, p. 31). The higher scores were predominantly reflected in the dimensions of time use, good governance and community vitality - with a notable emphasis on the role of family. The study concluded that,

Although villagers in the non-tourism village may be financially less well off, they claim to be socially wealthier as they value kinship, traditions and fewer concerns about money and material wealth (p. 33).

The sense that to live in contentment one must live in the moment is reflected in the quote at the head of this chapter. This expresses the idea that the future is unknown so the needs of the present should be attended to first and material possessions should be enjoyed and shared rather than accumulated (Ravuvu, 1983, p. 107).

Wellbeing and development

The pivotal function of social connections and interdependence in these studies has implications for our understanding of wellbeing in the Pacific; however, qualitative reflection on wellbeing and development in practice is needed to understand these aspects more clearly. In 'Our Sea of Islands', Hau'ofa argues compellingly for the need

to focus on the grassroots practices of ordinary people and local interpretations of community development in Oceania, practices which are often overlooked, misinterpreted or ignored by donors and consultants (1994, p. 148). Gegeo (1998) asserts that development from the outside is modernisation disguised. In traditional belief, anything done as *liakwaimausuli'anga* 'imitation' of something else rather than *talasau* or *talafuli ana ngwae* 'having its source in the doer', is *'iri lalifu*, that is, "lacks root and dignity," and is destined to fail. (p. 297). Furthermore, he suggests that participating in others' external projects can lead to de-skilling and a loss of dignity and advocates for the centralisation of Indigenous and local knowledge at the core of development models in the third world (p.289). Meo-Sewabu and Walsh-Tapiata (2012) provide narrative examples of the importance of informal systems in realising community development in Fiji. These illustrate how external development processes can undermine local wellbeing by creating increased dependence on external resources or leading to the loss of local skills. Conversely, initiatives that build on existing community processes and take into account the practice of collective working (*solesolevaki*) and prioritising the communal good, for example communal savings initiatives, are more likely to contribute to wellbeing. They conclude that it is important to create initiatives that take these informal systems into account, noting there is currently limited evidence of this occurring in practice.

Huffer and Qalo (2004) remind us that modernity is not the norm worldwide, but its predominance at an international level does not permit consideration of alternative thought systems, much less allow space to incorporate these ideas into the development initiatives of donors, NGOs and multilateral institutions. They suggest that the evidence they amass clearly demonstrates that Pacific societies already have an understanding of what is needed to achieve wellbeing, underpinned by culturally embedded philosophies and values which emphasise the common good. The solution they propose is to 'support local communities that already engage in alternative economic development based on indigenous philosophies and an ethic of self-reliance' (p. 90).

In each of these accounts, the use of Indigenous knowledge in practice reveals the centrality of self-sufficiency and agency to locally designed and implemented initiatives aiming to increase wellbeing in the community. Alongside the findings of the local wellbeing and happiness surveys this should also provoke consideration of

the overall role of economic development in enhancing wellbeing and prompt critical analysis of development projects initiated from the outside.

The impact of the presence of multinational capital in Fiji is explored next.

4 Capital

Intersections of multinational capital and local culture

The presence in Fiji of a range of multinational corporations from banking and telecommunications to international restaurant and hotel chains contributes to community expectations of the capacity of multinational capital to increase incomes and improve quality of life. As Fiji's key foreign income earner, the tourism industry features strongly in these expectations. How do the specificities of the Fijian context explored above intersect with the presence of the international tourism industry? This section examines factors that may be indicative of how CCD is impacted by the Pacific context and vice versa, investigating the links between community development and business ethics more broadly.

Relational Economies

It is often suggested that there is a fundamental clash between Western business practice and 'traditional' cultures (eg Saffu, 2003); in the Pacific this can centre on Pacific Island peoples' kinship obligations and land tenure practices (Banks, 2006a; Scheyvens & Russell, 2012b). Banks emphasises that creating a dichotomy neglects to recognise that '*all* economies are embedded in culturally specific socioeconomic systems' (Banks, 2006a, p. 80). Following Polanyi, Curry also disputes that the capitalist economy can be separated from other economic forms, contending that no economic transactions are socially neutral, but rather are 'embedded in society' (2003, p. 409). This approach provides space for consideration of unpaid and non-capitalist activities (for example reproductive activities such as domestic work and childcare) and recognises Pacific notions of obligations: 'labor is intimately entwined in the relational economy and is strongly embedded in networks of obligations and reciprocity that typically extend well beyond the household' (Curry, Koczberski, & Connell, 2012, p. 338). Even in a situation where local people are working for a

powerful multinational company 'local agency can influence the terms and forms of engagement with international capital' (2003, pp. 411-412). For example, Curry found that primary motivations and influences in a Papua New Guinea community employed by a multinational were not market forces, but the imperatives of kinship obligations and gift exchange. On the basis of this finding he advocates for a consideration of 'place-based conceptions of economy and society' (p. 419) in development practice.

This has implications for the consideration of both economic and social aspects of CCD. The rationale from a corporate head office in London or New York may be based on a sound business case, but how does this translate into the way that activities are selected and implemented at community level and ultimately on their impact? Further, how do the economic systems of multinationals support, promote or undermine host country socioeconomic practices? Banks suggests that in PNG local '*bisnis*' coopts western systems to serve local agendas (2006a, p. 90) and contends that 'a willingness to allow local priorities to dictate the form and nature of engagement with capitalist models' (p. 91) will allow a more nuanced analysis of the success or otherwise of ventures. It is also an approach which allows for assessment of community perspectives of development and an understanding of 'what registers of value a community will use to assess the worth of a project or enterprise' (Curry et al., 2012, p. 343). Curry notes the risk in applying 'universal bottom-lines of value' (Curry et al., 2012, p. 344), which makes a case for adopting not only a triple bottom-line approach, but a *quadruple* bottom-line (Best & Love, 2010, p. 7) including a consideration of culture. Applying this approach to CCD could provide an understanding of how the economic business practices of the corporation are socially embedded and what is more, how place-based factors and local agency influences the success of company initiatives.

Business and community in the Pacific

Literature dealing with Pacific entrepreneurship provides some insight into the complexity of the relationship between business and community in the Pacific. Saffu (2003) for example finds that business in the islands is strongly influenced by collectivist culture, clan and community commitments: 'the motives of indigenous [South Pacific] island entrepreneurs are deeply rooted in their relationship with the

local community and culture' (p. 63). For Indigenous business owners, this can mean that success is defined by meeting traditional obligations above making a profit (Gibson, 2012). This shapes the way Fijian entrepreneurs do business and the way that they interact with local communities. This would be anticipated to impact on the engagement of hotel management with local communities regarding community development initiatives, and this was in fact found to be the case by Bradly (2015) in his study of hotel community engagement practices in Fiji. He found that drivers of community investment were significantly different to Western practice, particularly in relation to the marketing of CSR initiatives and the relationships of individual firms with local villages. Furthermore, unlike foreign-owned firms, Indigenously-owned firms were 'subject to strong kinship obligations associated with their owner's membership of a local village' (p. 247). Bradly concludes that certain elements of the business case for CSR have a stronger influence in developing countries, these being legitimacy, interdependence and risk management (p.253), and notes that it is necessary to identify 'localised and contextual factors' in any analysis of CSR (p. 255). The implications for an analysis of CCD initiatives in this context is the potential for a mismatch between corporate and community expectations (see Akpan, 2008 for example), along with the intersection of foreign corporate policies with local implementation practices (for example see Kapelus, 2002). The significant presence of foreign tourism corporations in Fiji focuses attention on the potential disjuncture between foreign and local conceptualisations of tourism and business practices.

In the Pacific, Berno's (1999) study of Cook Islanders' ideas about tourism reveals differences in how tourism is conceptualised. For Pacific Islanders, tourism is most often constituted by visiting or hosting family and friends. The protocols for this are guided by the cultural concepts of *arua* (love) and reciprocity, concepts which don't fit neatly with Western models of tourism based on 'individualistic profit, accumulation and investment motivation' (p. 659). In Fiji, Farrelly suggests that the 'values of the *vanua* are in many ways antithetical to the values associated with entrepreneurship' (Farrelly, 2011, p. 824). It follows that as Pacific business and tourism models are based on alternative foundations, the rationale, implementation and impact of Western or Northern community engagement practices may be at odds with community expectations.

Tourism and communities in Fiji

In Fiji, tourism is undoubtedly a significant contributor to raising living standards, directly and indirectly. Fiji is the largest tourist destination in the region, with tourism contributing 23 per cent to Fiji's GDP (Harrison & Prasad, 2013, p. 744). The total contribution of travel and tourism to employment was estimated to be 33 percent of employment in 2014 and predicted to rise to 40 per cent by 2025 (World Travel and Tourism Council, 2015). However, the uneven distribution of tourism throughout Fiji is the first indication that the benefits may also be distributed unequally. Tourism is concentrated in four main areas (Harrison & Prasad, 2013, p. 747), namely the Coral Coast, Nadi, the Mamanuca and Yasawa Islands and Suva. International hotel chains, meanwhile, are concentrated almost entirely in Nadi and the Coral Coast. In addition to a geographical imbalance, Fijian workers in the tourism industry tend to be concentrated in lower levels of employment, particularly Indigenous Fijians. In 1976, expatriates accounted for 57 per cent of foreign hotel management positions (Britton, 1982, p. 264), with Samy suggesting that Fijian workers received only the 'crumbs from the table' in multinational resorts (1975). Writing in 2015, Harrison and Pratt find that 'indigenisation of higher levels of management has advanced but little' (p. 17). Transnational companies still dominate premium tourism in Fiji and 67 per cent of food and beverages are still imported from overseas (p. 13). Despite this, Harrison and Pratt contest Britton's dependency view, suggesting that large-scale tourism has the potential to be sustainable and offer workers better benefits (p. 11). It is acknowledged that much remains to be done. Any investigation into the direct contribution of hotels to community wellbeing must be considered in light of this imbalance in social and geographical impact.

Existing research detailing community interactions with tourism in Fiji includes a number of studies on the impacts of large and/or foreign-owned hotels and resorts on communities, discussed in Chapter Two (Bradly, 2015; Burns, 2003; Harrison & Prasad, 2013; Movono et al., 2015; Scheyvens, 2011; Scheyvens & Russell, 2012a; Sofield, 2003). Studies of Indigenous-owned ecotourism and community-based tourism ventures illustrate the potential for community ownership to lead to positive development outcomes (Bricker, 2001; Farrelly, 2011; Gibson, 2015; Sakai, 2010). Community control over the tourism process can better ensure benefits align with community priorities. For example, the involvement of the *mataqali* in ecotourism venture, Rivers Fiji,

meant that the community was able to mitigate potential disruption and conflict to the village by restricting the days that tourists visited the village and providing visitors with cultural guidance (Bricker, 2001). Indigenous owners of Wayalilai Resort in the Yasawas were able to channel profits into village development; proceeds from the business have so far delivered collective benefits in the areas of housing, sanitation and education, as well as funding the construction of village churches (Gibson, 2015, p. 126). Although these examples suggest cohesive community decision-making, this is often not the case in practice (Farrelly, 2011, p. 817; Gibson, 2015, p. 119), Bricker suggesting a role for state and regional support to ensure tourism is monitored and regulated (2001, p. 248). This is not only relevant for Indigenous-owned tourism, but for tourism-related activities connected to multinational hotels (for example tours and small businesses) as well as increasing community capacity to engage with large tourism corporations from a position of strength (Scheyvens & Russell, 2012a, p. 5).

Across Fiji as a whole, there is evidence of dissatisfaction that tourism has not delivered the anticipated benefits. Kanemasu (2015) carefully documents numerous cases of disputes between resorts and landowners, including instances of blocked access to resorts, strikes and demonstrations spanning the last three decades. The position of local people within the structure of mass tourism is identified as the key context for these protests. The discontent and frustration evident at grassroots level stems from the minimal share of the tourism industry owned or controlled by Indigenous Fijians, who at the same time are recognised as the 'key competitive advantage of Fijian hospitality' (p. 77), attracting many tourists and return visitors with their '*bula spirit*' and '*bula smile*' (p. 76). She concludes that the industry 'is felt by many to deny local people both access to ownership and control, and an equitable distribution of economic benefits' and also calls for further research documenting community perspectives (p. 79).

5 Case Study locations

Two case study locations were selected, drawing from two of the main tourism regions in Fiji: Nadi and the Coral Coast. The *yavusa* (tribe) of Navatulevu, Sila and Nabati live in Narewa and Nakavu villages in Nadi and are the landowners³⁷ of *iTaukei* land on Denarau Island where eight international hotels are located. The *tokatoka* of Nakurovakarua in Cuvu village on the Coral Coast owns Yanuca Island, which is home to Shangri-La's Fijian Resort and Spa. Although not designed as a comparative study, differences in the locations, ownership and length of establishment of the hotels nevertheless permit some reflections on differences in context which can impact on corporate-community relationships.

Narewa and Nakavu villages in Nadi

Narewa and Nakavu are located in Nadi *tikina* (district), adjacent to the tourist destination of Denarau Island (see Map 5.3). Narewa is the larger village with a population of more than 800 compared to Nakavu's 500.³⁸ The current Tui Nadi (chief) is Ratu Sailosi Dawai who was installed in 2011 after an 18-year period during which time the title remained in dispute.³⁹ His jurisdiction extends over villages in the adjoining districts of Nadi and Sikituru: Narewa, Nakavu, Navoci, Namotomoto, Dratabu, Sikituru, Yavusania, Korovuto and Moala. Only Narewa and Nakavu hold leases with Denarau Island, although other villages receive varying amounts of lease money from land owned elsewhere, through either tourism or agricultural leases. The *qoliqoli* is the traditional fishing ground of all nine villages.

³⁷ The distinction made between landowners and non-landowners in this thesis is used as follows: landowners refers to the landowning group who own the land leased by the hotels used as case studies, i.e. the villages of Narewa and Nakavu and the *tokatoka* of Nakurovakarua in Cuvu village. Non-landowners in this case are resident in neighbouring villages or part of other *tokatoka* or *mataqali*, but may still own other land that is leased out to different entities.

³⁸ pers.comm. from *turaga ni koro* (village heads) in both villages

³⁹ 'Tui Nadi takes his throne', Fiji Custom and Culture, 14 December 2011
<http://www.fijiancustomculture.blogspot.co.nz/2011/12/tui-nadi-takes-his-throne.html>



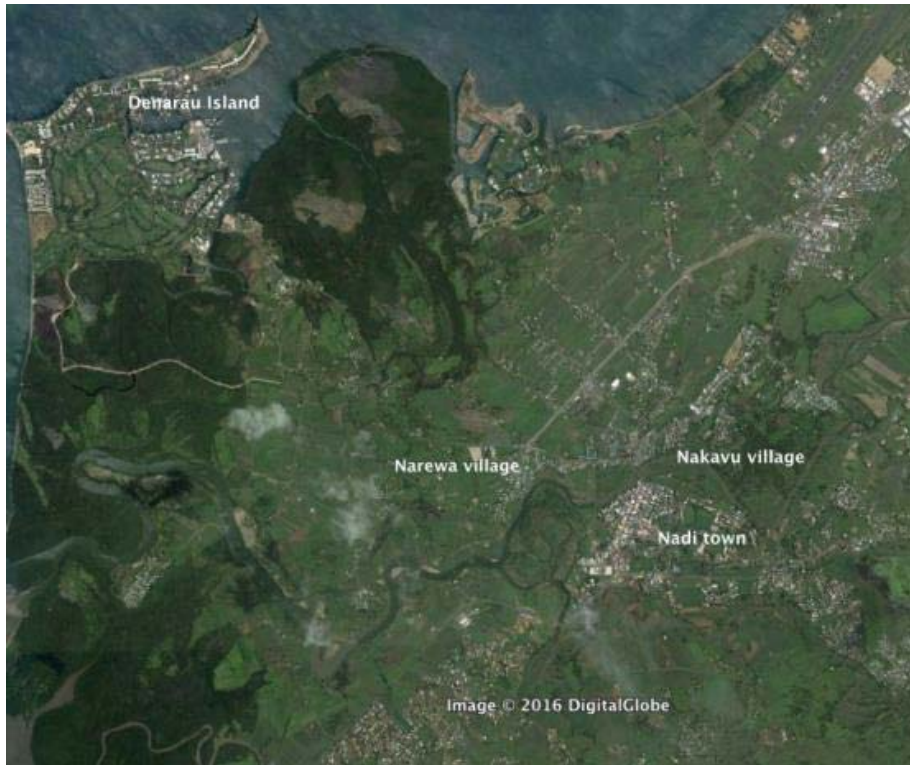
Photograph 5.3. Nakavu village

As owners of the land where seven of the eight (soon to be nine) international hotels are constructed, Narewa and Nakavu receive lease money and preferential employment opportunities via lease agreements overseen by the iTaukei Land Trust Board. Around 2,000 landowners receive a share of the lease money (either living in or outside the villages). Interviews with landowners gave varying estimates of total lease money received, of between FJ\$2 and FJ\$2.8 million per annum from all hotels combined.⁴⁰

The original Denarau (master) lease was negotiated with the Tui Nadi's father, Ratu Napolioni Dawai, and according to Bernard and Cook, lease rates were lowered in anticipation of the economic benefits the development would bring (2015, p. 306). A later 'land swap' in 1996 reorganised leases so that hotels are on native leases whilst upscale residential housing is on freehold land and the golf course and commercial land is state-owned (Bernard & Cook, 2015, p. 307). Initial lease money was saved by the *yavusa* for a period of 5 years, allowing one hundred concrete homes to be constructed in both villages in the 1980s.⁴¹ Village development projects since that time have been of a much smaller scale, but tourism continues to be a major source of income.

⁴⁰ Different amounts were given because the total amount changes according to the total revenue earned by the hotels in any given year; however there is also a lack of information available to many landowners about the lease agreements themselves.

⁴¹ Interview with female landowner.



Map 5.3 Map of Nadi/Denarau Island

Source: Based on Google Earth image

In the course of my research a household survey of approximately one third of Narewa households (n=50) shows the reliance on tourism for employment. Almost every household surveyed (90 per cent) has a member currently employed in Denarau, either directly by a hotel or indirectly, for example in a taxi driving business or selling handicrafts. This equates to over 40 per cent of the adult population, with approximately two thirds of the population having been employed at some point in Denarau tourism (see Table 5.1). A breakdown of roles held show equal numbers of women and men employed on Denarau. There are gender divisions in the type of employment, with women most likely to work in housekeeping and men as taxi drivers. Both men and women held management roles, but overall men held more varied roles and a greater number can be found in career roles (e.g. manager, engineer, accountant). Around half (48) have worked on Denarau for over 10 years and 10 people for over 20 years.

Table 5.1. Narewa residents employed in Denarau

Narewa (population approx. 800)			
Total households surveyed		50	
Total residents of survey households		155 adults, 166 children	
Currently employed on Denarau ^a		67	
Previously employed on Denarau		37	
Employment by gender^b and role^c			
Women	number	Men	number
Food & beverage staff	12	Food & beverage staff	5
Chef	3	Chef	4
Manager	2	Manager	3
Housekeeping	16	Taxi Driver	15
Selling handicrafts	5	Porter	5
Babysitter	4	Groundsman	4
Front office	2	Entertainer	3
Retail outlet staff	1	Boat captain/diver	3
Cashier	1	Accountant	2
		Engineer	2
		Landscaper	1
Total	46		47

Source: author fieldwork

a. Either directly as a hotel employee, or indirectly, for example as a taxi driver

b. In the remaining 11 cases, gender/role was not recorded

c. Includes both current and previous roles

Nadi is the country's third largest urban centre, with a population of around 40,000. It is home to many local and international businesses and services including a hospital and international airport, creating a variety of employment options in addition to tourism and accounting for other sources of employment not accounted for here. Many landowners' children are educated at the nearby Nadi District School and adjacent Ratu Navula High School. Nadi District had a roll of 686 in 2014 with a ratio of one teacher to fifty students. Ratu Navula had a roll of 900, with around a third of

these students attending the vocational stream. This includes catering and hospitality, training many students hopeful for employment on Denarau Island.⁴²



Photograph 5.4. Signage for Denarau Island hotels

The Denarau Island enclave is situated four kilometres from Narewa village and is home to international resorts Hilton, Sheraton, Sheraton Villas, Sofitel, Westin, Radisson Blu, Wyndham and The Terraces with a ninth resort, The Palms, due to open in 2016 (see Photograph 5.4). The case study hotel for this thesis, Radisson Blu Fiji, is operated by the Carlson Rezidor group and has 134 rooms set on 10 acres of land. The hotel was a finalist for the sustainability award in the ANZ 2015 Fiji Excellence in Tourism Awards and the winner of Radisson’s Responsible Business Hotel of the Year Asia Pacific in 2013. As a company, the Rezidor Group has been recognised by the Ethisphere Institute as the one of the world’s most ethical hotel companies for seven years running. Radisson Blu Fiji has been operating since 2007, making it one of the newer arrivals to Denarau. The first hotel, The Regent (later to become the Westin), opened in 1975 with development of further hotels and infrastructure accelerating in the 1980s and 1990s. 680 acres of mangroves, swamps and mudflats were cleared or reclaimed, and the course of the Nadi River altered to develop a tourist playground with a yachting marina, golf courses, waterparks, retail centre and restaurants. Fifty per cent of tourist arrivals to Fiji now go to Denarau, with many then going on to visit other locations such as the Yasawa Islands (Bernard

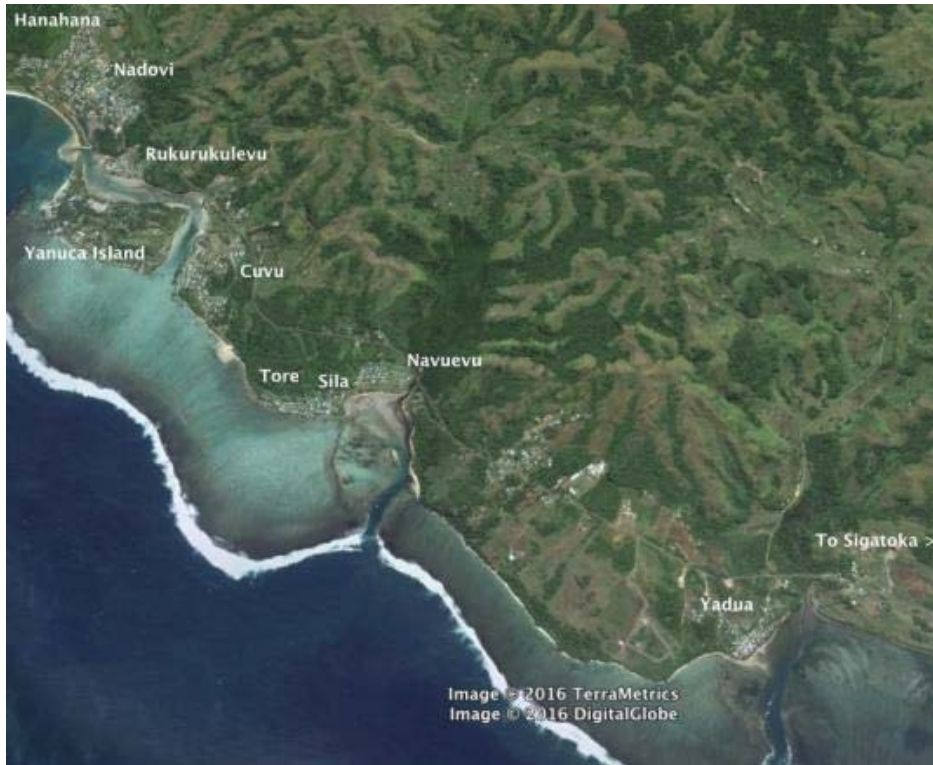
⁴² Pers.comm, principals of each school.

& Cook, 2015, p. 306). An article in *Islands Business Pacific* at the height of the expansion referred to Denarau as ‘an island of optimism’, speculating on ‘all the fruit and vegetables, fish, meat and poultry to be sold there, grown or produced by Nadi district people’ (Keith-Reid, 1991).

Cuvu village on the Coral Coast

Cuvu village is on the Coral Coast, around 50 km from Nadi and located adjacent to Shangri-La’s Fijian Resort and Spa. Cuvu is the largest of seven villages in Cuvu *tikina* (district) - Hanahana, Rukurukulevu, Cuvu, Tore, Sila, Navueyvu and Yadua - with the population spread between two *yavusa*, Yavahuna and Louvatu. Cuvu village is Louvatu and has a population of approximately 400, while the populations of smaller villages range between 100 and 300. Cuvu’s current chief is Ratu Kinijoji Vosailagi, also the paramount chief of the province (*Turaga Na Ka Levu*). He was recently installed as *Ka Levu* on 7 August 2015, succeeding Ratu Sakiusa Makutu, who died at the end of 2013.⁴³ It took almost two years for the chiefly families to reach agreement on Ratu Sakiusa’s successor, and meant that the role was vacant while I was undertaking my fieldwork. Ratu Kini, as he is known, unofficially assumed the role during this period. As he is now well into his eighties his daughter lives with him to help care for him and my daughters and I were invited to live in her house for the duration of our stay. Both houses and the houses of other close family members are located up a small hill outside of the village boundaries; from here it was a short walk to the village and to the village school that my daughters attended. In 2014 Cuvu District primary school had a roll of 268 and served all the villages in the *tikina*. Cuvu village itself lies either side of the Cuvu Back Road which connects all the villages (with the exception of Yadua which is located on the main highway). Two primary and two high schools and the settlement of Nadovi, where the local shops and market can be found are also located along this 5 km stretch of road. Shangri-la’s Fijian resort and spa, built on 109-acre Yanuca Island, is reached by causeway from the same road (see Map 5.4).

⁴³ ‘Province Installs Chief’, *Fiji Times*, 6 August 2015.
<http://www.fijitimes.com/story.aspx?id=316665>



Map 5.4 Map of Cuvu tikina

Source: Based on Google Earth image

The landowning unit of Yanuca Island is the *tokatoka* of Nakuruvakarua who number around 300 members. One third live in Cuvu village with the others elsewhere in Fiji or overseas. The *qoliqoli* is the traditional fishing ground of all seven villages. Yanuca Island was sold to the chief of Nadroga in 1909 and held in trusteeship by the colonial government until 1969, making the land freehold rather than native title.⁴⁴ Although not bound by a TLTB agreement, the initial negotiations were said to include a ‘gentleman’s agreement’ for preferential employment for Cuvu and the surrounding villages.⁴⁵ Na Hina Trust manages the lease money for the *tokatoka* of approximately \$1.6m annually and the CEO of Na Hina Ltd (the commercial arm of the trust) sits on the board of Fiji Resorts Limited, owners of Shangri-La and lessees of the land.

⁴⁴ The proceedings of a civil dispute over management of the Trust provides historical detail on the land ownership.
http://www.trusts.it/admincp/UploadedPDF/20090311207010.jFiji_Vosailagi%20v%20Mara19921204.pdf

⁴⁵ pers.comm. CEO Na Hina Ltd.

Table 5.2. Cuvu residents employed at Shangri-La

Cvuu (population approx. 400)			
Total households surveyed		50	
Total residents of survey households		158 adults, 67 children	
Currently employed in hotel ^a		52	
Previously employed in hotel		28	
Employment by gender^b and role^c			
Women	number	Men	number
Food & beverage staff	8	Food & beverage staff	9
Housekeeping/ laundry	7	Housekeeping/ laundry	3
Chef/cook	5	Chef/Cook	5
Accountant	1	Accountant	1
Manager	2	Manager	1
Sports & recreation	3	Sports & recreation	2
Clerk/cashier	7	Clerk	1
Front office	2	IT	1
Dishwasher	2	Groundsman	1
Babysitter	8	Storeman	1
Selling handicrafts	4	Porter	1
Training officer	2	Plumber	1
		Electrician	1
Total	51		28

Source: author fieldwork

a. Either directly as a hotel employee, or indirectly, for example as a taxi driver

b. In the remaining case, gender and role were not recorded

c. Includes both current and previous roles

A survey of approximately two thirds of Cuvu households (n=50) in Cuvu villlage indicated that around one third of adults are currently employed by Shangri-La, with over two-thirds of households currently having at least one member employed at the hotel. Around half of the adult population has been employed at some point by the hotel (see Table 5.2). Almost twice the number of women than men are employed in the hotel and a breakdown of roles shows a less distinct gender division of roles than in Narewa with more women holding management or professional roles. Over half

(45) worked for 10 years or more in the role, with 25 working for 20 years or longer in the hotel.

The Coral Coast is the second largest tourism destination in Fiji accounting for 18 per cent of visitors (Pratt et al., 2016); several four and five star resorts are located along the coast along with numerous lodges and backpacker establishments. Increases in population and development in the area have led to various environmental problems, including land and water based pollution and overfishing (Clark, 2008, p. 56). Several *tabu* (quarantined or marine protected) areas were therefore established by the community in conjunction with Shangri-La in 2001 (Clark, 2008, p.62). With 442 rooms, Shangri-La is the largest hotel in Fiji and one of the oldest. It opened in 1967 as 'The Fijian' under US ownership and is still most frequently known locally by this name. Under Chinese ownership since 1974 (Shangri-La's parent company is the Kuok Group), it is the largest employer in the province with over 700 employees. Shangri-La Fiji won the 2013 AON Fiji Excellence in Tourism Award for Sustainability in recognition of contributions to community and the environment and was a finalist in the 2014 and 2015 awards. As a company it is a member of the Dow Jones Sustainability Indices and has released four 'Communication on Progress' documents, which details its achievements towards meeting the principles of the United Nations Global Compact.



Photograph 5.5. Naqeladamu, the chiefly *bure* (house) in Cuvu

Both locations describe the economic changes due to tourism in recent decades in a positive way, as illustrated by the quotes below.

Before the hotel was built, very few of the landowners worked [in paid employment]. There were other hotels in Nadi, but for us down here, nothing.

They stayed in the village, planting root crops and fishing to put food on the table. When the land was leased to the hotels this gave us employment. Even now, most people now work in the hotels - in all departments. It puts the food on the table for our people. We can also buy clothing and meet other obligations like village fundraising to look after the church, housing. The landowners, [in the past] were one of the poorest villages in Nadi. We lived in thatch and bamboo houses. There were only 2 big houses, belonging to the Tui Nadi which were concrete houses. They are all concrete houses now [female landowner, Narewa].

You can really feel the development of the local economy here. You can really feel when tourism is up, when occupancy is high. Then we can feel the shops are open, the tickets are running [sales are high], and we can see the economy going up, especially the local economy, where the resort directly benefits the workers. Many started building good houses. It's from the hotel. Before it was only sugar cane. And when the hotel came in, they bypassed the sugarcane as it was not making much. So most of the housing, most of the benefits we see now around the villages is from the hotel. This is from employment [male landowner, Cuvu].

Yet villages also face challenges in balancing the potential and drawbacks of large-scale tourism for their communities and there are differences specific to each location. Differences in the numbers of villagers employed in tourism in Cuvu and Narewa, for example, reflect the difference in the scale of tourism in the two locations; lease money in Narewa is also shared among a much larger landowning unit. As Movono, Pratt and Harrison point out in their comparative study of two Coral Coast villages, it is important to study the specific circumstances of a particular context, rather than regarding communities 'as hapless or passive' (2016, p. 104). It is in this way that findings reveal what is actually happening on the ground.

6 Conclusion

This chapter has contextualised the study of private sector-led development to provide a background to the exploration of CCD in tourism in Fiji. It has shown the importance of place and the influence of historical and political factors, and has outlined the socio-economic context that companies are operating in. Analysing MDG reporting on social, economic and environmental challenges has highlighted the regional aspiration for pathways to be shaped by local knowledge, with a call to recognise alternative development strategies relevant to the Pacific. Community perspectives of what constitutes meaningful development in the broader Pacific, and

for Indigenous Fijians, have also been introduced. This necessitates an understanding of the central concept of the *vanua* and the significance of this concept to all actions and interactions among Indigenous Fijians. The *vanua* includes land, fishing areas, people, customs, values and beliefs and provides the context for understanding wellbeing and development. To link these factors to tourism, I have examined how the presence of multinational corporations in Fiji intersects with Fijian culture and practices, and specifically Fiji's contemporary engagement with tourism. Valuable background is provided by previous work that has explored the connection between tourism and communities in Fiji and the positive and negative impacts this has had on incomes, quality of life and wellbeing. The chapter concludes by providing a detailed description of the two case study locations and their connections with their multinational hotel neighbours.

In light of the significance of this combination of contextual and place-based factors, this study aims to focus on grassroots perspectives of CCD initiatives in order to assess the potential for positive, sustainable change for communities. Cognisant of the injunction of Pacific scholars to take note of local development practices and Indigenous knowledge processes, this study takes local knowledge as a starting point, as a way to illuminate locally meaningful forms of development and identify the capacity for CCD to advance, or to limit, community priorities. The following two chapters present my findings.

Chapter Six

The *Vanua* and Community Priorities for Development

*The land has eyes, the land has teeth and knows the truth*⁴⁶

1 Introduction

A land without people is likened to a person without soul. The people are the souls of the physical environment. Like the interdependence of the body and the soul, the people control and decide what happens to the land. However, the people cannot live without the physical embodiment in terms of their land. The land is the physical or geographical entity of the people, upon which their survival as individuals and as a group depends. It is a major source of life; it provides nourishment, shelter and protection. It is a source of security and provides the material basis for identity and belonging. Land is thus an extension of the self (Ravuvu, 1983, p. 76).

This chapter centres on the *vanua* as a concept, as described in the quote above (and introduced in Chapter Five), and the process of *vanua* research as described by Nabobo-Baba (2006). *Vanua* research, as outlined in Chapter Four, is based on the *vanua* and with implications for the people of the *vanua*. This approach is used here to identify community priorities for development and to explore how positive, locally meaningful change can be understood for the communities in the study, in the context of the presence of multinational tourism companies. The focus of *vanua* research revolves around the relationships built; the questions asked should therefore reflect the input of the villagers rather than what the researcher identifies as important (Nabobo-Baba, 2006, pp. 31-34). In my first attempts to identify community priorities for development I found that the answers to my questions were largely replicating details of the support currently received from hotels or via employment in hotels. It was only later as I spent more time sitting and listening to

⁴⁶ Rotuman proverb

discussions of wellbeing, cultural practices and the importance of relationships that these priorities became more apparent to me. This chapter, therefore, takes *iTaukei* knowledge as its starting point and then reflects on what this reveals about community priorities for development and how these are connected to or isolated from CCD.

In both collecting and reporting the data, I have aimed to follow the principles underpinning the Vanua Research Framework, as detailed in Chapter Four. These include avoiding the marginalisation of Indigenous knowledges and epistemologies and taking ‘cognisance of indigenous philosophies, cultural worldviews and processes’ (Nabobo-Baba, 2004, p. 26). Teaiwa suggests that as researchers of Indigenous knowledge, we aim to ‘produce knowledge in the same forms we encounter it’ (2004, p. 226). In order to do this, the findings here are structured around the four important knowledge categories in Nabobo-Baba’s Vanua Research Framework: the *vanua*, *lotu* (spirituality), *i tovo vakavanua* (custom) and *veiwekani* (kinship). I first explain what is understood as ‘*vanua* knowledge’ and then explore each of the four interlinked categories in terms of its significance to the *Vanua* and in relation to community priorities for development. I then examine how each intersects with the presence of tourism and the implications for community engagement with CCD.

2 *Vanua* knowledge

Vanua knowledge refers to ‘things important to know in the *vanua* as well as to values, skills and acceptable behaviour’ (Nabobo-Baba, 2006, p. 73). The category of *vanua* knowledge itself integrates the other three knowledges by acknowledging the significance of land and place to *iTaukei* communities. *Vanua* values include respect for the *vanua*, for others, for resources, for God, attending to ceremonial obligations and clan responsibilities, and caring for relatives. Concepts such as respect, humility, service, compassion, unity and sharing govern *vanua* behaviour. Behaviour and customs are also determined by kinship relationships (Nabobo-Baba, 2006). The value of these relationships is such that they are equated with wealth, which was described to me as follows:

I have a roof over my head and I can feed my family - this is not poverty. If you have a village function and only the nuclear family turn up, then you are poor. You have to ask, what is wealth? What is development? To be wealthy is to have friends and relations, connections. Fijian wealth is quantified through wealth in relationships, in sharing, a generosity of spirit and heart rather than material wealth. In Fijian it is 'vutuniyau e na veiwekani, na veikauwaitaki kei na loloma' [former FHTA official].

When *vanua* protocols and cultural issues are not addressed adequately then there are consequences for the wellbeing of the *Vanua* across each of the four components. The expectations and consequences for all actions and behaviours in the *Vanua* constitute the 'eyes and teeth' of the land and shape community values and priorities. Insights into *iTaukei* ideas and values relating to the land, spirituality, custom and kinship all inform an enquiry into what positive, locally meaningful change might mean to women and men living in these communities and how CCD does or does not contribute to these priorities.

3 The *Vanua*

The land

The closest translation for *vanua* is land, but the Fijian term encompasses not only physical but social and cultural dimensions, that is, the land, its people and their culture, values and beliefs, which together are a source of harmony, solidarity and prosperity (Ravuvu, 1983, p. 70). Batibasaqa describes this confluence of the different dimensions as follows:

Combining these ideas of land, culture, history and beliefs, vanua can be suggested as an expression of Fijian values. It provides both a geographical and sociological point of reference and links the ecological, social, spiritual and economic dimensions together (Batibasaqa et al., 1999, p. 102).

Land has both a symbolic and an economic value. It provides communities with resources for daily living and symbolises an enduring connection to the ancestors. Both landowners and non-landowners spoke of the value of land and place to communities, currently and for future generations, and evoked the emotional and

historical connection of their people to the land. There is a wish to be able to retain some of the most desirable land for future generations:

In the next 50 years maybe we'll see beautiful homes on those hills [see Figure 6.1], you know, but hopefully belonging to us. Don't give it away, because the time will come when we can afford to build nice homes on those hills, and the view from those hills can be breath-taking, so that's priceless [male non-landowner].

The connection with the land endures: even once leased, the sense of ownership of the land is still very strong amongst landowners. This comment from one manager illustrates the collective perceptions of ownership and entitlement:

The [owners of the island] have a very strong ownership of all of this. I mean, in their heads they own it, they haven't given it up. So it's like a reminder for everyone else: oh this is mine, at the end of the day this is mine, I can shake the boat a bit now and then [manager].



Photograph 6.1.
Yanuca Island

Yanuca Island is in the background, viewed from the hills

In some cases access to land or sea has been foregone entirely, for example through disrupted access to the *qoliqoli* after land is leased, or through disagreements over land ownership. The Denarau 'land swap' in the 1990s resulted in areas of native land being converted to crown land and the clearing of large areas of mangrove (see Chapter Five). The communities affected still experience a sense of significant loss:

The government of the day sold land that was not to be sold. We are trying to get it back. It is very, very difficult. People here try very hard to do better. They have come this far. Maybe the land won't come back. This is a journey and they work hard. They send their kids to school, they give back to their parents. It is a struggle [female non-landowner].

The land, whether leased or not, is closely tied to the identity of the *Vanua*, the wellbeing of its people, the current and future possibilities to generate income, and the aspirations for future generations.

Land and tourism

Community members reflected on the changes brought by tourism: local people would recollect picking coconuts and mangoes from plantations on the now-leased land, collecting crabs from the mangroves and holidaying on the beach. Whilst tourism, and the economic benefits it brings, is welcomed, there remains a perception among landowners that land has often been given away too readily or that agreements which largely favour investors have meant that communities are not receiving equitable benefits from leases. For early leases, the extent of the benefits of tourism over a 99-year period was unknown, as with Yanuca Island.

The whole island is leased out for \$20,000 a year. Now people thought this was a big mistake, for such a small amount of money in '67. And well, our fathers, our grandfathers in those times were not really educated and developers saw an opportunity to make a lot of money. So we decided on \$20,000 for the lease. And then the Prime Minister at that time, Ratu Mara saw that the lease was not a good one, so he stepped in and there was a discussion to say this is not enough, it's too small for such a big island. And now we are getting 2.5% of the gross [income] that the hotel earns [male landowner].

For every lease, the percentage of gross income that goes to communities is fixed in the lease agreement and varies between 1.5 and 6 per cent, as agreed at the time of signing. Even for newer leases (on Denarau for example), there is a high level of discontent with lease money which is not felt to fairly reflect the value of the land.

We really want a reassessment of the lease; we want the lease to increase. Because [the hotels] are getting more [each year]. And we are just getting this little...what they have been giving us since 10 years back...When you divide it between so many thousands of us it just comes to...all I can say is that we just want a fair share of our land [male landowner, community leader].

Our land there is a resource, everything's there. How can we survive on this tourism? I ask you, how can we survive? [male landowner, elder]

One source of discontent is the difference in leases agreed at different points in time: the amount landowners receive can vary considerably depending on the percentage of profits received. Current tourism leases all consist of a one-off premium payment, annual rent and benefits for the landowning community; the latter typically includes a Landowning unit (LOU) share, scholarship fund, preferential employment, business opportunities, community or village infrastructure assistance and an LOU representative on the board (TLTB 2015),⁴⁷ but older leases contain fewer provisions for community benefits. This irregularity is recognised by TLTB; however there is no obligation for companies to review leases once signed. Older lease-holders are encouraged to identify benefits for the landowners in addition to the rent, as a TLTB official explains:

The latest leases include the [current] tourism policy. For older ones, we are trying to encourage the hotels to come up to par. We are using the best of our negotiating skills - you have to give something back to the landowners. They say, but we are already paying rent. Well there are other things you can act on and contribute to. The community should be part of your investment [TLTB official].

Rents are reassessed on a five-yearly basis and may be increased subject to negotiations with tenants; however agreements are locked in for the period of the lease. Furthermore, few landowners had ever seen the agreement and the content was hearsay.

What I heard, I haven't seen any document on it, what I heard, according to the agreement they had with the TLTB but I'm not sure, is that after every 5 years [the lease] will be reviewed [male landowner, community leader].

A 2014 review of the TLTB model substantiates this frustration:

Leasehold contracts for multi-million dollar land developments may consist of a simple document of no more than fifteen pages, often based on a simple Unimproved Capital Value (UCV) rental basis that neither adequately reflects the loss of access to the land for the rental period, nor the ownership of improvements at lease expiration (Boydell & Baya, 2014, p. 10).

⁴⁷ Land currently available for 99-year lease in the Yasawa Islands (April 2016) ranges from 8 acres for a one-off premium of \$135,000 and an annual rent of \$5,000 for the first 5 years to \$2.9m for 97 acres with an annual rent of \$10,000 for the first five years (TLTB). <https://www.tltb.com.fj/tourism-leasing/> Rent thereafter is calculated by a formula based on a percentage of the gross receipts taken.

Prior to the general election in 2014, Denarau landowners saw an opportunity to press the government to initiate calls for a reassessment of their leases; however, they remain sceptical about whether this will ever eventuate. Due to the significance of Denarau taxes to state coffers, the government are perceived to be unwilling to put any pressure on hotel owners.

*The government gets taxes from Denarau. 70 per cent of the money is from Denarau. 30 per cent comes from all the rest of the hotels - Coral Coast, Yasawas, everything. You can rock the boat on any other island but not on Denarau [male landowner, community leader].*⁴⁸

The industry as a whole relies on the support of the host population and any dissent is discouraged (Kanemasu, 2015), but this is more keenly felt in Denarau given the relative size of its contribution to the economy.

Lease money and community development

Up until 2011 the division of lease money was the responsibility of individual chiefs, with a percentage set aside for heads of *mataqali* and *yavusa* based on customary hierarchy. This permitted chiefs to contribute to all the obligations of the clan (Lasaqa, 1984). The flaw inherent in this system was the potential for corruption and unfair distribution. The Equal Rent Distribution Policy was fully implemented by 2014 with lease money now shared equally between all registered landowners, and as of 2015⁴⁹ the Bainimarama government committed to opening a bank account for every registered landowner (including minors) to facilitate equal payments. It is instructive to observe the changes in dynamics occurring based on this quite significant shift in how lease money is handled. The advantages are clearly that each landowner is now guaranteed an equal share of the lease money; however at the same time it limits the ways in which community leaders are able to shape development for

⁴⁸ The total Service Turnover Tax (applied to accommodation, meals and recreation services) totalled over FJ\$51.6 million in 2013 and was anticipated to increase to \$57.1 million in 2014 and to \$64.8 million in 2015. (Ministry of Finance <http://www.finance.gov.fj/s/government-budget.html>); Denarau's tax contribution in 2013 was \$40m (Global Travel Industry News <http://www.eturbonews.com/37696/fiji-tourism-investment-opportunities-and-island-economy>).

⁴⁹ Fiji Sun, 11 August 2015 <http://fijisun.com.fj/2015/03/10/analysis-direct-lease-money-payment-safe-fair/> [accessed 15 August 2015] See also TLTB: <https://www.tltb.com.fj/corporate-plan/#tab-1411078745-1-22>

their villages. Whilst they still retain the capacity to meet as individual *mataqali* to agree on retaining a portion of the money for communal development projects, some members of the community are beginning to resist this and exert their right to the money. It also subverts the traditional communal system of operating for one that has an individualistic basis.

When we were getting a whole chunk as a village, this is what we have - all these houses. But when the government came up with this decree for fair share, this is what I see: that heart of sharing and thinking of for the future has gone, especially for the young people. When it started, up 'til now there's [been] a lot of complaints from mataqalis - they are complaining about getting their full share. They want their share, they don't want the developments. But before, the money comes you just build houses - that's one of the benefits. We can go without the assistance of the hotels - we build a kindergarten, we build our youth centre, women's centre. We can go without the government and the hotel's money, just [living on] the lease money. But when the government decided to share it - people are so bold and when we talk about [community] development, no, no that money was not supposed [to be] for development - this is mine [male landowner, community leader].

As a member of the women's committee explains,

The trustees, the committee ask if we can put the lease money in the bank for development. But now people say they want the money. Some are not working - they need it for sugar, flour, tea [female landowner, community leader].

The *tokatoka* Nakurovakarua, as freehold owners of Yanuca Island are not obligated to share the lease money in this manner, and in fact the operation of Na Hina, the family trust fund, is held up as a successful business model by TLTB. Their policy is to distribute 45 per cent of the lease money equally to the 6 families of the *tokatoka*. This is used by families for everyday expenses in addition to funding traditional functions. For those who are retired or unemployed it can constitute their core income. The remaining 55 per cent is invested in order to build up the portfolio for future generations including three apartment complexes in Suva. The investments then fund scholarships for the *tokatoka* and cultural obligations of the Ka Levu across the province (pers. comm., CEO Na Hina Ltd). In effect, this model operates more closely aligned to traditional practices of sharing lease money and meeting current and future needs of the clan.

The quotes above show the continuing impact of the collision between traditional practices and the move into a (Westernised) cash economy. Toren (1989) contrasts

the Fijian way of life based on a moral order according to kinship and chiefly authority, with the European way of life, based upon the value of money. She suggests that confusion arising from mixing commodity exchanges with gift exchanges undermines social relations. (pp. 143-144). Batibasaqa traces this conflict to changes post-colonialism where 'Vanua became something that was written down selectively, interpreted and distorted by the colonial authorities' (1999, p. 103). This has led to the way of the government (*vaka matanitu*) superseding the way of the land (*vaka vanua*) (pp. 103-104). This tension is a subject of on-going debate among landowners and the government in Fiji and provides the context to discussions on the use of lease money from hotels. Whilst hotels do not have any influence over the distribution or use of lease money, this context has implications for corporate community development, as discussed in the section below.

Land leasing and CCD

Lease payments are a central component of corporate community development; alongside employment, lease money provides the single most effective resource to finance the building of houses, community halls, churches and footpaths, contribute to traditional obligations and cover everyday household needs. This is perhaps where the clearest distinction can be made between CSR and CCD. Lease money is an obligation that hotels must meet; employment is a resource essential to the functioning of the business; neither constitute CSR activities yet both are most frequently referred to as the key sources of benefit for communities (see Chapter Seven). At the same time, lease money is closely linked to other hotel obligations (such as preferential employment) and to voluntary CSR practices (such as support for education). This underlines the importance of viewing voluntary CSR practices in conjunction with core business practices, rather than as an add-on. Looking at the link between preferential employment and education provides a good example of this. Where hotel employment is guaranteed this can impact negatively on school completion rates. Community leaders in both research locations reflected the same paradox:

The mentality is, if I don't get a job, I have lease money to cover me up. I can go to any other hotel, mum and dad will fight for me. That's why we don't have many people [here who] have white-collar jobs. That's the thinking and that's the challenge [manager].

We offer tertiary education [scholarships] but we don't have enough applicants and there is a high drop-out rate. The mentality is, don't worry the company will build my house. The money will come every 3 months. The same attitude applies to the hotel employees. They have a sense of job security and this has a social impact on society with drop-outs and the youth not productively engaged [male landowner, community leader].

This illustrates the issues that arise from the perception that young people become complacent with the steady income from lease money. The same finding was evident in Movono et al.'s study which revealed a high number of school drop-outs in a village with preferential employment at the nearby resort (2015, p. 108). If support for education is offered as a component of CSR, then consideration must also be given to how this will fit into a continuum of education, employment, mentoring and career progression in order to impact on long-term outcomes.

It is also with regard to lease money that communities seek to advocate for a better deal that can impact on their autonomy over community development. One community leader explains this in terms of control over resources:

During my father's time, my father never asked for anything from the hotel. Even those houses we built, there was no contribution from the hotel. If the hotel contributes they'll come and immediately manipulate us. "Don't talk too much - we're giving you this outside of the lease agreement..." If they go and help out [the school], that's their money, but we are asking for our fair share of our resources [male landowner, village elder].

Like the key demand for more secure employment (see Chapter Seven), the preference for fair lease agreements over discretionary (CSR) assistance highlights an emphasis on core practices as a priority. This may be increasingly evident with the shift to equal distribution of lease money, as community leaders seek ways to fund village development projects.

For non-landowning villages meanwhile, they see the relative wealth of the landowners, with Nadroga/Navosa province sometimes referred to as the 'America of Fiji' by locals. Non-landowning villages in Nadi for example are also neighbours to the Denarau hotels, but see few benefits.

Narewa built their houses through the lease money. Our fathers built their houses through their sweat, not the lease money, from their own pockets. You look at the hotels - how many, 8? - and this place should be in top living

conditions, better houses, a tar sealed road. It's not happening. You have to ask, why is that? We can see Denarau from here, the lights. It's like it is 100 miles away [male non-landowner, community leader].

Whilst lease money in the landowning villages of Narewa and Nakavu has contributed to the construction of concrete houses and bathrooms for most families, a visit to neighbouring (non-landowning) Sikituru crystallises the differences in expectations for development and the capacity to realise these objectives for those who are not in receipt of hotel lease money. Raising money for development in Sikituru is slow. Many houses are still without basic amenities and villagers recently completed the village community hall after 32 years of fundraising.

The *qoliqoli*

Villagers grow up learning stewardship for their environment in order to protect the resources of the *Vanua* for future generations, a practice known as *mamaroi* or *maroroya* (Gibson, 2015, p. 128). Alongside the land belonging to the *Vanua* is the *qoliqoli*, or traditional fishing grounds. The *qoliqoli* is a resource that the *Vanua* can draw on for food, income and to meet cultural obligations, although unlike the land it is not leased and it belongs to a wider group of customary resource owners (see Nainoca, 2011 and Chapter Five). In the two case study locations, where many but not all households have a member employed in a hotel, the *qoliqoli* still retains considerable significance as a source of food and income. When land is leased, access to the *qoliqoli* often becomes limited, particularly if a hotel is utilising the waterfront. This disrupts patterns of use for the resource owners.

The only problem is the fishing area - no more fish like before. Now we have to go to the other side of the island to fish. Before we were fishing right over here [male non-landowner, village elder].

We don't have access to the qoliqoli - half of the picture is gone. To give you an idea, we used to fish three times a week, now we only fish once a month. They [the hotels] have damaged marine life, they have changed the marine ecosystem. We used to put a net for fish in the port but now everything has gone [female non-landowner].

In the mangroves we used to have big crabs, fish, and we used to be able to access freely. Now the security stops us going in. No more selling [female non-landowner].

It is women who predominate in subsistence fisheries in Fiji (Nainoca, 2011; Vunisea, 2005), and reduced access to the *qoliqoli* also reduces a readily available food source for the family as well as a potential source of income generation. In Cuvu *tikina*, between seventy and eighty per cent of the fishers are women (2002). Robinson (2008) also found that women's fishing practices were more negatively affected by a *tabu* [sites closed to fishing] due to the difference in habitual fishing zones of men and women.

Whereas landowners can lease the land to generate income, resource owners do not receive any direct financial benefit for the use of their *qoliqoli* by resorts and hotels. Suggestions that rights to the *qoliqoli* should be returned to Indigenous landowners are highly contentious (see Chapter Five). The lack of recognition of resource owners as legitimate partners with the tourism industry has led to numerous disputes - both between resource owners and resorts and within communities themselves. Resource owners see the wealth generated by the hotels from the *qoliqoli* alongside the inequality in benefits accruing to them.

To hire boats to tourists, they are charging tourists 80, 90 dollars an hour, but not a single cent is sent to the qoliqoli owners. Not a single cent [male non-landowner].



Photograph 6.2
Women cleaning the foreshore

This finding is repeated in other studies. For example, in Movono's (2012) study villagers from a different landowning unit felt that the terms of their lease agreement

was unfavourable to them and reported that ‘the hotels don’t respect us as landowners and often do not consult us on changes to the coastal area and this caused conflicts between us’ (p. 75). The little control that can be exerted by resource owners is in negotiations over expansions of resorts into the *qoliqoli*. Examples include over-water bridges and *buress*, floating restaurants and jetties. In these instances the approval must be gained from resource owners as signatories to the agreed development, a process facilitated by the Provincial Council. It is unsurprising in such cases that resistance is enacted. An example of this is the negotiations that took place to raise the causeway linking Yanuca Island with the mainland along with some additional structural developments proposed by the resort which would also impact on the *qoliqoli*. The village already most affected by loss of access to fishing areas was also the one to exercise most resistance in the signing of the proposed agreement. With few tangible benefits accruing to the village from the proposal there was little motivation to waive their fishing rights. The paramount chief of the province at that time, Ratu Sakiusa, put a proposal to the resort to grant some direct benefits to resource owners, for example scholarships, school upgrades, job opportunities and training in addition to undertaking a range of mitigation, management and restoration activities for the long-term management and conservation of the foreshore. This proposal was rejected outright. As a marine ecologist working on the proposal put it:

We wanted to see environmental awareness management programmes, these are the kinds of things we wanted to do. We wanted to see educational scholarships, we wanted to see the local schools benefiting, we wanted to see provincial fundraising commitments assisted and we wanted to see village development happening. This is the benefit sharing we wanted to see from the resorts. This was the presentation we gave to them. They came and asked for everything and offered nothing [marine ecologist].

Negotiations stalled, also affected by the death of the chief and political uncertainty in the run-up to the 2014 general elections. At the time of writing, only agreement on the raising of the causeway had been achieved. This lack of connection and trust between the hotel and the community has multiple impacts. Most obviously, the hotel is unable to undertake its renovations, and the community resists cooperation with the hotel. But conflict also creates rifts within communities, between landowners and resource owners and between families. What appears to be simple inaction can have wide repercussions and disrupts the values at the core of the *Vanua*.

The *qoliqoli* and CCD

The *qoliqoli* is a core component of Fijian tourism: the majority of both mainstream and eco-tourism is located on the coast. Evidence is now available to quantify the benefits of the *qoliqoli* to the tourism industry. An economic evaluation of Marine Protected Areas (MPA) undertaken by the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) showed that more than half of the benefits of MPAs accrue to tourism businesses. In Korolevu-i-wai District on the Coral Coast (comprising four coastal villages with approximately 200 households and four resorts with a total of 1300 beds), ecosystem services were valued at about US\$12.2m a year and more than 80 per cent of those services were associated with tourism (Pascal, 2013, p. 10). A consultant marine ecologist emphasised that environmental damage in coastal areas is not all attributable to tourism and resort operations but is also a result of watershed issues and sedimentation; however, given the centrality of environment to tourism, the industry would be expected to prioritise environmental restoration. A survey of Fiji tourism businesses identified that three quarters of the respondents saw responsibility to the environment as 'extremely important', yet under half actually invested resources into environmental initiatives (Scheyvens, 2014). The reality is that the structure of the largest hotel chains with the most extensive impact on the environment does not readily support long-term restoration projects.

These big chains, you've got career-path managers and they are real hotel managers, they're not environmentalists. This is a sideline. What they're actually engaged in is how do you answer to the shareholders, what's your profit margin and what did the restaurant do this week basically. [The environment] is very much a side bar. And then, as I say, they step up and they go onto another place and you get another resort manager in and the continuity's not there. So the continuity probably needs to come from the community [consultant marine ecologist].

Many resort-led environmental activities to protect or restore the *qoliqoli* in fact have limited community involvement, typically including rubbish clean ups, small-scale coral planting and recycling. This does not tap into the 'community continuity' that could provide the foundation for long-term conservation of resources.

Shangri-La, however, has a long history of involvement in marine restoration projects. A notable example of community-focused development around the *qoliqoli* is the

Coral Gardens Initiative, a community-based model for marine resource management undertaken in Cuvu Tikina from 1999-2004, developed in conjunction with the participation of the *tikina* of Cuvu, the Shangri-La Resort, an NGO, Foundation for the Peoples of the South Pacific Fiji (now Partners in Community Development Fiji), relevant government departments and a tourism consultancy (Clark, 2008; Robinson, 2002, 2008). The project included the establishment of Marine Protected Areas, supported by the Ka Levu at that time and which have largely remained in place to date. From a community perspective, the initiative was connected to maintaining cultural associations with the marine environment (for example traditional stories), improving health of the villagers due to increased availability of fish and protecting traditional roles as fishers, whilst resort management linked the success of the resort with the health of the environment (MPA News, 2002, p. 4).

In my conversations with Cuvu villagers, CSR representatives at the resort and representatives of the NGO ten years on, participants reflected on the success of this collaboration. They emphasised the impact of its long-term approach, the key involvement of a district environment committee comprised of members from each village in the *tikina*, a grass-roots approach implemented by a local conservation-based NGO, and the ability to engage stakeholders in discussions.

I really believe it was a really unique collaboration, because it was a resort working with a conservation-based NGO working with the community - the perfect triangle [consultant marine ecologist].

We became aware of the different priorities of communities and the private sector, working through the Cuvu Environment Committee, government departments and heads of hotels and villages...It was a chance for government to engage with discussions at a community level. It was a way of bringing government closer to communities and it built the trust of communities. It was the first time for the resort to participate in a forum with community heads. They provided transport and refreshments - for them this was a minor cost compared to the opportunity... [former NGO project officer].

There were inevitably also challenges in this collaboration: NGOs and the private sector have different ways of operating, there were differences of opinion within the community and the MPA went on to face disputes after project funding had lapsed (see Clark 2008); however it remains a good example of a successfully generated

bottom-up approach to resource management with a partnership model bridging community, government and the private sector.

More recently, Shangri-La's Marine Education Centre has employed a marine biologist to promote environmental awareness to tourists and local schools; in a 5 year period more than 12,000 visitors have passed through its doors to learn about marine conservation, marine ecosystems, fishing practices and protecting natural resources for future generations. However, the centre is viewed by local villagers primarily as a guest attraction rather than a community resource.

The marine conservation project has no local ownership. There is an air of uncertainty [in the community] and not enough commitment or awareness [male landowner, community leader].

This marine life programme - this has nothing to do with the community, this is for the guests [female landowner].

In a situation where there are conflicts between the resort and the community, or where the community does not feel fairly benefitted by the resort, there is likely to be little vested interest in a resort-directed project. This was perceived by some to be symptomatic of a lack of engagement of the community in protecting their own resources, but is more probable that it involves shifting priorities of sections of the community in a context in which they have little control. Among local staff at the resort, there is recognition of the competing priorities and the importance of taking a long-term perspective, comparing protecting coastal resources to protecting community savings:

It's like a bank, you know. We protect their savings, their interest. I mean that's what we've been trying to tell them, but I think sometimes they look at it like, you're trying to block off our fishing, our livelihood.... at the end of the day it's what comes to the table, what you feed your family [CSR champion].

From a *vanua* perspective, it demonstrates the need to first meet *vanua* priorities. Communities are familiar with the idea of protecting marine life for a defined purpose. It is a part of traditional practice and has been used to manage communal resources in the past:

It's not a new phenomenon for us. Protection was always part of our culture. Our elders also used to have quarantines. You know there's a big visitation coming in

6 months' time, for example, and we're going to have a feast, a lot of them will be coming, it'll be around Christmas, we need to feed them so what do we do? We plant dalo [taro] to eat and we keep the marine area for the fish, you know, don't touch that. It used to be done in the past [male non-landowner].

This illustrates how village resources are managed in accordance with customary obligations. As Nainoca explains, *vanua* values take precedence over conservation priorities: 'a village will break a *tabu* it has put in place in order to fulfil its other village *Vanua* obligations' (2011, p. 9). She also demonstrates that a *tabu* can put pressure on coastal villagers where there are no alternative sustainable livelihood options (p. 65). There is a clear understanding of the need to balance long-term and short-term benefits and community perspectives show how marine protection is balanced against economic needs of the village:

We need to make sure the economic benefit to villages continues through maintaining the benefits to tourists. For the marine protected area, there is nothing in writing, but it is sending a message. We have rights to fish but we need to be mindful of the hotel needs. It is a bit of a balancing act [male landowner, community leader].

The difficulty arises where communities are already struggling to put food on the table and there are no alternative livelihood options. Then, short-term needs take precedence over long-term preservation. Local hotel staff acknowledge the level of community engagement required and the linkages that must be put in place to help this succeed.

You can't force it on people - it's bread and butter, across all Fijian communities...Who are we to say, you have to do this, you've got to do that... we have to be mindful of that, of imposing ideas on people. Not just the resort, anyone that comes in and you know has all the good intentions. And I think [we are] just talking to the kids of the importance of taking ownership, I think culturally, taking ownership because it might be the better choice in the long-term [CSR champion].

The acknowledgement of this complexity, of the importance of taking a community perspective and of adopting a long-term view shows that environmental restoration is only one component of a broader approach to hotel-community engagement in connection with the land and the sea. Such an approach considers intersections between environmental and social outcomes and the confluence of environmental protection and livelihood protection. This requires actions to go beyond the actions of

individual hotels engaging tourists in mangrove planting for example, to assessing the overall picture of natural resource ownership, control and management.

Examining *vanua* values around the land and the *qoliqoli* and their intersection with CCD illuminates the different priorities of hotels and communities; at times these coincide and at others they generate misunderstandings and conflict. The allocation and use of lease money, the provision and uptake of community support mandated through lease agreements, and the protection and use of the *qoliqoli* are all subject to processes mediated by *vanua* values and this determines the extent to which community priorities are addressed by CCD.

The next section examines the knowledge category of '*lotu*' in the same way.

4 *Lotu* (spirituality)

An understanding of *lotu* shows how spiritual and religious values are core *vanua* values and underpin community wellbeing. Nabobo-Baba's research finds that '*vanua*, *lotu* and *matanitu* are one and the same in the eyes of the Fijian' (2006, p. 71) where *matanitu* refers to the government and *lotu* is seen as 'the tenet which should underpin the *vanua*' (p. 87). These elements together form the 'three-legged stool' referred to by Ratu Sukuna as constituting the stability of Fijian society (Barr, 1999; Sukuna, 1984). Tuwere finds that *vanua* and *lotu* (understood particularly as the church) are so closely connected to be almost indistinguishable (2002, p. 101). In terms of development policy, according to Nabobo-Baba, *vanua* and *lotu* should support one another: '*lotu* should enrich people's lives in the *Vanua*, not take too much from them' (Nabobo-Baba, 2006, p. 134). This acknowledges the significant demands of and obligations to the church required of villagers:

Villagers' time, resources, and space are increasingly taken up by the church, which has been and continues to be the main source of change and transformation of things considered important in the indigenous community (Nabobo-Baba, 2006, p. 71).

Lotu includes both Christianity and Indigenous ideas of spirituality with Ravuvu noting that many Fijians see the protecting and punishing role of both their Kalou

(Christian God) and Kalou Vu (ancestral Gods) in the same way (1983, p. 98). Ravuvu describes how Christianity has been particularised in order to maintain some traditional practices alongside Christian beliefs and Christianity and the supernatural are able to exist side by side (p. 102). In the same manner as did the ancestral God, the Christian God protects 'customary rules of morality, appropriate ways of feeling, thinking and acting' (p. 98). These principles constitute an important guide for attitudes and actions within the village.

In my study, the centrality of *lotu* to village life was expressed as both a guide and a solution. Church leaders are sought out to provide direction to young people and to resolve disputes and problems in the village when they arise.

It helps people to know who they are and why they're here on this earth, what purpose. Otherwise you're just going to be aimless all over the place. A lot of people need a lot of guidance on what they want to do with their life. [We need] leaders with vision and plans and goals to achieve that. And then the elders working together. You know coming together and seeing - look we have this problem in the village - and just calling a meeting and discussing that problem and how we can [resolve] that and then calling the young people, and even their parents. You know how can we deal with problems at a home level, at the spiritual level with the church [female landowner].

A complete spiritual life is also connected to the ability to help others and live according to customary practices or the way of the land (*vakavanua*): one villager explains that people in the village know that she is in a position to give help and will ask her to contribute to projects, even if it is for a different church. 'When we are spiritually fit we can do everything. We can give, give when asked' [female landowner]. In this way, spiritual values are interlinked with an obligation to the *Vanua*.

We have Christian values in our heart. Our attitude is a product of our belief system - share and care [Union leader].

It sustains the community. I say, if you don't help or think of others, you are wasting your time in this world. If one of my brothers asks for \$5 or if I can pay the school fees I try my best to do it [female landowner, community leader].

Meo-Sewabu's research also revealed that spiritual values are intrinsic to wellbeing among Indigenous Fijian women. The criteria for achieving *bula taucoko* [communal wellbeing] 'can easily be fulfilled if spirituality [is] intact' (2015, p. 142).

In relation to tourism, sharing culture and spirituality, through ceremony or performance at hotels, is seen as bringing spiritual benefits to the community as well as the tourists. A choir leader explains,

For the [choir] singers, [the benefit is] spiritual growth. The main thing is to witness Christ. The money is enough for transport. The important thing is that it touches their hearts, the tourists [female non-landowner, choir leader].

The importance of *lotu* as a guide for attitudes and actions also shapes the interaction of Fijians with tourists. A tour guide recounted that the ceremonial torch lighting at the hotel is always begun with a prayer for the following day; he spoke of the spiritual importance of the stories and legends he shares with tourists. These traditional stories are intertwined with the arrival of the missionaries and are combined with prayer.

I have many stories hidden in my heart... Now prayer is part of us [male non-landowner, tour guide].

Spirituality is therefore core to Fijian identity, wellbeing and the expression of *vanua* values, both in the village and in interactions with tourists; however, this is not always reflected in the practice of CCD.

Spirituality and CCD

The expectations of a hotel for its workers may not always accommodate the expression of spirituality or religious practices. Most communities close to hotels have grown accustomed to working on Sundays for example. However, communities also adapt spiritual practices to the demands of tourism, for example the Sunday School choir that performs weekly at the hotel, the village choir that sings at wedding services and the inclusion of prayer into torch lighting ceremonies, as described above.

In terms of CCD, money from employment and lease money contributes to financial obligations to the church along with other cultural obligations. In addition, ad hoc cash contributions from hotels to funerals and church conferences and other religious events can be significant and should not be underestimated. Such events constitute a core element of living according to *vanua* protocols: hotels, as a part of the community, are satisfying reciprocal obligations through their contributions. For

example Denarau hotels have supported the annual Methodist conference by providing tables, tablecloths, utensils and morning tea; hotels also frequently present gifts at *reguregu* [paying of respects prior to a funeral] for community members.

More generally, the practice of using the salutation '*bula!*' is used as a way to connect, to revitalise, to give energy and a blessing of health and happiness to the other. A union official describes the clash between a heavy workload and the ability to do justice to the '*bula* spirit':

They have to run! They have no time to say bula! In their heads they say bula; they have that genuine care, sincerity... Tourists are guests, but our nature is restricted because of the workload [Union leader].

Recognition of the central importance of spirituality as a *vanua* value is not overtly present in CCD, yet CCD can be enabling of *vanua* priorities through supporting its expression. This is more likely to occur in those hotels closely connected to communities. In the same way, underestimating the importance of spirituality can undermine community priorities.

Spirituality is also closely connected with custom, as elaborated next.

5 I tovo vakavanua (custom)

I tovo vakavanua incorporates appropriate customs, behaviour and values along with respect for people, resources, ancestors and God (Nabobo-Baba, 2006). The focus in this section will centre firstly on traditional culture and values and how these are connected to an understanding of wellbeing. Secondly it focuses on how these values shape village priorities for development: I examine how priorities are defined and resourced, particularly focusing on the function of social capital in fulfilling community development priorities, and in particular on the role of women. I then examine how this intersects with tourism and CCD.

Custom, wellbeing and development

The central Fijian value of ‘sharing and caring’ is embedded in the cultural aspects of the *vanua* and includes other ideals central to the functioning of communal village life:

This idea of “share and care” is embodied in the Fijian ideal terms of veivukei (giving a helping hand), veinanumi (to be considerate of others), veilomani (loving and friendly to one another and dua vata (togetherness) or yalo vata (of the same spirit) (Ravuvu, 1988, p. 8).

Amongst my participants, villagers referred frequently to the culture of sharing and helping. My research assistant explained to me this is ‘*veivukei*’ and when people talk about doing things ‘from the good heart’ or ‘with a big heart’ this is ‘*yalo vinaka*’ or ‘*veilomani*’. This refers to loving and caring for one another, expressed through giving and sharing (*veidolei*): ‘We can’t walk past a house when they need something. We are all related. When there’s no salt, we go to the next house and *kerekere* [borrow]’. Villagers described the culture as one of sharing and gathering:

C: During functions we share chickens, cows, pigs...

N: This is veilomani - big heart. Even when we don’t get paid well we have veilomani.

J: If a son is getting married and no one in the family is working, we all contribute from the village.

D: Our culture is for gatherings [focus group discussion, male non-landowners].

This ethos underpins the concept of communal wellbeing, which villagers defined as *na bula taucoko* or *taucoko na bula*.

Bula taucoko

Na bula taucoko is described as a combination of physical, spiritual and emotional wellbeing or completeness: *taucoko* translates literally as ‘completeness’ and ‘*bula*’ as life. Meo-Sewabu defines this as ‘the achievement of a state of completion or wholeness’ (2015, p. 109). One villager described the state of *bula taucoko* as ‘everything is ok’, that is, all essential needs are met. As we sat at her kitchen table she used a new jar of chutney she had just purchased to illustrate: the jar is full right to the top, nothing is missing. At a village level: this involves being able to meet communal needs.

We can meet all the village needs so everything will be taucoko, everything will be 'set'. Everyone has a good house with a toilet, bathroom, we have a community hall in the village. Everyone stays in a healthy place, a healthy environment. And life will be taucoko [female landowner].

Meo-Sewabu's (2015) research findings stipulate five criteria that contribute to achieving *na bula taucoko*: being of service, completing tasks, maintaining harmony within relationships, physical appearance and an outward reflection of happiness (p. 112). She also emphasises the focus of Fijian understandings of health on the communal good:

While western understandings [of health] are directly associated with illness and physicality and the ability to move around, Fijian understandings are primarily based on their contribution to communal wellbeing (p. 109).

These criteria link closely with *vanua* values supporting relationships and reciprocity. It was also illustrated by one of the landowners in Narewa who used her business to support her family and community. In order to achieve wellbeing, community and cultural obligations to family members must be fulfilled:

Us Fijians live in communities and help each other. Everything we do, we do together and we help each other a lot. I've got a business on Denarau - two cars [taxis]. If I minded my own I could be a wealthy woman! The second priority is you and your family; the first is the community [female landowner, community leader].

The idea of *bula taucoko* is also connected to agency and the ability to make decisions at both an individual and at a communal level:

When I have a house and someone wants to come, I say yes. When you live with your in-laws you have to wait. [In your own house] you can make your own decisions - that is the most important thing. When you want to sleep, you sleep, eat, you eat, cook, you cook. Then you have the best of everything - bula taucoko! [female landowner]

A complete life. A house, food, a job, the kids at school. A feeling of satisfaction that you have everything. There's no asking from the government or anyone else. We can depend on ourselves [male landowner, community leader].

Two examples illustrate this idea of agency and self-sufficiency. In Cuvu, the current source of water is a government reservoir but village elders explained that water bills were increasingly high. A drilling company had carried out some scoping for the

village and identified two water basins. If the village can fund the drilling of bore holes they will then have control of their own water. The capacity to become self-sufficient and provide their own water for the village was identified as *bula taucoko*. The second example is from Narewa village. The village floods every winter making sections of the village impassable: this is a particular problem for the school children who have to walk home along the busy main road rather than coming directly through the village. Through a fundraising *solu*, the village together was able to raise \$30,000 towards the construction of footpaths; however, the construction company quoted \$100,000 to complete the work. The village head explained that they decided to complete the construction work themselves. The men laid the footpaths whilst the women prepared the food. This, too, was identified as *bula taucoko*. The village head went on to explain what this means.

It has to come from within - accept what we have, work with the things that we have and look for resources, assistance readily available. It doesn't have to be government - it can be a neighbour, church. In the village we have a very strong foundation of getting that done by working together. We work together, use our land and resources and at the same time enjoy life! [male landowner, community leader]

Elsewhere, wellbeing is described as *sautu* (Nabobo-Baba, 2006). In my study, villagers defined *sautu* as a completeness of needs, or even abundance, particularly with regard to natural resources. One discussion identified this abundance as the foundation of communal wellbeing or *bula taucoko*.

A: Sautu is peaceful, complete. You have a garden and everything is there, you just go and pull up the cassava, the bele [Fijian spinach]...

J: When we have lots of food and the soil bears lots of food we say it is 'sautu'.

A: And that becomes taucoko. From the sautu, everything is there, you [achieve] taucoko na bula. So life will be ok [male and female non-landowners].

Community development

Village priorities for community development are embedded in *vanua* values of sharing, reciprocity and respect for customary obligations and kinship relationships. These values underpin the concept of communal wellbeing and focus on meeting collective needs. Priorities parallel the components of *bula taucoko* including the ability to sustain the village by means of income and access to resources, the ability to

fulfil communal and customary obligations and the provision of basic services to the village. From discussions in each village, these priorities can be outlined as follows.

Firstly, the means to sustain the village as a whole is achieved through access to plantations, fishing grounds and perhaps a piggery along with sources of employment to ensure financial needs are also covered. It also includes ensuring access to education for the younger generation to enable them to secure employment and custodianship of resources for future generations. This also supports the ability of the village to be self-sufficient and exercise self-determination. Secondly, the means to practice reciprocity and help others in the village covers meeting cultural and religious obligations, ensuring there is a place to meet (for example a community hall) and being in a position to contribute to village development projects and fundraising requests. It also includes village maintenance for cultural reasons: maintaining burial grounds and monuments allows villagers to practice respect for their ancestors. Lastly, provision of services and facilities includes concrete housing, identified as a priority for villages as it is more resistant to cyclones and flooding, the need for sufficient housing to avoid overcrowding and a bathroom in each house with water supply. Village maintenance priorities cited included: safety and security for example reinforcing of seawalls and installation of drainage systems; health and wellbeing, for example installation of footpaths, water tanks and a village dispensary; and improving village aesthetics, for example purchase of a grass-cutter, mending fencing, rubbish collection services. Maintaining a clean and tidy village is also a source of respect for visitors (including tourists on village tours). These priorities align with Batibasaqa's different dimensions of the *vanua* articulated above: ecological, social, spiritual and economic (Batibasaqa et al., 1999, p. 102).

Women and community development

In my initial conversations with village heads about community development I was frequently referred to the women's committee, being told that it is the women who run the village. This was attested to by a member of the women's committee:

We have only us women to do the development here. When I retire this is what I want to do. Find someone to follow me. There are so many things to be done [female landowner, women's committee member].

In Narewa, it was the women who decided to fundraise for the footpaths, raised the money through *solu* and sponsorship, including prizes from the hotels, and organised the delivery of cement for the construction of the paths, in addition to providing the food for the day.

A member of the education committee from another (non-landowning) village described to me how she initiated a recycling plan for the village, inspired by the hotel's commitment to recycling. As decision-making is undertaken at the council meeting (*bose ni Vanua* comprised of male elders), she worked with her husband to put her idea on the agenda.

This year the [hotel] chef started the designated containers for plastic bottles, so this is something that I want to start in the village as well. So how to start it? It's going to be discussed in the village meeting. I'll ask my husband to help me. My husband and I we'll have to drive this thing. Once the next village meeting is called I will attend and present my topic. After that all these things will be discussed in the men-only meeting. That's where everything will be confirmed, finalised [female non-landowner].

She was confident that the men would listen, having already successfully introduced an education programme to the village (See Chapter Seven). She planned on spreading awareness of their recycling project to other villages:

And maybe one day I'll invite some of my colleagues - I'll just invite them to come and drink grog or something but at the same time I want to show this thing off to them. So if they come and see this thing and they'll see the reason why it's important for their village as well [female non-landowner].

For both the footpath project and the recycling project, the role of women was very much behind-the-scenes, yet in each case their role was instrumental to achieving the goals. It also illustrates the capacity for decision-making that is not immediately visible to a western eye (see for example Cleaver, 2001 on women's participation in meetings in Tanzania). The centrality of the role of women in community development was echoed by an FHTA official:

The bulk of the CSR here is driven by the women and what the women want. This is true for most of the remote properties including mainland and island properties. The first thing the men want is a big village hall, the church or a house for the Talatala (Clergy). This demonstrates the village status. It's the women that will say, "We want water and electricity. We want to turn on a tap in our house and get water, not run to the middle of the village with a bucket to the communal tap or to the river. Before we came to work we washed our clothes in

the river. Now we have the tap.” The women’s drive was water, always the first one, followed by flush toilets, electricity and footpaths [FHTA official].

The seamless functioning of the village is reliant on unpaid work; this is an integral part of the ethos of sharing and gathering. However, it is clear that much is also reliant on the invisible labour of women. This is in addition to paid work in the hotels and unpaid caring work. The women who work in the hotels are able to do so because of the mothers, mothers-in-law, aunties and sisters caring for the children. One woman told me she was interested in starting her own business but was limited by caring responsibilities for her grandchildren. Household survey results from the two villages showed that although around the same numbers of men and women from Narewa are currently in paid employment at a Denarau hotel, in Cuvu almost twice as many women as men are currently employed in a hotel (see Chapter Five). Overall, among the households surveyed, more women than men are in paid employment in a hotel. Familiar to many other settings around the world, paid work alongside community and family responsibilities constitutes a ‘triple role’ for many women (Moser, 1989). Women are in a position where they are always responding to community demands; cultural obligations in particular fall heavily on women and this reduces the available time and space to plan strategically. Much of women’s time is consumed by immediate practical demands, including hospitality, as illustrated by the daughter of one of the village elders:

Sometimes in the morning, like yesterday I [was] just getting myself a cup of coffee, my dad just finished breakfast, and two policemen come knocking at the door. Just visiting, just doing their friendly calls. It’s crazy like that. My day is like that. I’ve hardly swept the porch.... And then a cousin walks in, she’s having problems paying her electricity bill... I’m trying to run to the bathroom and take a quick shower so I can go with [the driver] to... You can’t have your own life...[female landowner].

This leaves little time for strategic-level change. One woman signalled that the importance of the women’s work in community development partly lies in high levels of accountability: ‘there are always other women asking us questions’, but a lack of time and resources prevented them from addressing more long-term pressing issues. In one village, for example, teen pregnancy was identified as a major issue:

It limits the life of girls. Now you have to stay home and look after the baby. In two years you have another one [female landowner].

The village women had planned a youth workshop to be delivered during the school holidays to begin to address this issue, but when I returned I was told that lack of time and funding meant it was yet to occur. Examples of gender-aware CSR that may assist strategic planning include sponsoring the construction of water tanks, kindergartens and dispensaries located within the village, but it also includes support for areas such as women's reproductive health, youth mentoring and seed funding for female entrepreneurs.

Community Development and CCD

Resourcing

One key way village projects are resourced is through *solu* (fundraising); for landowning villages a key source of money collected from *solu* derives from employment and land leases with hotels in addition to fees from village tours. Each village or *mataqali* holds an annual *solu*, usually with a defined fundraising goal, for example, completing the community hall, tiles for the church roof or building a communal kitchen. Everyone gathers together along with family and friends from outside the village and village members who have moved away.

The villages provide 200 packs of food. Everyone comes and takes their lunch. Every Monday we have a village meeting and this is discussed. Each mataqali has a menu - sweet chilli chicken chop suey, fish...They give money, drink grog, eat lunch [male non-landowner, community leader].

Customary protocols observed at all community gatherings, including *solu*, include prayer, provision of food, kava and entertainment. At a *solu*, a donation is requested from each individual with the amount given recorded in keeping with reciprocal protocols. These exchange practices are of cultural importance, and as well as money they can include produce, artefacts, time and energy (Nainoca, 2011, pp. 91-94). At one *solu* I attended at the landowner-founded high school, donations from two hotels were also announced in this same way, establishing the hotels clearly as part of the system of reciprocity that functions to enable the running of the community. *Solu* are held for the province, local schools and other *mataqali*.

The last solu raised \$2,800 - for electricity, water, the hall. This is the standby fund. The solu on 10 October raised \$5,000 for tiles for the church. There are around 5 solu per year - this goes to the schools, the church and to the Vanua. It probably raises around \$20,000 plus. There are also 3 or 4 mataqali in the village

- *there are more soli in addition to these!* [male non-landowner, community leader]



**Photograph
6.3. Soli
(fundraising)
at the high
school**

Once the money is collected, the work can begin. Referred to as *solesolevaki*, this means to work together to achieve a purpose (Meo-Sewabu & Walsh-Tapiata, 2012). Both fundraising for community development and realising community projects is carried out through drawing on networks of social capital (see Chapter Three). It is in this way that community halls are built, footpaths laid, churches painted, roofs thatched. For these projects, the cooperation of the whole community can be counted on to do the work, provide the food and run errands.

Land lease income therefore contributes to meeting communal needs rather than as a means to accumulate individual wealth. Cash income is supplemented by existing village resources that are drawn on wherever possible. For example cassava, which is plentiful all year round can be used to make porridge for breakfast, be boiled or chipped for dinner, used to make bread, scones and cake and can be cooked with cheese, coconut or sugar. Protocols around *veilomani* (loving one another) and *veidolei* (reciprocity and exchange) ensure that the whole village is supported, regardless of whether a household has income from employment. Hotel CSR projects, for example to fund a village dispensary or kindergarten, and ad hoc donations, for example contributing to the construction of footpaths or a community hall, provide additional means to support community development.

Determining community development priorities

Rather than seeking greater hotel-driven assistance to meet priorities, a preference was expressed either to have a greater share of the resources or a greater control over identification of projects, both of which would increase control over community development.

Our main concern is a better resource [from lease money]. Once you have an income from your resource, from your income you'll have better development [male landowner, village elder].

What I think would be best is to sit together [with hotel management], and we can come up with an agreement with all the hotels so we can say this is how we are going to deal with the communities' requests [male landowner, community leader].

This is perhaps reflective of a gap in understanding between the hotels and the villages. By listening carefully to the village leaders' detailed accounts of village development projects and the planning and implementation involved, it is evident that villages have clear visions for development; however, as one elder now living in Suva pointed out to me, most of these plans are not documented - they are shared orally within the community. This results in misunderstandings with hotel management who are accustomed to planning with spreadsheets and logframes. It was also described to me as speaking different languages, reminiscent of Kemp's observation of community relations officers in mines who have to switch between different modes of communication (Kemp, 2010).

Language is a problem. Otherwise there is a barrier there. We are lucky we have the turaga ni koro. He is well-educated and he knows how to speak to the hotel. We have to be able to meet them. We can't blame the hotel for anything. We can't go there and ask for whatever. They go for an agreement. If the agreement is there then the second manager comes, he follows the agreement. It's in black and white. This is how it has to be done [female landowner, community leader].

The hotels, they are happy to help when it comes to education. They ask, what's your plan? The committee will submit a plan to me. But we can't write something they [the hotels] don't understand. You have to understand what they're thinking. They want a quotation, the reason. They want their money to be worth it. They want to be able to trust [male landowner, community leader].

Hotel management expressed an interest in working with a 'five year plan' but were unsure how this would exist side by side with day-to-day requests. A communication gap exists between the oral culture of village planning and western-style expectations of planning and development. Without an intermediary to 'translate' between these two forms of communication and facilitate an understanding at management level of how community priorities are shaped and acted on, this mismatch in expectations will persist.

Custom and CCD

The Fijian ethos of 'share and care' and an understanding of the concept of '*bula taucoko*' can explain the gap in understanding between the hotel and the village. The expectation for reciprocity (*veidolei*) is embedded in the social structure of the village and affects villagers' expectations of the hotel.

We are part of the hotel. We work for the hotel, the tourists come here. The GM should visit the village, to come down and hear from the community [male non-landowner].

General managers are frequently reluctant to engage at this level.

If I went to Village A, because they had a challenge and they wanted something, and spoke to them about it and did anything about it, immediately I'd have B, C, D, E and all of them coming and then if you don't support one, because you've supported that one, it's, you know... [General Manager].

Yet similar values are expressed as a core part of hotel codes of practice:

It's one of our core values, it's in the company manifesto that we need to be very selfless and helpful, courteous and we need to have a lot of humility and I think that's one of the things that the owners of the property, the owners of the resort want to do [manager].

We are the people, we are the environment, we are the community. This translates into social, environmental and ethical responsibility... Everything is to do with heart and attitude [manager].

Despite this apparent similarity in values, there remains a disconnect between the expectations of hotel and community. One general manager from a different hotel who had spent many years in Fiji described his understanding of this fundamental

difference in priorities, reflecting on Western aspirations for retirement which mirror the Fijian focus on family and community:

We're racing around trying to get where they are. Who's right and who's wrong? I try to remind myself of that when they don't turn up to work; they've got something more important going on. Family. Community. We've lost that [General Manager].

In the Fijian village, priorities revolve around *vanua* values, expectations and obligations. The 'eyes and teeth' of the *Vanua* work to ensure these values are upheld: if *vanua* values are not adhered to, there are consequences for the wellbeing of the community as a whole.

Reflecting on Fijian understandings of wellbeing can help to explain how development priorities are identified and carried out differently by villages and hotels. As Indigenous Fijian communities seek to live *vakavanua* (according to the way of the land), this is also what frames and permeates daily life, longer-term goals and future aspirations. Achieving communal wellbeing or *bula taucoko* results from living in this way. The assumptions about community priorities that drive corporate-led initiatives lead to initiatives typically providing a service such as improving physical health or education and whilst community needs do include education and health, this is an incomplete picture. Community goals also include the ability to satisfy communal needs (rather than individual needs), to enable the practices of sharing and gathering, to sustain cultural practices, meet cultural obligations and to enable self-sufficiency. It is only once immediate needs of the community as a whole are met that longer-term determinants of wellbeing can be addressed. This is illustrated by the limitations experienced on adhering to MPAs and the barriers to implementing a youth health workshop. This also means that if the village is supported by guaranteed livelihood options (for example preferential employment) then education becomes a lower priority in the short-term. Gaining an income and education are therefore not ends in themselves but a means towards achieving *bula taucoko* for the whole.

Findings also demonstrate a disjuncture between corporate-led development projects and the multifaceted and largely self-sufficient community development processes. This was the case in both case study locations, regardless of the difference in the nationality of company ownership. In her study of the Boumā tribe of Taveuni,

Farrelly (2009, p. 110) points to the discrepancy between individualistic models of development and the realities of collective cultures but emphasises that a greater understanding of Indigenous epistemologies is required, rather than a romanticised notion of traditional lifestyles. Such an understanding is established only through building stronger relationships, the focus of the next section.

6 Veiwekani (kinship)

This last knowledge area centres specifically on relationships. Nabobo-Baba (2006) describes *veiwekani* as composed of kinship relationships and customary *vanua* relationships with a key focus on the communal. She explores how these relationships are defined, connected and re-connected through ceremonial behaviour, sharing food, visits to extended family and the sick and through knowledge and respect of inter-clan relationships (pp.89-92). She emphasises the significance of these relationships to everyday life:

All networks of relationships are a type of map that every person carries in their mind and heart. They are referred to daily and, when people neglect their relationships, they are gossiped about or criticized, and at times reprimanded. People's maps are continuously redrawn, mostly to extend the boundaries (p. 90).

Farrelly similarly explains it as follows: 'The kinship system is vital for social, cultural, environmental and economic sustainability and security and therefore must be nurtured' (2009, p. 90). In this way, the kinship system underpins all actions in the *Vanua*. This section focuses firstly on kinship networks and customary relationships in the village setting, secondly on how these networks shape the ways in which relationships with hotel are developed and maintained and finally on the implications for CCD.

Customary relationships

Relationships within the *Vanua* are closely governed by kinship relationships and appropriate behaviour according to one's *mataqali* and kinship links and hierarchies (Ravuvu, 1983, pp. 3-7). These are maintained through sharing and living communally.

Village life is special. It touches our heart; it's always here. We always help, soli together to provide a good [life]. We do this together, not individually. Individually we do things in our family, like education, but to develop the village, we do that together [female landowner, community leader].

This also includes participating in communal projects and fundraising. There is an expectation that everyone contributes to village fundraising, but landowners or those who have paid employment may contribute more. Exchange and reciprocity are key ways in which *vanua* relationships are maintained:

Every development, any fundraising for the church, or any marriage, or if somebody has died in the village, from another village, we give them money because we are also related to them. So when they raise funds for the church or raise funds for the development of their village, we give our money for them. This is how we maintain our relationship [male landowner, village elder].

For women who have married into their husband's village, this also applies to their birth village:

We are 11 siblings...this is how we work. We share whatever is needed. For food, we put together, for money, we put together...If they want to raise money for something, \$1,000 or \$2,000, we are all expected to contribute. They call each other to throw in the money. I have to go - they call me [female landowner, community leader].

This increasingly now applies to the Fijian diaspora who are more connected via online networks.

Through gatherings, exchanges and working together relationships are reinforced and *vanua* values are upheld. This does not mean, however, that conflict is absent. Tuwere (2002) warns against inflating the idea of community and acknowledges its blemishes (p.70). I also encountered disagreement and discord in the course of my research: there are divisions between villages, as well as within villages, or what one NGO worker referred to as 'conflicts within conflicts'. Tourism-related conflict inevitably impacts on decision-making at the level of the *mataqali*, village and district. The *matanitikina* (district head) can play an important diplomatic role here in managing the micro-politics of hotel-village relationships, mediating between the sometimes differing priorities of landowners and resource owners.

In the village setting, customary roles dictate how a conflict is managed; inappropriate or harmful actions are said to incur the 'wrath of the *vanua*' (Nabobo-Baba, 2006, p. 74). For me as a researcher, this meant that some conversations didn't happen, some topics weren't discussed and some meetings never materialised. In accordance with the Vanua Research Framework, however, it is important not to do anything that might damage the *Vanua* and relationships within the *Vanua* (Nabobo-Baba, 2006, p. 25). This meant treating sensitive information (for instance the *qoliqoli* dispute and its impact on kinship relationships) carefully and respectfully.

Communities are also not static; change to traditional customs can disrupt and develop relationships in different ways (Lasaqa, 1984, pp. 18-33; Nabobo-Baba, 2006, pp. 69-71). In my research, villagers communicated a certain amount of suspicion of western influences that threaten to dismantle communal ways of living.

Change has happened and now we have 'freedom of speech'. That's life, that's ok, but respect for the village system is still important [male landowner, community leader].

Now people are talking about personal freedom and individual rights. It's not good for village rights [male non-landowner].

Some of this change is attributed to more people working in hotels, and greater access to a cash income:

They're getting introduced to new ideas and they think it's better to get that and they throw this out. I don't know, I just tell people there are certain things that we still need to preserve, certain customs and traditions [female landowner].

Young people can afford to buy their drink. Sometimes the money is wasted. They drink, drink, drink like never before. They are disrupting the peace in the village. Sometimes both parents are working, their pockets are filled with plenty of money; they don't want to listen. Why should we listen? We have money [female landowner].

At another village, however, there was confidence in the ability of the *iTaukei* way of life to endure despite these challenges:

A lot of our people now are employed, a lot of our people now are educated - they're more receptive to change. One of the initial concerns back then [in the 1960's] was the impact of the visitor into the culture - they are going to destroy

this thing. People always worry about that. Keep the tourists out, they are not ready for it, they'll destroy this and that and that. I was concerned about abuse of alcohol. But, no, it didn't happen. I think it's the influence of the community, the village brings a lot of discipline to the Fijians... the values are still very much the same, a sense of caring, a sense of community [male non-landowner].

The ability of *vanua* knowledge to protect villages is evident in the hierarchy of clan structures from the level of *yavusa* to *mataqali* to *tokatoka* (see Chapter Five) and through the structures of representation outlined below. This framework governs all interactions within and between villages and with government and helps to maintain the *vanua* way of life. The *mataqali* landholding structure, established in colonial times but building on the traditional chiefly structure (Scarr, 1984), helps retain the primacy of kinship relationships. Despite the dilution, distortion, modernisation and commercialisation of original concepts of the *Vanua* by successive colonial and post-colonial governments (Batibasaqa et al., 1999, pp. 103-104), the enduring nature of the *vakavanua* is still evidenced in daily village life.

Structures of representation

There are two structures that run side by side in the village - one is the traditional *Vanua* structure and one is the state-led village structure, both headed by the chief of that village. The *Vanua* structure (*bose ni Vanua*) looks after decisions about land and other issues, whilst the village structure, or village council (*bose ni koro*) looks after development and wellbeing in the village. The *bose ni Vanua* is the first level for resolving any *Vanua* issues or disputes, with recourse to the Provincial Council or iTaukei Lands and Fisheries Commission if required. All contact through government bodies to villages is carried out through the village structure via the *turaga ni koro* (village head). Meetings are held at both village level and *tikina* (district) level to discuss and resolve any issues. *Tikina* meetings are held quarterly and the village head, the assistant and another representative of the village usually attend; representatives from the police, fire service, utility companies and the provincial council are also present along with the district head (*matanitikina*). Village and district heads then communicate the outcome to their respective villages.

The accepted channels of communication outlined here largely preserve customary methods of managing village affairs, including the processes for identifying and acting

on village development priorities. However, change is also apparent. Some significant traditional structures have now been dismantled (for example the Great Council of Chiefs⁵⁰) and there is also evidence that customary decision-making processes are now influenced by individual priorities at a greater level, for example with regards to the tension between individual or collective use of lease money.

There is not always a natural connection between traditional communication structures and hotel decision-making, but *tikina* meetings provide an opportunity for local tourism-related issues to be raised at a district level, for example access to fishing grounds, recycling initiatives or significant village events. Hotels may be approached to seek their support or assistance, which may take the form of a verbal *kerekere* or a letter of request. Whilst these multiple requests to hotels may appear ad hoc, they are an important part of the system of reciprocal exchange embedded within the *Vanua* structure. Toren explains, 'there is both an obligation to give and an obligation for the receiver to accede to some future *kerekere* on the part of the giver' (Toren, 1989, p. 151). This shapes how communities look after each other and ensures everyone's needs are met.

Hotel-community relationships

It is important to villagers to be able to establish relationships with hotels, who are residing on their land and seen as a part of the community. Even for non-landowners, they still see that a neighbourly relationship exists and expect to have a channel of communication with the hotel. Non-landowners living close to hotels can feel particularly disenfranchised if a reciprocal relationship does not materialise:

Us villagers here, we don't want a representative from the hotel to come - we want the GM. From the past, no GM came down here. We have no direct communication with the hotel. We need to sit down and talk. From your side what do you want? From our side, what do we want, in black and white. We are doing our part, they are not doing their part. We work, we look after their tourists. They closed our choir.⁵¹ We are thinking of the third and fourth

⁵⁰ Decree abolishes Fiji's Great Council of Chiefs. Pacific Islands Report, March 14 2012 <http://pidp.org/pireport/2012/March/03-15-01.htm>

⁵¹ See Chapter Seven

generation. We want equal rights and justice. We are on the losing side [male non-landowner].

For workers in the resorts, the relationships established in the village take precedence over hotel structures. *Vanua* obligations must be prioritised over work schedules. This creates a challenge for hotel management:

We have staff who work here, who may, in the resort, hold a senior position to another person, but they can never give them instructions because in the village they are subordinate to them...The relationship [between staff] is not what it is on this island, the relationship is what it is in the village. And until you understand what's happening in the village, you will never understand what's happening here. And that's why you have to take the time to understand, or try to understand at least, a little bit about what it is and what the background is. And if you don't take that time to at least pick up some of the information, you make very big mistakes [General Manager].

At the same time, these patterns of relating have a positive impact on tourists. The 'vanua effect' whereby the values of *veikauwaitaki* (showing care and empathy), *veivukei* (giving a helping hand) and *veilomani* (being loving and friendly to one another) are expressed as part of Fijian identity and are shared with tourists are part of the reason so many tourists return to Fiji.

We conducted surveys almost every year and what always came out was, why Fiji? For the people. Visitors invariably named the people as the attraction of Fiji. So that hasn't changed and I don't think that will change... What they bring [to the resort] is really an extension of who they are in the village, the smile, the friendliness... [former CEO Fiji Visitors Bureau].

Relationships and CCD

Given the centrality of relationships and reciprocity to *vanua* interactions, it is not surprising that landowners also have expectations for a two-way, reciprocal relationship with hotels on their land who are seen as constituting part of the community. The following extracts illustrate the different perspectives of landowners, non-landowners and hotel management with respect to the significance of relationships; I then make some suggestions as to the differing expectations these reveal and the implications for CCD.

The assumption of a two-way relationship can be demonstrated by the fact that landowners perceive that they also have a responsibility to the hotel.

We have a good relationship with the hotel. People think just because we're getting money from them, we have a good relationship with them, but that is not the fact. The fact is we also look after them [male landowner, village elder].

The comments of one manager demonstrate that the hotel relies on a two-way relationship in case they face any issues with the community: that is, the community is providing a 'licence to operate' (see Chapter Two).

I'm glad whenever we are in trouble, not really in trouble, whenever we do face some critical issues and we do need some local community assistance they are always there for us [manager].

Individuals in hotel management often recognise the need to take on a community role and understand the give-and-take that needs to occur to operate a large resort next to a small community.

Because [the community] is what we're all a part of as well. Yes, you can be comfortable, you can not go off the island, but what's the point in that? Why sit in a hotel and be comfortable when there are things that need to be done? [manager]

However, hotel management also see the difficulties in being able to access community knowledge to identify genuine priorities and anticipating longer-term impacts of their decision-making.

It can be embarrassing when you have to say no. You know how it works: 'this white guy is going to give chickens - just ask for one extra'. I get it. It's like herding cats - their side and ours. It needs a third party... [General Manager].

Getting the balance right is the challenge. If we do this, what happens? If we don't do this, what happens? We are always weighing up. You can't say no to everything, you can't say yes to everything [former manager].

Both hotels commented favourably on the advantages of a clear channel of communication with landowners for maintaining relationships. For Nadi, this is now present for the first time in 18 years with the installation of the Tui Nadi in 2011⁵² whereas for Cuvu they experienced the reverse: there was an absence of leadership

⁵² Fiji Custom and Culture, 14 December 2011
<http://www.fijiancustomculture.blogspot.co.nz/2011/12/tui-nadi-takes-his-throne.html>

after the death of the last Ka Levu for almost two years (see Chapter Five). From a community perspective, better relationships over the years were universally attributed to a greater presence of the GM in the communities.

When I was growing up as a teenager, we used to have welcoming feasts for [the managers], as well as farewell feasts for them, in the vale levu [meeting house]. [female landowner].

In the 80s there was a good manager - he was Chinese. He associated well with the villages. He sometimes came to gather the chiefs in the village and they talked. When he wanted to know something he called the elders and chiefs and asked what they want... Now they just phone. Now we feel they sometimes look down on the villagers, we are beneath them [male landowner].

From the various roles that interact with communities directly - General Managers, External Relations, Human Resources and CSR champions - it is clear that there is a great deal of commitment to supporting the communities the hotels are embedded in, but at the same time recognition of the balancing act required to keep the peace and the difficulty inherent in identifying genuine priorities. Linking all of these comments is a sense of the people as the foundation of tourism and the desire to establish a connection, for both tourists and locals. As an external consultant who has been resident in Fiji for many years commented:

If you let these avenues of communication slide you lose in the end. You might not think they're important but they are. People need to feel there's somebody involved. General Managers don't want to engage with communities at all, but the tourists come back here for the people. You can't take them out of the equation [consultant marine ecologist].

The significance of relationships to the success of CCD has its roots in *vanua* knowledge and the link between strong relationships and wealth. To return to the earlier discussion of *vanua* knowledge and the definition of wealth quoted by an FHTA representative, 'Fijian wealth is quantified through wealth in relationships, in sharing, a generosity of spirit and heart'. It is through upholding these values that communal wellbeing is attained.

7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented community views of CCD in order to understand community priorities and consider what constitutes locally meaningful development for the communities in the study. The perspectives revealed here show that communities see hotels utilising a community resource, occupying land and sea which is symbolically a part of the community and economically can no longer be used by the community. On this basis, there is an expectation of *obligation* of hotels towards landowners. This includes the obligation to:

- be responsive to community needs as long as the hotel is occupying that land
- prioritise relationships and practice reciprocity in line with *vanua* values
- ensure the community benefits from operations as a whole i.e. employment, business opportunities, lease money and CSR

From this perspective, community development assistance should be looked at as an integral component of company activities as a whole rather than an add-on.

There is evidence of a mismatch in expectations regarding levels of engagement and with respect to both setting and implementing development priorities, partly attributable to cultural differences in understandings of wealth and wellbeing. Whilst there is much development assistance that does align with community priorities, levels of engagement are still relatively minimal, meaning that community skills are under-utilised. Community-led development processes not only result in community halls, footpaths, kindergartens, and on-going village maintenance but support community wellbeing through fostering communal values of reciprocity and obligation. Yet the project planning and implementation demonstrated through *solesolevaki* (working together to achieve a purpose) is not visible in corporate-led community development projects. This is a missed opportunity to connect with local priorities for development and support strategic planning. This connection can only be built on a foundation of meaningful relationships and through practising genuine engagement; the Executive Director of a local NGO refers to this as ‘full-on listening’. It also means working in ways that value the *vanua* and align with the priorities for wellbeing and development identified by communities. An appreciation of the

collective and self-sufficient imperative underlying the state of wellbeing is important in order to support community priorities for development in a sustainable way.

The next chapter looks at specific CCD initiatives in each community to examine the interactions between corporates and communities and how initiatives impact on development outcomes.

Chapter Seven

Critical Interfaces

Among Fijians we say that the wise are those who distribute their wealth among people⁵³

1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the interactions between corporates and communities at the development interface - the space where we can observe the effects of corporate community development. Long (2001) refers to interfaces as the points where 'different, and often conflicting, lifeworlds or social fields intersect'; it is used as a concept to understand 'issues of social heterogeneity, cultural diversity and the conflicts inherent in processes involving external interventions' (p. 65; also see Chapter Four). 'Lifeworlds' here refers to the "lived-in" and largely "taken-for-granted" social worlds centring on particular individuals' (p. 241) and incorporates an individual's actions, interactions with others and the meanings they attribute to these. The social interface, then, becomes the space where we can view the linkages, intersections and conflicts between lifeworlds, or as Long expresses it, the point where '*social discontinuities*, based upon discrepancies in values, interests, knowledge and power, are most likely to be located' (p. 243, emphasis in original). Through documenting everyday, micro-level practices and interactions, this approach suggests we can better understand the social processes at play and how these might be connected to wider national and global processes. To shed light on corporate community development, the day-to-day interactions of activities at community level were first observed in order to be able to better understand how this development space is formed and how it is linked both to global ideas of the private sector's role in development and to *vanua* values shaping local priorities.

⁵³ Jotivini Cegunaivalu, quoted in Nabobo-Baba (2006, p. 75).

Understanding the interactions between corporates and communities in this context involves looking closely at the negotiations and interactions that impact on corporate community development initiatives at conceptualisation, implementation and evaluation stages. Relationships are built, priorities agreed and resources distributed in a space which can be a site of resistance and struggle as well as of cooperation, adaptation and compliance. This analysis acknowledges that actions are shaped by differences in power, authority and access to resources and that this can result in conflict. I examine how these differences affect outcomes, recognising the agency of actors where it might not be immediately visible and exploring how this can contribute to project outcomes, in other words how 'room for manoeuvre' (Long, 2001, p. 17) is created. This incorporates a focus on the agency of collectives as well as individuals, for example how the interests of the *mataqali* or the company are expressed and acted upon.

Long's (2001) analysis focuses on state development interventions and the interfaces between the state and local actors. His examination of the interventions, the interactions between the actors and the day-to-day level decisions and practices undertaken at a micro level are able to illuminate policy decisions at a macro level. For this study, the interactions centre on corporates as the driver of development interventions. The analysis will examine the interfaces between corporates and communities in order to illuminate the practices of corporate community development. Other relevant studies adopting an actor-oriented approach which can be drawn on to inform the analysis include those focusing on tourism and resource management (Steenbergen, 2013), minority groups and land rights (Cramb & Sujang, 2011; Turner, 2012) company-community conflicts (Wilson, 2013) and the relationship between Indigenous knowledge and multinationals (Fernando, 2003).

The chapter will focus on interfaces that occur in two specific areas: firstly within CSR projects in education and health and secondly through the core business practices of employment and procurement. Both hotels prioritise education through their CSR programmes, whilst Coral Coast hotels are also involved in significant community health initiatives. The areas of employment and procurement cover a range of core activities affecting communities, including purchase of local goods and services, provision of guest entertainment and small business opportunities. By choosing to

focus on these areas, the analysis encompasses the key areas of CCD identified in discussions with hotels and communities.

In the instances of specifically designed education or health initiatives, the corporate takes on the role of the state in its design, implementation and monitoring of these activities. In the case of core business practices, these constitute corporate community development in the way that they are designed to support local communities through preferential employment and local procurement, at the same time as meeting core business needs. As such, examination of the interactions between the different actors can reveal how development spaces are formed and what limits or enables the resulting development outcomes. Lastly, the chapter reflects on the intersections between all these areas, how the various development interfaces overlap and the significance of the coincidence or collision of interests in these spaces for community development.

2 Development interfaces: CSR Initiatives

Support for local schools included infrastructure development and maintenance, outfitting libraries and computer labs, donations of books, computers and stationery, donations of vocational (hospitality) equipment, tourism expertise and staff volunteer time. The two resorts together support more than 25 schools directly in addition to support for kindergartens and ad hoc support for other schools. In the area of health, support was primarily for infrastructure and equipment at the local hospital, but also included support for the construction and provisioning of a village dispensary, blood donation drives, fire awareness training, staff health programmes covering healthy eating schemes and health screening, and environmental health programmes including marine restoration, recycling schemes and education programmes.

Whilst Shangri-La contributes a percentage of profits to CSR, the CSR programmes from both hotels are significantly funded by guest donations. At each resort, a voluntary amount of \$5 or \$10 is added to each guest bill at the end of their stay and together this constitutes the bulk of the financial resources for the support of schools and the hospital - in the case of Shangri-La this is supplemented by a percentage of profits. The hotels also provide all the human resources necessary to run CSR

programmes including staff expertise in project management, finance, engineering, training, health and safety and construction along with contributions of staff time through volunteer programmes (e.g. painting and cleaning). In addition, a long-standing loyalty club, the Bilo Bar Club at Shangri-La, contributes significantly to CSR by supporting additional programmes in education. The intersecting lifeworlds under examination here, therefore, include not only hotel management and staff, but also hotel guests. These intersect with the lifeworlds of landowning communities, school staff, children and families, hospital staff, management and patients. And of course there is also an overlap between hotel employees and community members as many staff are drawn from local areas. The sections below look at some of these interfaces in more detail, firstly examining education interfaces between hotels and schools, NGOs and villages, and then health interfaces between hotels, hospitals and community healthcare.

CSR and Education: the interface between hotels and schools

I begin by relating two separate interactions I observed during my fieldwork where the interface between the company and the community is clearly visible. These stories are narrated by drawing on my journal notes and detail my observations and impressions at that time. Each illustrates different aspects of the relationships formed, access (or lack of access) to resources, power differentials, how agency is exercised, processes of inclusion and exclusion, and instances of conflict, cooperation and compliance. The first describes a visit to schools that are currently receiving hotel support in order to monitor the care and use of the equipment, and to identify schools for future support. The second extract describes the running of a hotel-sponsored library at a local primary school.

The school review

The first school we visit is a primary school a few kilometres out of town, down a short unsealed road. This school has been receiving assistance for a while and is decorated with brightly painted plastic bottles as part of its recycling initiative. The school has already been provided with a computer suite and next year the hotel is hoping to provide them with a single server which will cost less in terms of maintenance and electricity. There is an easy, amiable relationship between the team and the teachers at the school who all greet us as we pass, although this is clearly also a progress check: the purpose of this visit is to assess the construction of the new library space. The school has elected to make use of a narrow space

between two buildings to minimise building costs. The \$5000 library allocation from government will cover the construction of the roof and floor whilst the hotel will supply shelving and books. The principal explains that the hotel's support had motivated them to construct the library: the additional funding made the project realisable. Similarly, last year hotel support had enabled them to renovate the computer space, which is now up and running and providing internet access for the community on Saturday mornings in addition to computer classes for the school students. Without external support the government allocation would not allow completion of projects like these.

Next we head further out of town and towards the coast along an unsealed gravel road. The village is located at the end of the road near the river mouth. This is a scoping visit to assess the school for inclusion in the CSR programme, but the principal is unaware of the planned visit. When we arrive recess is yet to begin, and the principal is called out of class to meet us, clearly disconcerted by our unexpected arrival. It soon becomes apparent that the assistance to the school would be of major significance. In this village, the principal explains, the parents have limited resources and depend on the sea, mostly selling crabs and prawns for a living. Some parents work in the hotels, but they take their children to the town schools. The annual government allocation for IT has already been used up repairing three donated computers.

We tour the school and the hotel coordinator checks the library, computers, water supply and toilets, taking down everything on a clipboard, while the principal looks on. The computer room and library share the same space, with a number of bookshelves full of old encyclopaedias and other dusty looking books. This is very different to the neatly catalogued books and banks of computers in the other schools receiving assistance; the lightness of exchange between the hotel staff and the teachers is also absent. The coordinator makes it clear that nothing is guaranteed and that any proposal will have to be put before the board. The principal folds and re-folds the coordinator's business card until it gets so small it falls to the floor (field notes, 14 October 2014).

The power differentials are clear in both instances, with the hotel having the authority to provide or deny resources. Whilst local knowledge is sought, the decision-making is not shared. However, with the hotel's assistance, a platform is provided to the schools to use that resource in the most appropriate way to them. For example, the school is not just a provider of education to the students but a community resource: internet access for community members at the first school described above has provided the community with a way of connecting with family overseas. In this way, broader, and unanticipated outcomes add value to the intervention.

As with most schools in Fiji there is heavy reliance on community support. It also became evident that even without corporate intervention, principals have a number of strategies to facilitate the running of the school. The principal of the second school explained to us that in order to construct the school walkway that runs along the length of the classrooms and keeps students dry in the rainy season, they drew on community obligations. With the assistance of ex-students and local parents they fundraised and together carried out the construction work. The brightly coloured murals painted on the school walls also attest to the contribution of the school community. The power of the community as a collective using locally-focused strategies to achieve their goals demonstrates the practice of *vanua* values in realising community priorities. Such strategies became evident in multiple instances from my fieldwork, with other instances illustrated later in the chapter.

Library day

One of the schools that most children of the landowning unit attend is also one of the longest-standing recipients of school support from the hotel. It has both a computer suite and a well-stocked library staffed by expatriate volunteers twice a week, with books provided by donations from hotel guests and colour-coded into reader levels. Although the hotel would prefer the library to be run by the school, it is severely under-resourced with 50 students in most classes, and there was a risk that the library would remain unused. I assisted with library loans at one of the designated days when all classes have the opportunity to borrow a book and listen to a story read by the volunteers. Those with library books outstanding must pay a \$3 fine before they can take out another book: this meant that a number of students were excluded from borrowing. This system is in place to encourage responsible use of books (there is also a poster on the wall which entreats students not to roll or bite books), and fines are re-invested into the library. (field notes, 18 September 2014)

This extract illustrates the contrasting cultural understandings of education and knowledge transmission. The knowledge shared through the library is transmitted through books selected by tourists and loaned out to individual students. As the village operates on a communal basis where any possessions can be shared (see Chapter Six), this means that library books very often do not remain in the hands of the borrower. Taking personal responsibility for a book is a task not easily fulfilled by the children. In her exploration of an Indigenous Fijian approach to knowing and learning, Nabobo Baba (2006) highlights aspects of Indigenous cultural knowledge that are often absent from post-colonial schooling in Fiji, encompassing values such

as spirituality, belongingness, and shared ownership of knowledge (Nabobo-Baba, 2006, pp. 126-129). She warns that for funded educational projects, ‘the policy, content and form of education may depend on the funder’s agenda or its opinion of what is needed or what is appropriate for local people.’ (pp. 20-21). In this instance the library content, structure, operation, and regulations are all determined by outsiders. Access to resources is shaped by these rules.

These are two examples of many more interactions linking tourism and education. The use of hotel time, labour and skills clearly contributes significantly to school development plans, from infrastructure, to IT to donations of books and stationery and painting and ‘beautification’ projects. The Deputy Secretary of Education acknowledged to me that “[the hotels] are part and parcel of the provision of quality education in Fiji”⁵⁴ and the principals themselves emphasise the value of the support provided. Yet, in order to understand how this support is linked to outcomes, it is important to consider who benefits and who does not benefit, how decisions are made and communication occurs and how the support aligns with community priorities.

Who benefits?

Whether or not a school is selected for support is based on a variety of criteria determined by each hotel. This includes location (close to the hotel, or in the same district) attitude of the school (whether they are prepared to help themselves and receive a ‘hand up not a handout’) and where the majority of the hotel staff children attend, in addition to more political decision-making such as where the landowners’ children attend school. This results in an unequal distribution of benefits where some schools close to one or more hotels find they have an abundance of resources whilst others remain forever off the CSR agenda. The principal of a hotel-supported school illustrates this with reference to his own village in the remote interior:

We are very fortunate [here]. Even this school is very fortunate compared to other interior schools....My village, no electricity. Even the road, I think from just 2 or 3 years back reaches the village. We have to walk, we have to ride a horse. I was brought up in that way. Here, life is easy. Even myself here, looking at the

⁵⁴ Pers. comm. 21 August 2014.

facilities, whatever the hotel is supplying, even I, inside me I am thinking of the students in the interior. Because we have a school there. There are other schools there in the interior... [school principal].

CSR programmes supporting schools in tourist locations thus serve to highlight the disparity with non-tourist locations that do not receive this type of assistance.

Decision-making and communication

Just as school selection remains in the hands of the hotel, school involvement in on-going decision-making can also be limited and communication across the span of projects remains largely in the hands of the hotel. Where communities are recipients of donations they can be reluctant to make demands or to challenge the offers of help where they are made. Requests from schools may echo what they think hotels have to offer. For schools to proactively communicate requests to the hotel is a delicate procedure and there is a sense of discomfort in making an appeal for assistance:

It would be disrespectful of me I think to present them a list. It is up to them to ask [what our needs might be] ... Some requests [from us] come late. We just try to talk it over with who we think might help us [school principal].

As a rule, management and guests exercise benevolence whilst schools practice gratitude. Schools are concerned to be respectful towards donors and thankful for the assistance.

We are thankful to them, specifically to the resort, for allowing that and giving that. We are waiting for them [school principal].

We don't want to impose because they are offering their services. They do it free of charge [school principal].

This illustrates the unequal dimensions inherent to the process of gifting and receiving support, as acknowledged in Chapter Two. There is also a low level of certainty as to whether support will continue. One school, however, has benefitted from six years of hotel support as part of a hotel strategy making a long-term commitment to partners. The support from the hotel was such that they are now seen as an integral part of the school:

the hotel is part of us - we treat them as our family, because of the assistance, the help they are doing.... They have changed everything [school principal].

However, the principal seemed less confident about the support continuing, particularly when managers change, and there was no evidence of joint long-term planning in place:

[The General Manager] only informed us one day, "our help, our support will continue forever", but it is verbal, not written. Maybe because of our relationship with him, because he used to come here, he is our familiar face. We won't know about the new manager, what will be in his mind...

Although communication between hotels and supported schools occurred regularly in most cases, there was no clear channel of communication to put forward a new request. At one school, the principal told me they were currently making plans for a water reservoir to reduce their expenditure on electricity required for the water pump. However, it was unclear if this project could be government or hotel funded.

Last year I wrote one letter to the government seeking assistance, but no response. So we just have to wait. Relax and wait for God's time. Maybe the hotel can do it [school principal].

The limited involvement of schools in decision-making and the gaps in communication that persist reflect the unequal dynamics of the encounters between 'donor' and 'beneficiary', resonating with Rajak's discussion of the 'power of the gift' (2010, p. 1).

Alignment with community priorities

Where communities are not setting the priorities, there is a risk that donor assumptions will drive the assistance provided. At one school, which has been provided with a new kitchen, I noticed that the mothers were still cooking the children's cassava and dahl on an open fire in the shelter outside.⁵⁵ The principal explained, "it's what we are used to." Where the development of amenities, such as

⁵⁵ At rural boarding schools the students' families take it in turns to prepare the school meals. As most students live at a distance from the school, the mothers stay overnight at the school on their rostered day (in the kitchen, often accompanied by younger siblings) and then return home the following morning.

libraries, kindergartens or cooking facilities is undertaken by hotel staff rather than school committees and staff, patterns of use may be limited, at risk of losing continuity (for example when expatriates leave) or incompatible with community norms (for example library fine systems). Equally, they may be used in unanticipated ways to suit the recipient's needs (for example community internet access), in a similar way to participants in Long's studies who 'appropriate and fashion [the project] to meet their own conceptions' (Long, 2001, p. 81).

It is also clear that school communities are capable of organising to achieve their own goals, even where resources are limited; for example the school walkway constructed with assistance from ex-students. This form of collective organisation was in evidence at every school and village I visited. *Soli* [fundraising] raised money for school desks and chairs, toilet blocks, the construction or improvement of community halls and churches, village walkways and kindergartens. I was told that one village had subsequently withdrawn their community support for the local school once the hotel intervened, resulting in a gradual disengagement between school and community. Building on community priorities then, requires not only ensuring community identification of needs, but appreciation of the social capital communities already draw on very effectively to meet those needs. Taking an actor-oriented approach to looking at livelihoods in upland Vietnam, for example, Turner (2012) finds that where the Hmong are able to oppose external interventions that do not take into account local knowledge and practices, this has resulted in 'an enduring defense of local forms of knowledge and culturally appropriate adaptations regarding how one goes about living the Hmong way (p. 418). Greater recognition of everyday local practices can acknowledge different cultural values and their role in achieving development outcomes.

CSR and Education: interfaces with tourists, NGOs and villages

Although CSR projects with an education focus are ostensibly between hotels and the schools they support - the 'public face' of initiatives - three examples below show how behind the scenes, the actual interactions and engagement involves a variety of other actors, including guests, NGOs and more distant villages who are not receiving hotel support.

The tourist interface

Another key participant in CCD is the tourist. Much CSR is geared around providing opportunities for tourists to 'give back' to the community. Donations are often determined by the tourists, including for example the particular selection of books and sometimes the particular class or children to receive donations.

What they bring depends on the donors. They used to bring the things to the office and we would send them where needed. Now the visitors want to decide - they want to help a particular class [school principal].

Assisting children, particularly those in kindergarten or primary school is the most common activity, with opportunities to physically hand over gifts a high priority. This means that schools in the vicinity of hotels are most likely to benefit from tourist donations, whilst schools in the interior do not have access to this assistance; it also means that tourists effectively play a significant role in directing CSR.

Guests get excited about the donations. Their kids might have saved their pocket money, they've brought them over in their suitcase, it's a big thing for them. They want recognition and a huge thank you [CSR champion].

The need for hotels to be responsive to satisfying guest demands effectively means that the accountability for CCD is shifted from communities to tourists. It can also promote an uncritical response to inequalities. Tucker makes the link between tourist empathy for the 'other' and neoliberal discourse, suggesting that market-oriented logic urging 'the individual to "care"... in turn diverts attention away from transnational structures of inequality' (2016, p. 35).

Guests can also be a long-standing source of more co-ordinated support. One of the longest running education projects in the tourism industry in Fiji originates from the guests themselves. The Bilo Bar Club is a loyalty club founded in 1981 as a social club by a group of returnee guests to Shangri-La. The club soon took on a charitable focus in response to cyclones which damaged Fiji in the '80s and a trust fund for donations and an annual fee was established. The club now has 3000 active members who have raised FJ\$500,000 for local projects, including the building and resourcing of 5 kindergartens. Members hold an AGM each year, where funding proposals are assessed and decided on by majority vote and members also visit funded projects to monitor progress. The administration of the fund is provided by hotel staff; however,

it is the guests who engage directly with schools and communities, decide on priorities, project scope and assessment criteria. Tourists are clearly a significant force in CCD, whether through shaping ad hoc donation practices or founding longer-term development projects. As a Fiji Hotel and Tourism Association official pointed out to me, “sometimes CSR is not between us and the communities; it’s between guests and communities.”



Photograph 7.1. Bilo Bar sponsored kindergarten

The NGO interface

One of the difficulties in supporting more remote schools is the ability of hotels to connect to interior villages; however, an example of a partnership with an NGO illustrates how these interactions can be facilitated. After conducting a baseline study with Navilawa, a village in the interior of the Western Division, the NGO Rise Beyond the Reef found that school drop out rates were a significant issue for the community (pers. comm., NGO manager). Working with the village council they identified the need for a kindergarten as the first step in improving education for the community and then approached Radisson Blu for their support through the hotel’s Adopt-a-School Programme. Radisson Blu financed the project in addition to contributing design skills, carpentry expertise and power tools, villagers took responsibility for the construction, guests donated furniture, books and toys and the Navilawa Early Learning Centre was opened in 2014. An NGO manager identified the success factors in establishing an NGO-private sector partnership:

Listening and understanding skills on the part of the expatriate donors is needed. Communities are clear about what they need, but they can't always articulate it in the way hotels can connect to, unless you spend time listening to them. They [the private sector] wouldn't know how to conceptualise it in terms of how it physically fits into the cultural fabric. [NGOs] have an intermediate role. It's about empowerment and sustainability [NGO manager].

This illustrates the need for an 'intercalary' (Long, 2001, p. 70) or intermediary position to help bridge this communication gap. It shows how a third party can be effective in ensuring that community priorities are addressed by working through village structures, as well as taking advantage of hotel skills and tourist desires to donate. Other studies suggest that NGO collaborations can vary in their effectiveness. Steenbergen's (2013) study shows how such collaborations enable NGOs and companies to mutually benefit from the other's connections. Whilst company motives remained shaped by the economic imperative to remain competitive (p. 209), the partnership supported the community through healthcare training, employment and infrastructure development, whilst impacting positively on limiting illegal fishing. Fernando, however, notes that NGO collaborations with Indigenous communities can prioritise donor goals and timeframes and ultimately serve to 'generate social capital necessary for the colonization of local communities by transnational capital' (2003, p. 69).

The village interface

Hotel support for schools also impacts on education in other, more unexpected, ways. One village, which is outside the district the hotel is located in and not part of the CSR programme, was motivated by the activities of the hotel to initiate their own education support system. Through a village member who is involved in the hotel's CSR programme, they put in place a scheme to enhance the village children's education with homework study hours in the community hall.

How I look at CSR, we don't have to wait for a big company to come and support us. We have to do what we can do, ourselves, because we have a very good community hall - it's a tiled, concrete building. That's why I suggested let's get the children to come and do their study here because all the lights are here - good lights - they can all do their studies. It's only one hour [a] day.... I think later, in a few years' time we are looking at building our own kindergarten [female non-landowner].

She reveals that a combination of hotel expectations for self-reliance and a community desire for autonomy can lead to a positive outcome for both parties where hotels are financing community-led projects.

With this CSR, it helps us to look at things differently. All these big companies they want to give things to people that are already trying out something, you know. It's not about just giving. Because if they continue to give then they make those people crippled. So CSR is done in a way to also influence people to be able to look at what they can do on their own. Something like that. That's how I look at CSR as well.

This illustrates local adaption of projects to suit the village situation and evidences the practice of *vanua* values in supporting community needs as a collective. It also shows an embedding of the 'hand up not hand out' ideology throughout the community.

In each of these situations, interfaces are not primarily between hotel management and schools, but directly between guests and communities, NGOs and communities, hotel employees and villages. This introduces other perspectives to the projects, aside from corporate motivations to undertake CSR,⁵⁶ which could include a desire to give back to host communities (as a tourist), to represent the grassroots view (for NGOs) and to assert control over the development process (for villagers). Inevitably, conflicting interests will also influence how projects are carried out. Timing, for example can be critical. Planning for projects funded by the loyalty club can generally only be advanced during the members' stay in Fiji, and may not easily fit with community time frames for carrying out work. Rise Beyond the Reef works on an 18-month timeframe to carry out a baseline study before any work is initiated. Expectations for completion or advancement of projects can therefore differ considerably. The third example differs here in that the village has taken complete control of their own project and this has since been disseminated to other villages in the area via district meeting reporting processes. This is perhaps a good example of 'how actors [have] developed their own everyday understandings of models for action' (Long, 2001, p. 82).

⁵⁶ See Chapter Two for a discussion of the 'business case' for CSR.

CSR and Health: the interface between hotels and hospitals

The Health and Safety Fund on the Coral Coast is supported by guest donations from five resorts in the region. The hotels collaborate closely with the Ministry of Health, via the Coral Coast chapter of the Fiji Hotel and Tourism Association which also includes other local stakeholders such as small hoteliers, tour operators, tourism police and city council representatives, plus medical officers from Sigatoka Hospital. The fund has primarily supported the region's hospital, initially raising funds for the Critical Care Unit opened in 1999 and subsequently funding a variety of hospital projects from the renovation of bathroom facilities and staff quarters to contributing to a new accident and emergency ward, eye unit, pharmacy and dental clinic, and financial support for campaigns to combat filariasis and dengue fever. Most recently, the chapter collaborated with the Ministry of Health to co-fund the construction of a brand new maternity unit. Hailed by the government as 'a wonderful example of the partnership we have forged with the private sector', the FJ\$2.6m unit was opened by President Bainimarama in January 2015.⁵⁷ The longevity of this collaboration and the involvement of a wide range of stakeholders makes it a good example of the interface between company, government and community.

The Health and Safety Fund began life as the 'Sigatoka Critical Care Unit Appeal' in 1997, at this time generated by FJ\$1 levies on each guest at the Shangri-La, Warwick, Naviti and Hideaway Resorts. Levies later increased to \$5 and then \$10, for the renamed Health and Safety Fund which also included Outrigger on the Lagoon. The fund benefits communities throughout the region; however, the motivation to support the hospital was born from guest and investor demand. In the preceding years a number of hotel guests had suffered health issues on holiday, several deaths among them, and both hoteliers and investors recognised the facilities at the local hospital to be inadequate. Inspired by the airline's method of appeal collecting passengers' loose change, the idea of a guest levy was created, initiated by the general manager of the Shangri-La.⁵⁸ Sigatoka Hospital serves a population of 50,000 in the

⁵⁷ Of the \$2.6m, \$600,000 was contributed by the Coral Coast Chapter
<http://www.fiji.gov.fj/Media-Center/Speeches/PM-BAINIMARAMA-SPEECH-AT-THE-OPENING-OF-SIGATOKA-H.aspx?feed=news>.

⁵⁸ Pers.comm. community liaison and Chair for the Health and Safety Fund

Nadroga-Navosa region; however tourists add a further 3-5,000 persons to the total population in times of high occupancy. Of these, the hospital sees approximately 100 tourists per month. The community liaison officer for the fund explains the significance of good health facilities to the tourism industry in terms of public relations and meeting tourist demand:

Health is the main concern for tourists...All hotels spend a fortune on making sure you have the best stay you can. Usually you do, and you talk about it for one or two weeks, maybe three afterwards. If you have a health issue and a bad experience like a broken leg, they will talk about it for the rest of their lives. People listen intently to the details of a bad experience and pay attention. This government recognises the importance [FHTA member; community liaison].

Each hotel contributing to the scheme adds the levy to guest bills which can be removed on request (typically only one or two guests a year make this request). A proportion of the funds raised are directed straight to the Health and Safety Fund, whilst the remainder finances each hotel's own CSR projects. The current chair of the fund estimates that around \$4 million has been raised for community projects across the lifetime of the fund. Managing a fund of this size requires clear decision-making, administration and monitoring procedures. The fund is administered by hoteliers and managed by the Chair, one of the five General Managers. The cost of hosting meetings, managing financials, administration, marketing and reporting is sustained by the hotels. Agreement is required from 3 of the 5 general managers to approve the use of the funds for any particular project, and this is generally carried out via email or at bi-monthly meetings. The Chair attributes the success of the fund, now into its 18th year, to having a driver or champion and to connections - between industry and government, tourist and local needs and between hotels. The community liaison role established many of those critical links with the hospital in addition to links with local and provincial councils, schools and other charity organisations.

[Individual hotels] can still do piecemeal [donations, through their own initiatives], but for the big things we have the fund. I am the glue. I keep them on the same page [Community Liaison, FHTA member].

This was reinforced by the Chair:

She's the cement that brings us all together, and she's a very strong advocate for the hospital and she pushes everyone along [Chair, Health & Safety Fund].

In addition to this connecting role, a strong driver is needed.

But the key to it is all parties working together. You need a champion, you need someone to drive it, and as much as you get frustrated at times, you've really just got to look at the end results that you do achieve as a collective, but it is challenging [Chair, Health & Safety Fund].

Monitoring and reporting are largely focused on the financial aspects of the projects; however where projects are co-funded this also provides access to a site project manager who provides regular progress reports. This is the case with the construction of the latest project, a new maternity unit.

Every month at our meeting, full financials are disclosed, and that's really important - it needs to be, it's a non-profit organisation, so we don't have any taxation or anything like that, but certainly it needs to be black and white... With our meeting, [the community liaison] will report anything associated with the hospital, and so we have a chair of the hospital committee, we have a chair of the sales and marketing, we have a chair of the fund, so they do a full report on how the money's being used [Chair, Health & Safety Fund].

From the hospital's perspective, the support from the Coral Coast chapter is seen as a symbiotic relationship.

One time we had a whole roll of linen, unstitched linen coming here [to the hospital]. So I was stuck, I said what are we going to do with this? So I just called up [the hotel manager] and I said, you have a seamstress? He said, yes we do. Can she sew our linen? Yes. So we just sent the bale and out it came...[as bed linen]. So in this way these small things, of course it's a give and take. Whenever they request health check-ups we always go and advise them as well [medical officer, Sigatoka Hospital].

This same relationship is instrumental in leveraging additional support; the medical officer recounts how this happened in practice with the maternity unit.

It's a partnership. Because this hasn't just come now, this goes back about 6 or 7 years. So the Permanent Secretary then, he sat with the Hotel Association and they planned it, both of them decided to do it. And then the government said, ok, you put in 300 [thousand] we'll put in \$2 million. So this thing was already done. I would say nobody actually inspired or motivated each other, it was actually already in the making, it's just a partnership [medical officer, Sigatoka Hospital].

The specific challenges facing the sustainability of the fund are similar to those that put the sustainability of other CSR initiatives at risk: frequent changes of management and competing priorities.

Part of the challenge that you have is that the GMs are always changing, so you get different personalities, different resorts and things like that. I find it always takes a couple of years for a GM to settle in to and fully understand the Fijian way and the Fijian culture and why it's so important to help them and then before you know it they're moving on and you've got to train the next one. So that's...you need a driver, absolutely [Chair, Health & Safety Fund].

This explains the reasons behind the fragmented nature of much CCD and at the same time illustrates the positioning of foreign businesses in a rescuing role. The expectation that incoming managers must understand the importance of 'helping' Fijians, underlines the charity focus underpinning CSR initiatives and the role companies see for themselves in solving local problems. These examples also show how much of CSR is driven by individuals, how individual 'give and take' relationships sustain its progress and how these relationships can be typified by inequality as well as partnership. The challenge then, is how to achieve long-term goals in an industry characterised by its rapid change of management and top-down action. In relation to continuity, local drivers can be instrumental, for example through linking industry motivations closely with government priorities. As the example of the maternity unit illustrates, these shared priorities have resulted in a long-lasting collaboration. Closer attention to the distribution of CSR funds at a local level can illustrate the potential problems raised by top-down decision-making. The next section goes on to explore in more detail the interfaces that occur at a local level, including how instances of competing priorities in this space are managed.



Photograph 7.2. Sigatoka Hospital, with the new maternity unit under construction in the foreground.

The sign notes the contribution of the Fiji Hotel and Tourism Association and the Ministry of Health.

CSR and Health: hotels and community healthcare interfaces

In terms of community needs at the hospital level, there is evidence of differing priorities. The medical officer illustrates how renovations were negotiated alongside the construction of the new unit:

When I came they wanted to build this building [the maternity unit], but the state of the hospital was really terrible..... you know, I wanted to upgrade. Actually I was still hesitant in going for this and I was assured, don't worry, let this start and you will renovate. So I really wanted assurance, because this is my main ward. That will look so beautiful and this ward will look so terrible. I'm not really looking forward to this building because you know I want all the staff to feel happy about that work, I don't want all the staff to want to go and work in that building. So then in one of the meetings last year I was assured, don't worry you will get your renovations. And the renovation will coincide with [the new building] - and when that opens so will this [medical officer, Sigatoka Hospital].

Here, compliance and resistance are combined to carve out some 'room for manoeuvre'. Long describes the process of creating room for manoeuvre as implying 'a degree of consent, a degree of negotiation and thus a degree of power' (2001, p. 71): all three elements are present in this scenario.

At community level there is further dissent. One of the landowners suggested that 'the funding to the hospital doesn't trickle down', emphasising the different priorities of communities and the tourism industry. He pointed out that there is a whiteboard inside the hospital on which is written a long list of drugs in short supply. At the same time the Coral Coast chapter is currently now fundraising for a helipad and medevac facility and the perception of local villagers was that this is clearly a project with tourist needs in mind. This was substantiated by a member of the Coral Coast chapter:

The helipad will be influential for the next PGA [Professional Golf Association] to be held at Natadola. Although it won't be finished for this one, it could be useful in subsequent PGA tours being held here when they see it is underway [FHTA member].

Whilst this clearly invites closer attention to who is benefitting from the initiatives, it is also true that the new maternity ward is already benefitting women in the region:

early data indicate fewer women are travelling outside the region to give birth.⁵⁹ Other initiatives benefit the poorest members of the community by design. Through American non-profit organisation Benevolent Missions International, ophthalmic surgeons are provided with a week's accommodation and meals at either Shangri-La or Outrigger on the Lagoon whilst they undertake around 75 free eye surgeries and hundreds of consultations at Sigatoka Hospital each year; some patients have waited for surgery for many years.

At village level, hotel funding has supported the establishment and resourcing of village dispensaries. These can have a significant impact on village primary and preventative health care, even in an urban setting. Village nurses are trained in basic healthcare and first aid skills by the Ministry of Health and then staff the dispensary, prescribe basic medicines, perform routine health checks and arrange immunisation sessions. The village nurses (one or two per village) work in a voluntary capacity and accumulate detailed knowledge of village health needs, including environmental health and sanitation needs. During one village visit, I learned that the village nurse was planning a reproductive health workshop focusing on teen pregnancy, to be held in the school holidays. The inaugural workshop was to be funded by the village and held in conjunction with the Ministry of Health; organisers were planning to approach the hotels for funding to enable them to carry out follow-up workshops.

There are a number of different priorities relating to health represented in these interfaces, from preventative and primary level healthcare needs at village level, to basic service provision at the hospital, to priority requirements for medical emergencies for overseas visitors and others. Points of conflict occur where it is felt that minimum acceptable levels of need are not met, for example availability of essential medicines. Some of the balance between community and tourism driven health needs in these examples is created by the community liaison role within the Coral Coast Chapter. There is a reliance on this position to represent both the community and the industry: what Long refers to as an 'intercalary' position (p. 70). This role can be highly ambivalent due to the differing expectations of both parties. Elsewhere, this position is occupied by CSR managers in hotels, staff members with a

⁵⁹ Pers. Comm. FHTA official.

community liaison role, or landowners who must be responsive to both the lessee and the *yavusa* or *mataqali*. There is also an additional factor at play here: although this role allows responsiveness to grassroots priorities, accountability is ultimately to the donors, in this case, hotel shareholders and tourists.

The next sections go on to examine core hotel practices that constitute corporate community development, namely employment and procurement.

3 Development interfaces: Core practices

Core practices, as discussed in Chapter Two, comprise those activities central to the operation of the business; in the hotel industry this includes employment and training, and procurement of food, entertainment and other supplies and services. These activities are often side-lined in any discussion of CSR, which tends to focus more on the non-core, voluntary activities (such as the donations to schools and hospitals outlined above). Preferential employment for local community members and procurement of local goods purposefully affect development outcomes for communities and therefore can be said to constitute CCD. Examining the interactions that occur between the different actors reveals how the development spaces created through employment and procurement are constituted. This also provides an indicator of the ways in which these spaces are affected by changes to the way core practices are carried out.

Employment: the interface between hotels and employees

The most significant interaction between hotels and communities is employment. It was cited as the main benefit in almost all interviews with community members at the same time as also constituting their main concern - losing access to employment or reduced access to employment and the income it generates is a major issue. Local communities constitute a readily available pool of labour for hotels, with large resorts functioning like small towns requiring a wide range of labour and expertise from catering, property maintenance and entertainment to engineering, construction, accounting and health care. Findings show the significance of employment to community development. The material benefits this brings to individual villages in

the form of wages, ranges from the building of concrete (cyclone-resistant) houses to meeting cultural obligations, to putting food on the table for each household:

You can tell the people who work in the hotel because of the houses they have constructed - from wages, and also from the lease money [female landowner].

Out of 130 people in the village (adults and children), 10 work in the hotel. These families are able to contribute more to village functions [male non-landowner].

It's a big help for the family, for my children. When I'm working I try to fill up the buckets - flour, rice, sugar [female non-landowner].

The benefits are employment. Because it provides bread and butter on top of the table every week [male landowner].

Of particular interest in this section are the interactions between hotels and local employees in terms of gaining employment, job security, and dealing with employment disputes.

Gaining employment

Landowners are generally expected to receive preferential access to employment opportunities in the hotels on their land: this is written into all new lease agreements and is listed against all current tourism lease opportunities on the TLTB website, consistent with the TLTB tourism policy.⁶⁰ There remains a concern among community members that this does not always occur in practice.

Right now we have been receiving a lot of complaints from all these [landowner] committees. They are saying that the hotels are recruiting more outsiders when we have qualified landowners in there [male landowner, community leader].

Whether or not this requirement is determined by the content of the lease, community members were more likely to express the hotel's responsibility as a moral or 'neighbourly' obligation rather than a contractual one.

⁶⁰ <https://www.tltb.com.fj/tourism-leasing/> See also Chapter Six for more detailed discussion of content of leases.

From the hotel we kerekere [borrow] chairs for functions, why don't they employ us? [male landowner]

The implication here is that an offer of employment is a neighbourly obligation, in the same way as loaning chairs for a function. There is an expectation that local communities will be prioritised:

They employ people from Suva and this is 'dead money'. When the hotel employs local people the money goes back to the community to maintain villages and for people [male non-landowner].

In order to determine who receives preferential employment (or access to business opportunities), the approval of the Chief is sought by the prospective applicant. The following diagram illustrates how information is communicated in the case of a request for employment on Denarau Island. A letter is submitted to the chief from the landowner applying for a position at the hotel. This is stamped by the Chief to indicate his approval and then the application may be submitted to HR. If they meet the requirements then a landowner will receive preference over a non-landowner. Non-landowners in the area may also go through the chief to seek his approval. Both landowners and hotel management reflected on the pivotal nature of the role of the Chief to facilitate effective communications between landowners and lease-holders.

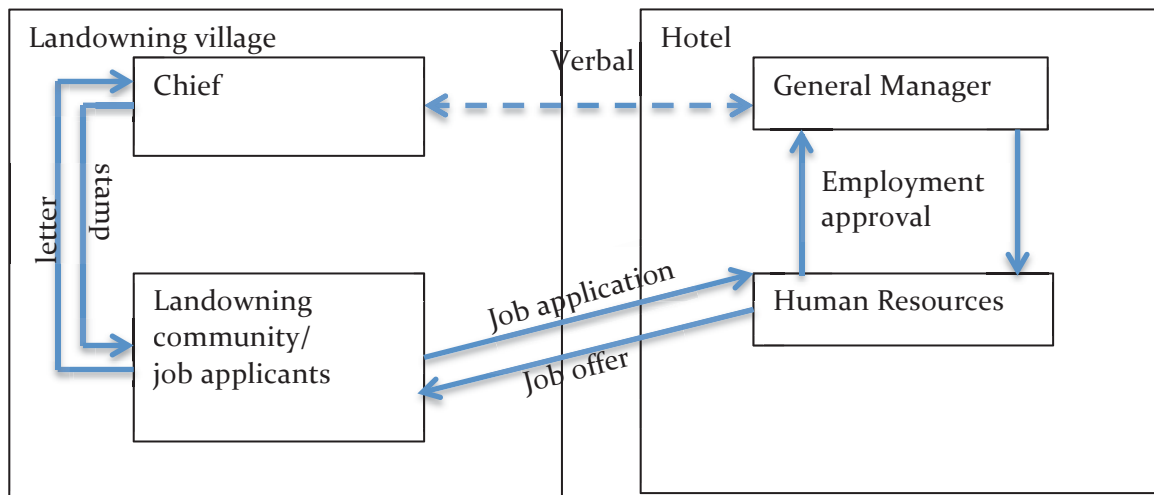


Figure 7.1 Request for employment

From an employer perspective, the approval of the Chief for a prospective employee provides confidence that the applicant is genuine and endorsed, but recruits are also

required to meet the hotel's expectations of employees and they are not obligated to retain those who do not perform. A manager explains:

It doesn't mean that every application that [the Chief] stamps and signs will get the job. He knows that. And I always share that with him. Please bear with us, you know, we can't make everyone happy - we are running a business here. And we also expect you to be thinking like us, you know, professionalism... At the same time we respect, we value the Fijian culture that we have, the protocol that we need to [follow]. So I'm glad that in that regard we are holding hands, we are moving together in the same direction [manager].

This illustrates the interdependence between hotels and landowners, who each rely on the other for certain types of support.

Landowners themselves acknowledge that preferential employment opportunities have been taken for granted by the landowning community:

Because people knew that employment was just a few steps from home they were reassured of employment. Their attitude, behaviour in general led to disciplinary action and workers being laid off. They were given the opportunity. We can only do so much. Not a lot are employed but they have a lacklustre attitude. There is an influx of outsiders who make the effort [male landowner, community leader].

Guaranteed entry-level work does not translate into opportunities to move into higher-level positions if schooling or other training has not been completed. The security of guaranteed work at once offers a development opportunity and at the same time places a cap on it. This was also revealed by Movono et al.'s study in two Coral Coast villages (Movono et al., 2015). It is an issue highlighted by the Provincial Council:⁶¹

Some of them go to tertiary level, but when they come home in the holidays they are given a job ...and when they start getting the money, that's it, they are not interested to go back...you'll just see them at the grounds, [or] as maids [Provincial Council employee].

The most recent TLTB Tourism Policy (2015-2018) which at the time of writing is still under review, moves towards addressing this issue by requiring business investors to provide training and certification for employees to achieve parity with the

⁶¹ The Provincial Council sits under the Ministry of iTaukei Affairs, which is responsible for the good governance and general welfare of the iTaukei. <http://www.itaukeiaffairs.gov.fj/>

qualifications expected for the role where necessary and safeguard employment opportunities for landowners. Nevertheless, increasing competition from elsewhere in Fiji means that work is in effect no longer guaranteed and this seems to be resulting in shifting expectations and entitlements among landowning communities.

Job security

In the face of reduced or no employment, it is felt that entitlements of the local community to work in the hotels are not met, discontent surfaces and relationships within the interface with the hotel become troubled. The concerns expressed about the importance of employment to communities also illustrate the lack of control community members feel they have over their continued ability to secure or retain an income through the hotels.

The biggest need, what we have been trying to tell them, is that we need our people to be employed [male landowner].

There are no school leavers in the intake. Before, when the hotel opened, school leavers were employed in the hotel. Now people are employed from other parts of Fiji, not here [female landowner].

School leavers would like to work in the hotel but many can't get jobs. They have already filled in the form but still waiting for a reply - some wait for years [male non-landowner].

After gaining employment, the most significant issue is the type of contract that employees hold. A glance at figures from human resources quickly highlights the large proportion of employees on what are known as 'permanent part-time' contracts. Permanent part-timers work variable hours - anywhere between 16 and 48 per week - to give the hotels flexibility to manage lower occupancy levels. Although they have guaranteed minimum hours, these employees lack job security as hours can be reduced at any time and they experience reduced employment benefits, including retirement, annual leave and bonuses in addition to the inability to access other employment benefits such as bank loans. In one hotel, 45% are permanent full-time, 53% part-time and 2% expatriate, in the other 42% are permanent full-time, 58% are part-time and less than 1% expatriate. These are likely to be among the better performers: according to one union official in many hotels as many as 85% are

employed part-time.⁶² The stipulation of minimum hours can be a double-edged sword when utilised to keep hours low.

They employ people up to 16, 24 hours a week and the income can never be stated as decent income.... And if you look at all the hotels in Denarau, and then you take the number of workers, and those that have been determined as, who have permanent status, there is a really low percentage of permanent workers, [a] greater number of part-time workers [union official].

Many are the sole breadwinners with children, single mothers. 24 hours is not enough. Our proposal was for a minimum of 32 hours, spread over 4 days work. Then on the other days they can tend their plantation, do other jobs. If [the work is spread] over 6 days it's like we're holding them here for less [union official].

Unions are particularly concerned about the nature of these contracts, many community members attesting to the fact that they have worked long-term in casual roles with little security and increased vulnerability.

You are casual throughout your working days: we retire as casual workers, we die as casual workers [male, non-landowner].

Being temporary makes it easier for the management to exploit workers. For example, 'you have to do overtime today'. If you give an excuse he will find his or her name out from the roster [union official].

With those years, they are [sufficiently] experienced in that work to be made permanent and the promises that we had is that they'll be trained. They'll be trained to get certificates, to get more knowledge, skills. But even the work itself in the long years they've been working, it has given them experience to be made permanent [male landowner, community leader].

The industry has argued that the only way it can function at a profit in a climate where it is costly to own a tourism business is by maintaining a flexible workforce. A recent breakthrough in union negotiations, however, came with the Warwick hotel chain which has signed an agreement to make 70 per cent of their workforce

⁶² Pers. Comm., union official. In interviews people referred to 'casual' 'temporary' and 'part-time' interchangeably; all referred to similar working arrangements which did not offer the security or benefits of a permanent full-time contract.

permanent over a period of three years.⁶³ The unions are hoping to use this as a lever to encourage other chains to follow suit.

For non-landowners who do not have access to preferential employment the benefits of tourism are perceived as still more distant.

The first opportunities go to the landowners and the rest come later. We are second class citizens. The same with handicrafts. The landowners get the first opportunity [female non-landowner, community leader].

For these communities, the benefits of (limited) employment are set in the context of the adverse effects to the *qoliqoli* from the building of hotels and the community's subsequent restricted access to fishing grounds:⁶⁴

Not every household has a member who works here, no. But what the hotel did affects every household, our qoliqoli [male non-landowner].

Some suggest that the community's dependence on the hotel for their livelihood is overstated:

People say we should be thankful to the hotel for providing employment for the people. The hotel thinks that without them we won't survive. But, with or without the hotel, we will survive. If the hotel closes this evening, we will survive... [male non-landowner].

Others, meanwhile, point out that the hotels, after all, cannot function without the workers:

J: Employment is the machinery that keeps the hotel running.

T: They are the tools to run the business [male non-landowners].

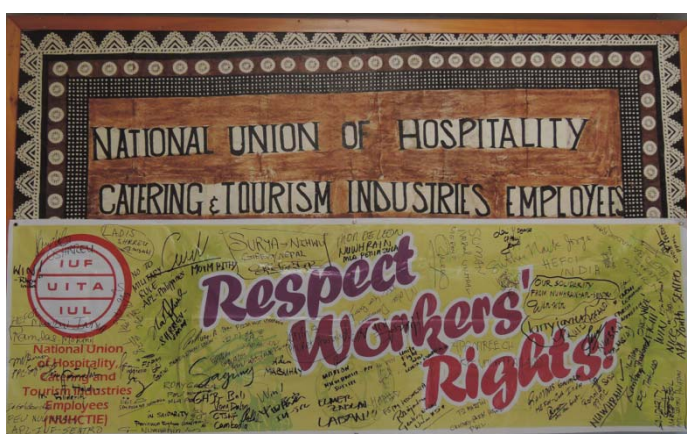
It is at this point that the motivations driving CSR and core operations seem to collide. The discontinuity between support for school children whilst their parents have little job security exposes inconsistencies in CSR practice and underlines the importance of looking at CCD holistically. From a corporate perspective, CSR and

⁶³ Pers. Comm., union official.

⁶⁴ See Chapter Six for more detailed discussion of the environmental impacts of hotels on communities.

employment are perceived as discrete activities. Yet from a community perspective, both impact simultaneously on local development outcomes and there is a danger that the high visibility of corporate social responsibility can simply obscure poor employment practice, illustrated by the words of a union official:

Their biggest social responsibility is their workers, [yet] the workers in the hotel industry are one of the lowest paid workers.... And then they try to plaster it with social responsibility to villages giving computers here, kindergarten school here, but the very people that they owe social responsibility are forgotten: their workers...if you compare the money they give out to the workers and the money they give out supplying some computers to a school, it's very much a small amount. They make millions from our people and our tourists, they make a lot of money. This is, from the perspective of the union, the downfall that we face in the tourism industry [union official].



Photograph 7.3. Sign in the Nadi offices of the National Union of Hospitality, Catering & Tourism Industries Employees

Employment disputes

This section examines how complaints or protest are registered and acted upon to explore where flows of information and power lie. Hotel unions are one avenue of redress and in many individual instances they have had success in advocacy (e.g. an increase in intake rates);⁶⁵ it is well known, however, that the union's power has been limited by the political and economic landscape which imposes strict conditions around holding a strike.⁶⁶ Unions are also unable to intervene for non-members,

⁶⁵ The unions that advocate for hotel staff are the National Union of Hospitality, Catering and Tourism Industries Employees and the Fiji Hotels & Allied Industries Employers Union. Intake rates are temporary hourly rates for new employees which are 65 - 70% of the normal rate (Pers. Comm., union official).

⁶⁶ The 2011 Essential National Industries (Employment) Decree placed rigid restrictions on industrial action for workers in the Fiji sugar, airline, tourism and aviation sectors.

which would include ad hoc staff such as entertainers or babysitters and small business services. Furthermore, culturally, it is not common for individuals to speak out and differences in status or power also prevent complaints being voiced. Village protocols around communication are a more frequent method used to handle disputes, in a similar way to how requests for employment are managed (see Figure 7.2). The Landowning Community Association in each hotel incorporates all employees who are members of the landowning community. In the case of a dispute, they request a meeting with the chief via the village head. The chief will then meet with the General Manager and/or Human Resources manager to discuss and resolve. They will subsequently communicate the outcome with the landowning community. Unlike the employment process illustrated in Figure 7.1, all of these communications are verbal.

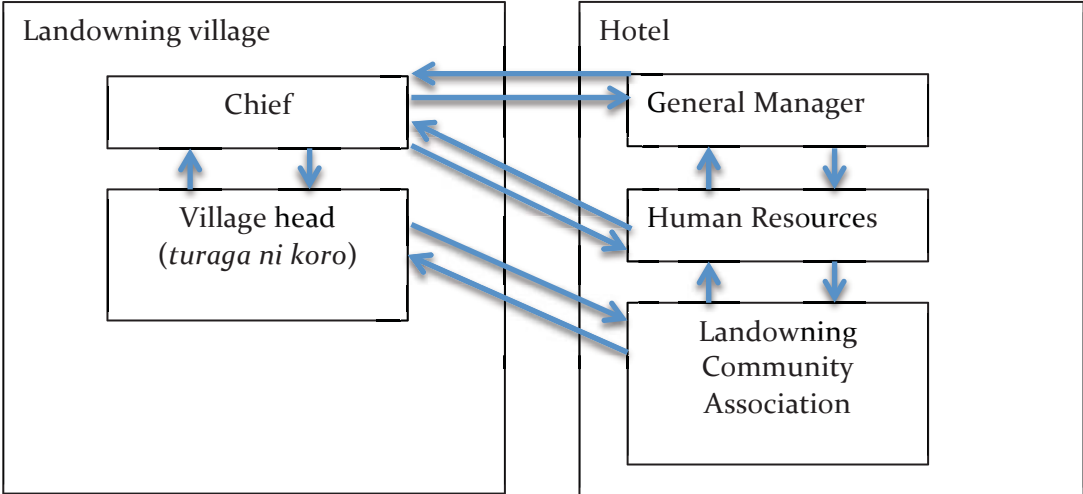


Figure 7.2: Managing disputes

The process for managing individual disputes can vary, particularly if the Landowning Community Association are not involved (for example in relation to subcontracted services); however the communication process in the village will always follow accepted *Vanua* processes. One village has a choir that has a long-standing contract to perform at the hotel on Sundays and were unexpectedly told to stop coming to sing one Sunday. This occurred following the breach of a fishing quarantine and was

<https://www.tuc.org.uk/international-issues/countries/human-rights/labour-standards/fiji-background-attacks-unions>

widely interpreted as a message to the locals from the hotel. To resolve this, there was no direct communication between the hotel and the choir, instead information was passed from the choir leader to the village elders, to the district head to the chief who initiated a conversation with the general manager resulting in the reinstating of the choir. Whilst the *Vanua* structure provided effective resolution, the power imbalance between community and hotel is made very clear through this exchange, where the hotel holds the ability to provide and retract income-generating opportunities at its discretion.

At employee level, there is a reluctance to complain, partly due to fear of the consequences, and partly due to adherence to protocol around who speaks to whom about what. In Fijian society, there is a clear channel of communication to be followed which is accepted as appropriate at all levels. In this context, it is important who speaks, and who is listened to. There is an expectation that the appropriate protocols will be followed and that those in the position to speak will take responsibility for voicing matters of concern. Cultural understandings of prestige and power are differently constituted in the hotel and the village and the power to speak is associated with social position. See for example Strathern (1985, p. 65), whose Indigenous theory of agency directly links social effectiveness to positional relationships to others. There are also examples in the literature of the efficacy of Indigenous resolution processes in influencing external actors. Cramb and Sujak tell of Dayak communities in Malaysia who have used customary modes of deliberation to their advantage in negotiations with government and the private sector over land rights and are influencing the way government engages with Indigenous communities (2011). The choir narrative here tells us of where the power resides to effect resolution of difficult issues and of the effectiveness of the *Vanua* structure in challenging injustices.

In summary, the employment interface is a development space in which income underpins everyday livelihoods and the opportunities created shape how communities function from study to work to infrastructure. It is characterised by the co-dependence of hotels and employees, is delimited by boundaries defining access to this space, and defined by the dynamics of (mostly unwritten) rules of participation.

Procurement: interfaces with food actors

The following sections examine three types of procurement, with specific relevance for local communities: firstly the purchase of food, particularly fresh fruit and vegetables; secondly the provision of village tour opportunities for hotel guests; and thirdly, the contracting and support of small business services. Each instance explores the communication and interaction that occurs between hotels and providers of these services, elements that contribute to the dynamic and complex sets of relationships within the interface.

International hotels require vast amounts of fresh produce every week, hundreds of kilos of watermelon, pineapple, tomatoes, bananas and pawpaw, along with local staples such as cassava for staff meals. Fresh fish, chicken and eggs are also predominantly local purchases. Yet even those resorts with local farms on their doorstep face a number of challenges in procuring the appropriate amounts of produce on a regular basis. A body of research already exists examining these challenges (e.g. Ashley et al., 2000; Berno, 2011; Salvioni, 2007); micro-level attention to the perspectives of the different parties in the process further illustrates some of the issues of reliability, quality control, access to markets, differing priorities, the pressures of community obligations and guest demands that are faced along the farm to table continuum. Interestingly, the comments of each food actor below demonstrate a keen awareness of the gaps in the process and offer some suggestions as to how these may be bridged.

The general manager:

I used to manage an island resort. Some of the landowners said they would provide us with fresh fish. I said, ok, we have 200 people so we need plenty of fish - Monday, Wednesday, Friday. If it works it will be much better for me than bringing over frozen fish from the mainland. The first week they brought me plenty of fish and then I didn't see them for 2 weeks. When they came back I said it's too late - I have a different supplier. It's about reliability of supply. There could be good reasons - it's not all grog - for example the wife was sick. But there is no fallback. If the market can't deliver and there are 500 people for breakfast and no eggs...it's not even about the quality or shape - misshapen is accepted nowadays with organic produce etc. It's reliability of supply. The truck turns up and there are 5 items missing - well they are already on the menu. The government role is to set up professions with proper infrastructure.

The procurement manager:

They have to meet our standards such as when you come here, come with the safety boots, your cassava should be nicely clean and properly packed - it's not just in bags you know. So with all these things we've got to educate them as well...I'm sitting here and a villager will walk to me, hey my farm is full of cassava. Right, so our consumption is 3-4 [hundred] kilos a week. So maybe in a month or so I'll finish that and I'm buying all his cassavas - he's got to peel it and bring it to us - then he's got to wait for another year or 6 months...

The farmer:

I used to sell cassava to the hotels, before the flood. The plantation is still re-establishing itself. Also vudi [plantain], the red ones for dessert. I took \$10 every 2 weeks.

How often did you sell cassava - was it regular?

I used to sell cassava every week or 2 times a week...I used to take it there. They asked for it. My son was working [there] in the kitchen. He asked, do they need cassava? It was a good combination. We could sell pumpkin, yams, cassava...

Will you begin selling again?

It needs a plan from the tikina - the allocation of crops - and then the money goes to the village, for example 6 villages can plant cassava all year round...

The intermediary:⁶⁷

For the hotels, consistency and reliability is important and they [the farm-to-table project] have found that Fijian farmers often stop growing when they have made enough for that season so in the meantime hotels go elsewhere to purchase. For Indian farmers the challenge was convincing them to grow the crops - they were not confident that the hotels would buy. To make the farm-to-table process viable it needs a third party to support [it] [Farm-to-Table Coordinator].

The chef:

To a busy chef who works long hours, has a stressful job because he's got to make it taste good, look good and it's got to make a profit, they think that some of this academic stuff should be put on the side and they've got to make money, they've got to get the food costs correct, so it takes a lot of nudging [Farm-to-Table coordinator].

⁶⁷ NGO or government sponsored programmes aim to bridge the gap between farmer and resort by providing logistical support to the growing and purchasing process, such as The University of the South Pacific's Farm to Table project
<http://www.usp.ac.fj/news/story.php?id=1287>



Photograph 7.4. Nadi market (left) fresh fruit arriving at the hotel kitchens (right)

Studying the perspectives of the different food actors involved along this continuum highlights areas of tension at the interface. Whilst there is general agreement from all parties on the benefits to increasing the procurement of local produce there are other issues which often take precedence: for the chef and general manager satisfying customers, for the procurement manager meeting budget requirements and the chef's expectations and for the farmer meeting demands for deadlines, quality and quantity at the same time as negotiating adverse climatic events. It also provides a good example of how micro-level settings are connected to macro-level phenomena. The importation industry in Fiji is structured around expectations of overseas procurement of much produce and tourist expectations of cuisine still remain rooted in the assumption that they can eat apples, salmon and lamb whilst on holiday in Fiji.

Initiatives such as culinary training workshops, food fairs and competitions and celebrity chef television programmes are currently popularising Pacific cuisine, evidenced by the worldwide success of cook books such as *Me'a Kai* (Oliver, Berno, & Ram, 2010).⁶⁸ This is coupled with a growing appreciation of the value of local skills, with a number of the international resorts now employing local executive chefs: as one procurement manager commented, 'for most occasions we have expatriates, but locals do have talents!' Together, these developments are indicative of a gradual

⁶⁸ EU-funded culinary training programmes are run by the SPTO with assistance from USP <http://www.usp.ac.fj/index.php?id=18559>;

move towards a more Pacific-oriented cuisine and the consequent demand for local produce. However, the perspectives above suggest that in the development space created by this demand there are further connections yet to be made between production and consumption in order to create greater community benefit.

Procurement: interfaces among villagers, tourists and hotels

Whereas in the past package tourists visited Fiji for sun, sand and sea, there is now increased demand for social and cultural interaction with the locals. A representative from Tourism Fiji noted, 'There has been a change in the way tourists look at things. Now they are venturing out - they want to see more of what's out there, feel and interact'. As with the example of the loyalty club above, relationships within the interface are no longer principally between the hotel and communities, but increasingly between tourists and communities. It is also here that the line between CSR and entertainment becomes blurred. Whilst village tours are most frequently organised by the recreation arm of hotels, they also serve an income generating purpose for villages and schools. The money goes to either the village or the school committee and it supports school upkeep, church renovations, construction of village fences and covering traditional obligations such as funeral and wedding costs. For example, many of the people who attended the funeral of the last Ka Levu were accommodated in one of the villages - this included covering the costs of all their meals. These costs were partially covered by fees from village tours. In addition some villagers see tours as a way to preserve their own culture and hand down stories to the next generation.

We would need to buy the costumes, the war clubs, the spears then we could do a night show...This is a way to preserve our culture [male landowner, community leader].

Village and school tours are very common in the tourist areas with most resorts offering one or both as part of their menu of activities. Typically a tour arrives at the village to a welcome song, a *sevusevu* ceremony, a guided tour around the village with the opportunity to buy handicrafts, perhaps also a *meke* (dance) performance or another activity such as coconut husking or weaving and then a farewell song. Tour buses usually stop at a primary school or kindergarten on the way to or from the village and the children also often perform for tourists. Some schools and villages on

the tourist trail will receive guests every day. Below are my observations from one of the school tours at a village school.

The school tour

Two tour buses drew up and I counted around 50 adults plus almost the same number of children. For the first 15 minutes, the tour guide gave an introduction to the guests, recounting a little of the school's history since its establishment in the colonial era. The tourists then had 20 minutes or so to wander 'anywhere they liked'. They spent quite a while in the kindergarten taking photos with the children who were clearly accustomed to putting up their arms to be picked up and photographed. By this time the school had begun recess and after a while the 'Entertainment Club' (mainly class 7 and 8 students who spend their Wednesday afternoons rehearsing) gathered on the playing field to perform for the guests. Today the class 7s had an assessment and they were hurrying to complete it so they could participate in the singing and dancing. Altogether the tourists were there for approximately an hour. I didn't see anyone donating, but the guide told me that guests had been briefed and there was a tin in the school office to receive donations. Waving goodbye to the children, the tourists board the buses again and head for the nearby village: this is the central attraction of the tour, where guests participate in a kava ceremony and meet the chief. The village receives approximately 10% of the tour fee; on this occasion around FJ\$400 is paid directly to the village bank account. The school, however, must rely on the willingness of guests to donate (field notes, 1 August 2014).

The principal later on told me that on average they receive FJ\$100 per week (for 2 visits), but it's unpredictable: sometimes they don't get anything. They document all of this in an exercise book and what it is spent on - disinfectant for the toilets, the sofa in the office, teachers' travel to Suva when required. They lose approximately 15 minutes of schooling each time which was seen as the maximum acceptable loss, provided there is a benefit to the children. There is certainly some assumed financial benefit for schools but the long-term impact of performing for tourists from a young age and continually being photographed and (for kindergarteners) picked up is not considered. There are some examples of schools managing the agenda, such as by setting limits on the days of visits (for example to Fridays, which is generally sports-focused) or using visits as a leadership exercise for students who provide tours for guests, but in general this interface is one where the control is firmly held by the tourists. During their visit the study space is transformed into one of performance/museum where the children are on display.



Photograph 7.5. School tour

The village tours are led by the adults of the village, under the direction of the village headman. Unlike the school children they are purposively earning income for their village. However, this is also variable. Villagers at one location explained to me that in the past village tours were more elaborate, including a *lovo* (food from an underground oven) and they were able to charge more per person. This money was used to help the church, build the community hall, pay for electricity to be installed in the village and to build houses. Now the tours are more minimal and the fees just cover the cost of maintaining the village (tidying, cutting grass etc). Where village tours are combined with entertainment opportunities in the hotel, this could contribute significantly to village development.

I am the trustee of the meke group. I built toilets in all the houses - that money came from the meke group. I spent \$1000 for a rest room in every house [male non-landowner, elder].

We had an entertainment group, when the hotel opened, in the 70s and 80s - they entertained at the hotel. From the money they got, most of the concrete houses were built, through that money [male non-landowner].

There were clear expectations from villagers for a two-way exchange of services with the hotel: as neighbours there is an expectation for some reciprocity from the hotel, for example providing business opportunities or village maintenance (see also Chapter Six).

We are part of the hotel. We work for the hotel, the tourists come here. They should provide a grass cutter from the hotel to help maintain the village [male non-landowner].

At the same time both the village and the school are able to exercise little agency over the tour process. At the school, it was clear that neither the tourists nor the teachers were clear about agreements to recompense the school. One teacher recounted,

One day I was talking to someone, and I asked, is there a system in place for the hotel and what they are giving to the school? And I met 2 or 3 tourists coming into the school and they asked me the same question. How much does the hotel give to the school after every month? I said, no, no the hotel is not giving anything.

Similarly the villagers realise that they cannot come to depend on the tour income:

It seems like the hotel controls everything from one point. If the hotel does not like how the tourists respond to the village tour they might pull out. We have no control [male non-landowner].



Photograph 7.6. Tourists arriving on a village tour (left) and handicrafts for sale (right)

According to both FHTA and SPTO, arrangements for tours are made through individual discussions between resorts and villagers; there are no regulations in place.

I think for Fiji, the tour standards are not really...there's no standard. I don't know how they develop the tours and the pricing in terms of those communities that they work with, the cut that they have. Nobody really knows, nobody's done any research to see whether the village that the day the tour is going to, how much do they actually get. Because sometimes you go to the village and they're still expecting more, you know from the tourists on the site, apart from the cut that the tour operator is giving them [SPTO official].

Fiji's official Tour Guide Association, however, suggests that it might be in the interests of the industry to set a standard, and in the interests of villages to regulate village tours. On a visit to one of the most popular villages for village tours, the tour guide explained to me how his village effectively sets the standard for others to follow:

There is no regulation. You can charge more if the village is well-maintained... We have set a really good standard. We have thought of increasing our fee... the mud pools charge \$20 per person. This is our home! It is time for the villages to speak up! [Tour Guide]⁶⁹

There are clearly constraints and enablers shaping the way tours are offered and run and how the benefits accrue to villages. As illustrated above, even the village in highest demand from tourists is still only able to set a nominal fee for tours. For lesser known villages or tours, if they are promoted through hotels or resorts, management sets the fee and the contribution to the village; if villages try to establish their own tours they generally lack the promotion and marketing ability to attract many visitors. Where villages are able to set the agenda for tours, for example offering food, entertainment or other activities, they have been able to profit much more substantially from the ventures. Likewise, evidence from other communities, including the Hmong in Vietnam (Turner, 2012) and Dayak communities in Malaysia (Cramb & Sujang, 2011), have shown how communities have been able to set the agenda by incorporating new economic opportunities with their own livelihood approaches to negotiate development on their own terms.

Procurement: hotel and small business interfaces

Income opportunities for local businesses are largely in the form of taxi firms and other forms of transportation (including staff transport), handicraft sales and small shops. Some locally-owned activities and tours are established, but as mentioned above, they struggle with marketing their operations. Where hotels offer promotion opportunities commission rates can be prohibitively high for small businesses. Some hotels however do offer mentoring support to new businesses:

⁶⁹ The village tour fee is currently FJ\$5 per person, in contrast to the entrance fee to the mud pools, another locally-owned and managed tourist attraction.

If someone sets up their horse-riding business, you know there are arms of government that help them set up, and then we will guide them on how to go about it, getting insurance right, train your guides, train your riders, print some collateral, some brochures and all that and observe a timetable and make sure your transport is ok. You know, we come in and offer some sort of professional help [manager].

On the whole, villagers felt a lack of support to operate a business, and enumerated many other opportunities that they thought they could take advantage of, with the right support.

They could support small businesses for the landowners for example security, laundry, gardening... We can do that, but big companies are coming in doing this work [male landowner].

We could have a diving business here. We're right by the channel. The tourists would like to come out and dive here instead of paying the prices in the hotel. And you can walk out here, you don't have to go out by boat. The channel is right here in front [male non-landowner].

However, the view among many villagers is of the perceived reluctance of the hotel to allow guests to spend money outside the resort.

J: The management want to keep the tourists in the hotel. Everything is in the resort, handicrafts, duty-free.

A: One-stop-shop

N: They don't want the tourists to come out because of the money.

C: That's when the smiling faces faded... [male non-landowners].

Here we can't let the guests out of [the hotel]. They are frightened to stop here. We're not going to eat them! [female landowner]

Hotels, from their part, are not keen to promote local tours, because of concerns of potential legal repercussions.

But we now live in an age of litigation, you've got to make sure all these things are properly done. Because ... we are liable in many ways, so the control system has to be very firm [manager].

Due to strict requirements to control all activities offered under the auspices of the hotel, the end result is that large companies retain most tour contracts. As with the

village tours, opportunities are constrained by the structure of the international tourism arena which dominates the majority of tourist activity. The development spaces for communities here are marginal at best.

4 Connecting development spaces

What are the threads that connect these narratives? The following sections make links between the development interfaces described in the areas of education, health, employment and procurement above. Examining the interfaces from both community and hotel perspectives provides a means to identify the connections - and gaps - which are present. In turn this enables an analysis of the resulting development spaces created and the potential impacts of corporate community development. These interactions are conceived as development 'spaces' following Akpan (2008), who conceptualises CSR as a space where interactions between companies and communities occur, and Long (2001) who defines 'arenas' as 'spaces in which contests over issues, claims, resources, values, meanings and representations take place' (p. 242).

Connecting development spaces - a community perspective

In this chapter, initiatives are separated out into core and non-core activities for the purpose of documenting different aspects of CCD; from the perspective of a villager in the vicinity of a resort, all CCD activities are linked in some way. Support for the village school is linked to the ability to later secure employment; access to health care is connected to the ability to earn a living from selling handicrafts to the tourists, fees from entertainment opportunities fund village infrastructure. These connections are expressed in clear terms by community members who view the potential for long-term outcomes. A hotel manager who is also a local community member expresses his aspirations for educational outcomes from the village school in this way:

OK it's good to be a porter, to be a waiter, but one day why don't you be director of marketing? One day why don't you become director of food and beverage? So we have to align our education to that, to get our people to aspire to something. Maybe one day we'll get a local guy who's GM here, you know? [manager]

Meanwhile, an officer in the provincial council whose role is to support village governance and wellbeing is seeking ways to support long-term career options for the community's children.

We are trying to draw up a database to track all of the children in these villages and their performances and we try to map out a path for them, determine what's the best path for them...[find] career pathways for them. That's what we're trying to do. So the hotels can assist us - wherever we want these children to go we can work with them to fund them [Provincial Council officer].

To communities in the vicinity of hotels, CCD activities all constitute part of what they regard as their entitlements either as landowners or as neighbours. Ownership of the land the hotel is built on is connected to a variety of entitlements, some of which are legal obligations such as preferential employment and educational scholarships and others which constitute discretionary support such as books and computers for schools, options to host village tours and donations for the village dispensary. Whilst communities view these entitlements as interrelated, hotels are concerned about fostering dependence and providing 'hand-outs'. Ferguson suggests that the idea of dependence is more closely connected with sharing in a society where we are all dependent on others, and advances the notion of the distribution of 'a rightful share' of the wealth to 'owners' of the resource (2015, p. 168). From a village perspective, the financial income from tourism is used to benefit the whole village. The combination of income from lease money, employment, entertainment, small businesses and discretionary support is used strategically by villages to meet traditional obligations as well as paying bills and feeding the family.

We don't use [the tour money] for family functions, but we are able to loan that money and pay it back. It's like a standby for the village. [male non-landowner].

As the quote above illustrates, tour money income is used to meet collective obligations and village needs. Everyone in the village benefits from 'a rightful share', This also demonstrates the agency of the collective to determine how some of the benefits of CCD are shared. Returning to the words that introduced this chapter, Fijians believe that 'the wise are those who distribute their wealth among people' (Nabobo-Baba, 2006, p. 75); this understanding of the concepts of wealth, sharing and obligation which is at the core of *vanua* values, shapes interactions at development interfaces from a community perspective.

Connecting development spaces - a hotel perspective

From the perspective of hotels, core and non-core practices are managed as discrete activities. Core practices are managed to remain competitive in the international tourist industry and to meet tourist (and shareholder) demands. Non-core CSR is seen as an optional extra. The overlapping development spaces created from core activities and CSR contributions can intersect in positive ways. In some instances this may be a happy coincidence, in others more strategic planning is in evidence. For example, Radisson Blu's Adopt-a-School programme focuses specifically on education in order to ultimately build stronger literacy skills among their workforce. To date they have donated more than 300 computers to schools in the district and through this work recognised the gap in the curriculum for an IT syllabus. As a consequence they are now forging stronger connections with an Australian NGO, Reach 4 Your Future and the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) which is providing support to the Fijian government in the development of a national IT syllabus.⁷⁰

Conversely, a lack of longer-term, connected planning can create unintended, less desirable impacts: one struggling primary school was given a makeover by another hotel in the region, but one of the outcomes was to draw students from a neighbouring school which itself then teetered on the brink of closure. Looking at CCD from a community perspective can enhance these connections. For instance, many hotels offer scholarships to landowners, often as a condition of the lease, but both landowners and hotels express concern over the low uptake and completion of these opportunities. There are a number of factors at play here, including reliance on lease money, lack of mentors, availability of placements and the conditions of the scholarships themselves. A tourism lecturer at USP emphasises, 'it is important to do it properly, so it encompasses their fees, their books. I've got kids on scholarship who don't even have enough money for their books!' Of course the likelihood of dropping out and moving back into paid employment increases significantly in this situation.

Looking at CCD from a community perspective also involves recognition of the community development work that is already occurring within communities and

⁷⁰ RMIT-built lab connects students in Fiji to education, RMIT University, 10 April 2015. <http://www.rmit.edu.au/news/all-news/2015/april/rmit-built-lab-connects-students-in-fiji/>

connecting to this in ways that are useful for those on the ground, for example supporting village-led health initiatives. Turner (2012) points to the need for development practitioners to recognise that minority groups at times ‘already have their livelihoods figured out’ and do not need rescuing (p. 417), yet at the same time her analysis does not reject interventions, in this case by the state, suggesting that instead an alternative approach ‘can seek to challenge the subordination of alternative knowledges and interpretations (p. 418).

Connecting the dots

There is an opportunity to examine how the threads connecting these development spaces can be strengthened, where gaps remain and how they can be filled. Some instances demonstrate where successful connections have been made, for example with the hospital through the FHTA community liaison and through the work of NGO Rise Beyond the Reef linking remote communities with hotel support. In general, however, there are signs of uncertainty about how the different components can best fit together and gaps in how the various development spaces are linked. As one general manager puts it:

No one knows what to do - what part should the government play? What part should corporations play? What part should individuals play? What can they do? And how can they do it? There needs to be a way to find benefits for everyone [General Manager].

A former FHTA official repeatedly returned to the need to ‘connect the dots’ in tourism - between offering scholarships and mentoring the recipient to completion and then into the workforce, between growers, jam makers and holiday makers, between economic benefits and social benefits, between goodwill, motivation and intervention, between local knowledge, industry training, tourism operators and political support. Engagement between tourism stakeholders at all levels is presented as the key to generating long-term development outcomes from tourism:

Without collaboration, in 10 years you will come back and see the same issues as today, but worse... What’s good for Fiji? Before it was sugar, now tourism - it can make or break a country. It was sugar politics, now it is tourism politics. People don’t like to use that word, politics, but that’s what it is. We have to recognise it and address it.

A community perspective has illustrated how the development interfaces created by CCD are all linked, whereas a view from a corporate perspective shows that isolating employment from scholarships from procurement can fail to identify where connections are needed. Identifying gaps and strengthening the connections between development spaces requires acknowledgement of the political nature of CCD, rather than adopting a technical focus on providing solutions (Ferguson, 1994; see also Chapter Three). Banks et al. (2013) argue that CCD will ‘struggle to produce meaningful, positive livelihood changes’ as long as corporations adopt a safe, ‘apolitical’ approach to CCD (pp. 496-7). If this is the ‘politics’ of tourism, as suggested in the quote above, then this provides a clear rationale for moving away from discretionary, voluntary activities towards integrating CCD into national, regional and international policies and planning. The challenge then, will be to manage national-level oversight of CCD whilst retaining the particularities of development imperatives at community level.

5 Conclusion

The intersecting lifeworlds presented in this chapter include those of landowning and non-landowning communities, hotel management and staff, hotel guests, school teachers, NGO and hospital workers and union staff. The development interfaces created at the intersection of these lifeworlds through the planning and implementation of CCD have been examined in relation to both core practices (employment and procurement) and non-core practices (CSR projects in the fields of health and education).

Findings have shown that CSR initiatives make significant contributions to health and education projects in Fiji, but observation of the interactions at development interfaces has also generated additional insights. Recipients of donations are grateful for support, but as a consequence are reluctant to make demands and have little control over CSR. In some cases they are able to utilise support in ways that are most appropriate to them, particularly in the case where an ‘intercalary’ is present to be able to best shape support to community priorities, but in general communities exert minimal agency in the design, planning, implementation of CCD. Exploration of how CCD occurs also demonstrates the extent to which initiatives are reliant on the

motivation of individuals and clearly reflects the uncertainty of the recipients around long-term support, even when a long-term relationship is mandated by head office. Voluntary CCD faces challenges from management changes and competing priorities of the business, which take precedence over community support; however this is minimised by a mandate and funding for CSR from head office. Findings also revealed a discontinuity between support through voluntary CCD and core practices with communities expressing dissatisfaction with development outcomes resulting from employment and procurement opportunities.

Actual interactions and engagement at development interfaces involves a variety of actors, including NGOs and other intermediaries such as international charities and other private sector organisations. Increasingly, CCD occurs at the interface between communities and tourists. It shows that much CSR is funded, and even directed by guests – either through development initiatives such as the construction of kindergartens and libraries or through their participation in entertainment activities such as village tours. As a key stakeholder group, tourist demands, and their perceptions of what is needed, play a significant part in shaping corporate community development, whilst local community-driven development initiatives are often overlooked.

Each of these development interfaces is also shaped by the state, which intersects with all of these categories in some way and at differing levels – from tourism development plans to taxes to subsidising community initiatives. The state is responsible for the operating environment for companies and NGOs at a national level, shaping opportunities and behaviours and creating a conducive environment (or otherwise) for the tourist industry. This includes rules around land leasing which shapes the direction of engagement for both companies and landowners. Wilson argues that strategies are required ‘that even out...unequal power relations so that local communities benefit more from regulation relative to corporations and other powerful actors (2013, p. 256). However, in turn, national policies are shaped by global pressures, for example to maintain a competitive tourism industry. The social processes described here are connected to both national and global processes and must be seen in this context. Fernando (2003) emphasises that ‘any meaningful understanding of the indigenous cannot be excluded from the reference to a wider context’ (p. 58), acknowledging the pressure the state faces in a global context:

In fact, the state is under pressure to manage conflicts between the local populations and the corporations so that the latter continue to invest in the area. In the face of growing powers of the corporations, it is not only the local communities but also the state and the NGOs that have lost whatever autonomy and control they had in the local environments (p. 67).

These 'growing powers of the corporations' are the same forces invested with responsibility for development in the 2030 Agenda.

Having gathered together detail on the nature of the development spaces created by the various interfaces between hotels, tourists and communities, it is now possible to reflect on whether or not the development initiatives that occur are perceived to bring about positive change for the communities concerned. The next chapter uses the Development First framework to assess the extent to which these development spaces are responsive to community-defined priorities.

Chapter Eight

Analysis

The divide between rich and poor is never truly bridged by the private sector or government.⁷¹

1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to assess the capacity of CCD to advance community priorities for development. Chapter Six examined community priorities for development and how they are linked to CCD from a *vanua* perspective (Nabobo-Baba, 2008) and Chapter Seven then examined CCD activities using an actor-oriented perspective (Long, 2001) to understand the practice of CCD at the interface between corporate and community. Gathering together these findings now enables me to return to the Development First framework outlined in Chapter Three and suggest some answers to the questions it poses. This will provide an indication of how far the CCD initiatives identified in my study align with a Development First approach and will enable a response to my key research question: what is the capacity of corporate community development initiatives in the tourism sector in Fiji to bring about positive, locally meaningful change for communities?

The Development First framework assesses the extent to which CCD initiatives respond to community development priorities through a series of questions examining the focus and practice of CCD. The sections below examine each question in turn. Analysis is aligned with key findings from the literature, the emerging themes are then discussed and some initial conclusions are drawn. My overall analysis suggests a Development First approach is constrained by an overriding Tourism First focus on prioritising the business, even where companies aspire to longer-term sustainable development outcomes. Whilst specific hotel initiatives focusing on

⁷¹ Rise Beyond the Reef <http://risebeyondthereef.org/our-model/>

supporting development projects and running a socially responsible business can achieve positive outcomes for communities, much CCD is charity-focused and confined to a narrow spectrum of immediately visible needs largely defined by hotels and tourists. Although this conclusion might not be surprising, given our existing knowledge of critical perspectives on CSR, approaching CCD from community perspectives has provided a more nuanced view. A local perspective focuses attention on the interconnected impact of all company activities (both core operations and non-core voluntary activities) whilst an Indigenous perspective reframes the purpose of CCD as obligation, understood in terms of community expectations around entitlements, reciprocity and fulfilling collective rights. Communities do not, in fact, want more charity or aid, but instead seek to be part of development conversations determining a fair share of their resources.

2 Development First

There are seven components to the Development First framework, as detailed in Chapter Three. The questions posed in each section are enumerated below and answered by drawing on empirical findings from my fieldwork. This is summarised in Table 8.1 below. In line with the methodologies used, my focus is on the micro, lived experience of the participants, paying particular attention to the Pacific context and taking community perspectives and local knowledge as a starting point to then consider the broader implications.

Table 8.1 Development First Framework: CCD initiatives in tourism in Fiji

	Development First Framework	Research findings
Sustainable human Development	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does CCD have a long-term or short-term focus? • Does CCD focus on building local capabilities? • Does CCD reduce vulnerabilities? • Is there evidence of collaboration with other actors, locally, regionally or nationally, and alignment with government goals for enhancing human wellbeing? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A long-term focus is embedded in hotel practices, but is challenged by high management turnover, and lack of connection among hotels and across activities • Short-term requests build relationships and underpin the success of long-term initiatives. • There is little evidence of capability building and existing community skills and development processes are overlooked • Income earning opportunities are a critical component of CCD • Evidence of collaboration with government and NGOs shows positive outcomes
Holistic focus	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does CCD contribute to economic, social, cultural and community wellbeing? • Can multiplier (indirect) effects be identified? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CCD addresses all three aspects but there is a disconnection between core and non-core practices • Multiplier effects in local procurement and employment practices could be much greater
Culture is central	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is cultural capital valued rather than commodified or museumised? • Is local knowledge valued and respected? • How is cultural capital sustained? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Communities have little control over cultural entertainment/tours • A dedicated liaison role could better connect hotels with local knowledge • Cultural capital is sustained by communities by living according to the <i>vanua</i>; CCD can support this through according appropriate importance to cultural events and practices
Community-focused goals	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who defines local development needs to be addressed by CCD? • How are the poorest or most marginalised sections of the community represented in decision-making? • Does CCD help the community to achieve goals that they value as a people? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The CCD agenda is primarily shaped by hotels and tourists. Recipients of CCD assistance are consulted but in practice have little control over projects • CCD tends to prioritise landowners and communities neighbouring hotels. Marginalised communities have little opportunity to influence decision-making

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community goals include the ability to achieve communal wellbeing; this is partially supported by CCD, but there is room for greater connection to community aspirations • Many community development processes are built on tourism income but landowners seek greater control over resources rather than increased direct assistance
Distribution of benefits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who benefits and how are benefits shared/distributed? • Who does not benefit or is marginalised? • Does CCD counteract or reinforce existing inequalities? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Benefits are unevenly distributed and the most marginalised groups are difficult to reach • CCD can exacerbate existing social inequalities along the lines of race, gender, income and status • CCD does not challenge inequalities, but a focus on 'safe' initiatives such as education and health limits their reproduction
Building relationships	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How are meaningful relationships between a tourism business and local communities supported? • Is there accountability for CCD to local communities? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Building relationships is a key demand communities make of hotels but there are mismatched expectations in how this is fostered • Accountability for voluntary activities is primarily to guests and head office, and to TLTB for lease obligations. Communities are reluctant to demand accountability for voluntary initiatives but have higher expectations for lease requirements
Monitoring and Evaluation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is there evidence of monitoring and evaluation processes in place? Who is responsible for a) determining positive indicators of change, and b) conducting monitoring and evaluation? • Does monitoring and evaluation lead to reflection by tourism businesses, and changes in their practices? 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is no systematic process to monitoring and evaluation. Responsibility lies with hotels and is primarily a business-oriented exercise. Development outcomes are rarely measured • Longer-term planning can support reflection and change, but this is limited by time constraints on CCD and a lack of connection across core and non-core activities

Sustainable human development

- *Does CCD have a long-term or short-term focus?*

The challenge facing hotel management of balancing short-term ad hoc requests against longer-term sustainable projects is a recurring theme in my findings. Both case study hotels have principles guiding their engagement that seek to foster long-term outcomes. Shangri-La mandates a long-term relationship with a small number of partners to ensure on-going support rather than focusing on one-off activities; Radisson Blu, although it has no such mandate and works with a large number of partners over varying time spans, has built the principle of long-term outcomes into their funding criteria. By providing schools with IT resources and infrastructural support rather than consumables they aim to create benefit over the longer-term. This is the type of practice endorsed by recommendations from the literature (see for example Ashley et al., 2007; Meyer, 2006; Scheyvens & Russell, 2012a and the discussion of facilitating factors in Chapter Two).

The benefits of a long-term view are recognised by those working in the sector. For example, a consultant marine ecologist involved in environmental initiatives in the tourism sector pointed out the extent to which long-term thinking is required:

If you do something in 6 months you can expect it to last 2 years. But if you spend 5 or 10 years doing something then it can become part of the actual ethic of the community.

Partnerships and collaborations, for example with government and NGOs, and connections with existing initiatives such as community development plans, council and government plans, can all foster longer-term outcomes (and examples are detailed below). Banks et al. note the risk of failure of 'stand-alone CCD projects' without this level of integration (Banks et al., 2013, p. 497). The most effective long-term development also recognises the links between different core and non-core activities, for example between the support for education, health care and employment, and with the initiatives of other hotels and even other initiatives within the same hotel. Such 'linkages' (Meyer, 2007) are referred to by one tourism manager as 'connecting the dots' (see Chapter Seven) and their importance is demonstrated on the one hand by the success of collaborative arrangements such as the Health and Safety Fund and on the other by the gaps that remain between educational support and career progression. Barriers to this type of connected planning are the high

turnover of management in hotels, lack of connection between hotels in the sector and the separation of core and non-core CCD. The challenge to the tourism industry is finding ways to integrate effective support into long-term processes.

Whilst my research shows that initiatives with long-term outcomes are highly valued by both management and communities, there is also an understanding that short term requests are an integral part of the day-to-day functioning of communities. It is important here to differentiate between ad hoc or short-term community development activities (e.g. a one-off donation to a school), which can be unpredictable and offer no guaranteed sustainability, and ad hoc support to meet community requests (e.g. to help meet costs associated with a visiting official). The latter can underpin the relationships developed between hotels and communities and is a critical part of the range of community support provided. This kind of support is highly valued by communities, as illustrated by the following example from Narewa village:

Ratu Navula [high school] won the secondary schools Rugby Championship for Fiji. For the first time ever the trophy came to the Western Division. And Ratu Navula was founded by Tui Nadi's father, so it was special for us. Tui Nadi requested the hotels just to give breakfast or lunch or dinner to the team, just to thank them. [Some of the hotels] were willing; they even went out their way to accommodate them... [male landowner, community leader].

The nature of short-term requests as embedded within company-community relations is also recognised by hotel management:

The day-to-day stuff wouldn't go away [with a focus on long-term outcomes]; for example the Minister is coming and we need food this afternoon [FHTA member].

This type of support builds relationships and fosters the notion of reciprocity, both significant components of CCD (see Chapter Six). In his study of Fijian hotels, Bradley finds that this interdependent relationship between companies and communities constitutes a core 'social contract' between companies and communities and in fact is a key driver for CSR initiatives (Bradley, 2015, p. 251). The co-existence of ad hoc support along-side longer-term approaches to community development can in fact reinforce the potential for sustainable outcomes.

- *Does CCD focus on building local capabilities?*

A focus on building capabilities is embedded into the provision of educational support from hotels: this includes physical resources for schools and making scholarships available for tertiary study. It is also an integral part of staff training processes within hotels (for example cross-training and promotion opportunities). Beyond this, a focus on capability building or empowerment of local communities is not in evidence. Within initiatives impacting directly on local communities there is an opportunity to build on existing skills which would increase capabilities and lead to longer term sustainable outcomes. The existence of multifaceted and largely self-sufficient community development processes which result in community halls, footpaths, kindergartens, village events and on-going village maintenance points to an existing skillset that is overlooked by hotels. An actor-oriented approach distinguishes between ‘social actions resulting from relatively autonomous self-organising processes and those that are ‘mandated’ by government or some other authoritative body’ (Long, 2015, p. 39), where the former enable actors to define their own goals and the latter focuses on realising externally developed objectives. Community development combines both these processes; however, a focus on *vanua* values emphasises the significance of community input. Where local knowledge is overlooked in favour of external development processes this can undermine local wellbeing (Meo-Sewabu & Walsh-Tapiata, 2012; Ch.2). The commitment of village heads to develop and implement long-term plans for their villages (discussed further below) suggests there is a missed opportunity to utilise and build on community skills in CCD. One example of the potential for greater collaboration between tourism operators and resource owners is the concept of ‘twinning’ based on the concept of twin cities, an idea proposed by a former FHTA official. A resort twinned with a village would partner with them on development plans:

this is not just going in and doing something fluffy creating a photo opportunity by landscaping for example, but using the expertise and intellectual capacity in the hotels to train and capacity build villages for a more long-term, sustainable solution [former FHTA official].

Greater recognition of community skills and knowledge would also help build local priorities into corporate initiatives.

- *Does CCD reduce vulnerabilities?*

The primary focus on education and health broadly contributes to a reduction in vulnerabilities for communities. Evidence from Sigatoka Hospital and from the principals of the schools receiving support discussed in Chapter Seven demonstrates that the input from hotels has been critical in achieving their goals. The breadth of the support from hotels, who also coordinate donations from tourists, businesses and charities, creates the momentum to generate sustainable outcomes. Where this momentum is guided by integrated planning processes (coordinating with communities, government, non-government and civil society organisations) there is significant potential to reduce vulnerabilities. The commitment in principle on the part of government and hotels to coordinate plans and support⁷² provides a strong foundation for a more integrated model of development in the future.

Where there is greater potential to decrease vulnerabilities is in the core activities of hotels which impact on community development (Meyer, 2006). Employment is often dependent on tourist demand and a high level of casual employment reinforces vulnerabilities. The provision of tours and entertainment is a key source of income for communities but this is unpredictable and often low-paid. What is not immediately visible to hotels is the strategic use of income to meet communal development priorities. My findings show that a combination of wages, lease money, fees from village tours, income from selling handicrafts and small businesses is used to fund community development, for example the individually owned taxi business which funds communal village obligations (Chapter Six) and the village loan scheme for tour monies (Chapter Seven). Recognition of the importance of these income sources to community development as a whole is a critical component of CCD and increasing security of these income sources is a means to decreasing vulnerabilities.

- *Is there evidence of collaboration with other actors, locally, regionally or nationally, and alignment with government goals for enhancing human wellbeing?*

⁷² At a feedback and discussion symposium for this project which was held on Denarau Island in June 2015, representatives from the Ministry of Education and hotel management committed to work more closely in partnership to coordinate support to schools.

The argument for an integrated approach to CCD is founded on the understanding that companies are not best placed to identify and respond to community priorities unaided. It also recognises that tourism businesses have limited time to devote to community development. The Health and Safety Fund, run by the Coral Coast chapter of the FTTHA is a good example of collaboration, integrating the tourism sector, central government and a public service (Chapter Seven). Partnerships with NGOs or other organisations specifically focused on community development can be another effective way to enhance interactions in the development space, for example the collaborations with Rise Beyond the Reef and Partners in Community Development Fiji (Chapters Six and Seven). Acknowledging the problematic nature of partnerships in development in general (Scheyvens et al., 2016; Chapter Three), the nature of the NGO-corporate relationship established is critical to its success. A certain understanding of the different ways of working and distinct priorities on both sides is required. For example, corporates have an obligation to their shareholders and stakeholders and detailed knowledge of allocated funds is a priority (one manager told me that his company will not donate to organisations such as the Red Cross or Save the Children because it is not possible to identify the specific projects that a donation is allocated to). From an NGO perspective, time to devote to understanding community priorities is a prerequisite of a successful project and corporates need to be prepared to endorse this approach. The reflections of the PCDF project officer involved in the Coral Gardens Initiative (Chapter Six) illustrated some of the challenges and opportunities of an NGO-corporate-community partnership and Steenbergen's (2013) study of coastal resource management in Eastern Indonesia describes the similarly complex relationships between a private tourism company, an NGO, the state and the local community in managing illegal fishing.

In a context where resourcing is a major issue for the state, the government has a vested interest in facilitating effective partnerships that respond to national priorities. For example, the Ministry of Education has coordinated meetings between an Australian NGO, It's Time Foundation, donors in the tourism sector and schools in order to support the funding and installation of solar panels for schools in remote locations.⁷³ The advantages to a centralised focus can also be seen in disaster

⁷³ It's Time Foundation. <http://iitime.org/projects/>

management. A lack of coordination between donors and national strategies became particularly evident after Fiji's 2009 floods. The Ministry of Education reported that multiple donors were assisting schools and individual students in different ways across the country with no shared knowledge or planning. In response, the Ministry initiated a system to coordinate donors centrally, which has since worked effectively in cyclone responses.⁷⁴

Holistic focus

- *Does CCD contribute to social, cultural and environmental wellbeing, as well as contributing economic benefits to communities?*

The logic which determines that CSR should respond to social, economic, cultural and environmental wellbeing is consistent with the principles underpinning the concept of the *vanua* with its physical, social and cultural dimensions (as discussed in Chapters Five and Six). From an *iTaukei* standpoint these elements are interconnected; change in one will always impact on the others and harmony can only be achieved through all three (Batibasaqa et al., 1999; Ravuvu, 1983).

Social and economic benefits of CCD include infrastructure, resources for schools and hospitals, income from employment, village tours, small businesses and lease money. Environmental initiatives encompass planting mangroves, rubbish clean ups, recycling and awareness raising. Cultural priorities are acknowledged through the recognition of local knowledge and enabling the cultural and spiritual expression of local values. However, the extent to which each area is addressed is contested: it is claimed that economic benefits do not represent 'a fair share' and the involvement of the tourist industry in environmental restoration activities across Fiji is limited (Chapter Six). But of particular relevance for a holistic approach, connections between the outcomes in these different areas are rarely made.

One example of how all three aspects can be connected is through marine parks established as tourist attractions. These have the potential to raise awareness of

⁷⁴ Pers.comm. Acting Deputy Secretary (primary and secondary education) 21 August 2014.

environmental priorities and local culture through guest activities, put in place protection and restoration initiatives such as mangrove planting and responsible snorkeler programmes and create opportunities for community income generation through employment in the parks. Shangri-La has committed to developing such initiatives over a number of years from the Coral Gardens Initiative in the late '90s to the Marine Education Centre employing a dedicated marine biologist in more recent years; however challenges to integrating environmental and social outcomes remain (see Chapter Six).⁷⁵

Whilst not every initiative will have social, environmental, cultural and economic benefits, it is important to look across the activities of the hotel as a whole to see how each of these dimensions is impacted. My findings clearly provide a rationale for linking core and non-core activities (discussed in Chapters Six and Seven). As Meyer has argued in relation to PPT, 'activities related to both core and non-core business can have an equally important, although different, impact on poverty reduction' (2007, p. 565). To advance both environmental and social outcomes, environmental protection must be combined with livelihood protection. To address both social and economic outcomes, the provision of social support such as education and health must be combined with career opportunities. This suggests a need for coherent ethical practices across all company operations.

- *Can multiplier (indirect) effects be identified?*

Multiplier (or indirect) effects of CCD can be seen in local procurement and employment practices (Chapter Seven). The benefit of the procurement of local produce is limited by the challenges for hotels in sourcing consistent, reliable, good quality produce locally. The opportunity for communities to derive benefits from the tourist spend is limited by the popularity of 'all-inclusive' deals and the sourcing of entertainment and souvenirs from within the hotel (Ashley et al., 2000; Berno, 2011). Yet the literature shows that local procurement can make a significant impact on communities (Ashley & Haysom, 2006, p. 273; Scheyvens, 2011, p. 121), underscoring

⁷⁵ See Sivoi (2003) on the Coral Gardens Initiative. Waitabu Marine Park is another good example of a functioning Marine Park in Fiji <http://www.waitabu.org/>, also the subject of Farrelly's ethnographic study (2009).

the need to link core and non-core activities in CCD. Initiatives such as the Pacific Agribusiness Research for Development Initiative (PARDI)⁷⁶ are working to improve the sourcing of local produce, but the opportunities for local businesses remain limited by the structure of resort-style holidays.

The multiplier effect of employment on the local economy impacts positively on local businesses, including shops, transport and construction. Furthermore, local people point out that where employees are sourced from local villages (rather than from nearby cities) salaries are reinvested into the community (Chapter Seven). However, this effect can be undermined by a lack of job security, low pay and long-term casual contracts.

Despite the limitations, community members recognise the significant economic contribution of a large hotel to the locality and region (Chapter Five), which suggests that if some of these challenges were addressed multiplier effects could be much greater.

Culture is central

- *Is cultural capital valued rather than commodified or museumised?*

Despite the increase in popularity of cultural entertainment across all tourist resorts, there is little room for community voices in the mainstream agenda. The way in which cultural events are promoted means that smaller, community-run cultural displays and tours are marginalised (Chapter Six), and once groups are employed to provide entertainment, fees tend to be low and tours subject to variation, particularly after a change in management.

My findings show that *iTaukei* communities are keen to share their culture and history with tourists. At the same time, this cultural exchange brings an added benefit to the community as it enables them to retain and strengthen cultural and historical knowledge among their youth, for example by training them in *meke* [traditional dancing] or to act as tour guides (Chapter Seven). However, communities in general

⁷⁶ See Secretariat of the Pacific Community/PARDI <http://www.spc.int/lrd/pardi-projects>

had little say over the type of cultural entertainment provided and expressed a lack of control over village tours or hotel entertainment, with some complaining that *iTaukei* traditions were being replaced with more popular Polynesian entertainment.⁷⁷ A tension also arises from the cultural responsibility to interact with tourists as good hosts and the imperative to profit from the venture, which can prevent demands being made for adequate recompense (for example the Sunday School Choir, see Chapter Seven). The elders from each village I spoke with who participated in village tours had many ideas for how tours and cultural activities could be run, but they had no direct channel of communication with the hotels which could lead to their implementation. Furthermore, the absence of generic regulations to determine minimum expectations and standards for village tours means that communities have little leverage over tour content or fees (Chapter Seven).

A South-centred agenda (Idemudia, 2011; Ch.4, p.12) suggests CSR should focus on context, institutions and culture; Indigenous business approaches encourage attention to the ‘quadruple bottom-line’, including cultural outcomes (Best & Love, 2010). This is consistent with a focus on *vanua* values which acknowledges the significance of cultural values and their role in achieving development outcomes. Taking into account the institutional, political, historical *and* cultural context means that the way in which cultural capital is valued within CCD can be more diverse. Ensuring that community voices are prioritised in this process would provide a measure of surety that the value is not commodified or museumised.

- *Is local knowledge valued and respected?*

When new managers arrive in Fiji to oversee a hotel or resort, they are expected to engage with the local community (Chapter Seven). Most realise that without cultural support to provide them with an understanding of local knowledge and practices this task will present difficulties. However, the extent and channels through which local knowledge is utilised can vary widely depending on the manager and the operating environment. A dedicated role to support community engagement is currently lacking, creating challenges for the effective utilisation of local knowledge. In each of

⁷⁷ Polynesian fire dancing is now a more common form of entertainment in many hotels than the traditional Fijian *meke* (dance).

the case study hotels a community liaison function played a significant part in building, maintaining and supporting community relations; however this responsibility was embedded within another position (for example human resources or external relations) and its success predicated on the connections of the individual holding that post. At the beginning of my fieldwork the two posts in question were held by members of the respective landowning villages, but this was no longer the case by the end of my fieldwork. For this reason, one village leader recommended the creation of a formal liaison role to better facilitate interactions between hotels and communities and ensure that local knowledge is transmitted and understood. This reflects Bradly's (2015) argument that multinational companies are less well embedded within communities than locally-owned firms, making community liaison roles all the more critical.

There are a number of examples in my fieldwork where local knowledge and an understanding of *vanua* priorities could have been used to better advantage or used to resolve misunderstandings. At one hotel, tour fees for a visit to the village and school were always paid directly to the bank account of the village concerned on the assumption that both the village and the school participating in the tour would benefit from this payment. In fact the school was not located within the village and therefore did not receive any direct payments. As another example, a guest-funded kindergarten was constructed in a location unacceptable to local villagers as it blocked the view of the school playing field from the village. When I spoke to the coordinator at the hotel, however, no communication had been made with the hotel that the location was not appropriate and the building therefore went ahead as planned. Sofield (2003) points out that increased capability of communities to engage with hotels will not result in an absence of conflict (Chapter Three); Long (2015) also reminds us that 'one should not assume that organisations or collectivities such as social movements act in unison or with one voice' (p. 38). However it could enable a much greater understanding of the factors that impact on the distribution and use of resources.

- *How is cultural capital sustained?*

Given the tourist demand for cultural experiences, it is in the interests of the hotels to build and sustain cultural capital. Whilst tourists want to experience watching *meke* (traditional dance), participating in a *sevusevu* (offering ceremony), eating *lovo* (food

from an underground oven) and drinking *yaqona* (kava),⁷⁸ for communities these practices are all part of living according to *vakavanua* (the way of the Vanua or customary practices; see Batibasaqa et al., 1999; also Chapter Six). Part of sustaining cultural capital is sustaining the values that support *vakavanua*, including sharing and togetherness. However, everyday practices and longer-term expectations change in relation to the presence of a multinational near the village (see Chapters Five and Six and Pratt et al., 2016). Within communities, elders are aware of the impact of tourism and change on village life and seek to reinforce traditional customs, behaviour and values through encouraging village members to live according to *vakavanua*. In hotels, this is reflected in what I have referred to as the ‘*vanua* effect’ described in Chapter Six, in which *vakavanua* is prioritised both outside and inside the village and constitutes part of Fiji’s appeal to tourists. An understanding of how this practice might conflict with Western work styles for hotel employees at the same time as it attracts tourists is often lacking, for example recognising the cultural importance of greetings and meeting communal obligations (Chapter Seven). Despite this, one way that sustenance of *vakavanua* is in evidence is the priority hotels frequently accord to supporting funerals and religious events. A member of the Tour Guide Association explains the significance of this contribution:

We pay tribute at someone’s death, previously with mats to bury the body in, now with kerosene - the reguregu. We are well-connected with extended families and many people come to pay tribute: we do a lot of feeding! Most of the time, the resorts provide the budget - \$5,000, \$6,000, \$7,000.

One village member recounted how when the manager of another hotel departed he gifted each village with a large carved *tanoa* bowl (for the preparation and serving of kava) that represented the importance of the practice of gathering within the communities. In both instances, mechanisms to communicate value and utilise local knowledge are invaluable.

⁷⁸ See Glossary

Community-focused goals

- *Who defines local development needs to be addressed by CCD?*

My fieldwork revealed that key community priorities for development include the ability to sustain the village by means of income and access to resources, the ability to fulfil communal and customary obligations and the provision of basic services to the village (Chapter Six). Much of the resourcing for village initiatives is derived from the hotels (through lease money and wages) but certain priorities are funded directly by hotel CSR projects (for instance education and healthcare through funding for schools and hospitals). The difference here is that village initiatives are determined wholly through village processes whereas the scope of CSR projects is determined by the hotels and these projects are almost completely independent of village development processes. The narrow focus is consistent with other findings that CCD is 'highly conservative' (McEwan et al., in press).

Given the limited amount of funding available for CSR, initial parameters are delineated by the hotels in order to be able to target their funding effectively, usually with guidance from head office. There is a risk that priorities set by head office overseas may not be relevant to the situation in-country (Kapelus, 2002; Chapter Three). However, evidence was found that the individual case study hotels both had sufficient agency to shape their own priorities. For example, Radisson Blu globally focuses its CSR projects on child mortality but Radisson Blu Fiji has been able to retain a focus on education, as this was identified by staff as a greater priority based on Fiji's relatively low child mortality rates. Shangri-La's priorities set by head office are flexible enough for each hotel to determine their own focus and partners and Shangri-La in Fiji made the decision to work with three schools rather than select a single partner for their CSR programme. Once partners have been identified, there is then a real drive among CSR staff in both hotels to work in tandem with partners to determine goals and implement projects; however there are a number of factors which can make this problematic.

Firstly, although they are setting the agenda, hotel management acknowledge that they are not necessarily well-placed to determine development priorities:

I think that one of the challenges is that the hotels themselves, we're not necessarily in a position, or do a good job of knowing what we can and can't contribute to the local community [General Manager].

This is reinforced by a school principal:

It is better that the ideas come from us - we know what we need. From the hotel side, they only deal with tourism.

Collaboration with communities, government, public services, NGOs and other donors increases the likelihood of identifying long-term needs. Nevertheless, in reality consultation is not a two-way process. Even with fully participatory processes, we know that the imbalance of power between companies and communities is likely to hinder collaboration (Reed, 1997; also see Chapter Three). The hotel-led projects that I investigated had communication plans and consultation processes in place to develop on-going projects, but findings show that the recipients of assistance can be reluctant to set priorities, as illustrated in the discussion of gratefulness and benevolence in Chapter Seven and in the wariness of possible manipulation highlighted in Chapter Six. Both are problems intrinsic to the 'coercive bonds' between donor and benefactor (Rajak, 2010). This means that in practice recipients of CSR have little control over the projects. Secondly, philanthropic donations are often directed by tourists rather than hotels which can skew the agenda. Tourists often decide what they want to donate and where, limiting the ability of both hotels and partners to target the funding most appropriately (Chapter Seven). Thirdly, there is generally no opportunity to undertake long-term planning due to the short timeframes that the private sector works to and (in general) a lack of collaboration between hotels. These factors begin to answer Akpan's (2008) question: is CSR 'for, to or with' (see Chapter Three) but also shows that even when the intention is for CSR 'with', there are barriers which prevent this occurring effectively.

Within these constraints there is some evidence of communities establishing 'room for manoeuvre' (Long, 2001, p. 71), albeit within narrow parameters, for example the hospital medical officer negotiating an upgrade for the hospital wards and schools using computer facilities to provide internet access for the village (Chapter Seven). Considering the levels of community agency in village development projects relative to CSR projects, the former naturally show a much greater degree of control over the process as a whole. Fieldwork interviews also demonstrated that landowners favoured an increase in resources such as lease money to allow them greater scope to

implement community development goals rather than an increase in direct assistance from the hotels through CSR (Chapter Six).

- *How are the poorest or most marginalised sections of the community represented in decision-making?*

Obligations of hotels to communities are firstly towards landowners. As a result, whilst landowners identify limited influence over the share of resources accruing to their villages, neighbouring non-landowning villages have access to far fewer rights and resources (see section below on distribution). In both case study locations, landowners exerted greater influence over companies and the most marginalised and poorest sections of the community were non-landowning villages (as discussed in Chapters Six and Seven). Imbun (2007) describes the pressure neighbouring communities are able to exert on mining companies from their position as landowners (Chapter Two) and this is echoed by Kanemasu's (2015) documentation of numerous cases of disputes between resorts and landowners in Fiji (Chapter Five). I found some evidence of the ability of non-landowners to influence decision-making in resorts during my fieldwork. In one instance pressure was brought to bear directly on the company by one non-landowning community resisting signing a partnership agreement, (Chapter Six) which created a partial opportunity to influence the decision-making process. However, it was also evident that the marginalised position occupied by this community also created opportunities for exploitation by other outside parties, ultimately leading negotiations to fail.

Both case study resorts extended the reach of their CSR programmes by electing to support more remote schools in their respective districts. In this way the programmes reached poorer and more marginalised communities, but they have little opportunity to influence decision-making. The example of the School Review (Chapter Seven) is illustrative of the lack of control potential beneficiaries have over the process.

- *Does CCD help the community to achieve goals that they value as a people?*

Over the course of my fieldwork the most important goals and priorities for the communities became apparent. As *iTaukei* communities seek to live *vakavanua*, this is also what frames and permeates daily life, longer-term goals and future aspirations. Achieving communal wellbeing results from living in this way and can be described as

bula taucoko (detailed in Chapter Six). My exploration of the characteristics and nature of *bula taucoko* reveals differences to western understandings of wellbeing, reinforced by existing research (Meo-Sewabu, 2015). These differences are reflected in the assumptions about community priorities that drive CCD initiatives. The differences, however, can be quite subtle, leading to easy misinterpretation. For example, community needs do include income, education and health, which are a primary focus of company interventions, and when these are not met or only partially met, communities are unable to reach their goals (long-term casual employment would be a good example). Yet this is an incomplete picture and focuses on community development primarily as the *provision of services* rather than holistically. In focusing on 'safe' types of initiative (Banks et al., 2016, p. 250) community priorities are only partially addressed.

Community goals also include the ability to satisfy communal needs (rather than individual needs), to enable the practices of sharing and gathering, to sustain cultural practices, meet cultural obligations and to enable self-sufficiency. There is an *iTaukei* word which describes the practice of jointly working together to achieve a purpose: *solesolevaki* (Meo-Sewabu & Walsh-Tapiata, 2012). The essence of wellbeing is rooted in this coming together to achieve the wellbeing of the collective. Meo-Sewabu's research shows how communal wellbeing is achieved through a combination of cultural capital and social capital and how, if roles and tasks are not fulfilled, the outcome for the whole will be compromised (2015, p. 132). Gaining an income and achieving good education and health are not ends in themselves but a means towards achieving *bula taucoko* for the whole. In this respect, CCD focusing on income-generation, education and health may provide a partial means of supporting community goals, but there are other aspects of community aspirations that are less well addressed. For the community to achieve self-sufficiency, one village leader advocated for a five-year community development plan (Chapter Seven), where the community has greater control over CCD. He explained that this would be an inclusive model that would include all the villages in the district, landowning and non-landowning to ensure the benefits are fairly distributed. Such a proposal for community development, should the private sector wish to accept it, would put the realisation of short-term goals and long-term aspirations firmly in the hands of the community.

Distribution of benefits

- *Who benefits and how are benefits shared/distributed?*

Benefits are unevenly distributed socially and geographically. McEwan et al. (in press) suggest that ‘the inherent difficulties of drawing geographical or social boundaries around a “community” inevitably result in issues of inclusiveness, equity and sometimes conflict (see Chapter Three). This is evident in tourist areas in Fiji, where the landowning unit benefits from the legal lease requirements, and non-landowning communities may get nothing, resulting in social and geographical exclusion. The distribution of lease money is also uneven as the size of the landowning group receiving the lease money varies significantly: in some cases landowners consist of multiple *yavusa* (tribes), which may encompass several villages; in others it may be a single *tokatoka* (group of families) so the size of the landowning group receiving the lease money varies significantly. Some of the inequities in the lease system are addressed in the recently introduced system to ensure equal distribution of lease payments. This is not without its disadvantages (see Chapter Six); however, initial reports from TLTB suggest that some community members are receiving the lease money they are entitled to for the first time and women in particular view the change as positive.⁷⁹

Whilst only landowners receive lease money, the benefits of employment and procurement can be further reaching as many people travel to the coast for employment and remit money to their families back home and small and medium enterprises are able to profit from business contracts to supply hotels with food and other products. Nevertheless, the proportion of food and other goods sources locally remains low, with a recent value chain analysis suggesting 67 per cent of food and beverages are imported (Harrison & Pratt, 2015, p. 13; Ch.3). The Minister of Industry and Trade and Tourism has consequently issued a challenge to the tourist industry to increase support for the local economy and small businesses in particular through employment, training and procurement of local goods (Pratibha, 2014).

⁷⁹ ‘Positive feedback on equal distribution of lease payment’, [fijivillage.com](http://fijivillage.com/news/Positive-feedback-on-equal-distribution-of-lease-payment-s2rk59/), 23 June, 2016. <http://fijivillage.com/news/Positive-feedback-on-equal-distribution-of-lease-payment-s2rk59/>

CCD initiatives primarily benefit schools and hospitals in the locality of the hotel, reaching beyond the landowning unit to all villages and settlements in the immediate area. The benefits of CCD initiatives are also sometimes redistributed or redirected further afield, for example a container of donated stationery which was shared between eight different schools, including some remote schools, and the initiative of a Yasawa Island school to establish a 'sister school' in the interior to share resources. The benefits of CCD are also shared by the tourist industry itself. Whilst a number of factors support the business case for CSR, as discussed in Chapter Two, the initiatives themselves also benefit the hotels. This is particularly the case for projects such as a helipad for the hospital, an upgraded emergency ward, protection of coral and sea life and beach clean-up activities. This is consistent with Table 3.3 identifying companies as primary beneficiaries from CSR initiatives in many instances.

- *Who does not benefit or is marginalised?*

The precarious nature of employment is experienced by both men and women in the study communities, with villages and unions reporting high levels of part-time or flexible contracts (see Chapter Seven). The majority of hotel employees are concentrated in low-wage roles with a very small proportion in managerial or professional roles. The household survey showed a greater number of women than men employed in hotels with roles largely divided along gender lines (see Chapter Five). A significant proportion of both women and men were found in non-unionised, casual roles, namely babysitters, handicraft sellers, taxi drivers and entertainers. Young people in both locations find securing work challenging: the most frequent demand regarding employment from nearby villages was for opportunities for their youth (Chapter Six).

As discussed above, non-landowning villages in the vicinity of hotels receive limited benefit. They are negatively affected by preferential employment and business agreements and this inequality is evident in the difference in living standards between villages (Chapter Six). Sakai points out that this can create a wide socio-economic gap between landowners and non-landowners. Furthermore, although only landowners benefit directly from lease money, both landowners and non-landowners are directly affected by the environmental impact of resort development (Sakai, 2010, p. 174).

Further afield, greater inequality is seen in the sharing of the proceeds of tourism. The majority of hotels are concentrated in a 100km stretch of coastline and an archipelago of small islands (Harrison & Prasad, 2013), and whilst taxes can be said to benefit the whole of Fiji, the impact of corporate community development is generally not felt outside these areas.⁸⁰ With regards educational support, both case study hotels have made proactive efforts to reach more remote schools, however it can be difficult for hotels to reach schools beyond their district. This is also not usually a priority for hotels as they often direct their budget to benefit the children of their staff first and foremost, in addition to meeting the demands of tourists who want to visit the schools in person.

Many non-*iTaukei* Fijians of Indian heritage (Indo-Fijians) are owners and employees of tourism corporations,⁸¹ but most are not landowners (and therefore do not receive lease money from tourism) and are often not the target of CCD initiatives. Whilst high profile, successful Indo-Fijian-owned companies feature prominently in the tourism industry including the Tanoa Hotel Group, Jack's of Fiji, Tappoo's and Proud's amongst others, this obscures the high inequality of income and opportunity among Fiji's Indo-Fijian population (Gounder & Xing, 2012). Rural Indo-Fijians have the highest poverty rates in Fiji (Narsey, 2008). They are marginalised from CCD both by geographical location and by social position.

- *Does CSR counteract or reinforce existing inequalities?*

CCD can exacerbate existing inequalities, as discussed in Chapter Three. At a village level, the power of the chiefly system is reinforced by lease arrangements with international hotels. Beyond lease money, equitable use and distribution of resources and opportunities is largely dependent on the particular chief; this can either advance or limit community development. Where no chief is in place, as has been experienced by both case study locations, communities find themselves without an advocate of any kind and divisions between the community and the company can be

⁸⁰ The exception to this is a small number of boutique luxury resorts located in more remote locations which have well-developed CSR programmes.

⁸¹ The Reddy Group being the most significant owner of tourism businesses within and outside Fiji.

widened and conflict exacerbated. It is partly for this reason that much CCD focuses on activities beyond a village level, for example education and healthcare. Supporting schools and hospitals can be inclusive of all village members, of both landowners and non-landowners and can also override racial divisions between *iTaukei* and Indo-Fijians. In this way a CCD focus on education and health limits the reproduction of inequalities but also reduces the potential for conflict; above all it is a safe choice. At the same time, inequalities between geographical regions are exacerbated.

CCD very often addresses women's demands, for example for water, healthcare and sanitation (Chapter Six). These are made from positions of what Tucker and Boonabaana refer to as 'resisting *and* participating' (2012, p. 449): demands are made in order to satisfy primary needs but women's participation in achieving these is facilitated by a triple day encompassing paid employment in the hotel, domestic responsibilities and community and cultural responsibilities (Berno & Jones, 2001; see Chapters Three and Six). Community development obligations in particular fall heavily on women and without a strategic approach to CCD, initiatives merely perpetuate this triple workload, thus exacerbating existing inequalities.

Humphreys Bebbington (2013) talks of inequalities of opportunity and procedural inequities (Chapter Three). Both are visible here. Unequal underlying relationships based on the balance of power in the chiefly system, women's role in the community and racial divisions in Fiji can be exacerbated by the presence of multinationals. Unequal distribution of benefits and losses are evident at a micro level within and between villages, at a national level due to the geographical and social spread of benefits and marginalisation of rural Fijians, and internationally where the global economic system holds small island states hostage to the prevailing neoliberal norm. The pressures on states to attract investment and to manage conflict are apparent (Fernando, 2003; see Chapters Six and Seven). The newly democratically-elected government in Fiji therefore has some ability to shape tourism to the benefit of the country, but this is circumscribed by external pressures which shape the economic

environment. Tourism in Fiji is a billion dollar industry, but as the shadow Minister for Tourism has questioned, ‘billions for whom?’⁸²

Building relationships

- *How are meaningful relationships between a tourism business and local communities supported?*

Landowners seek on-going engagement with hotels leasing their land; building relationships is identified as one of the key expectations communities make of hotels (Chapter Six). Yet a business perspective suggests that hotels have fulfilled their obligations to landowners as soon as lease money is paid, with on-going interactions with communities seen more in terms of *managing* relationships. Responsiveness to ad hoc community requests was referred to by three different managers as ‘keeping the peace’, ‘winning favour’ and managing ‘internal politics’. This leads to mismatched expectations around the terms of this relationship. The importance of relationships to communities can be seen in the frequency with which project partners referred to the role of a particular individual, and the doubts raised about the continuation of projects after a change in staff. Face to face meetings are valued above any other communication along with company staff taking the time to visit and listen to community experiences (Chapter Six).

The extent of ‘social embeddedness’ of companies in the Pacific is linked to the process of relationship building (Curry & Koczberski, 2012; Chapter Two). This is reflected in day-to-day matters, for instance hotel management making a *sevusevu* to the landowners after arrival and attending community events such as important celebrations or funerals. One General Manager used an example of sharing water resources to illustrate:

It’s just living in the community. We have enough water for 5 days on the island, stored in the reservoir. So, we have come to an agreement, and this is purely voluntary, with the local water authority, that during the day you look after the villages, don’t give us any water. But when they don’t need it, during the night you can fill our tanks. And if you don’t have enough water at all then we can last a

⁸² Fiji Leaks, 14 October, 2014. <http://www.fijileaks.com/home/bill-gavoka-madam-speaker-i-am-also-one-who-believes-in-the-localisation-of-positions-there-is-too-many-expatriates-in-this-country>

couple of days without. And that's the type of understanding we have [General Manager].

This connection is much less likely to occur in enclave hotel locations such as Denarau Island, where luxury resorts are co-located at a distance from communities; in this context different methods of relationship-building are required, for example acknowledging the local rugby team after an important win. There is also evidence of the absence of good relationships. The on-going *qoliqoli* conflict on the Coral Coast is symptomatic of broken relationships between the company and sectors of the community as well as within and between communities (Chapter Six).

The type of communication and the ability to use a shared language is also important in relationship building (Kemp, 2010; Chapters Three and Six). Community members understand the need to communicate with the hotel in a language managers will understand in order to build trust. Effective communication is described as 'talking straight', or *vosa vaka dodonu* and its absence is identified as problematic for establishing good relationships with hotels.

When you go to [hotel x] you go straight to the GM, with a request. It just ends there. The yes or no will come from him and that's it. When you go to [hotel y], you go this side, you go that side, you hardly ever go straight to the GM [male landowner, community leader].

Now we can't talk straight. They are like a snake [indicates movement] - say yes here, no there [male non-landowner].

Drawing on Tuwere (2002), Farrelly equates 'laying straight' with living according to the *vanua*, which will ultimately bring about wellbeing; laying crooked is symptomatic of a crooked relationship which is detrimental to wellbeing (2009, p. 147). Just as community development is a means by which *bula taucoko* can be achieved, investing in relationships is a key tenet of living *vakavanua*, which itself leads to community wellbeing.

- *Is there accountability for CCD to local communities?*

Utting (2007) states that the potential of CSR to support equality and equity will depend on things such as the level of accountability of the powerful to the disadvantaged and the capacity of initiatives to increase the voice of marginalised

groups (Chapter Three). A survey of 23 tourism businesses in Fiji (Scheyvens, 2014) showed that ‘a greater number of businesses regarded their responsibilities to clients, employees and the environment more highly than community responsibilities’ suggesting that levels of accountability are fairly low. My research found that community expectations for accountability in development initiatives were also low since the hotel was perceived to be voluntarily offering donations rather than fulfilling an obligation to the community (Chapter Seven). Recipients of donations most often expressed appreciation and gratefulness and were unclear about future commitments of the company.

Accountability of hotels, and the community expectation for accountability, was much stronger around fulfilling lease requirements. Landowners were vocal about the obligations of the hotels towards preferential employment and business opportunities although the specific obligations were not always clear (see Chapter Six). There is a clear distinction here between corporate social responsibility, which is voluntary, and corporate obligations to communities, which are agreed in writing, but both constitute CCD, as noted in Chapter One. The accountability of hotels for voluntary CSR is not primarily to communities, but to head office (who request reports on activities undertaken) or to hotel guests (who want to see where their donations are made). The accountability of hotels for meeting lease conditions is to the TLTB who act on behalf of landowners and have clear processes to follow up on non-compliance. If greater accountability is sought for private sector-led development it is more useful to explore the idea of corporate social *obligation* rather than corporate social responsibility (Scheyvens et al., 2016), accompanied by a shift in thinking around the voluntary commitments of the private sector to development.

Monitoring and evaluation

- *Is there evidence of monitoring and evaluation processes in place? Who is responsible for a) determining positive indicators of change, and b) conducting monitoring and evaluation?*

Monitoring of the donations made through the principle mechanisms of CCD initiatives in each hotel (i.e. support to schools and the hospital) is undertaken on a regular basis. The main areas of focus for this are the maintenance of donated equipment, keeping financial records and project profiling for reports to head office

(see Chapter Seven). The outcome of monitoring processes also determines the allocation of future donations. The Health and Safety Fund has a more complex system of monitoring and evaluation as it involves multiple stakeholders and funds contribute to a government-owned project. It therefore has independent checks and balances in place, as do NGO-initiated projects which tend to have monitoring processes built in to project design. For example, the Marine Education Centre schedules regular environmental monitoring undertaken by a consultant marine biologist, but incorporating community impact has proven more complex. Recognising that building local awareness and cooperation for marine protection is a long-term project, one CSR manager identified the need to extend the evaluation of impact to community livelihoods as well as involving a broader range of stakeholders from surrounding communities.

The responsibility for both determining indicators of change and carrying out monitoring and evaluation processes lies with hotels and is therefore a business-oriented rather than a development-oriented process. Indicators are determined by staff involved in CSR projects or by tourists themselves in the case of the loyalty club (via Annual General Meeting).⁸³ Very often the measurement used is the successful completion of a project or the use and care of equipment (Chapter Seven). Hotel time to focus on CSR projects is limited and the capacity to measure longer-term outcomes is lacking. In sum, a variety of processes are in evidence; however, there is no systemic approach to monitoring and evaluation, and development outcomes are rarely measured.

- *Does monitoring and evaluation lead to reflection by tourism businesses, and changes in their practices?*

Reflection and change is largely of an informal nature, for example at staff meetings; regular changes of management can also impact on the ability to shape the evolution of programmes over time. Where CSR strategies are determined by directives from Head Office, longer term planning and assessment is visible (e.g. Shangri-La has developed a CSR training programme to be implemented by CSR champions and

⁸³ The AGM processes are public and transparent with documentation posted online. <http://bilobar.com/category/agm-meeting-minutes/>

undertaken by all staff at their hotels). By the same token, change in practice can either be supported or limited by the demands of head office, and as always, a lack of time constrains the extent to which evaluation can be used proactively to inform programme improvement and development.

Banks et al. suggest that one way CCD can more positively shape livelihoods is through seeking 'higher levels of community participation in project identification, design, monitoring and evaluation connected with their CCD' (2013, p. 497). Robust monitoring and evaluation processes are also a critical element in ensuring coherence across policies (OECD, 2013; Zeigermann, 2014). If ethical processes are to be coherent across the organisation, they must be aligned: monitoring processes need to be linked across different programmes of activity and development outcomes evaluated over time.

Overall, the nature and purpose of private sector CCD means that primary accountability will always be to the donors and head office, with secondary accountability to the communities served, limiting the options for higher community participation in monitoring practices. A lack of clarity around the roles and responsibilities of the private sector in relation to government and the absence of structural mechanisms to ensure that efforts are coordinated and connected continues to impact on effective monitoring and evaluation.

3 Discussion

Together, the answers to the questions outlined in the Development First Framework, as outlined in Table 8.1, permit some initial conclusions to be drawn around the nature of CCD and where it might fit on the Development First-Tourism First spectrum. A Development First approach has sustainable human development at its core and benefits a wide range of stakeholders, whereas in contrast, the Tourism First approach focuses on economic planning and building the tourism industry. (Burns, 1999; 2004; see also Chapter Three). Drawing further on Burns' framework, the extremes of the spectrum are inhabited at one end by partnerships, relationships and long-term social, cultural and economic outcomes and at the other by a preoccupation with cost-saving, reputation and gaining social licence. The examples

from my fieldwork show the activities of hotels known for their contribution to community development: their focus on responsible business and sustainability has been acknowledged within the sector. Accordingly, whilst there is some evidence of a concern with cost-saving, social licence and reputation, the responses to the questions outlined above show an aspiration beyond this towards long-term community outcomes. However, the challenges evident in achieving long-term locally meaningful outcomes along with the constraints around distribution of benefits and the complexity of community engagement illustrate the limited capacity of hotels to respond fully to a Development First approach. These challenges are explored in more detail below.

Locally meaningful outcomes

The necessity of combining development initiatives with the imperatives of multinational business operations means that a focus on long-term social, cultural and economic outcomes will always be circumscribed by the time, capacity and capability of a business to respond to community development priorities. Furthermore, whilst hotels are achieving positive results in many CSR initiatives, an overview of CCD, which includes core and non-core activities, shows more mixed results. This may be understood as a lack of coherence between the policies and actions of international business more broadly. Currently, the impact of voluntary CSR schemes can be at variance with core business practices. Day-to-day business operations, for example employment and procurement, can have a greater impact on community development than all the voluntary donations to local schools or hospitals under the banner of Corporate Social Responsibility. Furthermore, from a community perspective, the impacts of core and non-core business practices are overlapping and interconnected. Advocates for Policy Coherence for Development suggest a ‘policy coherence lens’ in the policies of governments and donors can mitigate the impact of poor business conduct in the Global South (Zeigermann, 2014). India’s Companies Bill already requires two per cent of net profits to be directed to development activities and South Africa’s King Codes integrate responsible business with government legislation (Zeigermann 2014, pp. 5-8). National policy approaches to CSR may become more significant with the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals which have relevance for all countries. The findings from this study support a requirement for all businesses to apply *Corporate Social Coherence* (Scheyvens et al.,

2016) to ensure consistent, intersecting and mutually reinforcing ethical practices across all company operations.

Distribution of benefits

Findings clearly show that the distribution of benefits is problematic, both at a local level between communities neighbouring resorts, and at a national level between tourism and non-tourism regions. This indicates a need to think differently about how benefits are distributed. Ferguson (2015) suggests the solution to inequality in the distribution of wealth may lie not in higher wages, land distribution policies or social welfare as redistributive means, but in rethinking how wealth is distributed. The cases of social welfare grants that he describes are examples of the state's responsibility to its citizens, but in the context of CCD it is useful to draw a parallel between the example of a social payment from the state and CCD undertaken by a multinational company. In both cases, this 'might be understood not as aid, assistance, a gift, or charity but instead as a kind of share' (p. 174). Ferguson asks the questions, 'Given that a certain stream of value is being produced here, where will it go? Who will get a piece of it? How big a piece for each, and via what mechanisms?' (2015, p. 171). This analogy can be pursued further in relation to CCD. According to Ferguson, 'a rightful share' is not motivated by generosity and does not require reciprocity or engender dependence (p. 175). He cites an example of the obligations of a hunter to share his kill with everyone in the camp; the hunter does not choose who receives a share and is neither celebrated nor thanked. This resonates with the obligation to share in Fijian villages, which is also premised not on the generosity of the giver but on the entitlement of the whole. My daughters pointed out to me that this was their experience at the village school. Whilst they were very willing to share (their coloured pencils, lunch etc.) with other students, this was practised based on our western understandings of sharing in which the giver has control over who shares and expects appreciation in return. They observed, however, that how Fijian children shared was different. When one child returned from the shop with a can of coke, it was assumed that the whole class was entitled to share in this if they wished. The can of coke was duly passed around the students and everyone took a sip.

In my fieldwork interviews, landowners made it clear that they didn't want more charity or aid, but instead sought 'our fair share of our resources' (Chapter Six).

Ferguson uses Peterson's (1993) term 'demand sharing' to describe this: 'a righteous claim for a due and proper share grounded in nothing more than membership (in a national collectivity) or even simply presence.' (Ferguson, 2015, p. 184). This is based on the claim that 'society's wealth properly belongs to all' (p. 185). This resonates clearly with community perspectives revealed in my fieldwork that show that there is a sense that hotels have an obligation to communities. This includes the obligation to be responsive to community priorities, to prioritise relationships and practice reciprocity and to ensure that the community benefits from operations as a whole rather than explicitly from CSR. If the purpose of CCD is to enable positive outcomes for communities as a result of core as well as non-core operations, as outlined by the Development First framework, then this suggests a need to reconceptualise how the benefits are understood, as a right rather than a concession. This can be extended beyond the communities in the immediate vicinity of hotels to the rights of the nation to benefit from a fair share of the resources.

Community engagement

Variable community engagement processes hinder the ability of companies to sustain effective relationships with communities. One way of assessing the relationship between CCD and communities and the extent to which community needs are prioritised is by applying the engagement models, as outlined in Chapter Three (Table 3.1). Aligning the different types of CCD initiatives with the levels of engagement identified earlier now reveals that most CCD sits squarely in the middle of the spectrum of engagement. Table 8.2 below adds examples drawn from fieldwork (shown in blue) in relation to the three levels of engagement.

Table 8.2: Community engagement in CCD in Fiji

Model	Community Engagement	Company-community interaction	CSR approaches
Source	Bowen et al., 2010	Kemp, 2010	Ashley & Haysom, 2006
	<p>Transactional One-way provision of donations, information and training; Company retains control</p> <p>Fire safety training for schools, Healthy eating schemes Hospital helipad</p>	<p>Risk Management One way information dissemination/Managing public relations</p> <p>Support for landowner schools</p>	<p>Minimalist Tokenistic, support e.g. ad hoc donations</p> <p>Ad hoc tourist donations Village and hospital clean ups School beautification projects School tours</p>
	<p>Transitional Two-way communication consultation and collaboration Company retains control</p> <p>Purchase of local produce School tours where there is school input into organisation</p>	<p>Community Relations Manages social risk as well as company risk; Human rights stance</p> <p>Preferential employment and business opportunities Entertainment contracts Scholarships Water sharing schemes Eye surgeries Dengue/filariasis prevention Contribution to funeral costs Rubbish collection</p>	<p>Philanthropic Support for development projects</p> <p>Support for local schools and kindergartens (infrastructure, materials and equipment) Volunteering Recycling and marine restoration, Donations to village projects Blood drive</p> <p>Encompassing Socially responsible business; ongoing project support; Partnerships in evidence</p> <p>Health and Safety fund NGO-company-community collaborations Farm-to-table projects Strategic collaborations e.g. donated computers plus IT curriculum development</p>
	<p>Transformational Shared control of the engagement process; Community plays joint role in identifying problems and solutions</p> <p>Village dispensary Health education programme for teens</p>	<p>Community Development The right to development; people-centred, focus on empowerment, livelihoods, anti-poverty</p> <p>Fair and secure employment contracts Livelihood opportunities</p>	<p>Social Activist Aims to catalyse change</p>

Source: Author, based on Bowen et al., 2010; Kemp, 2010 and Ashley & Haysom, 2006.

The majority of activities I observed fit within the second level of the table, i.e. transitional, community relations focused and philanthropic. Most activities focus on providing philanthropic support for development projects (for example libraries and resources for schools, infrastructure upgrades). Although partnerships are in place, the company retains control at all stages. Social risk is managed by ensuring schools serving the landowning units are included among partners, but the focus on human rights is generally limited to the right to education and health care. Some initiatives move into more encompassing modes of engagement, for example the on-going project support provided by the Health and Safety Fund and the community engagement developed via NGO collaborations such as Rise Beyond the Reef that specifically target marginalised and vulnerable communities. There is also evidence of managing level one engagement, i.e. transactional, risk management and public relations approaches, particularly where responding to ad hoc requests from landowners is seen as a means to keep the peace. Some of these activities are primarily responsive to tourist demand rather than communities, namely school tours. There is little evidence of transformational, community development, or social activist approaches which would seek to catalyse change, to share control and to focus on empowerment and justice. Of the four activities identified at this level, two are aspirational. These findings are consistent with the conclusions of the authors of each of the three models (Ashley & Haysom, 2006; Bowen et al., 2010; Kemp, 2010) in relation to private sector-community engagement, thereby reinforcing the conservative, conventional nature of CCD.

4 Conclusion

The Development First framework was constructed in order to prioritise community perspectives in understanding the development potential of CCD. The analysis above uses the framework to answer the questions it poses on the capacity of CCD to contribute to community development outcomes and bring about positive, locally meaningful change. Some of the challenges facing CCD are clearly the same as community development challenges in general: how to establish meaningful relationships that will facilitate the identification of priorities and ensure long-term outcomes; how to prioritise strategic over immediate needs and how to enable locally meaningful outcomes that will endure once the funding has ceased. For companies,

however, the challenge is greater: hotels (in this instance) are not set up to manage development projects, nor do they have the time or necessarily the resources set aside to do so. Other issues arise from the nature of the private sector as a development actor, including the tension between the generation of profit and support for community development along with the difficulties inherent in the donor-recipient relationship established through CSR.

Without enabling tactics at both a state and international level, including appropriate frameworks and systems to guide, facilitate and require implementation, the private sector will continue to gravitate towards a Tourism First approach. Whilst initiatives focusing on supporting development projects and running a socially responsible business may achieve positive results, the spectrum of activities is confined to a narrow range of issues and overlooks the potential to benefit from development processes already embedded in communities. Charging the private sector with the capacity to address development issues globally runs the risk that initiatives focusing on empowerment, human rights and community-led development are marginalised.

These conclusions also suggest ways to approach CCD differently. Whilst findings show a lack of community agency in CCD, they also indicated that communities seek greater control over *resources* rather than over CCD itself. Taking actor-oriented and *vanua* perspectives has revealed numerous examples of successful and effective community development processes already in place, many built on resources from tourism. Tourism, and the benefits it can bring, is in fact welcomed by local communities, but a different basis for engagement is sought, one where communities are able to utilise and shape the outcomes to suit their own priorities, for the benefit of both current and future generations.

Chapter Nine

Reflections and Recommendations

*The hotels support us in the way they think they should*⁸⁴

1 Introduction

This chapter draws conclusions on the capacity of CCD to bring about positive, locally meaningful change for communities. The first section outlines the contribution to knowledge made by this thesis and then the subsequent sections present key conclusions based on the context in Fiji and reflect on the implications for CCD in tourism and for the private sector more broadly.

I also refer to local recommendations. Over the course of the study participants shared many suggestions and ideas with me; these came from landowners and non-landowners, hotel management, CSR managers and champions, government and non-government organisations and other private sector organisations such as tourism bodies and environmental organisations. They have been condensed into a set of recommendations that was distributed to a wide range of stakeholders in Fiji who were engaged with or interested in the research. This has been included in Appendix 6.

Remaining constant to the idea of reversing the lens and prioritising community perspectives, the final section presents a community vision for a just and equitable partnership with business.

⁸⁴ Male landowner, community leader

2 Contribution to knowledge

This thesis adds to our theoretical understanding of CCD in four different ways. Firstly, the study responds particularly to the need articulated for community perspectives of private sector-led development. This includes calls for research on development imperatives within CSR (e.g. Boyle & Boguslaw, 2007; Sagebien & Whellams, 2010) and beneficiary experiences of corporate citizenship (Akpan, 2008; Idemudia, 2011). It also addresses the gap identified in CSR outside of northern and western contexts (Blowfield & Frynas, 2005) and specifically in tourism research (Coles et al., 2013) and in the Pacific (Bradly, 2015). Scholars in the Pacific have also highlighted the need for attention to community perspectives on the impact of tourism on Indigenous communities (Kanemasu, 2015; Pratt et al., 2016). Findings from this study supplement the small number of studies undertaken in other regions of the world (e.g. Idemudia, 2007; 2009 in Sub-Saharan Africa) and in other sectors (e.g. Imbun, 2007 on mining) to inform and advance debate. The findings contribute to our understanding of the impact of private sector-led development on Pacific communities and provide evidence of the importance of a community-oriented view in evaluating the potential for CCD to lead to positive, sustainable outcomes.

Secondly, the micro-level focus on the goals and priorities of local communities also extends our understanding of Indigenous conceptualisations of wellbeing and development in the Pacific, specifically in the context of the presence of multinational capital. While Pacific scholars have explored Indigenous epistemologies, Huffer and Qalo emphasise the need to acknowledge the 'relevance and applicability of indigenous cultural values in contemporary settings' (2004, p. 108). Key findings relating to community perspectives of CCD are outlined further in section 3.

Thirdly, this study adds specifically to the tourism and development literature by advancing our knowledge of the impact of the positioning of tourism companies as development actors. It outlines a Development First framework which can be used to assess tourism companies' contributions to community development, detailed in section 4 (see Hughes & Scheyvens, 2016).

Finally, the thesis provides insights into whether CCD is an appropriate tool for development in the sector globally. It suggests that a focus on obligation, rather than

charity, and coherence across all company practices is required (see section 5). In the context of the greater expectations of business in the Sustainable Development Goals this can be used to inform development thinking relating to the role of the private sector in the 2030 Agenda.

3 Community perspectives of CCD: the importance of local knowledge

Primary conclusions in the Fijian context focus on community perspectives of CCD, and specifically how locally meaningful development is understood by Indigenous communities in the presence of international capital. Community perspectives emphasise the importance of prioritising relationships, recognising local knowledge and development capabilities and the obligation of hotels on communal land to ensure that the community benefits from operations as a whole. Indigenous understandings of wellbeing and development show the importance of *vanua* values to local development processes and how expectations of hotels are connected to the ability to fulfil communal wellbeing. Key conclusions span three interlinked ideas focusing on the significance of relationships to CCD, how CCD and community development is conceptualised differently by corporations and communities and the way that positioning CCD as charity places limitations on its capacity to address community development priorities.

Mismatched expectations: Relationships and CCD

The significance of relationships to CCD is consistent across all the components of the Development First framework. Relationships are the foundation of CCD and can impact on positive outcomes for communities. It is through building relationships based on meaningful processes of engagement that allows emphasis on community goals and priorities, which in turn builds capability, reduces vulnerabilities and leads to sustainable outcomes. The foundational nature of these connections is visible in successful partnership arrangements, in the recognition and valuing of local knowledge and culture and in community access to resources and opportunities. Conversely, the absence of connections leads to breakdowns in communication, perceived inequity in the sharing of resources and undervaluing of local skills.

An understanding of *vanua* values shows how the achievement of community wellbeing is underpinned by kinship and relationships and governed by expectations of fulfilling communal obligations, aligning with existing research (Meo-Sewabu, 2015; Nabobo-Baba, 2006; see Chapter Six). Connecting these ideas to the presence of multinationals demonstrates that building relationships is a key demand communities make of hotels but there are mismatched expectations in how this is fostered. A consistent message from both landowning and non-landowning villages was a desire for greater contact with the General Managers of the nearby hotels (Chapter Six), with an expectation of hotels on communally owned land to act as neighbours. This is an uncomfortable fit for multinationals. For example, to the community, *kerekere* is an expression of the reciprocal exchange inherent to *vanua* values, and assurance of future obligations both to give and to accede to requests (Toren, 1989, p. 151), but this form of request does not align with CSR initiatives that want to support independence and provide ‘a hand up not a hand out’. My findings showed that responsiveness to ad hoc community requests and resource sharing strengthens corporate-community relationships and has the potential to reinforce the outcomes of longer-term community development initiatives. It is more useful, therefore, to conceive of this relationship according to Ferguson’s claim that we are all dependent on others, and instead link the idea of dependence to sharing (2015; see Chapter Seven), an idea pursued further below.

Large corporations tend to be less well embedded in the community (Bradly, 2015), restricting opportunities to build relationships; hotels are also acknowledged to be time-poor with limited capacity to focus on community development. Accompanied by the high turnover of expatriate management in multinational hotels, this means that there is limited opportunity to understand, or act on, community perspectives. Suggested community solutions to bridge this gap include putting in place structures to facilitate more genuine, less transactional forms of engagement based on the practices that work well in that particular context (see Appendix 6). Whilst it is acknowledged that communities are not cohesive units and that divisions and inequalities exist (Gibson, 2015), greater engagement with community actors could be facilitated by dedicated liaison roles to facilitate *talanoa* and to give international hotel management a more nuanced understanding of locally-meaningful development and the range of community priorities in a particular context.

Lest this seem overly straightforward, the reality is that many companies - resource extraction companies are a good example - already have community liaison roles in place (Kemp, 2010), so whilst a focus on relationship-building and fostering communication and understanding of community priorities can contribute to the success of CCD, it is still only part of the picture. Findings also reveal different understandings of community development itself, explained further in the following section.

CCD, Wellbeing and Development

Taking a community perspective shows that community development priorities are conceptualised differently by hotels and communities. These differences surfaced in discussions of community priorities, how they intersect with the CCD programmes that are in place and how community-initiated projects are carried out. Most CCD is charity-focused, addressing immediate, visible and safe needs based on a western view of development priorities, for example books and computers in schools and improved healthcare facilities and infrastructure. Whilst many community goals are in fact consistent with these priorities, an important difference was highlighted in how these priorities are conceptualised. Many such initiatives focus on provision of a service. These are a critical part of community development priorities and expectations, as illustrated in Chapter Six; however, with a narrow focus on service delivery and absence of community input a key aspect of community development priorities is missed. In the Fijian context, this relates to the importance of *vanua* values of interdependence, reciprocity and mutual accountability. Wellbeing, described by participants in this study as '*bula taucoko*' is achieved through meeting communal needs and is also connected to ideas of agency and self-sufficiency. Village-led community development is supported by local processes shaped by *vanua* values and reliant on social capital (see Chapters Three, Six and Seven). This echoes other research indicating community development in Indigenous communities is built on the social capital of family, kinship structures, traditions and social norms (Farrelly, 2011; Gibson, 2015; Goodwin, 2007; Meo-Sewabu, 2015).

Of significance for CCD, these local development processes lack visibility in hotel-led interventions. The key example from my research is the widespread practice of *solu* and *solesolevaki* as proven methods of achieving community development goals (see

Chapter Six and Meo-Sewabu & Walsh-Tapiata, 2012). Where international hotels are used to functioning on the basis of formal institutions and western decision-making processes there is a fundamental gap in understanding between the two modes of operation. The structures which would allow strategic development plans to be constructed alongside communities and take these priorities into account are largely absent. This means that even when companies have the best of intentions, locally-specific, contextual priorities and community development knowledge and capabilities are overlooked. My research showed evidence of community aspirations for a more formal structure that would encompass community modes of working. This could include opportunities to engage with a group of hotels, the ability to share community development plans with corporates and creating avenues for potential partners such as schools or health facilities to proactively engage in partnerships (see Appendix 6). Recognising community processes that already work well (e.g. *solesolevaki*), would create the potential for companies to work together with communities to more effectively determine priorities and jointly identify novel approaches to promoting more equitable outcomes. This is a key point for consideration in the development of CCD initiatives led by multinationals.

It is important to identify what would allow this form of long-term, community-oriented planning. Approaches advocating a 'win-win' approach to CSR which emphasises the long-term, strategic potential of 'shared value' (Porter & Kramer, 2011) are insufficient. There is little examination of who determines this value and who actually benefits. We must also conceive of a space for different models of development to flourish. This requires recognising local models of development that may differ from Western expectations. In an Indigenous context, authors have consistently emphasised the gap in understanding between international intentions and local practice, which leads to the marginalising of Indigenous development strategies (Hau'ofa, 1994; Maiava & King, 2007; Meo-Sewabu & Walsh-Tapiata, 2012). In the Pacific, Maiava and King's (2007) post-development stance stresses that the dominant paradigm of development 'is so busy looking at what 'should be' it doesn't recognise 'what is' (p. 95). They argue for recognition of Indigenous development motivated by a moral and cultural economy that recognises the agency of Indigenous actors as decision makers. This approach aligns with Indigenous business perspectives advocating for consideration of a 'quadruple bottom-line' (Best & Love, 2010), which

takes Indigenous values into account through considering cultural outcomes as well as economic, social and environmental impacts.

Responsibility or obligation? The limits of charity

The third conclusion emerges from an identified gap between the intent of CCD and the expectations of communities. From a company perspective, CCD is most frequently framed as charity (Chapter Two), yet taking a community view of CCD shows that its purpose is reframed as obligation (Chapter Six). This can be understood in terms of community expectations around entitlements, obligations and reciprocity. Positioning CCD as charity fundamentally limits its capacity to respond to local priorities and suggests a reconceptualisation of CCD is required.

CCD conceptualised as charity shows assistance to be voluntary, discretionary, reliant on the commitment of individuals and uneven in nature, as illustrated by critical perspectives on CSR (e.g. Blowfield & Dolan, 2014; Rajak, 2010). Linking to the practice of CCD in tourism shows how initiatives are particularly responsive to tourist demands, with beneficiaries determined through geographical and social parameters which prioritise locations adjacent to resorts (see Chapter Seven and Chapter Eight). Companies expect communities to conform to donor requirements: this can include evidencing self-help strategies as well as performing for tourists and displaying gratitude. At the same time, where communities are recipients of voluntary donations, as opposed to benefitting from legal requirements, they can be reluctant to make demands on hotels. Changing this approach requires a focus on obligation rather than charity. Whilst charity has a short-term, repetitive focus and is ultimately unsustainable, a focus on obligation has the potential to support positive, sustainable change in line with community goals. The communities in this study did not seek increased charitable assistance, instead requesting greater access to resources to fund development.

Should we take Ferguson's view, where development support is understood as 'a kind of share' (2015, p. 174; Chapter Eight), we would then need to consider how the wealth from tourism can be rightfully shared: CCD becomes a mechanism to enable this distribution. In this scenario, CCD would not be viewed as aid, charity or a gift, but would originate from the obligation of the company, whose success is built on the

resources of the people, to ensure that the wealth is shared. It necessitates a shift in thinking about the triple - or even quadruple - bottom line and win-win outcomes: although there is a consensus on the need to ensure businesses remain profitable, social, environmental and cultural outcomes should be seen as equal in weighting to the financial bottom line. Fiji's people and environment constitute the backbone of its tourism industry, therefore the duality of 'win-win' misrepresents the intertwined nature of companies and the resources they are built on. This shift would require a new optic and metrics. This study suggests that the concept of corporate social *obligation* (Scheyvens et al., 2016; also see Chapter Eight) more appropriately acknowledges the company's duty towards the people who underpin their operation and at the same time are impacted by it.

For wealth to be rightfully shared, support from government policies, global systems and international practice is also required. In Fiji, government capability to shape international tourism to benefit communities is compromised by the drive to create a conducive framework for business (for example extensive tax breaks for foreign companies). The ability to distribute a 'rightful share' must also be framed, therefore, by issues of global power and tourism. The profit seeking imperative of neoliberalism impacts on the ability of nation states to implement policies to enable distribution of the proceeds from its resources, for example through taxation, labour protection, social welfare systems and equitable land leasing arrangements (for further discussion see for example Mowforth & Munt, 2009 on power and tourism; Telfer & Sharpley, 2008 on globalisation and tourism). The reality is that only a shift in the balance of power at a global level towards equity in the sharing of resources would fully enable this mechanism to function effectively.

In sum, whilst attention to building relationships can enhance CCD, the capacity to respond to local priorities is limited by differing conceptualisations of CCD which do not prioritise community development processes or acknowledge local aspirations for control over resources. A focus at the micro level on actor-oriented perspectives (Long, 2001) and an understanding of the Fijian context through the Vanua Research Framework (Nabobo-Baba, 2008) has generated findings specific to the Indigenous Fijian context. It has also contributed Indigenous perspectives on community development and wellbeing that can add value to how we conceptualise positive development outcomes for communities in the Pacific in the context of multinational

capital and suggest new ways of conceptualising CCD. These findings are also indicative of key areas for consideration in relation to the future of tourism sector-led development in a global context.

4 CCD and tourism: a Development First framework

In this study, corporate community development is used as a concept, defined as ‘those corporate activities which are directed deliberately at supporting community development’ (Banks et al., 2016, p. 3). The Development First Framework, developed in this thesis, has provided a means to assess the ability of CCD in the tourism industry to lead to locally meaningful development outcomes. It also permits some assessment of whether CCD is able to optimise the broader contribution of tourism to development beyond Fiji,

This study has demonstrated that the outcomes of CCD are limited by a Tourism First focus on the industry and an emphasis on a narrow range of development concerns. This is the case even for those tourism businesses positioning themselves as responsible and sustainable. The tourism industry also presents a unique case of private sector-led development: tourists themselves play a significant role in shaping CCD, both through involvement in CSR activities and through influence over core activities such as entertainment and menus. Important to a consideration of CCD, all company activities affecting community development are relevant, both core activities such as employment and procurement and non-core voluntary activities such as support for schools. Whilst specific CCD activities generated positive outcomes for communities, schools and hospitals and findings showed that positive impacts could be generated through collaborations with government and NGOs, these impacts could be undermined by insecure employment contracts and limited procurement options.

Whilst ideas in the literature about ‘shared value’ and ‘responsible business’ (Porter & Kramer, 2011; see Chapter Two) are indicative of concern for ethical practices across all company operations, my findings show that overall, benefits are skewed, the most marginalised groups often cannot be reached by company interventions and the benefits from core practices are at best uneven. Where the impact of CSR is

undermined by core practices that are disadvantageous to communities, the net outcome will not bring about positive, locally meaningful change. Addressing the impact on communities of corporate activity as a whole necessitates consideration across the spectrum of company activities (see Appendix 6), which this study suggests can be understood as *Corporate Social Coherence* (Scheyvens et al., 2016).

The knowledge and power implications of CCD (highlighted by Long, 2001; Chapter Four) reveal power differentials at a micro level between corporate and community but also on a global level where international hotel businesses have been given the mandate to design and implement community development projects. Recognising that much CCD generates positive outcomes for communities - as Rajak points out, if it wasn't effective it would 'just be another "failed development" project' (2010, p. 14) - these conclusions nevertheless underline the risks of investing the private sector with responsibility for community development and the limitations to what the tourism industry can currently be expected to deliver. At the same time, it provides a means for those tourism companies wishing to position themselves as development actors within the new global paradigm for development to consider the value of community-oriented approaches.

Where global decision-making meets local action, the effectiveness of the decisions is mediated by, and dependent on, the individuals at the interface who translate the ideas into outcomes through establishing and fostering connections on the ground. A key point for consideration in the role of the tourism sector in addressing the SDGs is therefore the importance of learning from communities themselves. In the Pacific, this has been reiterated by the group tasked with reviewing progress on the MDGs and looking forwards to the implementation of the SDGs: they urge policy-makers to embrace an alternative model of development and to 'use what we have and enhance what we have' (Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat, 2015, pp. 159-160).

More broadly, community perspectives suggest ways to rethink CCD. Long contends that '[a]cquiring a new way of talking about conflicting interests and common dilemmas' can promote more equitable development outcomes (Long, 2015, p. 39). Nabobo-Baba emphasises that through decision-making or self-determination, 'people would feel they are affirming their own cultures and knowledges and not contradicting themselves in the process of development' (2006, p. 133). Taking an

actor-oriented approach and examining the development processes that occur at the interface between tourism companies and communities allows the conflicts, ambiguities and dilemmas that exist to be interrogated and modes of interaction to be questioned. At the same time, taking an Indigenous perspective to CCD can allow accepted models of engagement to be challenged and prompt a new way of thinking about private sector-led development.

5 CCD in a global context: from MDGs to SDGs

Mowforth and Munt argue that tourism must be considered within the same frame of analysis as other economic sectors especially when assessed within a development context. They contend that tourism is the same as other sectors in its impact on host countries, for example through leakages and economic volatility. In this sense, it is a 'prism' for understanding the context of power and how this affects local livelihoods (2009, p. 347). Findings in this thesis also allow reflection on the ability of the private sector to contribute to development more widely.

This thesis began by identifying the paradox of the role of the private sector in realising the SDGs. During the course of my fieldwork and writing the thesis the final 17 SDGs were drafted and adopted by 193 member states at the UN in September 2015. The private sector now holds a greater role in the expectations for global development cooperation, couched in language such as 'triple win', 'transformative' and 'a new paradigm in development thinking' (Scheyvens et al., 2016). As the 2030 Agenda comes to the fore, with its high expectations of the role of the private sector in the implementation of the Sustainable Development Goals (Pingeot, 2014), it is important to remember the limitations to realising these goals whilst the structure in which the agenda is operationalised continues to favour business. My research suggests that if CCD is to be a key instrument for the realisation of the Sustainable Development Goals, then an important shift in thinking is required around the roles of multinational companies relative to communities in their areas of operation.

CCD is impacted by global rules, codes and expectations governing business operations and international capital, currently framed largely by neoliberal thinking. Noting the difficulties identified in enforcing voluntary codes of practice (Chapter

Two), more far-reaching changes are required. A focus on the *coherence* of company actions would translate into global structural changes that replace discretionary community assistance and reporting requirements with legally imposed fair, ethical and coherent operation standards. Shifting our perspective to a community view moves towards a focus on *obligation* rather than charity. A focus on obligation demonstrates recognition of the rights and capabilities of local peoples and enables long-term thinking that is more likely to result in sustainable development outcomes. Currently there is no requirement globally for either obligation or coherence in private sector-led development and the notion of a rightful share is absent from its language. This change in focus can only be achieved through rethinking the role of the private sector in development.

This analysis articulates the need for transformative macro-level change in order to make a significant difference at a micro level, but it is local-level perspectives reached by ‘reversing the lens’ that present the starting point from which to challenge current ways of thinking. Taking a local level perspective has connected the micro to the macro, foregrounded local priorities and begun to make evident the impact of global tourism development practices at a local level. Examining the ways that engaging with the private sector can bring about positive locally meaningful change for communities shows a desire on the part of communities to be part of development conversations that lead to a fair distribution of resources and to have a say in the future development of their own communities.

6 A just and equitable partnership

To remain consistent with the aim to give voice to the communities whose perspectives the study aims to prioritise, below are the words of one community leader who describes his vision for a more just and equitable partnership with the tourism industry. It is a partnership based around a strong relationship, one in which the community is able to identify its own development priorities and which allows its community members to become empowered as well as to benefit from improved service infrastructure and it is one where benefits are shared among multiple villages. It illustrates the potential for new forms of development conversations to occur.

The hotels support us in the way they think they should. What I think would be best is to sit together, and we can come up with an agreement with all the hotels so we can say this is how we are going to deal with the communities' requests. For example, we have a development committee here in the village. Every year, the committee comes up with their requests. We are seeking assistance. But what I am trying to say is, we should have a plan for a year, even for 2 years, 5 years. [The hotels would say] this is what we can assist you with - we have a certain amount of money, but we want this money to be used here and we want evidence - you have to bring us the plan, what the benefits would be.

What we do here now when we are requesting something through the hotels, as a sign of our respect we go through [the chief]. We write our own letters, organise for an individual to ask for his permission to stamp, so that it shows to the hotel that it has his support. We take the letter because we think they will be more receptive when they see [the chiefs] signature because we don't know...but I don't want it to be that way. What I want is for them to have a committee with the landowners and see the need. We would talk first, you contribute this and we contribute this - more of a partnership instead of letters. Why don't you create this community liaison officer, to strengthen the relationship between [the hotels and the villages]? And at the same time you can train him or train her, empower him so he is linking the community to them and from them to the community.

What is the need? The infrastructure, the kindergarten - we have maybe 60-plus preschool children sent to schools outside the village. And they have to walk, get a carrier bus, when we have all the resources here...We also need assistance in expertise in the areas that they have, assistance with training, first aid, empowering people...they have that all with them. Not only money, but also looking at the development of the communities, empowering the youths, educational awareness. We have a lot of school drop outs, those that are going into drugs, alcohol. They have the expertise that can assist with that. We are just close by.

I myself think a lot of talanoa would open this up. The relationship would just become stronger. It would be strengthened.

[community leader, September 2014]

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Appendix 1: Low Risk Notification

12 March 2014

Dear Emma

Re: Tourist Resorts and Development: Community and Corporate Perspectives from the Pacific

Thank you for your Low Risk Notification which was received on 28 February 2014.

Your project has been recorded on the Low Risk Database which is reported in the Annual Report of the Massey University Human Ethics Committees.

You are reminded that staff researchers and supervisors are fully responsible for ensuring that the information in the low risk notification has met the requirements and guidelines for submission of a low risk notification.

The low risk notification for this project is valid for a maximum of three years.

Please notify me if situations subsequently occur which cause you to reconsider your initial ethical analysis that it is safe to proceed without approval by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees.

Please note that travel undertaken by students must be approved by the supervisor and the relevant Pro Vice-Chancellor and be in accordance with the Policy and Procedures for Course-Related Student Travel Overseas. In addition, the supervisor must advise the University's Insurance Officer.

A reminder to include the following statement on all public documents:

"This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor John O'Neill, Director (Research Ethics), telephone 06 350 5249, e-mail humanethics@massey.ac.nz".

Please note that if a sponsoring organisation, funding authority or a journal in which you wish to publish requires evidence of committee approval (with an approval number), you will have to provide a full application to one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. You should also note that such an approval can only be provided prior to the commencement of the research.

Yours sincerely



John G O'Neill (Professor)
**Chair, Human Ethics Chairs' Committee and
Director (Research Ethics)**

cc Prof R Scheyvens & A/Prof G Banks
School of People, Environment & Planning
Manawatu campus

Dr A Ryan HoS
School of People, Environment & Planning
Manawatu campus

Appendix 2: Information Sheets

Tourist resorts and development: Community and corporate perspectives from the Pacific.

INFORMATION SHEET

Researcher Introduction

My name is Emma Hughes, I am a PhD student at Massey University, New Zealand. My supervisors, Professor Regina Scheyvens and Associate Professor Glenn Banks, are senior academics in Development Studies, and each have 20 years of experience in conducting research in the Pacific.

My research asks: can the community development initiatives of tourism corporations operating in the Pacific bring about locally meaningful development? It builds on fieldwork at two tourism case study sites in Fiji and is part of a broader programme of research aiming to expand our knowledge of the private sector's role in community development. It is hoped that this will provide an understanding of how initiatives can better meet the developmental aspirations of communities and hence improve the relationships between corporations and communities.

Project Description and Invitation

We have asked you to participate as your community has been involved in corporate community development (CCD) activities and we would like to draw on your experience and insights.

This research will use interviews, focus group and *talanoa sessions*, and structured observation. Most will last no longer than one hour and you are encouraged to suggest suitable venues and times. With your permission, discussions will be digitally recorded. I may also take pictures and will ask your consent before using these in any report or presentation. We might also seek your permission to observe and take notes when meetings take place between the community and company. If you choose to be involved in this research you will select whether you wish to be referred to in any project outputs, or if you prefer that a descriptor is used (e.g. community member; hotel employee; chief).

Data Management

The information you provide will be kept confidential and stored safely (using codes instead of names). All physical data, including interview transcripts and notes will be stored in a lockable cabinet or suitcase, and electronic copies will be saved on the project's password-protected Dropbox site.

Access to Research Findings

All participants will be given the opportunity to access a summary of research findings via follow-up workshops, focus groups, written summary sheets and access to project publications.

Participant's Rights

If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- *ask any questions about the study at any time or decline to answer any question;*
- *provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used without your permission;*
- *ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview*
- *withdraw from the study at any time.*

Project Contacts

If you have any questions about this research please contact:

Name: Emma Hughes	Regina Scheyvens	Glenn Banks
Phone: 8003676	+646 3569099 x83654	+6463569099x 83635

Email: E.L.Hughes@massey.ac.nz R.A.Scheyvens@massey.ac.nz
G.A.Banks@massey.ac.nz

Massey University Human Ethics Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application 12/41. If you have any concerns about the conduct of the research, please contact Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone +64 6 350 5799 x 80877, email humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz

Tourist resorts and development: Community and corporate perspectives from the Pacific.

INFORMATION SHEET

Ni sa bula vinaka. Na yacaqu ko Emma Hughes. Au vakaitikotiko, kau lewa ni vanua e Niusiladi. Au cakacaka tiko e Massey University, Palmerston North kau sa mai tomana tale tiko kina na vuli torocake ena tabana ni vakadidike na doketa ni vuku (Doctor of Philosophy). O rau na noqu qasenivuli ko Professor Regina Scheyvens, kei Associate Professor Glenn Banks. E rau qasenivuli tiko ena tabana ni veivakatorocaketaki (Development Studies), ka sa rauta e ruasagavulu na yabaki (20 years) na nodrau dau vakadidike ena wasa Pasifika.

Au na kerea tiko na nomuni veiciqomi kei na nomuni veitokoni ena vakadidike oqo. Kevaka eso na noqu i vosavosa se na noqu itovo e sakasaka, au sa kerea kina na nomuni veivosoti. Vinaka vakalevu na nomuni na veitokoni tiko e na vakadidike oqo.

Nai Nakinaki Ni Vakadidike Kei Na Veisureti Raraba Vei Kemuni.

Na vakadidike oqo ena vakasaqara tiko na veika e rawa ni saumi kina na taro oqo. ; “E rawa beka ni kauta mai na vei otela lelevu eso na veivakatorocaketaki ka vakaibalebale, ka vukea na noda bula ena veisiga, na lewe ni Vanua ka vaka-itikotiko ena vanua era mai tau yavu kina?”

Ena vakayacori tiko na vadidike oqo ena rua na otela lelevu e Viti. Ka oka tiko ena dua tale na vakadidike, ka raici tiko kina na veivakatorocaketaki ni vei kabani lelevu eso e vuravura. E gadrevi me raici ka kilai na veika eso e rawa ni vakataucokotaka, ka vakavinakataka na veimaliwai ni otela lelevu eso vata kei kemuni na vei-korokoro se na vei-tikotiko eso era sa mai tauyavu tu kina e Viti.

Au veisureti tiko yani vei kemuni na lewe ni Vanua ena vei-korokoro se vei-tikotiko eso era dau veitokoni kina se veivakatorocaketaki kina na veiotela lelevu eso. Au kerea tiko kina se da na rawa ni veitalanoa taka na veika me baleta nai ulutaga oqo.

Nai Tuvatuva Ni Vakadidike

Kevaka ko sa vakadonuya mo vakaitavi ena vakadidike oqo, au kerea mo qai vakalewena na draunipepa ka sa na veisoliyaki yani, [na fomu] ka vola kina na yacamu [sainitaka]. Oqo me vakadinadinataki kina ni o ni sa vakadonuya mo ni mai tiki ni vakadidike oqo.

Au via vakaraitaka tale tikoga ni na vakayacori tiko na katokatoni na ena noda veitalanoa. E so talega na gauna, au na veitaba tiko kina. Au na solia tale tikoga vei kemuni yadudua na vakaitavi ena vakadidike oqo, e dua na draunipepa [fomu] me na volai kina na yacamuni [sainitaka] me soli kina vei au na dodonu meu katokatoni ka veitaba. E rawa talega ni o ni kaya ga vei au ni o sa vakadonuya me katonni na nodaru veitalanoa. Ena vakataletikoga kina na veitaba, ka soli tu na galala kevaka o sega ni vinakata mo taba. Nai taba kece au na taura tiko e gauna ni vakadidike, ena baleta vakatabaki dua ga na vakadidike oqo. Ena vakaraitaki ga na I taba kevaka o sa vakadonua me oka enai vola tukutuku ni vakadidike oqo, se na so tale nai tukutuku me baleta na vakadidike oqo.

Na katokatoni kei nai taba kece ena maroro tu vakavinaka ka na lokataki tu ena University. E sega tale ni dua ena rawa ni wilika na veika kece e volai tu, se rogoca na katokatoni, se sarava nai taba ni vakadidike oqo. Ena sega talega ni na vakayagataki na yacamuni dina ena kena volai nai tukutuku ni vakadidike. E dua

talega na draunipepa ka sa na veisoliyaki yani, e kerei tiko kina mo ni na qai vola na nomuni tutu vakacakacaka, se tutu vakavanua me na qai volai tiko ena vola tutuku ni vakadidike. Nai vola tukutuku oqo ena rawa ni o ni wilika o kemuni kece sara a vakaitavi ena vakadidike oqo.

Na Nomu Dodonu:

Ena gauna ni vakadidike, e soli tu vei iko na galala mo:

- Kua ni saumi taro
- Mo taro kevaka e sega ni matata vei iko nai vakamacala ni vakadidike
- Wilika nai tukutuku kece e volai me baleta na vakadidike
- Kua ni katonu eso na veitalanoa
- Kua ni taba

Na Veidinadinati Me Baleta Na Vakadidike

Na vakadidike oqo sa vakadonui mai vei iratou na komiti ni vakadidike e Massey University. Ke mani dua na nomuni vakatataro tale eso ena qai kerei mo ni vei taratara vua na qasenivuli nei Emma Hughes.

Dau Vakadidike:

Emma Hughes –Doctor of Philosophy candidate

Phone: 8003676

Email: E.L.Hughes@massey.ac.nz

Matai ni Qasenivuli:

Regina Scheyvens

Phone: +64 6 356 9099 ext. 83654

Email: R.A.Scheyvens@massey.ac.nz

Glenn Banks

Phone: +646 3569099 x 83635

Email: G.A.Banks@massey.ac.nz

Massey University Human Ethics Committee Approval Statement

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, Application 12/41. If you have any concerns about the conduct of the research, please contact Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern B, telephone +64 6 350 5799 x 80877, +646 3569099 x 83635 email humanethicsouthb@massey.ac.nz

Appendix 3: Consent forms

Tourist resorts and development: Community and corporate perspectives from the Pacific.

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.

I agree/do not agree to photographs being taken. I understand they will not be used without my permission.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

I would like to be referred to in this study in the following way (fill in your preference):

- My name and title i.e.
 - (e.g. Marika Taka, Communications Manager at Hotel X or Village Spokesperson)

- My title or a descriptor i.e.
 - (e.g. hotel manager or hotel employee)

I would/would not like a summary report of the findings sent to me on completion of this research.

Signature:

Date:

.....

Full Name - printed

.....

Email address:

.....

**Tourist resorts and development:
Community and corporate perspectives from the Pacific.**

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL

Au sa wilika na I vakamacala ni vakadidike oqo, ka sa matata talega na kena vakamacala taki vei au na veika ena yaco ena vakadidike oqo. E sa saumi vakamatata taki talega na noqu taro ka sa vakarogo taki talega vei au meu taro keveka e sega ni matata e dua na ka me baleta na vakadidike oqo.

E tiko na nomu dodonu, kau kerea mo na qai toqa na veika ko sa vakatulewa kina mo vakaitavi kina ena kena sagai tiko na vakadidike oqo.

- Au sa vakadonua/au sega ni vakadonua me katoni na noqu vosa se na noqu veitalanoa
- Au sa vakadonua/au sega ni vakadonua me tauri na kequi taba
- Au sa vakadonua/au sega ni vakadonua meu vakaitavi ena vakadidike oqo

Ni oti na vakadidike oqo, ena dua tiko nai vola tukutuku me baleta na veika esa kunei ena vakadidike oqo. Ia ena kena volai nai tukutuku oqo ena tu vei kemuni na gagala me volai na yacamuni vata kei na nomuni itutu, se e rawa talega ni volai ga nai nomuni tutu ka kua na yaca. Kevaka oni sa vakadonua, esa kerei mo ni na qai toqa ga edua.

Na yacaqu kei na noqui tutu vakacacaka se tutu vakavanua

-
- (me vaka oqo: Marika Taka, Manidia ena otela X se Turaga ni koro-e rawa talega ni volai ga vakaperetania me vaka oqo: Marika Taka, Communications Manager at Hotel X or Village Spokesperson)

Na noqu I tutu vakacacaka se tutu vakavanua

-
- (me vaka oqo: Manidia ena otela X se Turaga ni koro-e rawa talega ni volai ga vakaperetania me vaka oqo: Communications Manager at Hotel X or Village head)

Au na vinakata/au sega ni vinakata me na qai dua na noqui vola tukutuku me baleta na veika esa kune ena vakadidike oqo.

Signature:

Date:

Full Name - printed

Email address:

Appendix 4: Interview Guides

Landowners/Communities

To find out the nature of the lease & the company-community relationship

- Tell me about the history of your lease agreement.
- How have relations with the resort company changed over the years? In good times, what makes it good and vice versa (e.g. management style).
- How does the lease money get used/who decides how it is allocated?
- Does the LOC have a trust fund? Do their funds come from the lease agreement? Who governs this and decides how benefits are invested into the community?
- Are there small business opportunities or contracts that have come from this relationship?

To find out about community priorities for development

- How would you describe community wellbeing? What does it mean to you?
- What are the priorities for the community to achieve this?
- How does the community achieve this?
- What are your hopes for the future for your family and the community?
- Reflecting on the hotel's activities since you have been living here, do you feel they are helping your family or community to achieve these hopes? How has life changed?

To find out details of CCD initiatives, how they are identified and their outcomes

- What does the resort currently do to support your community?
- How much say have you had over what the company does?
- Can you describe examples of support from the resort - in what ways do they aim to benefit the community?
- Can you describe some of the outcomes of the support from the resort?
- Can you think of any community support initiatives that have been particularly successful? (why?)
- What about examples that have not worked as well? (why?)
- How are local needs identified and by whom? Who is involved in the planning process? How are decisions made?
- Have there been any indirect or unexpected consequences of these initiatives?
- How are the benefits shared or distributed? Are there any parts of the community or other communities nearby who don't benefit? Why is this?

Interview Guides: Companies

To find out details about CSR strategy and initiatives and intended benefits

- What is your current CSR strategy? Is this decided by the individual resort, or tied to a corporate strategy?
- What resources are allocated to CSR?
- What current forms of support do you provide to the LOC and other local communities? What types of support are provided in terms of long term, ongoing or ad hoc?
- How has this support changed over the years, and what factors have influenced change (e.g. the GM, corporate policy, demands of the LOC?)

To find out how support is monitored and reported

- Do you monitor the outcomes of your support? How?
- Do you report on CSR work to Corporate HQ? If so, what information do they require and what section of the organisation receives that information?

To find out what, if any, partnerships or collaborations are instrumental

- Do you collaborate with other partners - local, regional or national/ governmental or non-governmental?

To find out about the nature of their relationship with the community

- Tell me about your current relationship with the LOC: how is this managed/through whom?
- How would you describe this relationship? How would you like the relationship to work?
- How have relations with the resort company changed (in your opinion) during your time working for the resort? What has influenced these changes (eg the GM, corporate policy, demands of the LOC)
- In good times, what makes the relationship good (and vice versa)?

Interview Guides - Government, Third Sector and Project partners

To find out how development projects benefit the community, from the perspective of government bodies or NGOs and from partners

iTaukei Land Trust Board

- What controls are in place regulating foreign investment, or ensuring adequate returns to Fiji (especially LOCs)?
- Have any of the rules around foreign investment on iTaukei land changed in the past 10 years? How?
- Whose responsibility is it to ensure that hotels are being true to the terms of their lease agreements?
- How do you balance promoting the development of iTaukei communities with encouraging foreign investment?

Tourism bodies (Ministry of Tourism, SPTO, Tourism Fiji, FHTA)

- How are international hotels encouraged/required to support communities and local businesses?
- Have there been any recent changes to your practices in terms of supporting international hotels or supporting landowners or indigenous entrepreneurs?
- How are CSR activities supported or promoted by the association?
- Can you tell me about any of the activities?

Ministry of Education

- How is support from hotels for schools managed/coordinated?
- Can you tell me about some of the activities?
- Is there any central coordination? How does this happen?
- How does communication about the activities occur?
- What works well/what could work better?

Partners (NGOs, Schools, Hospital)

- In what ways do you collaborate with the hotel on community development?
- How does decision-making/planning happen?
- Can you tell me about some of the activities?
- What works well/what could work better?

Appendix 5: Household survey questions

1. How many people live or usually sleep in the house (adults and children)?
2. How many people living in the house are currently employed by the hotel
 - a. Directly as an employee: role/gender/length of time employed
 - b. Indirectly (eg. taxi, entertainment, handicrafts): role/gender/length of time employed
3. How many people living in the house were previously employed by the hotel?
 - a. Directly as an employee: role/gender/length of time employed
 - b. Indirectly (eg. taxi, entertainment, handicrafts): role/gender/length of time employed

EXAMPLE (how data recorded in the notebook)

1. 6 (4a/2c)
2. 3
 - a. 1 housekeeper/female/8 yrs
 - b. 1 babysitter /female/20 yrs
3. 1
 - a. 1 porter
 - b. -

Appendix 6: Report Recommendations

Recommendations disseminated through the project report for study participants and stakeholders: *Corporate Community Development and Tourism in Fiji, July 2016*.

For government:

1. To work towards **making CSR part of a national development plan** with a structure, guidelines and incentives to facilitate good practice. Identify and facilitate fit with national government policies. Long-term planning with relevant stakeholders is more likely to lead to sustainable development outcomes.
2. Develop **indicators for development outcomes of educational support** and establish mechanisms to facilitate greater communication between hotels and Ministry of Education.
3. Establish a connecting role to **link local agricultural knowledge with resorts**; promote support for initiatives such as PARDI & farm-to-table and train agricultural extension officers accordingly. A systematic study of food supply in the tourism industry would also inform potential product replacement initiatives.
4. Initiate review of older **lease agreements** and seek landowner input in developing good practice guidelines. Share content of agreements so that communities are fully-informed.
5. Recognise the need for **cross-sectoral approaches** to address cross-sectoral issues in tourism e.g. environment, fisheries, business and agriculture.
6. Provide **incentives for partnerships and joint ventures**; provide linking mechanisms to support procurement and small business initiatives;
7. Support creation of **guidelines for good practice** eg guidelines for establishing village and school tours could include ways to ensure schools benefit and education is not disrupted and recommended fee structures and expectations for village tours.

For hotels:

1. Identify ways to **strengthen career progression** eg review adequacy of scholarships, provision of opportunities for attachments and internships; look more broadly at long-term capability building including providing mentoring for local successors of expatriate roles.
2. Provide **capacity building** for small businesses/joint ventures and extend **local cuisine** options.
3. Respect **lease agreements** but also recognise the importance of adapting policies and practices to conform to current TLTB policy in relation to community benefits.

4. Move towards **70% of employees on permanent contracts**, in line with union recommendations.
5. Ensure **policies of international chains are flexible enough** to allow context-specific support; lobby for dedicated financial support for initiatives from head office and appoint local champions.
6. Generate **sustainable financing of environmental initiatives**, support alternative livelihoods in MPA zones, employ marine ecologists in resorts, cooperate with government and non-government environmental organisations eg FLMMA.
7. Recognise communities, schools, hospitals or other groups as **partners in development**, rather than as beneficiaries and ensure that local knowledge is reflected in decision-making; establish long-term planning and consultation with relevant local stakeholders as the foundation of development assistance.
8. Identify indicators alongside project partners for **monitoring and evaluation**.
9. Tap into **community plans** (NB these plans often not written down and planning/costing support may be valuable). Acknowledge importance of listening to communities and reciprocity: a community liaison role can play a significant part in building, maintaining and supporting community relations.
10. Initiate **collaboration between hotels** to facilitate shared support for local communities. For groups of hotels which are co-located, such as those on Denarau or the Coral Coast, financing a shared administration role to manage donations could be an effective way of mitigating time pressures on CSR managers.
11. Facilitate ongoing **partnerships and collaborations with local and regional NGOs** which can enable ongoing development cooperation. This also requires evidence to be shared of successful collaborations.
12. **Educate guests** about what is needed; engaging guests more in activities outside of resorts (e.g. initiatives such as Talanoa Treks which explicitly benefit the community) and ensuring that activity fees fairly reflect community input

For the tourism industry:

1. Organise an **annual FHTA conference** to share good practices;
2. Explore ways to **increase geographical spread of benefits** e.g. sister schools or twinned villages.
3. Initiate a **database to share information** about initiatives planned and undertaken.