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AND THE PACIFIC**

**SUSTAINABLE TOURISM
DEVELOPMENT IN PACIFIC
ISLAND COUNTRIES**



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

(i) The World Tourism Organization (WTO) forecasts that the Asian and Pacific region is likely to be the fastest growing tourism area in the world in coming decades. Recognizing that such growth would have serious repercussions on the fragile natural and social environments of the Pacific island nations, and that it might overwhelm the small-scale economies of such nations, the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP) commissioned the Centre for Hospitality and Tourism Management at Gatton College of the University of Queensland, Australia, to prepare a report on the present situation and prospects of the tourism industry in the Pacific region.

(ii) This report is the outcome of a nine-month study of the situation of tourism planning and development in the prescribed area, which encompasses 21 countries and areas: American Samoa, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Cook Islands, Fiji, French Polynesia (Tahiti), Guam, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia (Federated States of), Nauru, New Caledonia, Niue, Papua New Guinea, Republic of Palau, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu, and Wallis and Futuna.

(iii) The study relied principally on primary and secondary published sources. No field study was possible within the funds allocated by the budget.

Regional overview of tourism development

(iv) The region studied is geographically extensive; it is composed of nations made up of scattered groups of islands. Each of the Pacific island nations has its peculiarities of location, geography, history and traditions, economic resources and opportunities. In addition, each has its peculiarity of contribution to tourism in the region. These differences and peculiarities are sometimes overlooked in the popular conception – in fact, a misconception – that the Pacific region is homogeneous. Its geographical discontinuity is accompanied by different opportunities for tourism. This circumstance, apparent to the study team, seems to be overlooked, or ignored by the exotic appeal to tourists of the resources of sun, sand, blue ocean, coral reef, volcanic hills, lush vegetation, and fascinating indigenous cultures and customs.

(v) In the region studied, the total population is less than 6 million (fewer than half the residents of New York), with a land “mass” of 550,000 square kilometres (approximately equal to France) scattered across 30 million square kilometres of ocean. The 21 island nations comprise three distinct groups: Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia. Economic changes in the Pacific region, including the gradual abandonment of subsistence agriculture, the increasing demands of population growth fuelled by improved health conditions, the impact of fluctuations in world demand for island resources and products, and the feature of emigration have made many island nations vulnerable. In an attempt to achieve a modicum of economic independence, to support newly won political independence, many Pacific island nations have turned to tourism.

(vi) In 1990, the 21 countries and areas in the study attracted a total of 2 million overseas visitors. For comparison, this represents approximately the same number as visited Australia, or 0.5 per cent of total international travel. This bald statistic masks the fact that 80 per cent of the total was drawn to the “honey pots” of Guam (40 per cent), Saipan (19 per cent), Fiji (14 per cent) and Tahiti (7 per cent). Most of the visitors come from the countries around the Pacific Rim (Japan 15 per cent, New Zealand 15 per cent, Australia 14 per cent). The attractiveness of the Pacific island nations is uneven and the common tendency to group all the countries together and to report on aggregate visitor levels and patterns was found to be erroneous.

Economic aspects

(vii) Most of the island nations in the region have a narrow economic base and are heavily dependent on one or two export commodities. Any slump in world demand, or an oversupply of one of the staple products, would leave the dependent island economy in poor shape. All of the island nations suffer in some degree

from diseconomies of small scale, and particularly from very limited domestic markets. High susceptibility to natural disasters and the vagaries of international air routes render the small island economies vulnerable to forces over which they have little, if any, control.

(viii) The income from tourism is eagerly sought by many island nations, and in many cases it is the most important foreign exchange earner – or nearly so. Tourism income helps the balance of payments, national income, government revenue, employment and may provide the crucial rationale for infrastructural improvements. It has been calculated that the expenditure flow from tourism (that is, the tourism multiplier) may be 0.8; this means that for every \$1 spent a further 80 cents is generated. This multiplier is considerably less than for advanced, continental countries, in large part owing to the leakage to overseas owners, suppliers, managers and workers. It has been estimated that for the 14 members of the Tourism Council of the South Pacific (TCSP), tourism income in 1990 may have been of the order of \$US 500 million, representing 5 to 8 per cent of gross domestic product (GDP), and 8 per cent of government income.

(ix) In terms of employment it seems that 13 international tourists create one tourism full-time job equivalent. Therefore, with a visitor attraction of 2 million people, it may be estimated that tourism generates approximately 150,000 jobs, or 12 per cent of the region's total employment.

(x) Not all of the economic impacts are beneficial, especially where there is significant leakage of profits overseas, or where employment in tourism induces changes in family structures, or where prices of land and products become inflated.

Socio-cultural aspects

(xi) The socio-cultural impacts of tourism in the Pacific islands region are mixed. Although employment, income, education and training, mobility, and affluence may be enhanced for some groups, there remain a few dubious impacts. Some of the least advantageous socio-cultural impacts of tourism have occurred where the type of tourism, the type of tourist attracted, the pace of change and growth, the degree of interaction between indigenous people and the visitors, and the capacity of the cultures and societies to cope with inquisitive visitors have not been carefully managed. In addition, some of the tensions evident in changing societies are being unfairly attributed to tourism. It may be suggested, for example, that the periodic return of expatriates is as much a catalyst for change as any level of tourist visits.

(xii) As the population levels on most islands are small – there are exceptions – the incidence of “mass tourism” may pose problems of balance between visitor and resident numbers, and this may be a source of irritation among the indigenous population, particularly where there are vastly different value and behavioural systems, and the pressure of the cash economy introduces change in traditional family structures. Modern social pathologies of prostitution, homosexuality, alcohol and drug abuse and the incidence of crime threatening personal safety are not yet at serious levels in the Pacific region. It may be that the strength of traditional cultures with the overlay of religious and community organizations will prevent the level of seriousness which these pathologies have attained in other tourism regions. There is one potential problem which needs very careful management: the commercialization of traditional crafts and customs. As it is such interests which may underpin the attractiveness of many Pacific island nations, the local communities and government agencies will need to exercise vigilance.

Environmental aspects

(xiii) The natural environment is one of the chief attractions of the Pacific island nations. The resources of sun, sand, blue lagoons, surf, palm trees and tropical settings have dominated the image of the region in the minds of most tourists. Attractive coastal environments are supported in some cases by mountainous areas with rain forests and waterfalls. Most visitor surveys report that it is the various features of the natural environment which are the primary attractions. Visitors from Europe and the United States of America seem to be most appreciative of the scenic qualities.

(xiv) It is because the natural environment is such an important drawcard for visitors to the region that the embryonic movements towards conservation in the region are becoming so vital. To some extent, the geographical remoteness and the small scale of industrialization have caused this region to be omitted from many of the serious examinations of the impact of global environmental changes. However, tourism in this region does pose threats to the environment, such as shell removal on coral reefs adjacent to resorts, vegetation disturbance on trails, and water pollution from discharge from resorts. In the absence of clear and enforceable environmental guidelines, some tourism development may be causing irremediable damage, even at the phase of construction, as natural drainage channels become impeded, hillside or coastal erosion induced through forest clearance, water polluted by fuel effluent, and mangrove swamps destroyed by landfill. Tourist demand for water supply may strain watercourses and subterranean aquifers.

Problems and constraints of future tourism development

(xv) Two of the most severe problems faced by the region are its geographical isolation and dispersion, especially as they are perceived from the two principal tourists-generating regions of Western Europe and North America. The problems of distance are acute, both to and from the region, but also within the region. This problem of distance, or remoteness, is detrimental to the region because of the intervening opportunities and competitive destinations which may be accessed more easily by potential visitors. Once on "the island" the geographical diversity is sometimes limited.

(xvi) Because many of the islands are small in size and vertical scale, they are susceptible to problems associated with climatic disturbance. According to predictions based on the greenhouse effect, some low-lying islands may disappear if sea levels rise. The smallness of scale may impede the use of mass transport aircraft but, even where a large throughput of visitors is possible, the demand for water and the level of effluent discharge may disrupt local ecosystems.

(xvii) Again, the relative remoteness of the region demands considerable time and money of potential visitors. After having committed those resources the visitors want "value for money"; if that is not achieved bad publicity by word of mouth and reputation may do more harm than the occasional political coup or cyclone. The small scale of local populations, and the small domestic market pose particular problems for investment. Even with a "reasonable" level of international visitors, many Pacific island nations need to face the prospect that there will be a significant leakage of profit to overseas interests, and that to achieve that level may prove costly in terms of marketing and publicity. Away from the region it is often overlooked that the Pacific basin is not homogeneous, even for the purposes of marketing; the "South Pacific village" concept masks great differences which, if perceived on a continental scale, could not be incorporated harmoniously into a marketing strategy.

(xviii) As the economies are so fragile, most are dependent on funding for major capital works and for technical assistance from outside the region.

(xix) In addition to the above-mentioned socio-cultural issues, the matter of land ownership is critical. Many countries in the region have complicated land ownership traditions with much of the land in communal ownership. This forces major tourist development onto leased land; this is not always acceptable to major investors. A companion issue is the ability of indigenous peoples to adjust their traditional lifestyles to the particular needs of service in the tourism industry. These two matters underpin some of the difficulties in starting and then operating major tourism developments in Pacific island nations.

Regional tourism policy

(xx) As intensive tourism development has been experienced in only four "honey pot" destinations (Guam, Saipan, Fiji and Tahiti), there has been a tendency for them, and others wishing to emulate them, to prepare tourism policies, but for others to consider that there is little need for a specific policy. In those few countries which have either a specific and identifiable tourism policy, or which give such activity a conspicuous profile as part of a general national economic development strategy, the principal components are:

- (a) Economic, – with policy focusing on the potential for tourism activity and development to contribute to national economic development and welfare;
- (b) Social, – with tourism being used as a mean to underpin cultural heritage;
- (c) Environmental, – with increasing attention being given to conservation measures;
- (d) Organizational, – with the establishment of an agency responsible for overseeing tourism matters.

(xxi) Although some countries have developed a tourism-focused policy to a finely tuned level, most have not. A consequence of this is a lack of coherence on tourism issues within those nations lacking a tourism policy, and a serious impediment to the construction of coordinated, integrated and coherent policy across the region. Differential action between the countries on direct and indirect attention to the requirements of tourism creates an impediment to region-wide coordination. There is evidence of considerable rhetoric on common approaches and integrated frameworks, but there is little substance. Even where tourism policies exist at a national level, there is little consistency in focus, scope and content. In the case of TCSP member countries a “model” approach is emerging. However, the fragmented and loose, even overlapping “groupings” of Pacific island nations are likely to frustrate the creation of coherence at any more than a superficial level. In summary, the impediments to regional cooperation in tourism policy formulation and planning include historic association, pursuit of narrowly focused national interest, the dominance of the “honey pots”, different commitments to tourism as an element of national development, and a number of externally created factors (such as international air routes, targeted aid and technical assistance).

(xxii) There are two crucial issues confronting regional tourism policy: one is the political will and commitment of Government to seek to manage effectively tourism development at the national level; the other is similar will and commitment to work cooperatively to achieve a coordinated policy framework across the region. The evidence of the first is patchy, and the evidence of the second is very scarce. Political intransigence may ultimately frustrate the achievement of the realistic contribution of this region to international tourism.

Developmental strategies

(xxiii) Some Pacific island nations have given high priority to the preparation of a master plan and strategy for tourism. However, the necessary careful systematic thought about issues of quality, quantity, geographical location and process has been impeded by shortages of funds and suitably trained personnel, pressure for quick decisions on development proposals, and inadequate consideration of the various impacts and consequences of development proposals. The “leap” from policy to strategy, even at the level of the individual Pacific island nations, is not achieved easily, and in some cases is not achieved at all.

(xxiv) This region is not easy to cope with in terms of a region-wide strategy. Even if it was composed of one integrated nation, there is little in tourism planning theory which can cope easily with a vast water-based rather than a land-based tourism area. The fact that there are competing interests in the region, in part reflected in the different stages reached by tourism development in the various countries, serves only to complicate further a complex situation. The strategic options extend along a continuum of opportunity from concentration on the existing “honey pots”, through the pursuit of a balanced, if hierarchical pattern of tourism development, to the creation of new ‘honey pots’. Although supportable as a marketing concept, the “South Pacific village” is more difficult to contemplate as a policy, planning and developmental strategy.

(xxv) In summary, there are problems of geographical dispersion, policy commitment, tourism attractiveness and planning theory which impede the creation of a region-wide tourism developmental strategy. It is not claimed that the task is impossible; rather it needs to be recognized that the task is very difficult.

Recommendations

(xxvi) After due consideration of the current circumstances of tourism in the Pacific region, the opportunities, constraints, strengths and weaknesses, the following principal recommendations were formulated:

1. There should be progress towards an improved, standardized and coordinated database of visitor statistics.
2. Detailed assessments of the various impacts of tourism development on local economies, cultures and the environment should be conducted.
3. An inventory of all studies on the region should be composed, with sufficient detail to minimize the likelihood of resource misuse through repetition and duplication.
4. A formal network of tourism planners working in the region should be established.
5. An evaluation should be made of current tourism planning theory to determine which concepts and principles are relevant to the special circumstances of the region, and how they may be adapted.
6. The differences in the region should not be “forced” into unreasonable aggregations of data compilations and policy positions.
7. The “real” significance on the world scale of the region’s environmental and cultural heritage should be determined;
8. The sensitivity of the cultural and natural environments should be assessed systematically, and region-specific limits of carrying capacity should be determined.
9. A commitment should be made by member countries in the region, to form a composite regional organization responsible for coordinating tourism planning and development. This might be an expansion of the existing role of TCSP.

(xxvii) It is unlikely that the resources to implement these recommendations can be provided from within the region. Formal and informal assistance will need to be accessed from international or extra-regional sources. Without outside financial support it is unlikely that any meaningful progress can be made to achieve sustainable tourism development in the region.

INTRODUCTION

1. This report on issues facing tourism development in Pacific island countries is being undertaken at a time when the World Tourism Organization (WTO) is forecasting that the Asian and Pacific region is likely to be the most dynamic growth area for tourism in coming decades (WTO, 1990).
2. The prospect of tourism development, although embraced in some countries as a panacea or a major support to their economic structures, is being faced in other countries with some trepidation. It is increasingly being realized that tourism is a mixed blessing. Studies of tourism in developing countries generally draw attention to its positive contributions to national welfare in generating employment, increasing foreign exchange income, providing a focus for investment and creating a symbol of international significance. In addition, such studies are drawing attention increasingly to the possibility of the detrimental consequences of environmental despoliation and pollution, undue reliance on a fickle "industry", and social disruption, especially to local cultures and traditions. Recent discussions of tourism development in the Pacific islands have drawn attention to two more issues of significance – the impact of such development on the indigenous systems of land ownership, and the implications for tourism of the consideration of sensitive habitats and cultural areas for World Heritage listing.
3. Some of the issues discussed in this report are new; others are common to the plethora of reports, studies, proceedings of seminars and workshops, papers in academic and professional journals and media reports which, in aggregate, have addressed most of the important aspects of tourism in Pacific island countries. A review of readily available documentation by the study team revealed differences in geographical scope, in focus, in disciplinary bias, in purpose; in addition, differences in scope and quality of data were noted. The various studies and reports which have been reviewed are so different that, despite some common elements, it is difficult to make meaningful generalizations. This report, although not based on extensive field research, has drawn together salient elements of the available information and synthesized them through an interpretation of the present state and prospects for tourism development and of the critical problems and constraints, which led to an exploration of current and feasible tourism policy and strategy.
4. The approach in this report recognizes the wish of each island nation to be in command of its own approach to tourism, so as to develop its own identity and contribution to the region. In a region which is emerging progressively from direct colonial control, there have emerged degrees of independence which are not necessarily compatible with integrated regional strategies. It will be noted below that there are some island nations in the region which remain outside the cooperative arrangements of the Tourism Council of the South Pacific (TSCP) and the funding and technical assistance benefits of membership of the ACP group of countries (as recognized by the Commission of the European Communities).

Research objectives

5. This research project, commissioned by ESCAP, has three principal objectives:
 - (a) To review the present situation and prospects of the tourism industry, including an analysis of travel trends and the role of tourism in socio-economic development;
 - (b) To identify and analyse problems and issues in tourism developments;
 - (c) To identify areas for technical assistance from international organizations and other donor sources.
6. An additional requirement of the project was for the study team to attend and present an overview to the Seminar on the Promotion of Sustainable Tourism Development in Pacific Island Countries, held at Suva in 1991. The Seminar was sponsored by ESCAP, TCSP and the South Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP). A set of observations and recommendations from the Seminar has been prepared and

will be published with the proceedings and papers of the Seminar in ESCAP Tourism Review No. 9 (ST/ESCAP/1165).

7. In the section below on research methodology references are made to some of the serious problems encountered in this study.

8. There continue to be significant problems with the formulation of a substantive data and information base. Such problems presage differences in interpretation. Although significant improvements have been made in recent years, in large measure because of the work of TCSP, the general availability of critical economic, social, environmental information, and visitor statistics, especially at uniform or common base dates or inventories, is such that realistic interpretations of the region-wide status of tourism activity is frustrated. This impediment to coherent assessment is becoming acute; for example, some nations are beginning to question the desirability of further commitment to tourism development, especially as the issues of environmental and cultural carrying capacity are being examined more intensively, and as there is conflicting evidence of the contribution of tourism development to the general welfare of the indigenous population. This is such an important matter that it is addressed in the recommendations.

9. The research objectives, outlined in paragraph 5 above, would be suitable for any major study of the status and impacts of, and the prospects for, tourism development in any **national** context. For the present study, the principal complication is that the objectives are set in a **multinational context**, in which independent nations interpret commitments to tourism development from different points of view extending across the spectrum from avid acceptance to outright rejection. In addition, the study is complicated because not every nation has an equal endowment of tourist attractions (see parts one and two of this report). The impact of these two complications will be evident in parts three and four below. It is necessary to recognize the concessions to these differences which need to be made in the drawing up of policies and strategies for a region which is unique.

10. It is the uniqueness of this region and its problems and potentialities which, in the view of the study team, have not always been fully considered in previous studies. This report strives to reflect the uniqueness of the region and of its island nations in the pursuit of the research objectives.

Research methodology

11. In pursuit of the three principal study objectives (see paragraph 5 above), the research process included a series of studies with which:

- (a) To determine the basic socio-economic and political status of the island nations in the region;
- (b) To identify the scale and scope of tourism activity in the island nations;
- (c) To interpret the social, economic and environmental consequences of tourism activity in the region;
- (d) To examine the potential range of strategies, concepts and models which might be applicable in the circumstances of the region;
- (e) To deduce which of these strategies could be implemented in the region;
- (f) To identify the scope and nature of continuing tourism research needs, and of technical assistance.

12. It must be pointed out again here that the funding arrangements for this study did not allow for field investigations, nor for direct on-site consultations with the national tourism agencies. As a substitute for this, the study team had to resort to collecting information from postal, telephone and fax enquiries of the offices of national tourism agencies and authorities in the Pacific island countries, and from the appropriate consulate and tourism offices in Australia.

13. The resort to these surrogate information sources posed problems for the study team. In some cases, there was ready cooperation with the provision of primary data and the forwarding of useful commentaries both on tourism and general circumstances within the nations. This degree of assistance was counterbalanced by some cases in which scant if any information was made available, and even then it was of poor quality. An important outcome of this disparity in cooperation and quality of information has been a degree of imbalance and possibly distortion in the interpretations and assessments which have been made, and the conclusions which have been drawn. This matter is addressed in the set of recommendations below.

14. Secondary sources were used extensively in the development of both background and more detailed information. These secondary sources included, for example, various data-rich publications from WTO and the region-specific studies conducted by Arthur D. Little Inc. (1989) and the Pacific Islands Development Programme at the East-West Centre, Hawaii (1990). In addition, reports and commentaries produced by TCSP proved to be very helpful.

15. Reference was made to the publications emanating from a series of seminars and workshops conducted in (or about) the Pacific region. Among the most useful of the readily available sources were *Tourism in the South Pacific* (UNESCO Workshop Rarotonga, 1980), *Social and Economic Impact of Tourism in Asia Pacific Region* (Kathmandu Symposium, editor, Hawkins, 1982), *Development of Tourism in Pacific Island Countries* (ESCAP Seminar, Suva, 1986), *The Impact of Tourism Development in the Pacific* (Satellite Conference, 1982), and *Planning for Tourism in Developing Countries* (PTRC Seminar, London, 1986). As might be expected, these various sources are different in quality, scope and focus; in addition, there is considerable repetition. This matter of repetition will also be addressed in the section on recommendations, not least because it seems that more energy needs to be directed to solving problems and in implementing solutions than to the somewhat easier task of merely gathering data and identifying the problems.

16. The bibliographic search revealed a number of texts which proved to be useful in focusing attention on both general and specific matters, and on "opening the window" to potential routes out of the various dilemmas faced by island nations in the South Pacific. A selection of the texts found to be most useful included *The Island States of the Pacific and Indian Oceans* (Shand, 1980) *A New Kind of Sugar* (Finney and Watson, 1975), *Pacific Tourism – As Islanders See It* (Rajotte and Crocombe, 1980), *Selected Issues in Pacific Island Development* (Cole and Parry, 1986), *Destination South Pacific – Perspectives on Island Tourism* (Kissling, 1990), *Developmental Issues on Small Island Economies* (McKee and Tisdell, 1990), *The Great Escape – An Examination of North-South Tourism* (English, 1986), and various monographs authored or edited by Fairbairn (such as *Island Economies*, 1985; and *The Pacific Islands*, 1991).

17. In addition, regionally focused journals (academic, professional and popular) and tourism-specialist journals (such as *Annals of Tourism Research* and *Tourism Management*) proved valuable sources of background and contextual information, and in some cases detailed information to supplement case-study and anecdotal information.

18. Finally, the papers presented to two recent seminars held at Suva provided valuable current statements on tourism activity in the Pacific region. These seminars were:

(a) Regional Conference on Tourism and National Development Planning in the South Pacific, organized by TCSP, held at Suva, in November 1991;

(b) Seminar on the Promotion of Sustainable Tourism Development in Pacific Island Countries, organized by ESCAP/TCSP/SPREP, held at Suva in November, 1991 (see paragraph 6 above).

19. Steps (a), (b) and (c) in the research process listed in paragraph 11 above drew heavily on the sources, both primary and secondary, listed in paragraphs 12-18 above.

20. The examination of potentially suitable strategies, concepts and spatial models, and particularly the reduction of the list to those which seemed implementable in the Pacific region, was based on a range of standard sources on tourism planning and policy. A recent review of the mainsprings of tourism planning concepts (Fagence, 1991) provided the entrance to the relevant literature sources. It was found that tourism

strategy formulation is dependent on, *inter alia*, the clarification of whether the target area for tourism development is for destination tourism or circuit or touring tourism. This distinction is important, as the approach to the creation of a suitable strategy will differ according to the type or style of tourism. Such a distinction is made by Gunn (1972; 1979; 1988a; 1988b) – a primary source of inspiration for part four of this study – and is manifest in the plethora of case-studies revealed in book and journal sources. An important difficulty discovered in the attempt to present a reasoned case for a regional strategy is that the many models and concepts considered in the literature, and implemented in practice, are appropriate to single nations or regions which are composed of extensive contiguous land surfaces, whereas, in the South Pacific, not only is the region composed of disparate island nations, but each nation is an aggregate of island communities and some uninhabited islands.

21. Cooperation in marketing the region as a single tourism destination tends to mask the sensitive independence of many island nations in the region. The geographical circumstances, the processes and pace of development, and the differential tourism potential of the island nations placed considerable strain on the capacity to “think through” and compare appropriate strategies and concepts. Such difficulties were compounded by the generally weak underpinning of many of the national strategies already prepared in terms of tourism planning principles. This is another matter addressed in the set of recommendations on technical cooperation.

22. Steps (a) to (e) in the above research process benefited from many items revealed in bibliographic searches in tourism and related journals. A particular problem with such sources, however, was the general tendency towards parochialism and idiosyncrasy, with few attempts to generalize “outwards” from the case-study to other sets of circumstances. It seems likely, for example, that much of the case-study literature which focuses on the Caribbean region could be used in a suitably “translated” form in the Pacific region. This is another matter which is addressed in the appropriate sections of this report.

23. The research team engaged for this study is acutely aware of the latent body of literature, including reports, papers for conferences and seminars, doctoral and other theses, which may be accessible. For this study, however, time, human and financial resources precluded the creation of an extensive bibliographic record of relevant items. The bibliography used (see references) is composed of selected items, used to support this study. It does not purport to be complete or encyclopaedic. Sources such as the Pacific Collection at the University of Hawaii’s Hamilton Library would provide a foundation for an information base on published sources on tourism in the region. This is a matter addressed in the appropriate section of this report.

Scope and organization

24. This study of Pacific island nations focused attention on 21 countries and areas:

(a) Members of TCSP and ACP (8): Fiji, Kiribati, Papua New Guinea, Samoa, Solomon Islands, Tonga, Tuvalu and Vanuatu.

(b) Members of TCSP only (6): American Samoa, Cook Islands, Marshall Islands, Micronesia (Federated States of), Niue and French Polynesia (Tahiti).

(c) Remaining countries/areas of the region (7): Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Guam, Nauru, New Caledonia, Republic of Palau, Tokelau, and Wallis and Futuna.

25. The diversity in social, economic, cultural, environmental, political and strategic circumstances is revealed throughout the present report. In fact, it is the diversity as well as the degrees of conformity which contribute to the uniqueness of this region. In the various parts of this report attention is drawn to the inappropriateness of considering the region as a simple aggregation of easily assembled “pieces”. The misconception of homogeneity is, perhaps, conveyed by the marketing exercise of the “South Pacific village”

26. In this report the study team has focused attention on the various consequences of and opportunities for tourism, in some areas synthesizing from different single focus studies.

27. The format of the report is as follows:

(a) Executive Summary;

(b) Introduction, setting out the research objectives, the methodology and sources used in the study;

(c) Part one: regional overview of tourism development, addressing the basic circumstances of the region, the recent significance of tourism, the economics of tourism in the region, the sociocultural impacts, and the environmental impacts of tourism in the region;

(d) Part two: problems and constraints of future tourism development, considering the economic and socio-cultural issues;

(e) Part three: tourism policy in the region, including an examination of tourism policy in the region, regional cooperation, the principal determinants of policy, and the "leap" from policy to strategy;

(f) Part four: developmental strategies, considering the present state-of-the-art in the region, the present corpus of attractions and services, the theoretical underpinnings of developmental strategies, and the expression of strategies in the region, concluding with the examination of nine lingering problems;

(g) Recommendations.

28. Some of the published sources used for background or detailed information are listed in the references section. There is no specific citation of any of the national plans consulted.

29. This report concludes with a series of six annexes on countries and areas of the region; tourism arrivals, 1990; TCSP statistics; ACP country statistics; WTO statistics; and Pacific island profiles.

Part One

REGIONAL OVERVIEW OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

30. This section of the report discusses the nature and characteristics of the Pacific island region, highlighting its unique features and relating these to tourism issues. The scattered and isolated nature of the tourist destinations is analysed together with the features of small nation States.
31. Present tourism use of the area is analysed in some detail. This analysis focuses on tourism numbers, tourism flows, and origin and destination regions. Individual countries in various stages of tourism development are highlighted.
32. The economic significance of tourism to the region is examined together with existing impact. The primary if not the only reason any country embraces tourism development is for the potential economic gains which may result. Given the unique nature of much of this region the socio-cultural and environmental impacts of tourism are also examined.
33. This section presents the background information for the following section, which focuses on the problems and constraints of future tourism development in the region.

The region

34. Although many of the countries which are the focus of this report are too small to be easily spotted on a world map, they are scattered over an immense area of ocean the same size as Africa. This in itself makes the islands of the Pacific a unique region. Whereas most tourist destination regions are land-orientated the Pacific region is water-orientated creating unique opportunities but also unique constraints for tourism development.
35. The 21 countries and areas analysed in this study comprise a combined population of under 6 million (fewer than half the residents of New York), located on a total land area of 550,000 square kilometres (a land area the size of France) but scattered across 30 million square kilometres of ocean. If Papua New Guinea is excluded from these calculations because of its unique size, the combined population is only 2.1 million and the total land area only 88,000 square kilometres (Stanley 1989).
36. The islands of the region can be divided into high islands and low islands on physiographic characteristics. Some countries comprise only high islands, some only low islands and some have both. On the whole the high islands are of volcanic origin and have good soils, abundant water and lush vegetation. The low islands are of coral formation and generally have no topsoil; the sand has a high salt content, there is limited vegetation, with no springs or rivers. Where rainfall is low there is a scarcity of water. (Bendurg and Fairly 1988).
37. The 21 countries and areas analysed fall into three geographic regions based on physical and sociocultural characteristics. French Polynesia, the Cook Islands, Niue, Tonga, American Samoa, Samoa, Tokelau, Wallis and Futuna and Tuvalu all lie within Polynesia, covering a triangular area of ocean from Easter Island in the east, to Hawaii in the north and New Zealand in the south-west. Fiji, New Caledonia, Vanuatu, Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea all lie in Melanesia, which lies to the west of Polynesia between Australia and the equator. Nauru, Kiribati, the Marshall Islands, the Federated States of Micronesia, the Republic of Palau, Guam and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands all lie in Micronesia, meaning "small islands", and located north of Melanesia above the equator. For details of individual countries see annex VI.
38. A small population on a small land area with few natural resources creates severe economic problems for a society in the late twentieth century. In the pre-industrial era with a subsistence economy and slow

population increase the region could sustain the local population but in an industrialized world most of these countries are facing an economic dilemma. Improved health standards have given rise to an increasing population; this has in turn led to population pressure which in many cases can only be resolved by emigration. In 1986 just over 17,000 Cook Islanders lived in the Cook Islands but over 20,000 resided in New Zealand. Over 100,000 Tongans live in the Kingdom of Tonga but over 40,000 live overseas.

39. As people abandon subsistence agriculture in search of paid work the local economy must produce sufficient income to sustain a waged labour force. Small islands in isolated locations find it difficult to compete in an international economy. In many Pacific islands only the Government can offer paid employment. Eighty-seven per cent of all paid work in Niue is provided by the Government, 50 per cent of all jobs in the Cook Islands are for the Government and about 40 per cent of all jobs in American Samoa are underwritten by Government funds. Table 1 presents basic physical and economic data in the countries under investigation in this report.

Table 1. Pacific islands: selected physical and economic indicators

<i>Country/area</i>	<i>Population 1987</i>	<i>Land area (km²)</i>	<i>Sea area (EEZ) (000 km²)</i>	<i>Density (people per km²)</i>	<i>GNP per capita 1988 (\$US)</i>	<i>ODA per capita 1988 (\$US)</i>
American Samoa	36 700	197	390	186	5 277	1 590
Cook Islands	17 100	240	1 830	71	2 040	631
Federated States of Micronesia	97 700	701	2 978	139	1 256	450
Fiji	725 500	18 272	1 290	40	1 540	58
French Polynesia	176 800	3 265	5 030	54	7 480	1 715
Guam	119 800	541	218	221	5 470	447
Kiribati	67 700	690	3 550	98	650	176
Marshall Islands	37 800	179	2 131	211	1 317	460
Nauru	8 800	21	320	419	9 090	–
New Caledonia	153 500	19 103	1 740	8	5 760	1 653
Niue	2 500	259	390	10	1 080	1 626
Northern Mariana Islands	20 600	471	777	44	9 170	4 346
Republic of Palau	14 000	494	629	28	2 420	1 940
Papua New Guinea	3 463 300	462 840	3 120	7	820	84
Solomon Islands	292 000	28 369	1 340	10	430	117
Tokelau	1 600	10	290	160	560	1 446
Tonga	94 800	699	700	136	800	128
Tuvalu	8 500	26	900	327	453	1 585
Vanuatu	145 000	11 880	680	12	820	195
Wallis and Futuna	14 700	255	300	58	750	1 540
Samoa	162 000	2 935	120	55	588	113
Total/average	5 660 500	551 452	29 523	10.3		

Source: Fairbairn, Morrison, Baker and Groves, "The Pacific islands – politics, economics, and international relations" (Honolulu, East West Centre, 1991), p. 6-7.

40. With an increasing emphasis on a waged economy, growing population pressure, increasing problems of small-scale production, reduced affluence of many donor countries, and a changed political world order more and more developing countries are looking towards tourism development to solve their economic ills. The big question is can tourism help or is it no better than relying on aid or developing alternative initiatives.

Current tourism significance

41. The collection of tourist data is a very imprecise art and the Pacific region experience proves no exception. Various sources give differing visitor numbers to any one country for any one time and the data do not distinguish between overseas nationals returning to family for Easter or Christmas, business or vacation tourists, and diplomatic travellers visiting as part of their work duties. It is therefore inadvisable to attach too much importance to any specific figures. The general figures however present some useful trends.

42. In 1990, the latest year for which there are reasonably accurate statistical data, the 21 countries and areas covered by this report received a collective total of approximately 2 million overseas visitors. This represents approximately 0.5 per cent of total world figures for 1990. To put this in a world perspective the 2 million visitors are roughly equal to the number visiting Australia, and compare with the 36 million visiting the United States of America or the 55 million tourists visiting Italy.

43. Not all countries of the Pacific are equally involved in large-scale tourism. Over 80 per cent of all visitors to the study region stay in just four countries.

Table 2. Visitor numbers to Guam, Saipan, Fiji and French Polynesia (1990)

Guam	780 000	40%
Saipan	380 000	19%
Fiji	260 000	14%
French Polynesia	155 000	7%
Total	1.56 million	80%

44. Another seven countries account for a further 16 per cent of visitors.

Table 3. Visitors to various nations in the Pacific (1990)

New Caledonia	80 000	4%
American Samoa	55 000	3%
Samoa	53 000	2%
Papua New Guinea	41 000	2%
Cook Islands	34 000	2%
Vanuatu	31 000	2%
Tonga	30 000	1%
Total	324 000	16%

In effect just over half of the countries studied account for approximately 96 per cent of all visitors to the region, leaving the remaining countries accounting for a very low number of tourists indeed.

45. Although tourists to the region originate from all parts of the world, there is a heavy dominance of Pacific Rim countries. Australia accounts for approximately 14 per cent of all visitors to the region and New Zealand just under 15 per cent. Japan accounts for about 15 per cent of all visitors and a further 20 per cent originate from other Pacific islands. Japan and the other Pacific island countries account for over 86 per cent

of all visitors to Guam, and 75 per cent of all visitors to Saipan. Almost half of all visitors to Fiji originate from either Australia or New Zealand. Only French Polynesia has a major segment of truly global visitors with 30 per cent originating in Europe and 46 per cent from the United States.

46. Some indication of the various levels of tourism usage in the region can be gained from an examination of three case-studies selected from countries experiencing mass tourism, moderate tourism development, and tourism in embryonic form.

47. Guam in Micronesia is the most heavily visited country in the Pacific region outside Hawaii (which is not the subject of this study). Although Guam is only 543 square kilometres in area, it is the largest island in Micronesia and has the largest population: over 120,000 people. Guam is an Unincorporated Territory of the United States. One reason for the high resident population is the 30,000 United States residents related to the United States military presence in the area.

48. Until 1962 with the lifting of security clearance, few tourists visited Guam but with eased restrictions and the introduction of jet air services in 1968 Guam captured a growing Japanese holiday trade. In 1986 just under 400,000 tourists visited Guam; in 1990 it was just under 800,000. Eighty per cent of the visitors are Japanese.

49. To accommodate this influx of visitors there are 4,000 hotel rooms on the island and hotels, shopping centres and apartment buildings are being constructed everywhere. To most visitors, Guam is now known as "Little Hawaii" and has lost much of its Pacific island character. English is taking over as the preferred language. But it must be remembered that tourism contributes over \$US200 million to the Guam economy and the 30,000 resident Americans will have as much to do with a local change of character as any tourist trade. Guam represents an island nation which has gone all out to foster a tourism industry and gains a considerable level of income from tourism.

50. Vanuatu falls within the second category of countries which attract moderate levels of tourism within the region without going "all out" to cater for the mass market. Vanuatu comprises a group of 82 lush green islands located in Melanesia some 2,250 kilometres from Sydney. The land area of Vanuatu comprises some 12,000 square kilometres, with 12 of the 82 islands representing over 93 per cent of this total land area. The country has been independent since 1980.

51. Over 80 per cent of its 150,000 population live from subsistence agriculture. Imports are four times its exports so there is a huge trade imbalance. Tourism is being developed as a means of reducing the imbalance. Development has been along traditional lines focusing on transnational hotels centred around Port Vila. Thirty-three per cent of all visitors originate from Australia and a further 20 per cent are French. To date tourism has largely developed in the hands of Australian expatriates and Japanese corporations. High prices have tended to slow tourism growth but yearly visitation figures have increased from around 15,000 annually in 1986 to over 43,000 today.

52. Tourism is important to Vanuatu but it does not dominate it as does the industry in Guam. The high concentration around Port Vila has focused development pressures on only certain parts of the country. As with Guam, however, there is a strong outside influence on, and control of, the industry.

53. At the opposite end of the development spectrum to Guam is Tuvalu in Polynesia, which is one of the smallest independent nations in the world. Tuvalu comprises nine islands covering a total land area of under 25 square kilometres. The highest point is only four metres above sea level and there is a fear the country could literally disappear with a rising sea level. With a population of about 10,000 its population density of 328 per square kilometres is one of the highest in the world.

54. The majority of Tuvaluans are engaged in subsistence agriculture and fishing and one quarter of national income is derived from the sale of postage stamps. The country is totally dependent on overseas aid mainly from Britain and Australia. Tourism is a very small-scale industry in Tuvalu. In 1990 tourism provided \$US 365,000 in foreign exchange; other exports amounted to only \$US 30,000. There is one hotel

and eight guest-houses in the country providing 17 rooms for hire. The airport is a grass runway but it is shortly to be upgraded.

55. Between 1985 and 1990 annual visitor arrivals fluctuated between 500 and 800; 976 arrived in 1991 thanks to an improved air service. A recent TCSP visitor survey revealed the following visitor category breakdown. Forty-nine per cent of all visitors were business or aid workers, foreign consultants or government officials and a further 29 per cent were nationals returning for vacation with friends or relatives. Only 15 per cent of visitors were recreation tourists. The origins of the recreation tourists were Europe (39 per cent), other Pacific Islands (20 per cent), Australia (15 per cent), and North America (14 per cent). Nine out of every ten recreation tourists were visiting the country for the first time.

56. The following were given by the tourists as the main reasons for visiting Tuvalu: friendly and helpful people, 97 per cent; beautiful atmosphere, 95 per cent; peace and serenity, 92 per cent; beautiful natural scenery, 92 per cent; and interesting culture and folklore, 72 per cent. Clearly many of these desirable attributes would be lost if the country embarked on a mass tourism development programme.

57. It is customary for consultants from outside the region to group all 21 countries and areas together and examine regional averages. This has been done below but more to prove the futility of the exercise than to prove any points. Of the 21 countries and areas covered by this report only 14 countries are presented in the World Tourism Organization's Yearbook of Tourism Statistics (World Tourism Organization 1991) but as the 14 countries in the Yearbook comprise 98 per cent of total tourism to the 21 countries and areas, they present the regional picture.

Table 4. Market segment by visitor origin (percentage)

<i>Country/area</i>	<i>Americas^a</i>	<i>Asia^b</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Aus/NZ</i>	<i>Oceania^c</i>
American Samoa	29	1	8	12	50
Cook Islands	15	1	17	62	5
Fiji	20	6	15	51	8
French Polynesia	44	8	35	11	2
Guam	5	71	10	1	13
Marshall Islands	26	58	3	3	10
New Caledonia	2	35	21	31	11
Niue	8	1	10	64	17
Papua New Guinea	15	13	15	52	5
Samoa	10	1	7	38	44
Solomon Islands	10	5	7	48	30
Tonga	22	13	17	33	15
Tuvalu	15	8	20	28	29
Vanuatu	3	3	3	67	24
Average	16	16	13	36	19
TCSP average	21	6	18	37	18

^a Americas column overwhelmingly North America and in particular the United States of America.

^b Asia column overwhelmingly dominated by Japan.

^c Oceania excluding Australia and New Zealand.

58. Much caution should be displayed in interpreting these data. These figures represent all visitors and not discretionary vacation tourism. For this reason the 19 per cent market share average from the "other Pacific islands" is likely to be dominated by business and diplomatic and expatriate travel. Furthermore the 16 per cent average for Asia (mainly Japan) disguises the reality with a 71 and 88 per cent market share of two countries but under 1 per cent in four other countries.

59. Of greater importance is the regional variation which is strongly influenced by colonial or ex-colonial ties or regional proximity. Regional proximity is illustrated by the high percentage of Japanese tourists to Guam and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (Saipan), and of Australian and New Zealand tourists to Vanuatu and Papua New Guinea. Colonial ties can be observed between the United States and American Samoa and between France and French Polynesia. One in every three visitors to a American Samoa is from the United States compared with only one in 10 to Samoa. The 35 per cent European origin for visitors to French Polynesia is heavily influenced by colonial connections. Expatriates living overseas also influence the figures.

60. For this reason it is suggested that to work on regional averages is about as meaningful as grouping tourism figures for Albania, Denmark and France and assuming the regional averages have some purpose. For the region as a whole the averages have little value.

61. A number of useful points however can be made about visitation figures to the region.

(a) There is an inadequacy of data which hides the true number and origin of vacation tourists.

(b) Non-discretionary travel, involving business people, diplomats, aid workers, and expatriates, must be filtered from the raw totals to provide a meaningful tourist picture.

(c) There is a strong correlation between historic colonial ties and present tourism patterns although this may be less distinct for true vacation travellers.

(d) There is a strong correlation between proximity of an island State and visits from the nearest tourist-generating country.

(e) With only half of 1 per cent of global travel there is scope for visitor increase if that is desired by the countries of the region.

(f) There are massive variations in tourism flows to various islands (cf. Guam with Tuvalu).

Economics of tourism in the region

62. Tourism can play an especially important role in the economic development of Pacific island nations because of the nature and characteristics of small island economies. Most of the island nations in the region have a narrow economic base and are heavily dependent on one or two export commodities. Nauru is almost totally dependent on the export of phosphate, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands on vegetables, the Republic of Palau on copra and Wallis and Futuna on trochus shells (Fairbairn and others 1991). A slump in world demand or an over-supply of one of these basic economic staples and the island economy is in poor shape with little scope for diversification in the short run (see table 5).

63. Small island States are characterized by limited economic resources. Limited land area results in high vulnerability to the climatic elements. A hurricane or cyclone on a major continental land mass may cause severe local devastation but other land areas will be unaffected. On a small island all areas may be devastated at one time by one climatic event. A small island will experience only one climatic regime, unlike the United States or Australia which can exploit a number of climatic zones. Many of the island nations have limited resources to exploit.

Table 5. Pacific island economies: domestic exports by value and principal products, 1988

<i>Country/area</i>	<i>Total exports (Millions of US dollars)</i>	<i>Principal products</i>
American Samoa	200 ^a	Canned fish and other fish products
Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands	4 ^a	Vegetables
Cook Islands	4	Fresh fruit and vegetables, pearl shells, clothing, copra
Fiji	304	Sugar, garments, gold, coconut oil, molasses, fish, timber products
French Polynesia	20 ^b	Coconut oil, cultured pearls, fruit
Guam	39 ^c	Transshipped goods
Kiribati	5	Copra, fish
Micronesia (Federated States of)	–	Copra
Nauru	116 ^d	Phosphate
New Caledonia	202 ^e	Nickel ore, non-ferrous metals
Niue	(0.08 ^a)	Coconut cream, lime
Papua New Guinea	1,409	Gold, copper concentrates, coffee, cocoa, forest products, palm oil, coconut products
Republic of Palau	–	Copra
Samoa	14	Taro, coconut oil, coconut cream, cocoa, timber
Solomon Islands	77	Copra, canned fish, forest products, palm oil, cocoa
Tokelau	–	Copra, handicrafts
Tonga	8	Vanilla, coconut oil, clothing, watermelons, squash
Tuvalu	(0.7 ^c)	Copra, handicrafts, fish
Vanuatu	15	Copra, beef products, cocoa, logs
Wallis and Futuna	–	Trochus

Sources: Australian National University (1990), Asian Development Bank (1987), South Pacific Commission (1985), Carter (1984), Bank of Papua New Guinea (1987). Exports from Marshall Islands are not known.

– Not available

a 1985.

b 1987.

c 1983.

d 1982-1983.

e 1984.

64. All the island nations of the region experience a high level of geographic isolation, in some cases between the islands of one nation, and in all cases with the major markets of the world. Transport costs can be high, severely reducing the competitive advantage of the island economies.

65. All the island nations suffer from the diseconomies of small scale. Domestic markets for any one product are usually minuscule and there is limited scope for large-scale production. Faced with limited resources, a small and often unskilled labour force, high transport costs, and a high vulnerability to climatic disasters, it is little wonder that many of the island economies are in poor shape. Because the tourist goes to the product (the destination region) at the tourist's own expense there are many potential advantages in exploiting the tourist dollar. For many small island nations of the world tourism has become their number one "export".

66. When tourists visit a destination they bring with them income. Money spent on accommodation, food and beverages, local transport, sightseeing tours and the purchase of gifts and souvenirs goes into the local destination economy. Income received in this way is known as total tourist receipts. This income may be significantly larger than income from commodity exports. In the case of Samoa tourism income exceeds commodity income by 2.5 times; in Tonga it exceeds commodity income by 11 times, and in Fiji, with a larger and more diversified economy than many of its island neighbours, tourism accounts for one third of export income. Tourism therefore is a significant economic factor in many local economies.

67. The total international tourist receipts to a country are known as gross foreign exchange earnings. These may help an island economy in a number of ways. Tourism income helps the balance of payments, national income, government revenue and employment. Income to an economy may be direct, indirect, or induced.

68. Direct income is that money actually spent by tourists in a region. This may be receipts for accommodation in hotels, meals in a restaurant, or souvenirs purchased at a local shop or cooperative. The direct income may go on salaries and wages of employees in the industry, on profit and dividends, imports of goods and services and government taxes and fees such as a bed or airport departure tax.

69. Indirect income is derived from tourist activity but not taken directly from tourists. Indirect income includes money spent by hotels on the purchase of food, garbage collection, and legal or marketing services for tour companies. Money generated in this area of economic involvement is not directly in contact with the tourist but without the tourists this income would not be generated.

70. The increased economic activity generated by tourist direct and indirect income will lead to other developments within the destination economy. This segment is known as induced income. The presence of tourists might result in more police officers, or tradespeople. The sector of the economy affected by this segment of activity is known as the induced income element. Although all these elements should be considered when evaluating the economic impact of tourism on a destination economy, in practice it is very hard to make accurate predictions about economic activity that is somewhat removed from direct tourist expenditure.

71. An important aspect of any analysis of tourism expenditure is the tourism economy multiplier. The concept of multipliers has been used by economists since the 1930s and has been used extensively in tourism evaluation since the 1970s. A tourist dollar will be spent and respent many times before it leaves the destination economy. The best economic advantage to be derived from tourism is when the tourist dollar is widely circulated before it leaves the region. Unfortunately, as a general rule the size of the multiplier is dependent on the size of the destination region. The multiplier for Canada, for instance, is 2.43, whereas that for Greece is only 1.3. For small island nations the multiplier is nearer 0.7 or 0.8. In other words for every \$1 spent a further 80 cents is generated (Bull 1991).

72. The reason island nations generally have a smaller multiplier than large countries on continental land masses is because of economic leakage. Small island States often depend on overseas managers, overseas investment, overseas imports of food and in some cases even drinking water. Money spent on imports of either capital, labour or commodities is lost to the local economy and is therefore viewed as a leakage. If many things have to be imported to sustain a tourism industry much of the gross tourism earnings will be lost creating a much smaller net tourism earning. It is therefore very important that island nations structure the tourism industry to maximize income retained in the destination economy.

73. Actual figures of tourism receipts for the region as a whole are notoriously unreliable and are only estimates. For the 14 TCSP member countries tourism income has been estimated to be worth around \$US 500 million (Bjarnason 1991). This figure represents between 5 and 10 per cent of GDP and 8 per cent of total Government income. As the 14 TCSP member countries and areas receive only 35 per cent of the region's tourist arrivals it is probable that tourism income to the 21 countries and areas of the region is somewhere around \$US 1.5 billion. This is roughly equal to the level of aid given to the region and represents a significant element of the region's economy (see table 6).

Table 6. Aid flows to the South Pacific, 1988

<i>Country/area</i>	<i>Total aid flows (Millions of US dollars)</i>	<i>Aid per capita (\$US)</i>
Cook Islands	11	631
Fiji	43	58
French Polynesia	327	1 715
Kiribati	12	176
Nauru*	NA	–
New Caledonia	261	1 653
Niue	5	1 626
Papua New Guinea	300	84
Samoa	19	113
Solomon Islands	35	117
Tokelau	3	1 446
Tonga	13	128
Tuvalu	13	1 585
Vanuatu	29	195
Unallocated	55	–
Total	1 176	232

Source: Fairbairn, Morrison, Baker and Groves, "The Pacific Islands – politics, economics and international relations" (Honolulu, East-West Centre, 1991), p.49.

74. Employment is a significant problem for many of the island nations. There is a high level of unemployment and many nationals emigrate to New Zealand, Australia, Canada and the United States in search of work. Tourism can create jobs and thereby reduce the necessity to emigrate. It is estimated for instance that about 1,600 of Samoa's 16,000 jobs are tourism-related. In the eight ACP countries Bjarnason (1991) estimates that 35,000 full-time equivalent jobs are tourism-related, and for all 14 TCSP members the figure is somewhere between 50,000 and 55,000. If these figures are correct it can be surmised that 13 international tourists create one full-time equivalent job. Although this is significantly less than the Australian estimate of 20 international tourists needed to create one full-time equivalent tourism job the nature of the Australian economy and Australian wage levels may account for the disparity. On the 13 to 1 ratio it can be estimated that the 2 million visitors to the region generate approximately 150,000 jobs or 12 per cent of the region's total employment.

75. Unfortunately not all the economic impacts are beneficial and the negative impacts on the region must be considered. Although these are not presented here to discourage tourism development they must be considered in any balanced evaluation of the region for future tourism potential. One of the major disadvantages is inflation. Demand for labour, land, and resources have to be purchased by the tourist industry which in most cases is catering for a client group in a much higher socio-economic income group than the indigenous population. High prices are paid for the right location and the tourism investor may easily outbid competing demands. High land prices, higher labour costs and higher food prices are the usual result of tourism development.

76. Tourism, and especially international tourism, works on a money economy and this can have a significant effect on an indigenous subsistence economy. In some cases the women and young girls work as maids in the hotels and restaurants, leaving the men to pursue traditional occupations such as farming or fishing. This can result in the traditional head of the household contributing less to the family than his wife

or children (see below under "sociocultural impact of tourism in the region"). The wages offered in the tourism sector may be higher than those offered in the non-tourism sector, resulting in a structural shift in employment from other means of income. This may be detrimental to other industrial sectors. Money in an economy may lead to an increased demand for consumer durables. Although this may be to the advantage of the individual, it may be detrimental to the economy. As most consumer durables have to be imported this leads to rapid leakage from the economy and demand may be greater than the economy can withstand.

77. Finally tourism development can lead to a new form of colonialism (Fagence 1992). If an island State cannot afford airline, hotel or resort investment, local infrastructure, or does not possess the necessary labour skills, these have to be supplied by outside organizations. Not only does this lead to a high level of dependence on outside companies and nations but it also results in a high level of leakage with most tourism receipts flowing straight out of the country to the nation or nations involved with the infrastructural investment. Even an economy the size of Australia is heavily dependent on overseas involvement in its tourism industry. Clearly any tourism strategy for the region must capitalize on the economic advantages of tourism development while avoiding the worst negative impacts.

Sociocultural impact of tourism in the region

78. Although tourism is primarily promoted for economic gain its proponents have extolled the virtues of sociocultural benefits. There is no doubt that in certain circumstances positive social and cultural impacts occur. One of the greatest benefits is employment opportunity. Money earned from a tourism job gives a greater level of economic independence to the worker who may therefore be less tied to traditional family norms and restrictions. Improved mobility, greater job opportunity and the ability to purchase consumer goods are normally given as the greatest social benefits of tourism. Tourism entrepreneurship may give workers access to a middle class in a society hitherto dominated by the two class extremes of labourer or hereditary chief.

79. Better services available to the indigenous population are also put forward as a tourism benefit. Better roads and public transport, more retail outlets, perhaps a better health service, improved drinking water and sewerage systems are all given as examples of tourism-induced improvements.

80. Although benefits to indigenous culture from tourism development are more subtle than benefits to the local social fabric, positive outcomes have been identified. They include a greater awareness and understanding of local culture, a revival of traditional arts and crafts, encouragement of traditional architecture, and the restoration and preservation of historic sites, monuments, religious and cultural relics.

81. There can be no doubt that these social and cultural benefits can and do occur. The unique cultural patterns of the region are a major tourist attraction to the area and are the feature which distinguishes this region from all other island regions nearer to the world's major tourist-generation areas such as the Caribbean, the Seychelles and Indonesia.

82. It would also be wrong to assume automatically that all tourism is potentially detrimental to the local culture. Tourism impact, especially the negative impact, depends very much on a wide variety of factors such as the type of tourist activity, the area of tourism development, the speed of industrial growth, the cultural and economic distance between guests and host populations and the absorptive capacity of destination cultures and societies. In the region under review there is a wide variety of impacts, from very great as in Guam to very slight as in Solomon Islands or Kiribati.

83. Furthermore, where there have been changes observed they may not automatically be the direct result of tourism. The spread of Western Christianity, education, mass media, industrialization, population growth, emigration and urbanization all play a part in sociocultural change. The periodic return of Tongan expatriates from Australia or the United States is just as much a catalyst for change as any tourist visiting a resort for a week's vacation.

84. As tourism has assumed "mass" dimensions since the Second World War there has been a steady realization that sociocultural impacts are not always for the good and the current "thinking" is as concerned

for the human environment as it is for economic improvement. The populations of the island nations of the Pacific have both strengths and weaknesses. The greatest potential weakness is the small size of many of the island populations. With populations counted in thousands rather than millions only a few tourists need be present for impacts to be measurable. A strength, however, is the scattered diversity of the Pacific population, its geographic isolation (impacts on one island need not necessarily affect the population on another island) and its strong religious beliefs.

85. The indigenous population, however, is potentially at risk. Its small-scale character based on a rural subsistence level of agriculture and village-orientated society is vulnerable to economic and social forces. The extended family concept, for instance, on many of the islands is based on the kinship system where a group of people are all related through either a patrilinear or matrilinear line. The social group is in delicate balance with the local subsistence economy, and the power structure works for the benefit of all based on common collective effort.

86. The introduction of a cash economy can have devastating results. A money wage is geared to a nuclear family and experience has shown that the extended family is weakened by monetary wage incomes. The tourism industry attracts and employs a high percentage of women and young people. A society based on a tradition of old men leading the group is severely shaken when the women and children of the group become the chief wage-earners. Migration to tourism facilities for work may create job opportunities but it can also lead to family disintegration, especially of the extended family.

87. Regrettably experience has also shown that tourism employment actually perpetuates class differences, contrary to popular rhetoric. The poorest paid jobs invariably go to the ethnic group ranked lowest in the social hierarchy, and its members find few prospects for upward mobility. Although an expanding tourism industry might create more jobs, if it expands too rapidly it may resort to labour importation. Many of the tourism jobs in Guam for instance have been given to Filipino migrants rather than locals in Guam. Top managerial positions are also often allotted only to overseas managers.

88. The presence of a large tourist population can also give rise to prostitution, homosexuality, alcohol abuse and an increase in crime. Fortunately these problems are few in the Pacific region, no doubt partly owing to the strength and influence of the church. Prolonged and increased tourism development, however, may break down the moral force of Christian teaching.

89. Tourists give rise to increased demands for new lifestyles and increased consumer spending. Little realizing that many of the tourists probably went without many things and saved for a year for the holiday of their dreams, the local population see only lax moral behaviour and excessive spending on luxury goods and services. This is known as the "demonstration effect" and can lead to moral conflict with family elders and demands for imports unsustainable by the local economy.

90. Although cultural values may be strengthened they can also be weakened by overcommercialization. Symbolic ceremonies performed on demand for tourists decrease the original value of the ceremony itself and local artistic tradition can be prostituted for commercial gain.

91. Fortunately the sociocultural impact on the Pacific region is not yet out of hand although the countries and areas experiencing mass tourism, Guam, Saipan, Fiji, and French Polynesia, have begun to be affected from some of the issues raised here. To date there has been little research into the nature and type of tourist best suited to the Pacific nation environments. Clearly the level of tourism development possible in the region without incurring excessive negative sociocultural impact depends on the nature of tourism encouraged. Further research is urgently needed in this area.

Environmental impact of tourism in the region

92. The natural environment is one of the chief attractions of the island nations of the Pacific (Challacombe 1991). The traditional image of sun, sand, surf, and palm trees in a tropical setting has predominated in the rest of the world since writers such as Robert Louis Stevenson first started writing about the region in the

nineteenth century. In addition to the coastal environment with its associated coral reefs, the high islands offer mountain scenery with associated rain forests and waterfalls.

93. Various tourist surveys have revealed the importance of the natural environment as a primary reason for tourist visits. The features most frequently cited as primary tourist attractions are coral reefs, scenic mountain landscapes, active volcanoes, rain forests, and fauna and flora, especially in Papua New Guinea (Bjarnason 1991). Between 50 and 80 per cent of all tourists to TCSP countries and areas cite the natural environment as the primary attraction. Visitors from Europe and the United States are the most appreciative of scenic quality. Over 80 per cent of all recreational tourists to Papua New Guinea cite the natural environment as the country's greatest asset; 63 per cent of visitors to the Cook Islands said the same thing. Wildlife did not score so highly but was an important attraction for 27 per cent of all visitors to Papua New Guinea. The reason wildlife does not figure more prominently is probably because it is often hard to observe.

94. Clearly the natural environment is a significant element of Pacific island attraction. Unfortunately, environmental conservation is still in an embryonic stage in many of the islands. The small scale of the local population and traditional agricultural activities within an essentially subsistence economy have not required a conservation ethic to develop until recently. This is not to say that traditional farming techniques are environmentally benign but the scale of development and the speed of change have militated against major disaster. In most developing economies the need for food, shelter, and sheer existence overrides any niceties of environmental conservation.

95. To date the developed industrial world, which tends to dominate global environmental thinking, has paid little attention to this region. This is partly because the developed world does not believe there is a problem and partly because the developed world is unable to understand and appreciate an ocean-dominated rather than land-dominated ecosystem. The small scale of the land masses, the highly vulnerable high-energy coastal environment, and steep-sided rain-forest mountains are highly vulnerable to large-scale tourism development.

96. Tourism creates two types of impact, direct and indirect. Direct impacts include shell removal on coral reefs adjacent to resorts, vegetation disturbance along coastal or forest footpaths, or sewage generated as a result of a coastal hotel. Indirect impacts involve increased urbanization as rural workers relocate near new resorts and sediment disturbance to coral reefs as a result of earthwork construction. Impacts both direct and indirect occur during the construction phase of tourism development and in the subsequent operational phase.

97. An extensive examination of the available literature on the Pacific island nations reveals that although most reports mention environmental impacts and cover impacts in a general way there is a marked absence of detailed site-specific data. There is a clear need for further research into the effects of tourism on the environment based on detailed specific analysis. As the present report is essentially a desk exercise, it too must regrettably cover this important issue in a very general way.

98. As most of the islands are small and as the sea is an important element of most island vacations, it stands to reason that most developments are concentrated within the coastal zone. Flooding is a major problem in some islands. Most coastal developments on Saipan, for instance, are concentrated on the coastal plains and rainwater run-off has become a problem in the wet season. Natural drainage channels have been affected by development in the absence of detailed plans and strong enforcement (Ikeda 1990). Some drainage channels have actually been built upon and ponding and floating problems are the result.

99. Tourist overuse of an area for recreation has also proved a problem in Saipan. Lake Saipan has been subjected to pollution and erosion as a result of excessive recreational use. Coastal waters are more cloudy when water skiers go by and such recreational vehicles are also a source of noise and fossil fuel pollution. Greater turbidity levels detract from the aesthetic value of coastal waters and affect the local coral and fish colonies.

100. Landfill and clearing constitute a further problem. Mangrove swamps are filled to make way for new resorts and hotels, coral reefs are blasted to provide building materials and allow access for deep-draft yachts.

Changes in the subreef structure have implications for coastal water movements which may reduce the supply of nutrients in some areas and cause beach erosion in others.

101. Sewage disposal is a major problem. Small-scale communities can survive with primitive sewage disposal systems but large tourist communities cannot. The traditional solution has been to pipe effluent out to sea and rely on natural marine processes to do the rest. With only one hotel that may be possible. As other hotels develop and follow the earlier precedent of off-shore dumping the local marine ecosystem becomes overloaded. Fish, coral and bird life then become affected, to say nothing of the potential health hazards.

102. Although demands for drinking water do not affect the environment directly, they can create indirect impacts. Excessive extraction from subterranean aquifers may lead to salt water penetration and a lowering of the water table on the sand islands can have the same devastating results. Demands for reservoirs in highland mountains can result in the loss of precious valley floor land needed for agriculture. Rajotte (1982) has estimated that tourism in a particular part of Fiji demands over 21 million litres of water per day and that water strategies are restricting other forms of development.

103. Overfishing, the collection of shells, hunting and general specimen collection can have a long-term cumulative effect on natural fauna and flora. In many countries current protection legislation is rudimentary and often poorly enforced. Even dropping a boat anchor on a reef on frequent occasions can cause considerable damage. Policing and environmentally acceptable methods of operation (such as a full sewage treatment plant rather than offshore disposal) are unfortunately expensive and developing economies in many cases cannot afford the additional expense.

104. This is not intended to be an exhaustive account of all environmental impacts of tourism in the region. In a great many cases the impacts which have occurred are poorly documented and little understood. Until there is greater research into environmental impacts in the region and stronger environmental controls the safest solution is to control visitor numbers and the speed of tourism development. The one clear message emanating from the inadequate data is that island countries are highly vulnerable to intensive tourism development and that it is the natural environment of these islands which is one of the major tourism attractions.

Conclusion

105. The Pacific island nations at the present time only attract some 0.5 per cent of world tourists and there is scope for attracting a larger share if the local inhabitants of the region so desire. At present over 80 per cent of the region's tourists are confined to just four islands. Although that effectively confines development and restricts the environmental and social damage it also restricts the benefits, especially the tourism benefits to only a few people of the region.

106. Current tourist data are very inadequate. Many sets of figures are contradictory and a clearer distinction should be made between business and expatriate travel and genuine vacation tourists. It would appear, however, that tourism accounts for some 100,000 to 150,000 jobs and brings in the same level of remuneration as current international aid packages: \$US1.5 billion. That is a considerable economic advantage, especially for many of the smaller countries.

107. Sociocultural impacts can be a problem but the scattered nature of the indigenous population and the low levels of tourism in many of the countries have so far resulted in fewer problems than in other areas of the developing world. The strong religious conviction of many of the local people has acted as some sort of social insulator. Furthermore it must be recognized that sociocultural change is not the exclusive prerogative of tourism development and a general rise in living standards with televisions, videos and expatriates returning from overseas all play a part in the evolution of the sociocultural mosaic of the region.

108. Environmental impacts are serious in some localities especially on the islands such as Saipan and Fiji where tourism occurs in "mass" proportions. Although, as with sociocultural impacts, many countries are still relatively unaffected by tourism developments the problem is increasing with growing tourism numbers.

There is an urgent need to increase environmental legislation and enforce existing controls and until that is done future tourism growth should be kept to a minimum. Visitor perception studies have revealed the considerable importance attached to the social and natural environmental qualities of the region by the visiting populations. The future economic sustainability of tourism is dependent on the region retaining its natural and social qualities.

109. The following section of this report will focus on the problems and constraints of the region with regard to future tourism development. Unless these are recognized and acknowledged no meaningful tourism strategy for the region will be achievable.

Part Two

PROBLEMS AND CONSTRAINTS OF FUTURE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

110. All areas have problems and constraints with regard to future tourism development but none more so than the island nations of the Pacific. The very nature of the area and the importance of its people and natural environment impose severe constraints on future tourism growth. Many of the problems facing the area have already been introduced in the preceding section of this report analysing current tourism impacts.

111. This section of the report will focus on the problems and constraints under the three headings of physical, economic and sociocultural concerns and will provide the background for the following section on current regional tourism policies.

Physical issues

112. One of the greatest problems facing this region is its isolation from the rest of the world and in particular its distance from the two main tourist-generating regions of Western Europe and North America. As a third major tourist-generating region emerges in South-East Asia, the Pacific islands' isolation should not be such a major problem but many of the islands under consideration in this report are still a considerable distance from South-East Asia. Not only is it a long distance to the region but it is also a great distance between centres within the region. With increased distance between tourist-generating and tourist-receiving areas there is an increasing number of intervening opportunities. Europeans have to fly over the Seychelles and parts of Indonesia to reach the Pacific and North Americans have much of the Caribbean offering a basically similar tourism product. Very little can be done about geographic location and all tourism strategies must recognize this fact.

113. The size of most of the islands in the region is very small with the exception of Papua New Guinea. A limited land mass has a limited number of attractions with the main geographic diversity occurring with altitude. On low islands this altitudinal diversity does not exist. Although almost all the islands have fine sandy beaches and a generally favourable climate there has to be more than a beach to attract someone to travel halfway around the world. With a growing interest in informative travel a successful destination must offer a variety of sociocultural, historical and natural attractions. Although little can be done with size the problem may be partially overcome by packaging a number of islands or countries together.

114. Many of the low islands are just a few metres above mean sea level and even the high islands have coastal plains near sea level. With dangers of tidal waves following cyclones and a worldwide rise in sea level many coastal locations suffer long-term uncertainty. In fact, with greenhouse considerations, it has been predicted that some of the islands will disappear if predicted sea level rises occur (Craig-Smith 1991). Tourist infrastructure has a long break-even time and climatic uncertainties do not help investment prospects.

115. Many of the islands, especially the low-lying islands, have a limited supply of drinking water. The tourism industry tends to be a heavy user of water because people from developed countries are used to a constant supply of drinking water. Golf courses and gardens around resorts also demand irrigation. The outside perception of the area is one of a lush tropical environment and where it does not exist tourism operators tend to create it. This demands water which must be taken from a reservoir or underground aquifer. Reservoirs are expensive to construct and great consumers of land; aquifer pumping runs the danger of overextraction and ultimately salt water penetration. Desalination is an expensive alternative for countries which are energy-deficient. Control of visitor numbers and types of tourist (that is, those who accept what is actual and not what is expected) may overcome these problems to some extent.

Economic issues

116. The isolation and remote nature of the region make it expensive to reach in both time and money. Not only is it expensive to reach the area but inter-island transport also increases costs. Many planes cross the region without stopping *en route*, especially those flying between the United States and Australia or New Zealand. Most transglobal routes use Hawaii as a stopping-off point if a stop is made. The region is, therefore, not well served by the major world air carriers and the regional airlines serve only limited numbers of countries. Poor connections enforce expensive stopovers *en route*, to the preferred destination and one characteristic of the Japanese, who live relatively near the region, is an absence of excessive recreational leave: with average leave entitlements of little over a week, destinations requiring two or even three days to reach have little hope of attracting business. Many of the island nations have the desire to own their own airline which leads to excessive bureaucratic restrictions on flights and loading rights. Speed and cost of accessibility need to be addressed.

117. With small indigenous populations there is little in the way of infrastructure. Roads, airports, sewerage systems, health facilities, recreational facilities, art galleries and museums have to be created for the tourist. This makes tourism development more expensive than in more highly developed countries. Only with cheap land and labour costs can the tourism industry compensate for a lack of ready infrastructure and necessary import requirements. Unfortunately tourism-related infrastructure is often insensitive in location and design (Craig-Smith 1990).

118. The cost of advertising and promotion on the world stage is excessive and costs much the same amount irrespective of the size of the area being promoted. For example, the cost of television advertising in the United States is based on air time and not the size of the country taking out the advertisement. Clearly for small countries with limited funds the cost of advertising and promotion can be prohibitive. There may be some scope for joint marketing arrangements but it should always be remembered that the region comprises 21 countries and areas and it should no more be assumed that Papua New Guinea and French Polynesia would want to joint forces for collaborative advertising than Australia would with Indonesia or Malaysia. It is difficult enough to persuade neighbouring regions within Australia to join forces for collaborative advertising let alone independent countries with inhabitants speaking different languages, of different races and located thousands of kilometres apart!

119. Given the size of most of the island countries, any funding for major capital investments must come from outside the region. Unfortunately the greater the level of outside investment the smaller the contribution tourism makes to the indigenous population. For a country relying on outside investment, practically all the tourism income goes back offshore, leaving only congestion for the local population. To some extent this may partially be overcome by encouraging low-key environmentally-orientated tourists who do not require high levels of physical infrastructure to sustain them throughout their vacation.

Sociocultural issues

120. One of the greatest sociocultural issues is land ownership. Many of the countries in the region have a complicated land ownership tradition where much of the land is in communal ownership and land is regarded as an inherited rite to be held in trust for the good of the whole rather than an asset to be traded for personal wealth. In many cases development must take place on leasehold land which is not popular with developers. Many land agreements have to be made with a community and each person in that community can rescind the agreement at any time. Many agreements are verbal with nothing written down. Land ownership patterns are highly regional varying not only between countries but between different regions of the same island. This is considered to be one of the major problems facing tourism development in the future.

121. Religious observance is very strict on many of the islands and workings on Sunday is only just tolerated. Religious observance may be inconvenient to a visitor who is on the island for only a few days when there is no service at the hotel, little to do and no activity on Sunday. A greater level of negotiation with the church may be necessary (Biddlecomb 1981).

122. Many of the local people do not possess the necessary skills to run a tourism facility. In many cases even the most rudimentary of skills has to be learned. Traditional standards of cleanliness and concepts of timekeeping sometimes differ from those of the paying guest. Training programmes may help here but it is essential that, if outside trainers are used, the training takes place in the Pacific island country and not overseas. Levels of service and codes of conduct should be related to the South Pacific and not to Western city tradition (Craig-Smith and French 1990).

123. Although in principle tourism development can help all levels of indigenous society, the traditional power brokers, the wealthy and those in decision-making positions tend to benefit the most, leaving a large segment of the lower socio-economic group in society receiving more of the disbenefits (pollution, congestion and inflation). If this is allowed to happen, tourism development may become self-defeating but it is often difficult for outside operators to influence internal decision-making and existing power structures.

124. It has been noted in the preceding section of this report that nature conservation is often poorly developed and poorly enforced. Traditional sociocultural values in society have tended to take the environment for granted and only with major outside influences and development have conservation measures become acutely necessary. It is essential that tourism development and environmental conservation go hand in hand. To achieve this both areas of concern must come together and work towards common mutually acceptable goals. This is a high priority for any future tourism strategy.

Conclusion

125. There are clearly many problems facing future tourism development in this region, most of the more important issues being outlined here. It should be remembered, however, that many of them can be overcome with proper and genuine cooperation, full discussion and common goals. The region is fortunate in that to date tourism development has been confined to just a few islands so many remain relatively unaffected so far. In a new era of green eco-tourism and a greater awareness of the total environment it is to be hoped that future tourism developments will learn from others' mistakes and avoid the pitfalls that less fortunate areas have already experienced.

Part Three

TOURISM POLICY IN THE REGION

Introduction

126. This part of the study should be read in conjunction with part four, in that while this part focuses on the nature of tourism policy in general and with specific reference to the Pacific island nations region, the next part focuses on the development of strategies to give effect to the policies. It is not always easy - neither is it always appropriate - to separate policy from strategy, even at the stage of discussion, as is the case here. Almost inevitably policy and strategy become intertwined and so they should, as the policy sets the direction, aims, objectives and intention of government-inspired and government-led action, while the strategy sets the means of implementation, not least by giving geographical expression to policy ideas.

127. An ongoing difficulty in this study has been the separation of matters which are peculiar to particular Pacific island nations, and then the reassembly of them as compatible constituents relevant to the region as a whole. This task has been rendered particularly complicated because even the most peremptory study reveals a diversity of approach and commitment to a policy for tourism. This may be due to the fact that since intensive tourism development is experienced by only four "honey pot" destinations, as noted above (Guam, Saipan, Fiji, and French Polynesia), other countries in the region experiencing relatively less significant visitor attention may consider that the resources and attention required of a satisfactory tourism policy are not called for. Any attempt to examine a national strategy for tourism development in the region must assume there is a realistic commitment to the opportunities for and challenges of tourism development, if not to the islands as a tourism destination then at least as a contributory destination complementing others in the region - otherwise, the policy and strategy exercise at the regional level becomes futile.

128. In the study of public policy formulation it is generally accepted that public policies are "*whatever governments choose to do, or not to do*" (cited in Anderson 1975, p.2), and that "*most public policies are a combination of rational planning, incrementalism, competition among groups, elite preferences, systematic forces, political procedures, and institutional influences*" (Dye 1984, p. xii). From these various determinants emerge policies, which in the case of tourism may have the following distinct components:

(a) **Economic:** with policy focusing on the potential for tourism activity and development to contribute to the national balance of payments (sources of income, foreign exchange), to the creation of employment (both as a principal source and a contribution to the diversification of existing economic structures), and to the stimulation of associated activity and international trade;

(b) **Social:** with tourism being used as a means to underpin cultural heritage (through local and visitor interest, and as a stimulus to maintain traditions and customs), to justify expenditure on infrastructural systems, and to create a demand for craft products;

(c) **Environmental:** with approaches to tourism activity being conditioned by attending to the conservation of natural and scenic resources, and with planning controls being introduced to determine which fragile and sensitive environments may be visited.

(d) **Organizational:** with tourism policy being considered an important ingredient of general policy (and being assigned commensurate decision-making structures and a bureaucracy) or being relegated to an almost insignificant position in an omnibus political or bureaucratic portfolio.

129. In his overview of tourism policy, Travis (1985) has claimed that "*tourism depends upon coherent planning, management and marketing at levels that range from the international, via the national and regional to the local scale*" (Travis 1985, p. 96). This interlocking system of coherence is not in evidence in this study region. Whereas some island nations have addressed seriously the challenges and opportunities of tourism

development, and have demonstrated through policy formulation and institutional structures a serious commitment to proper management, others seem to have neglected tourism as a policy area. That divergence of achievement and commitment is a significant impediment to the creation of a region-wide policy and strategy.

130. Additional impediments to the forging of either consistent or at least compatible policies and strategies include the differential commitments within the region to direct action (such as assistance with tourism activity, with tourism events, transport, with contributory policies in environmental conservation and heritage protection, with the availability of grants, subsidies, loans and taxation relief, with tourism facilitation, and with education and training), and to indirect action (with companion policies concerned with transport, culture and the arts, urban development, industry regulation and commitment of publicly owned land).

131. Information available to the study team reveals a differential commitment to tourism policy across the region, to a degree which seriously impedes the drawing together of a coherent regional policy. This differential commitment is marked not only in the diversity of policy-component structures, but also in the range of inconsistencies. Most marked is the distinct absence of efficiently determined geographical strategies, that is, the planning component of the tripartite strategy (planning, organization and marketing). It is this conspicuous lapse which is addressed in part four.

Tourism policy in the region

132. As has been mentioned above, there are few highly visible tourism policies in the region. In addition, even where policies have been formulated, there is considerable diversity of emphasis, content, focus, scope and implementability. Still further, the differences are such that the creation of a coherent regional policy, other than at the level of platitudes and superficial objectives, seems unlikely. Perhaps the diversity and variable commitment are derived from the unevenness of the various island nations' attraction to tourism. Despite the cooperation evident in the "South Pacific village" marketing exercises, the commitment to tourism planning is less than evident.

133. Contributions to the recent above-mentioned TCSP – promoted Regional Conference on Tourism and National Development Planning in the South Pacific, held in Suva in November 1991, commented on the principal elements of tourism policy in the region, coincidentally highlighting the problem of establishing a coherent and coordinated policy for the region. (For the purposes of this report it is assumed that the generation of a region-wide policy would be welcomed by member countries. In such a circumstance, clearly the freedom to pursue unilateral policies by any island nation would be constrained.) In the opening address to the regional conference it was said that *"in many ways, the future of tourism in the individual countries of the Pacific is bound up with the future of tourism in the others ... given the common interest, it must be greatly to our advantage to present a common front to the world ..."* (Kamakamica 1991, p. 1). This was followed by Yacoumis who commented that *"the all-pervasive nature of tourism in economic, social and environmental terms, requires an integrated institutional and planning framework, rather than a fragmented approach... At the regional level, cooperation among small island countries with limited resources has been recognised as a paramount need if economies of scale and other advantages of collective action are to be gained"*. (1991, p.7).

134. The key words in these selected comments seem to be:

- (a) "Common interest" and "common front"
- (b) "All-pervasive nature of tourism"
- (c) "Integrated...framework"
- (d) "Regional level, cooperation"
- (e) "Collective action".

135. Whilst some island nations (such as Tonga and Fiji) have conspicuous and separate tourism policies, in some cases supported by special legislative provisions (such as the Tonga Tourism Act 1976, and incentives for tourism – IDI Act 1978), others (such as Kiribati and the Marshall Islands) have incorporated tourism as integral elements in broadly based economic development policies and strategies. Even so, such a rigid dichotomy is not a strictly accurate description of status; for example, in Kiribati, two ministries the Ministry of Natural Resources and Development and the Ministry of the Line and Phoenix Groups have responsibility for tourism matters, with coordination being effected through a Tourism Advisory Committee which was established in 1986. In the case of the Federated States of Micronesia a national government tourism development policy has been expressed in the current National Development Plan. A still further “model” of policy-making and implementation operates in the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands where the principal administrative body in tourism, responsible for executing the Government’s control, direction and promotion of tourism, is the Marianas Visitors Bureau. This agency is untypical of visitors bureaux in general in that the functions assigned to it include research, statistical compilation, promotion, regulation, supervision of tourism enterprises, development of tourism facilities, formulation of the comprehensive tourism development plan, and tourism manpower development (STIM 1990).

136. It is the very diversity of focus, responsibility (charged and accepted), and organization between the Pacific island nations which poses problems in determining a coherent policy across the region. As each agency, where any is in place, is equipped to discharge particular functions, there are considerable hindrances to coordination within the region, not least because the first responsibility of any of the national agencies is to promote and achieve improvements in the general welfare of the resident populations.

137. Bjarnason’s (1991) contribution to the Suva Regional Conference is illuminating. In his overview of tourism policy performance he notes the following:

- (a) There is no mention of tourism in the National Development Plan of Tuvalu (1987-1991);
- (b) For Kiribati, the National Development Plan (1987-1991) excludes reference to tourism in its set of objectives, policies and strategies, but gives it prominence as a productive economic sector;
- (c) Whereas the Solomon Islands National Development Plan (1985-1989) avoids specific reference to tourism, the Western Province’s plan (1988-1992) gives tourism policy significance;
- (d) Papua New Guinea has formulated separate five-year tourism development plans (1987-1991, 1990-1994);
- (e) For Samoa, tourism is discussed as any other sector of industry, although it has its own set of objectives (1988-1990);
- (f) Vanuatu’s National Development Plan (1987-1991) does not specifically mention tourism;
- (g) For Tonga, due significance is given to the contribution of tourism, with, in the most recent plan (1991-1995) a separate set of tourism sector objectives;
- (h) Fiji has a long-standing commitment to tourism development, and it is prominently featured in the current national development plan.

138. This is the performance of the eight ACP member countries (funded through the Pacific Regional Tourism Development Program, of the Commission of the European Communities. This patchy performance is repeated through the other 13 countries in the region examined in this study. A potent comment concludes Bjarnason’s review:

“This brief review ... clearly shows that those responsible for national development planning do not appear to be sufficiently aware about the current economic significance of tourism in their countries ...” (p. 9). His advocacy is “to strengthen liaison between tourism planners and national development planners, taking an integrated approach ...” (p.9).

139. Leading by example, TCSP has prepared comprehensive tourism development plans for Solomon Islands (1990) and Samoa (1992), and the field research for a plan for Tuvalu has been completed (1992). If the consistent approach was adopted throughout the South Pacific, first across the eight ACP members, then the other six members which (together with the eight ACP members) make up the TCSP membership, then by the remaining "non-aligned" island nations in the Pacific region, the basic framework for the creation of a coherent and coordinated regional tourism policy would be in place.

140. Two different approaches to tourism policy are evident. In the cases studied by the Pacific Island Development Program (PIDP), University of Hawaii, the most consistent components of the policy frameworks were:

- (a) The preparation of a national tourism development plan;
- (b) The compilation of inventories of resources;
- (c) The nomination of priorities for tourism development;
- (d) The collection and analysis of visitor data;
- (e) The creation of tourism facilities;
- (f) The development of education and training facilities;
- (g) The creation and dissemination of tourism information;
- (h) The regulation of tourism enterprises;
- (i) The policing of tourism facilitation processes;
- (j) The involvement with appropriate international agencies.

Not all of those components were in evidence in each of the 10 studies conducted by PIDP (1990).

141. For example, PIDP recommended a format for a national tourism plan for the Marshall Islands. PIDP recommended the preparation of a set of goals and objectives to give direction to what was considered to be an erratic process in French Polynesia; it recommended social and economic safeguards for Kiribati, policy and planning initiatives in Solomon Islands to render tourism development more appropriate to indigenous circumstances; and the reorganization of planning and implementation processes in the Cook Islands and the federated States of Micronesia. For Tonga and Samoa, the recommendations were for strengthening economic policy elements to incorporate tourism. For human resource policy, PIDP recommended that the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands and Papua New Guinea should devise appropriate strategies for meeting the education, training and manpower needs of the growing tourism industry.

142. The TCSP (Bjarnason 1991, p. 2-4) formula is for a comprehensive national tourism development plan for a time-scale of 10 years, with internal phases of different degrees of certainty. In the TCSP formula the principal elements are:

- (a) Background and contextual assessments;
- (b) Inventories of existing tourism resources;
- (c) Market (demand) analysis.

From this "input" phase would emerge the development strategy "*giving the conceptual and physical framework for tourism development*" (Bjarnason 1991, p. 3), within the strategy comprising:

- (a) Guidelines for plan implementation;

- (b) Guidelines for the institutional framework;
- (c) Recommendations on manpower education and training;
- (d) Marketing strategy;
- (e) Estimates of the public and private sector investment need.

“Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the tourism development plan should contain an action programme” (Bjarnason 1991, p. 4).

143. Typically, the tourism policy will be “inclined” to meet local circumstances. Such is the case with the policy of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, which leans towards the Japanese visitor markets, and with the commitment in Samoan policy to maintaining the customary lifestyles.

144. The recent studies conducted by TCSP for Solomon Islands (1990), for Samoa (submitted to the Government in Apia, April 1992), and for Tuvalu (draft due for completion by July 1992) fine-tune the general formula to the particular needs of the client nations. This admirable process poses a principal dilemma: what about (a) regional coordination and (b) region-wide policies?

Regional cooperation

145. The approaches to, and evidence of, commitments to regional policy cooperation are limited to the efforts towards coordination conducted by TCSP, and to industry association through membership of such entities as the PATA (Pacific Asia Travel Association) chapters in Fiji, Micronesia (based in Guam) and Polynesia (based in Tahiti). Degrees of uniformity, at least in methodological approach to tourism policy and planning, are in evidence in the sets of PIDP (University of Hawaii) and Arthur D. Little studies. In addition, matters of common interest are revealed and discussed at regional seminars. However, the dilemma of formalizing a region-wide policy remains.

146. There is evidence in many nation-specific documents of the recognition that regional policy cooperation could provide solutions to problems which are common to more than one nation and which therefore are shared. In addition, there is a recognition that cooperative action is needed to conserve scarce natural resources, to increase the sustainability levels of local customs and traditions, to maintain international attention, to create the circumstances in which inter-nation transport (especially by air) is viable, to contribute to mutually beneficial trading linkages.

147. Despite this, and other evidence of the recognition of the advantages of regional cooperation, there are still regional impediments. Such impediments include:

- (a) The subregional divisions between Polynesia, Melanesia and Micronesia;
- (b) The entrenched, narrowly focused national interest, especially evident in the real or imagined competition between nations for supremacy in attracting visitors;
- (c) The considerations of equity between the “bigger” and “smaller” nations;
- (d) The differential philosophical commitment to tourism development;
- (e) The unevenness of tourism organizations with regard to their scope and responsibility;
- (f) The various attitudes towards public sector and private sector partnership in development;
- (g) The different levels of ability between the nations to sustain tourism activity (natural resources, manpower, available capital and infrastructural capacity);
- (h) The tendency of international corporations to gravitate to the existing tourism “honey pots”, or to avoid the smaller island nations.

148. Segmented national interests seem to impede and surmount most attempts at regional cooperation, perhaps because of the suspicion that participants will not benefit equally. As the PIDP report comments

“Tourism policies and activities which benefit a region as a whole do not necessarily bring benefits of equal measure to individual members, and it has been difficult for members to accept the premise that current imbalances should be measured against long-term benefits” (Ikeda 1990, p. 74).

Although cooperation in the arenas of manpower training, research and data collection, promotion and negotiation with international agencies may be possible, an equivalent level of cooperation with tourism master planning seems difficult to achieve at the present stage of development.

149. Governments in the island nations of the region will continue to bear the responsibility for giving shape and substance to tourism activity. The creation of a consistent regional tourism framework, transcending the segmented national interests, may achieve a higher degree of success for each individual nation and the aggregate region than the adoption and prosecution of individually constructed policies.

Principal determinants of policy

150. The principal determinant of tourism policy is the political will and commitment of Government to manage tourism development effectively. Without that will and commitment even the most elaborate of structures, framework, strategies and organizations will have sub-optimal levels of performance. Perhaps most crucially, the lack of the necessary will and commitment could lead to such levels of environmental, economic and social damage that every opportunity for effective tourism development would be jeopardized.

151. Of only marginally less significance are such determinants as:

(a) The availability of suitable tourism resources and attractions to underpin tourism development, especially commensurate with expected standards by international visitors;

(b) The ease of access to the island nation - a factor conditioned by its location and the availability of international transport linkages;

(c) The impacts and challenges of competition within the region;

(d) The availability (or potential availability) of infrastructural services commensurate with efficiently serviced tourism development;

(e) The ease of access to the tourism centres and resorts once entry has been gained to the country, and the companion ease of circulation within the country;

(f) The nature of land ownership, and community traditions of ownership;

(g) The degree of political stability;

(h) The availability of the necessary skills and aptitudes of the indigenous labour force;

(i) The general strength of the economies, particularly those sectors which interact with tourism (such as fishing, agriculture, craft industries and transport);

(j) The strength of indigenous culture, customs and traditions;

(k) The attitudes of the indigenous community towards visitors.

152. At this point in the discussion it is appropriate to consider briefly the impact of some of these items on the construction of tourism policy. Some matters may be examined in combination.

153. An important determinant of tourism attractiveness – and, therefore, the feasibility of any tourism policy – is an inventory of tourism resources which have appeal to potential visitors. In the case of the island nations in the Pacific region, many share typical resources – sun, sand, sea and indigenous cultures. The island nations of the region share warm tropical climates, natural beauty, traditional cultures, remnants of past occupancy, opportunities for adventure tours (many maritime-based), ocean-related recreational activities, scenic shorelines and traditional art forms. Rather than uniformity, it is the complementarity of diversity which offers the basis for independent, yet coordinated tourism policy generation. The policy inputs should reflect the special attributes of the region, and not attempt to replicate the successful resource ingredients of tourism policies created elsewhere. As the PIDP study asserts:

“Among themselves they each (i.e. island nation) need to emphasise their unique attributes as a visitor destination and plan the development of new attractions and activities based on these attributes ... to identify very specialised niche markets ... based on their unique attractions ...”
(p. 45f).

154. The reason for the significance of this policy thrust is the need to forestall competition from outside the region. In the study of the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, it was recommended that the tourism policy should deflect competition either by doing (or offering) better what the competition did (or offered), or by doing (or offering) something different. That study drew attention to the chief competition to the region: Okinawa, Hawaii, Australia and the Philippines. In addition, the study cited the principal beach resort competition as Phuket and Pattaya in Thailand, Penang in Malaysia, Bali in Indonesia, and the Maldives in the Indian Ocean if integrated resorts rather than general tourism destinations were interpreted as competition. The policy would need to recognize and counter the potential competition.

155. The levels of accommodation and services in many Pacific island nations fail to meet international travel standards; the principal exceptions are Guam, the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands, Fiji and French Polynesia. In addition to quality, quantity and style are important issues in tourism policy. Isolated integrated resorts or almost haphazard concentrations of tourism accommodation and services are commonplace. The geographical patterns have been largely erratic, so that potential investors have been extremely cautious in undertaking development projects. Where some rational policy has been pursued, the introduction of a major resort or resort hotel has contributed to the stimulation of local tourism development. Such a case is the Palau Pacific Resort in the Republic of Palau. In some locations in the Pacific region, the policy might, with good effect, focus more on rehabilitation of indigenous accommodation to meet international standards (thereby maintaining the indigenous idiosyncrasy in style – a potential factor of tourism attractiveness) rather than attempt to import alien design, often of high-rise buildings.

156. For many island nations the policy in architectural style is a trade-off between maintaining styles and scales that harmonize with indigenous development, and creating opportunities for new, perhaps international styles and scales. If the policy is for small-scale indigenous harmony, the benefits will include empathy with local culture and tradition, sensitivity to local environmental conditions, and demonstration to the visitors of the strength of the local customs and traditions. The disbenefits of such policies might be that the magnitude of such schemes may not contribute significant income and employment to the local economies. If the policy favours internationalization in style and scale, although the built-in standards of services and facilities will be commensurate with the international expectations, it is possible the profile of the development will be somewhat alien to the local environment (natural and cultural). For many island nations, the most appropriate policy may be to achieve a mix of scales and styles.

157. Very few island nations have master plans which designate specific areas suited to tourism development (this subject is addressed in part four). As a result, development has proceeded in a largely unconstrained manner, with “honey pot” concentrations (near international airports, or in enclaves in capital or major cities) or isolated development on particularly spectacular natural sites. There are some significant exceptions to this generalization. For example, the Solomon Islands plan (1990) includes geographical referencing of its principal tourism areas, and a series of conceptual designs for designated resort areas.

158. An important policy issue is that of land ownership. This matter was given high profile consideration at the above-mentioned ESCAP/TCSP/SPREP Suva Seminar in November 1991, and in part two of this report. In the Pacific region much land is communal. This situation poses problems and causes disputes even among indigenous peoples, villages and tribal groups; there is considerable difficulty in pursuing tourism development, on any scale, in the face of land ownership legislation and traditional practice. For example, in the Marshall Islands, *"land is not individually owned, but rather held in trust for future generations by a lineage"* (Alexander 1978, cited in Fairbairn 1988, p. 116), and any private use of communal land will exact a compensatory payment (often ongoing) to the community. Tongan society has a deeply entrenched system of hierarchy and system of land tenure, although both have been experiencing challenges in recent decades. One consequence of the changes has been the progressive introduction of leasing, of land amalgamation, and of the development of commercial enterprise. In Samoa more than 80 per cent of the land is held under traditional authority. Fairbairn (1985), in examining the impact of large-scale development in the Pacific region (especially by the multinational corporations), has commented that

"land ownership problems in the Pacific represent a major obstacle to investment activities ... Even in Fiji, with its long-standing registration of customary land title and existence of the Native Land Trust Board (NLTB), substantial difficulties still occur in land ownership and usage problems" (Fairbairn 1985, p. 72).

There have been cases where local intransigence has frustrated "progress" in tourism development.

159. The planning for infrastructural systems has become an integral element of tourism development policy. Improved infrastructure and increased capacity will be critical determinants of future tourism development, especially where current services are old, or defective or of inadequate capacity - or, and most likely, all three. Thus, the tourism policy would need to address water, electrical, sewerage and communication systems, environmental health standards, surface transport and international gateways (airports and seaports). An obstacle to infrastructure system improvement and expansion is the cost of such major capital works; to achieve improvement many island nations realize the need to turn to tourism as a general matter of economic policy, in order to justify large-scale expenditure. This situation is not uncommon worldwide, where a particular activity such as tourism is used to justify expenditure on improvements for the general benefit of the community.

160. Many island nations in the Pacific region experience difficulty in responding to latent opportunities for tourism because of their geographic location, and the implications this has for access by international air transport. Even inter-island linkage is difficult, and often circuitous. (The regional map on the inside front cover of the TCSP 1992 travel manual reveals the problems of inter-island nation communication.) This problem is two-edged; first, international air carriers, many of which experience revenue problems in the Pacific basin, will be unlikely to provide linkages to the various island nations without evidence of real demand for the service; secondly, visitor numbers, without upgraded or extended tourism facilities at the destinations and without adequate transport links, will remain below thresholds of viability for many routes to island nations. In some cases, island nations have experimented with their own national carriers; the experience has seldom been profitable. For example, Schaap has drawn attention to the difficulties in the experience of Air Tungaru (Kiribati) and Air Vanuatu (1986, p. 65). The dilemma facing the policy makers in the region is that the decision on the major international air traffic routes lies outside their domain.

161. Finally, as the domestic tourism market is small, the commitment to increasing levels of international tourism will be of paramount concern in the tourism policy. Such a commitment needs to be based on thorough assessment, interpretation and targeting of appropriate market segments. The tourism product in the Pacific region may not be as unique as widely thought, although there are clear aspects of uniqueness, particularly in cultural matters. Therefore, tourism policy should focus on providing the island nation with a market niche, if not protected, then at least with an advantage over potential competition.

The "leap" from policy to strategy

162. Even the most thoroughly prepared policies will be frustrated if there is inadequate translation of policy intent into practice. Some of the Pacific island nations, even those which have enthusiastically embraced

tourism and have passed legislation to promote and plan for tourism development, encounter serious problems generated from one or more of the following:

- (a) Inadequate funding;
- (b) Ineffective policies;
- (c) Inadequately formulated sets of objectives and implementing procedures;
- (d) Imperfections in the allocation of responsibility.

163. In some cases, Governments have recognized the need for a master plan and strategy to flow from the invention of policy, and have given the preparation of such a plan high priority. However, the necessary careful systematic thought to issues of quality, quantity, geographical location, and process have been impeded by shortages of funds and suitably trained personnel, pressure for quick decisions on development proposals, and inadequate consideration given to the various impacts and consequences of development proposals. The Tongan case, presented at the Suva Seminar by Taumoepeau (1991), is illustrative of some of these issues. Underpinning the Tongan approach is *"the gradual provision of a conducive environment for rational development"* (p.1). The national tourism development policy has 10 guiding principles (p.2) and seven operational objectives to guide the tourism sector in the period 1991-1995 (p.3); in addition, the Tongan plan focuses on particular market segments and nominated tourism products and services (p.9F). Similarly structured approaches are becoming apparent in the plans being prepared for member countries by TCSP (see previous references); however, the role of TCSP (Kudu and Bjarnason 1991) as an intergovernmental organization is "to foster regional cooperation" (p.1), principally through the memorandum of understanding and terms of reference. This may be achieved through promotion, coordination, planning and implementing projects and activities; all of these activities are designed to render the individual countries and the region self-reliant. What is missing, of course, is any overriding process of comprehensiveness; by analogy, what is occurring is the design and creation of pieces of a jig-saw, but the overall picture remains obscure.

164. The "leap" from policy to strategy, even at the level of the individual Pacific island nations, is not achieved easily - in some cases, not at all. In the following (part four, on developmental strategies), an attempt is made to bridge the gap between the imperfections, incompleteness and in some cases inconsistency of policies at a national level, a matter which is, perhaps, dramatized by the three different focuses applied to the particular needs perceived by PIDP of its client nations in its series of studies - by highlighting the issues of strategy formulation which may be implementable at a regional level. However, it is necessary to point out the following:

1. Paragraph 133 above reported on the assumption of the study team that member countries of the region would welcome a region-wide policy.

2. In part 4 below it is assumed that it may be possible to develop a strategy which could be "bent on" to the region, even though research by the study team has not found similar circumstances in other regions of the world.

Part Four

DEVELOPMENTAL STRATEGIES

Introduction

165. In part three there was a review of some of the important components of tourism policy, both as a set of principles, and as practised in the island nations of the Pacific region. Attention in this part progresses from policy to strategy, that is, what has to be done to achieve the aspirations encapsulated in the policy framework. The principal difficulty at this stage is to assemble policy elements and forge them into a cohesive strategy from a diversity of commitments to and styles of tourism among the separate island nations. An already difficult problem is exacerbated by the uneven pattern of tourism resource potential and the uneven pattern of tourism development.

166. The tourism “honey pots” of Guam, Saipan, Fiji and Tahiti dominate the tourism profile of the region, and because of their proved attractiveness, dominate the principal international air routes which act as the conduits for tourists. An important question for this section is to consider how to include the “honey pots” to the best advantage of the remainder of the group. It is certain that no strategy that ignores them, or attempts to modify them in some way will succeed. The “honey pots” will continue to attract and may indulge in a marketing exercise to maintain their prime position even if that action were to the detriment of other destinations in the region. Thus, what must be formulated is a suite of companion strategies, perhaps with the “lesser” destinations assuming a complementary, perhaps specialist, role.

167. What are the options?:

- (a) To use the “honey pots” as the magnets and control factors;
- (b) To attempt to create further “honey pots”;
- (c) To fit all destinations into a hierarchical framework;
- (d) To devise a balanced (not necessarily evenly balanced) strategy;
- (e) To attempt to include all the Pacific island nations in the strategy, but to omit those which seem to have little tourism potential, and/or little commitment to, and interest in, tourism development;
- (f) To devise a strategy based upon destination or touring/circuit tourism;
- (g) To progress towards a strategy of complementary tourism destinations, with each meeting the requirements of niche markets (in this strategy, some specialization is implied).

168. In the documentation available to the study team there is considerable diversity in the strategic approaches taken, and in the view of the study team, most plans seem to be shy of a commitment to a strategic framework. It may be that the commitment to the marketing concept of the “South Pacific village” becomes less practical and supportable in the circumstances of tourism planning strategy at the regional level.

169. The opportunity is taken in this part to examine some of the principal elements which, in the view of the study team, may be used to underpin planning strategies, at the national and Pacific-wide regional level. In sequence, there is consideration of:

- (a) The present state of developmental strategies in the region;
- (b) The theoretical underpinnings of strategy creations;

- (c) The range of strategies which may be “fitted” into the region;
- (d) A few cautionary notes.

Developmental strategies: the present state

170. This section draws heavily on published sources and commentaries, as, despite repeated requests by the study team, some of the Pacific island nations did not make available the relevant documents. In addition, the funding for the project precluded detailed discussions, examinations and site visits. Therefore, the comments in this section should be interpreted within the context of those constraints.

171. The historical development of the Pacific basin has not provided a secure base from which cooperative arrangements can be created easily. This matter has been reported at length in the standard texts on history and political development in the region; more recently, an attempt has been made to interpret the implications of historical factors for tourism in the region (Fagence 1992). In his examination of selected island economies in the Pacific basin, Fairbairn (1985) commented that regional cooperation in the economic and allied fields had taken place at a bewildering pace in recent years. *“The creation of SPEC in 1972 was an important step in this process, for the organization was specifically made responsible for the promotion of economic development of its island members through regional cooperation and consultation ... in addition to acting as the secretariat for the South Pacific Forum”* (Fairbairn 1985, p. 94). The South Pacific Bureau for Economic Cooperation (SPEC) had *“spawned or been instrumental in founding other key organizations”* (ibid) in many fields, including tourism. A number of international bodies – such as the United Nations Development Programme, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, ESCAP and the Asian Development Bank, and more recently the European Economic Community (EEC) have provided support through funding and technical assistance. In many ways, the activities of the former European colonial Powers have been replaced by the support from Australia and New Zealand; the legacy of the former colonial influence persists with the support of the new politico-economic agencies forged in Europe (Fagence 1992). Various trading agreements (such as SPARTECA (South Pacific Regional Trade and Economic Cooperation Agreement) in 1980) have been formed, always with what is described as “non-reciprocal preferential trade access” in favour of the Pacific island countries.

172. In the context of tourism, and exclusive of small-scale negotiated arrangements, the principal forum for active regional cooperation, with a potential for coordination, has been with the formation of the Tourism Council of the South Pacific. Formed in 1983 as an informal association of national tourism organizations in the South Pacific, TCSP has grown beyond its formative objectives, and after a “trial” period of funding, it became formalized as an intergovernmental organization in October 1988 through a Memorandum of Understanding and Terms of Reference signed by several Pacific island countries. Representation at TCSP varies between secretary level of the appropriate Ministry, or appropriate national tourism organizations.

173. One of the principal impediments to the successful prosecution of the aims and objectives of TCSP is the fragmented and inconsistent membership of groups and subgroups in the South Pacific. TCSP has 14 members of these, eight are also co-members of ACP(which enjoys EEC support). Thus, six TCSP countries are denied access to some of the services provided by TCSP because of funding constraints. Even so, there are seven other Pacific island nations within the scope of the present study which are members of neither group. It is this network of overlapping, yet independent, national entities - each with a different commitment to, and preparation for participation in tourism development in the region - which constitutes one of the most serious impediments to the formulation of a region-wide developmental strategy.

174. The development problems of island micro-States pose an additional complication and potential obstacle to the creation of a region-wide strategy (Wilkinson 1989). The gamut of problems includes some of the following:

- (a) Small size (land size);
- (b) Small population levels (some island nations are almost congested!);

- (c) Problematic socio-economic structures, including social structures, and land ownership traditions;
- (d) Underdevelopment (dependence on “low-level” status of economic development);
- (e) Peripheral location (*vis-à-vis* industrialized nations from which most tourists will come);
- (f) Limited resource bases (leading to tourism being viewed in some cases as a panacea);
- (g) Lack of revenue for imports;
- (h) Lack of local markets to underpin a developed economy;
- (i) High transport costs (and difficulties of international communication);
- (j) Lack of developed infrastructure;
- (k) Lack of a developed service sector.

175. *“There appears to be an almost universal view that many island micro-States – particularly those that are tropical islands - have little economic choice but to accept traditional tourism development ... as being inevitable.”* (Wilkinson 1989 p.155-156) Some commentators on the Pacific region consider that at least 10 island nations may be described as having tourist economies, with the prospect that those already exhibiting such characteristics will be joined by others in the region as international tourism continues to grow and seems to focus on mass tourism, resort enclaves, and on exotic environments and cultures.

176. The compendious PIDP (1990) studies recognized the differences in commitment to developmental strategies at the island nation level, and the differences in the significance of tourism to the national economies. PIDP attempted to interpret the contribution of tourism to national economies in its selected study nations, through data on national GDP, visitor expenditure (as a percentage of GDP), tourism industry employment (as a percentage of total employment) and visitor expenditures as a percentage of total commodity imports. From this and similar assessments, impact multipliers were generated. It was found that there were substantial tourism industries in the Cook Islands, French Polynesia and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands). Less significant (to the previous three), but important contributions to employment, income and export earnings were identified in Tonga, Samoa and Kiribati. A smaller significance was accorded tourism in, for example, the Federated States of Micronesia, the Marshall Islands, Papua New Guinea, and Solomon Islands. These various matters were dealt with by Bjarnason (1991) in his examination of the economic significance of tourism in the TCSP members (in which there is some overlap with countries in the PIDP study). However, in his review of tourism and national development planning in the region, he comments that *“only three member countries have had the benefit of being guided in their tourism development by a comprehensive planning framework”* (Bjarnason 1991, p.2), a framework which he proceeds to specify.

177. Of the items he lists (see part 3 para. 142, of this report), the section on the actual tourism development plan is relevant to the discussion here. This development strategy is expected to include:

- (a) The conceptual and physical framework for tourism development;
- (b) The identification of tourism development zones or centres;
- (c) Guidelines for the provision of land for tourism purposes;
- (d) Recommendations for the development of specific facilities.

In a subsequent section he includes a reference to the need for guidelines for resort planning and development.

178. In the Pacific region, there is not always a consistent approach to the creation of tourism development strategies. The circumstances are different. In some islands tourism is in a rudimentary phase (Marshall

Islands, for example). In other islands there have been erratic responses to the demand for tourism facilities (French Polynesia), or localized tourism has shown signs of “erupting” thereby requiring comprehensive strategies (Kiribati), or trade-offs have been needed to underpin development strategies (Solomon Islands), or tourism development has reached a stage in which it markedly influences social, economic and strategic policy (Cook Islands). A special problem is encountered in the circumstances of a multi-State with an uneven balance of tourism development (Federated States of Micronesia) and where the local economic structure is “frustrated” by entrenched sociocultural attitudes (Samoa).

179. With national developmental strategies at such different levels of preparation, implementation and achievement, what is the prospect of a region-wide strategy? The experience of the multi-island, Federated State of Micronesia is instructive: the prospect of a cohesive strategy is slim.

The present corpus of attractions and services

180. *“One of the major challenges facing the Pacific islands is to distinguish themselves from (those) other beach destinations in terms of their cultural differences and other unique attractions.”* (PIDP 1990, p.44). For the region as a whole the principal tourism attractions are:

- (a) Warm tropical climate;
- (b) Natural beauty, especially an unspoiled tropical environment;
- (c) Indigenous cultures of the various island nations.

The primary appeal of the natural environment is ubiquitous, with variations occurring in the topography and vegetation of volcanic or coral ecosystems. Many islands offer similar attractions of ocean, lagoons, beaches and exotic vegetation, but these natural attractions are not limited to the Pacific island nations, which certainly do not have a monopoly on such features. Even the scenic shorelines are being encroached upon by varying degrees of modern development or by resort enclaves, and the pathology of the litter-prone and polluting society has manifested itself in the Pacific region.

181. The marine-related recreational activities are dispersed throughout the region, occurring in concentrations or in pockets of different quality. As the marine environment (and the island interior natural environment) is so important to the corpus of attraction and opportunities in the region, the need for strategies to recognize its significance (especially with codes of environmental control) is becoming imperative. Some special market niche opportunities lie here. The same is true for the cultural diversity still in evidence across the principal island groups. Some countries have faced the challenge with standardization and cultural centres, others have fostered the customary traditions by encouraging and facilitating ‘hands on’ exposure of visitors to village lifestyles. In addition to traditional cultures, some islands benefit from the impact of recent colonial activity from Spain, Germany, France, Japan, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, the United States, and even more recently from Australia and New Zealand.

182. Most Pacific islands have a significant handicrafts industry, while some (Guam, Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands) are duty-free shopping havens.

183. The geographical characteristics of the islands, particularly their location, size and tourism product market, may impede the development of a flourishing tourism activity. Long travel distances, long journey times, incomplete inter-island connections, and the incidence of multi-hop/multi-stop servicing travel to many “nearby” islands, pose problems for tourism air travel in the region. Some of the difficulties are overcome by using hub-gateway points - such as Guam, Fiji, and outside the region, Honolulu - but the transshipment needed introduces factors of aggravation for the traveller, even though it might generate two-centre vacation opportunities. Standards of accommodation and service do not always satisfy the expectations of the sophisticated international traveller. There are exceptions, but the less developed nations experience problems in attracting a mass international tourist throughput. Infrastructure services, too, often fail to meet internationally acceptable standards, but the costs of upgrading or installing services of a higher standard are often prohibitive.

184. On each island it was as though only that one island existed independent of others (unless, of course, it was dependent on international air linkages with another island nation). The legacy of centuries of cultural independence and rivalry, the recent overprinting of different colonial cultures, and more recently the strides towards independence have consorted to impose on the region of the island Pacific nations a vulnerability to exogenous influence. If a nation decides to abandon an isolationist viewpoint and become an integral element of the "global village", it can participate in the alleged and expected benefits of the international tourism market.

Developmental strategies: theoretical underpinnings

185. The literature of tourism planning is replete with examples of concepts which may underpin the creation of the physical framework cited as a need by Bjarnason (1991). There is some consistency in the elements of such frameworks which include:

- (a) Nodes or concentrations of tourism development;
- (b) Corridors linking the nodes;
- (c) Gateways or points of entry into the principal areas of tourism development;
- (d) Areas from which tourism development is excluded (for various reasons).

Throughout the various "models" in the literature of tourism planning four principles, or maxims, occur. These maxims have been described as follows:

(a) *"Tourism requires systematic planning so that it is developed properly and integrated into the total development pattern of the area"* (Inskeep 1988, p. 361);

(b) The framework for tourism *"should be a conscious and premeditated element rather than composed as an adjunct after development has commenced"* (Fagence 1991, p. 9);

(c) Planning for tourism *"goes beyond the popular belief that all land has equal potential for tourism development if promoted heavily enough"* (Gunn 1979, p. 409);

(d) *"Even within a tourist region only certain areas are absolutely necessary for tourist development"* (Baud-Bovy and Lawson 1977, p. 181).

186. In the case of tourism strategy, the use of geographically referenced concepts would provide a strategic and management tool with which:

(a) To express the geographical aspects of any national or regional policy - identifying locations, concentrations, geographic linkages, travel routes and networks, gateways and transport hubs, areas of amenity (and conservation);

(b) To monitor the evolving pattern of development, thereby monitoring balance, diversity, complementarity and impact;

(c) To facilitate the geographic integration of the various types of tourism development, and of tourism with other forms of economic activity;

(d) To provide a structured basis for regional development or restructuring;

(e) To identify more efficiently locations as "zones" for tourism development so as to optimize resources use, and so as to monitor specialization and balance (and to avoid duplication, replication and imbalance);

(f) To provide a context of confidence for investment and development decisions.

It is not the intention of such frameworks to provide unalterable blueprints; rather, such strategic forms could respond dynamically to changing circumstances while maintaining control and order. This capacity to respond to dynamic change presumes the strategic frameworks would rely on the capacities of model frameworks such as central place theory (and hierarchical ordering), gravity concepts, intervening opportunities, transport networking and development cycle theory; in this way the framework would be used to achieve spatial efficiency.

187. Various structural "models" have been devised to meet either general or particular tourism planning circumstances. For example, Gunn (1988a) has devised a framework suited to tourism regions (community attraction complexes, corridors and non-attractions hinterlands); Lusigi (1984) has composed a "pattern" to protect fragile and environmentally sensitive areas; Jubenville (1976) has developed a framework of trails linked to "base camps"; Miossec (1977) has created a hypothetical concentric zone structure; Yokeno (1974) has developed a concept of linked tourist areas. At a more diffuse level, Ferrario (1979), Lindsay (1980) and O'Leary (1980) have developed geographical patterns based on activity and experience clusters.

188. Each of these, in their own way or in various compatible combinations, could be used to underpin, not only the tourism development strategy for any one Pacific island nation, but (perhaps in suitably modified forms) also the strategy for the Pacific basin. There is evidence of aspects of one or more of these "models" in the physical frameworks used in the TCSP study produced for Solomon Islands.

189. For a region such as the Pacific islands, it may be possible to approach the creation of a region-wide strategy using the process formula underpinning an approach towards a Canadian strategy - that is, making allowances for the fact that the Pacific region is not a continuous land mass. That process formula is as follows:

- (a) To identify the principal range of tourism products and attractions (general categories);
 - (b) To note, geographically, the location and distribution of the products and attractions;
 - (c) To determine categories of uniqueness or competitiveness:
 - (i) Unique, superior and world class, able to attract international visitors from anywhere in the world;
 - (ii) A quality tourism product, competitive with similar products in the world;
Tourism products which are competitive within the Pacific region;
Tourism products which are competitive within any one island nation.
- (Note:** Such a categorization was raised incidentally at the ESCAP/TCSP/SPREP regional Seminar on the Promotion of Sustainable Tourism Development in Pacific Island Countries, held in Suva in November 1991, during the examination of whether natural and cultural features in the South Pacific were of a quality to merit listing as World Heritage, or of lesser quality but of regional significance.);
- (d) To determine the status of the tourism product and attraction, whether the product:
 - (i) Was primitive, lacked infrastructure, access and services - and required major investment;
 - (ii) Was developed, but was underserved (either by quantity or quality);
Was developed, perhaps to optimum levels, but required maintenance, modernization or upgrading to maintain market competitiveness;
Was declining through overuse, overexposure, and was failing to meet market requirements.

190. Although the process of progressively matching the steps is a relatively easy task within one set of national boundaries, the task becomes complicated as the number of national units increases. However, in

principle, the process outlined in paragraph 189 above, linked to the appropriately tuned “models” mentioned in paragraph 187, should be able, for the Pacific region, to fulfil the four planning principles cited in paragraph 185 so as to achieve the management objectives listed in paragraph 186.

191. It is the opinion of the study team that the region of the South Pacific is close to the point at which coordinated decisions will need to be made about the strategic distribution of tourism development. As has been noted above, the South Pacific offers a combination of unique tourism experiences based upon its peculiarities of location, natural resources, scenery, culture and historical legacy. However, as has also been noted there are some endemic problems which may frustrate the optimization of tourism advantage and potential, and the market (the international visitors and major investors) may decide, there are too many problems to be overcome and settle for a vacation experience or development project in a competitive location (such as East or South Asia, or Australia). To combat this possibility, the preparation and introduction of a coordinated, systematic, geographically relevant tourism development strategy becomes imperative. But is this a feasible aspiration?

Developmental strategies for the region

192. The crucial elements and determinants of development strategies for the region are largely political and logistical. As will be shown below in this section, the conceptual elements present comparatively few problems. For any regional strategy to be implemented successfully the individual interests of parts of the region have to be sublimated to the best interests of the whole. This political strategy is difficult enough to achieve in a federation of States within one nation (such as in the United States or Australia); it is acutely difficult across such a diverse region as that covered by the separate island nations in the Pacific region. This matter was reviewed in the PIDP (1990) report. The principal requirement is cooperative strategy formulation. The following paragraphs concern issues which could form constituent elements of a cooperative tourism development strategy for the region.

193. One of the most important questions to be addressed is whether this region of the Pacific should be considered as composed of a series of nodal points as tourism destinations, or a series of nodal points which may be linked together in a coordinated circuit. The marketing strategies pursue both options. Here the implications of these strategies are considered briefly.

194. For convenience, the activity of tourism may be considered to adopt one of two forms; one is consistent with what is referred to as “destination tourism”, in which the principal movement of tourists is to a single destination (such as an integrated resort enclave) or to a tourism centre, in which the tourist will seek to establish a base and spend most of his time there, but move short distances for day excursions. The second principal form is “touring” (or circuit) tourism in which the basic purpose is to visit a number of points of interest and stay at each point or some of them for a short time before moving on to other points of interest. This second form may be likened to a string of beads, with the thread as the linking circuit or communication route, and each bead as a centre or nodal point of interest along that circuit. The circuit form has at least two variants; in one, the journey is begun and finished at the same point of entry into a region - sometimes referred to as the gateway or transport hub - with the route meandering through the region incorporating the principal points of interest; in the second form, the circuit takes the form of a corridor through the region, with a single direction of movement in which the entrance and exit gateways are at different locations. A variant on both of these principal circuit forms is the addition of single spurs or loops to particular attractions.

195. As has been noted in parts one and two of this report, the Pacific region embodies:

- (a) Numerous independent island nations;
- (b) Islands of different size, with a tourism attractive capacity within and peculiar to each island nation;
- (c) Problems of inter-nation, intra-regional, and inter-island transport, and problems of linkage with the principal tourist-source regions beyond the Pacific;

(d) Attractions of exotic location, lush vegetation, interesting cultures, vast distances of beach and shorelines, vast expanses of surrounding ocean (with some protected or sheltered coastal enclaves), and relaxed lifestyles.

196. If, in accordance with the often advanced argument, it is the tropical environment which is the principal source of tourism attraction, then most of the independent island nations are in competition with each other. Whatever resources of attractions are in island group A may be replicated in island groups B, C and so on. Although the subtleties of difference may be apparent to the residents of the independent island nations, they may not be so apparent to visitors travelling to the region. In the market-place, therefore, what is it which distinguishes one destination from another - other, that is, than ease of communication by international air carrier?

197. For the purposes of this report, the study team isolated five principal strategic elements which may be used in various combinations and fitted to the Pacific region:

- (a) The creation and maintenance of community attraction complexes;
- (b) The establishment of integrated resort enclaves;
- (c) The linear resort and tourism corridor;
- (d) Tourism circuits;
- (e) Non-attraction hinterlands.

Unfortunately, the limitations of the information base available to the study team precluded geographical precision. Therefore, although the review outlined below is relevant to the Pacific region, it focuses on concept rather than practice. This matter is raised in the section of this report on recommendations.

198. Community-attraction complexes may take one or a combination of many forms. For example, in a tourism region, a major (or even minor) residential community could function as the principal "base camp" for accommodation, retailing and various other forms of servicing. In addition, it may function as the principal hub of transport routes, even acting as the gateway to the region. Such centres would be regional capital cities or townships, ports or airport towns, principal administrative centres, or even the principal servicing township in a rural region. Some centres may have intrinsic tourism attractions of their own such as the seat of government, diversity of public buildings, principal temples or churches, buildings of historic and heritage significance, museums and collections of artefacts. In such cases, the centres will perform the dual functions of community and attraction complexes. These may be considered generally as resorts.

199. The enclave of the integrated tourism resort has inspired the description "parachute tourism", in which the tourist may fly into a region, be transported by a resort vehicle to the resort, spend the complete vacation at the resort, then undertake the travel in reverse sequence to return home. Such tourists seldom experience much of the panoply of natural, cultural and other resources available in the region. The experience, other than being more relaxing, may be similar to confinement in a hospital isolation ward for infectious diseases! It is clear that the resort enclave (and particularly the integrated "all-you-need-is-here" resort) has become a popular component of regional tourism strategies in both developed and developing countries. For example, much of the European Mediterranean coast tourist experience is related to the integrated resort enclave phenomenon. The marketing exercise of Club Méditerranée, of which there are examples in the Pacific region, has been criticized for being isolated, insular and detached from the "real" experience of the host community. If such resorts offer all the tourist needs, there is not much incentive to venture beyond the confines of the resort compound, except, perhaps, for the expected foray into indigenous market places. Yokeno's revelation of the impact of a developing tourism region demonstrates the significance of the enclave, to a degree partly replicated by Miossec. There is a danger that such tourism strategies render a region "any-place", rather than highlighting its uniqueness.

200. Linear coast tourism resorts, and even tourism corridors may be geographically constrained, with tourists being attracted to (or advised to follow) specified coastal routes - even to enter resort enclaves - or controlled inland routes. Of course, for most of the island nations in the region, the "corridors" and linear extensions of tourism attraction, facilities and amenities have been prescribed by the smallness of the islands, the difficult terrain of island interiors, and the legacy of route infrastructures set out in previous periods (usually colonial). These configurations may take one (or more) general forms, with the rationale being dictated by the location of the routes, travel logistics, and the particular tourism attractions.

201. Various circuit forms may be distinguished. Land-based circuits (within or on an island) may be designed for access to tourism attractions including outstanding natural scenery, water sports, sites of institutions, shrines or cultural sites, entertainment areas, historic buildings or sites, locations of indigenous villages, particular resort enclaves, sites of particular festivals or events, sports venues, national parks or game reserves. Each of these circuits may be linear (linking A to B without deviation), or may involve a defined tourism corridor with spurs leading to particular features of the kind listed previously.

202. The relevance of circuit forms to island groups within the same nation, and even more so to island groups of different nations, no matter how close in geographical terms, is problematical. (Tour circuits are among the options reviewed in the TCSP study of Solomon Islands). There are difficulties of transport linkages (whether by sea or by air); and the severe problems in communication linkages with island nations in the Pacific region are well documented. There are also difficulties of justifying linkages, particularly if the basic tourism attraction is the combination of sand/sea/sun/scenery which is shared with reasonable equality throughout the Pacific island nations. The greatest degree of difference may lie in the variations of cultural heritage and identity. At a more specific level, the differences may lie in language, customs, flora and fauna, and detailed impacts of colonial influence and the impact of the Second World War. The essential question to be addressed here is whether it is the diversity, and the motivation to witness the diversity, which inspires the tourist to visit the area or whether it is the presence of the almost ubiquitous sand/sea/sun/lush scenery. If it is the former (the diversity), the creation of linked circuits becomes viable; if it is the latter, there is little justification for creating the linked circuit. There is no evidence available to the study team that circuit tourism, even if feasible, is demanded by the present level and segments of tourists. The exception of course, is cruise ship tourism.

203. There is, however, one destination-circuit concept which might be feasible for the circumstances of the island nations in the Pacific region; that is the twinning principle, in which a gateway or transport hub "captures" the visitors for a segment of the tourism experience, perhaps because it offers capital city attractions, or there are festivals at particular times of the year, or there are collections of special cultural artefacts and evidence of indigenous culture and customs all sufficient to arrest the progress of the traveller for a number of consecutive days en route to (or from) the real destination, which may be the tourism resort enclave. Within the island Pacific region there are several obvious gateways or transport hubs: Honolulu (on the eastern fringe), perhaps the Cook Islands in the eastern sector (especially with its free port customs advantages), and Fiji as the central pivot. However, the international and regional air transport routes offer other options.

204. On balance, it is difficult to consider either "pure" or hybrid circuit tourism relevant to the island nations in the Pacific region, not only because such circuits would become tortuous and inevitably contrived, but also because they would only serve to link destinations which are, in marketing terms, in competition with each other.

205. A final element in potential strategic forms is what may be referred to as the non-attraction hinterland of tourism areas. As with any strategy for an island, the non-attraction zone would be composed of fragile ecosystem areas or sensitive cultural enclaves of significance to particular ethnic groups and their history, these areas would need to be protected from any level of tourist visits. In addition, in some circumstances, these areas may include regions needed for agricultural production of either domestic crops, or crops for export (such as sugar in Fiji). In the context of a multi-island region, and nations comprising island groups, the non-attraction hinterland may be identified as islands within groups to be kept free of tourism (for example, to protect local culture), or for which access by air transport to facilitate mass tourism is impossible (because the islands are too small to accommodate landing strips for large aircraft), or islands which have little to offer as tourism attractions. Some island nations may decide, as a matter of policy and strategy, to avoid a commitment to

tourism development, thereby, in effect, creating a vacuum in a tourism strategy in the form of a non-attractions zone.

206. Strategies which focus on destination and/or circuit tourism may need to confront constraints imposed by current attitudes towards the conservation of natural sites and regions, and of sites of cultural and heritage significance. The underlying principles of destination and circuit tourism, especially if conceived as linked series of precincts, can accommodate the exclusion of particular sites or regions on the basis of their "sensitivity" for natural or cultural resource reasons. As mentioned previously in this section, the study team considers that the problems of tourism strategy development escalate with the attempt to apply the concepts to island groups, and even more so to island groups which are governed by autonomous Pacific island nations.

Developmental strategies – the lingering problems

207. The study team, in the progressive examination of what the region had to offer in terms of tourism experience and the means by which the experience and the tourism product could be delivered to the increasing visitor market, encountered a number of residual problems. These are set out here, even though they are derived from previous parts and sections of this report, not least because they present a useful background for the recommendations which follow. These matters should be addressed before any serious commitment is made to the generation of a Pacific region-wide strategy. In any case, it should be borne in mind that there is no region-wide coordinating agency with the authority to prepare such a strategy, and still less with the responsibility to administer and implement it.

208. There are nine lingering problems.

1. There is no plan in force at present which embraces the diverse circumstances of the island nations, yet international travel to the region is increasing. Although WTO considers the East Asia/Pacific region to be on the threshold of considerable growth and development in the next two decades, if the product is not available to meet demand, either the demand will not occur, or it will impose indiscriminate pressure throughout the region, most likely (but not exclusively) focusing on the present "honey pot" destinations. Perhaps, therefore, it is the "honey pots" that need attention, and the remainder of the region can be left without a strategy. The principal question is, therefore: is a plan for the entire region necessary?
2. If the principal sources of visitors remain as at present (see TCSP Tourism Topics No. 32, April 1992), there may be a need to maintain the creation of what has been described as the "ecological bubble", the tourism cocoon in which the American or European visitor feels comfortable, with standards of accommodation and amenities which are commensurate with the visitor's experience in their home countries. This standard of tourism facility and product may be difficult to achieve away from the "honey pots", not least because of the costs of development and supporting infrastructure. If the trend of visitor expectation continues, the "ecological bubble" can be created only at particular locations in resort enclaves. This may have implications for foreign exchange leakage and it may lead to tourism "ghettos". The exception may be where the tourism market is a particular niche or specialized market more interested in savouring indigenous conditions than the Westernized standards typical of the multi-national hotel and resort enclaves.
3. Small island nations need to recognize their social, economic, environmental and political circumstances. The resources, of many kinds, necessary to drive a sophisticated tourism strategy (such as the Languedoc-Roussillon region of South-Western France) may not be available to the island nations. In addition, the strategic potential of a large land mass is not available to island groups, and the logistic potential of continental macro-States is not realizable for incontinent island micro-States.
4. The scale of development is a crucial issue for island nations. As stated above the capacity to absorb large-scale development is higher in major tourism areas. For the Pacific islands, even the resort enclaves have to be of carefully controlled size. Without careful planning, the

misfortunes which have befallen, for example, Pattaya, and to some extent Phuket in Thailand, may be visited upon small islands in the Pacific region. Questions of scale involve issues of development density, building height and bulk, infrastructure demand and pollution potential.

5. The study team detected considerable variations in the assumption of responsibility for tourism development by the various government administrations. This matter is reported on in the various PIDP reports. Government has the ultimate responsibility for ensuring that tourism contributes to the general welfare of the nation; this responsibility may not be shouldered adequately by laissez-faire policies and practices. The fear of impeding necessary development may cause some Governments (national, regional or local) to adopt a relaxed approach to planning control. Worldwide experience reveals that relaxation of vigilance at the early phase of tourism development may create situations which are extremely difficult to remedy later; the obvious examples include deterioration of the natural environment, inadequacy of water supplies, strained capacity of infrastructure and environmental pollution. The principal question should not be "whether" Government should become involved, but "how" it should become the active agent for the management of tourism development.
6. In item (2) above reference was made to "niche" markets. As there is a high degree of ubiquity in the Pacific islands region of sand/sea/sun/scenery and interesting cultures, perhaps the generalities need to be identified, and developmental strategies should focus on the differences. Such a process would contribute to regional complementarity, and provide a sustainable rationale for an overall (regional) strategy for enclave/destination and circuit tourism. The niche markets may be related to scale, type of tourism experience, standard of tourism product and facility, and duration of stay. (Note: paragraph 189 outlines a process which may achieve "niche" market definition within an overall strategy).
7. The terms "complementary", "integration", "coordination", "cooperation" and similar terms have posed problems for the study team. There is clear evidence of political will to cooperate in some activities for which TCSP has oversight. However, the ethnic composition, colonial legacy and degree of commitment to tourism as an integral part of national development strategy vary across the region. As has been noted in previous paragraphs, it is difficult to envisage a high degree of strategic integration. It may be that loose arrangements of cooperation in regional promotion (the South Pacific village) are the limits of reasonable expectation. Certainly, a detailed tourism development strategy for the region would impose constraints as well as offer opportunities which may not be acceptable to all of the Pacific island nations. A supplementary matter needs to be raised here: even if a rational strategy for the island region could be devised, on whom would fall the responsibility for implementation? There are many examples worldwide of regional coordinating bodies which find great difficulty in implementing rational strategies; in modern times, the traumas experienced by the Commission of the European Communities are instructive.
8. A recent study of dependency in the Pacific region (Fagence 1992) has drawn attention to the continuing influence of Europe. In recent years many commentators have pointed to the economic dependency of most developing countries on external funding agencies, and the prescriptions those agencies impose. Therefore, to a considerable degree, the activity within the Pacific island nations, as a group, may be prescribed by external forces (such as UNDP, ADB, EEC, and even by particular national financial institutions in countries such as Japan). As many of the investment and development sources will be offshore, agencies outside the Pacific may dictate strategies which may be suited to particular island nations, but which may not be easy to coordinate into a consolidated strategy. Newly won political independence is unlikely to be easily ceded to a coordinating form of federalism in the Pacific region, even if narrowly-focused on tourism.
9. Finally, one option remains available to every Pacific island nation: to "jump off the bandwagon" of tourism development. Of course, if there are few, if any, resources which can be developed to achieve foreign exchange income, it may be argued that there is little alternative but to join

the bandwagon. Presumably, the commitment to the global system of international trade and exchange is to achieve an improvement in the welfare of the resident population. However, some Governments and their populations may consider the price to be paid - economic, social, environmental, political - too high. Unless there has been a large-scale commitment to tourism exploitation, it may not be too late for some micro-States to decide to avoid the tourism bandwagon. In the Pacific region, there are some island nations which have so little to offer the international tourism market (perhaps because of better amenities available elsewhere in the region) that it may be in their interest to avoid participating in the strategy. Such island nations may either readopt their previous economic structures and accept the implications, or acknowledge their dependence on funding and technical assistance from external agencies for activities other than tourism development. These island nations could be fitted into the regional strategy as "non-attraction" zones.

Conclusion

209. The study team recognizes the desirability of each island nation in the Pacific region which is, or which is becoming, involved in and committed to tourism development to prepare and implement a conspicuous tourism development strategy. It is considered there is an adequacy of theory, concept and principle upon which to draw. However, the study team remains sceptical on three points:

1. That each of the island nations needs a tourism strategy;
2. That the discontinuous nature of each island micro-State is as amenable to a coordinated and comprehensive strategy as is a continuous land mass;
3. That there is a sufficiency of accord within the island nations to achieve a coordinated policy as a preparatory step to the formulation of a region-wide strategy.

210. In part four of this study, attention has been focused on the physical frameworks of development strategies. This offers a balance to most of the other studies in this field which focus almost exclusively on economic, political or manpower issues.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

211. The task of making a set of recommendations for the region as a whole is complicated by the different levels of tourism development across the region, and the different degrees of commitment to tourism in the various countries in the Pacific region.

212. A further complication is created by the differential quality of research work which has been undertaken in various parts of the region, the variety of focus and the degree of overlap and repetition. Other studies of this region have commented on data deficiencies and inconsistencies and have called for improvements in systems of collecting and compiling visitor statistics.

213. An additional problem lies in the fragile underpinning of appropriate theory in the recommendations of many studies.

214. Many commentaries on the region, although commending the work of some of the regional agencies, point out the problems of coordination and cooperation. The reasons for these problems are both many and various, and are underpinned by differences in culture, tradition, degree of economic dependency and even a long history of competition between the various island communities and nations.

215. To the study team, it seems as if the problems in this region have been approached as though they are unique, with no other region having lessons which can be learned, and solutions which can be modified to suit the special circumstances of the region.

216. These, and various other matters are commented upon in the principal parts of this report. It seems unfortunate that there is not a single, uniformly supported agency in the region which is responsible for tourism; the degree of fragmentation, and in some cases, independence, is not conducive to cooperative and integrated policy and strategy formulation. The work of TCSP in this region is to be commended, not only in its variety, but also in its approach to a particular format of national tourism plan preparation. With two nation studies completed, and another due for completion by July 1992, there is a body of case-studies emerging which present a consistent approach. If this was to be continued across the membership of TCSP, it would be possible to extract the compatible elements and aggregate them into a composite strategy covering 14 of the 21 countries and areas in the study region. Of course, this is not the ideal way of strategy formulation; the benefits of bottom-up decision-making are not denied, but, just as it is assumed that the modern car is not designed by aggregating the independent elements of nuts, bolts, screws, rods, pistons and so on, into a composite machine, it would seem preferable to formulate the grand design (not as a fixed blueprint, but as a flexible strategy) into which the nuts and bolts of independent tourism strategies may then be fitted in a coordinated fashion.

217. There are numerous tourism agencies, projects and proposals, data inventories, seminar and conference reports and there is widespread (if not unanimous or equal) commitment to tourism development. The principal need seems to be the development of a suitable means to bring these positive factors to the fore and to harness them for the good of the region, and to contribute to the welfare of the indigenous peoples.

Detailed recommendations

218. There are nine principal recommendations. They are not listed in order of priority.

Recommendation 1. That there should be progress towards an improved, standardized and coordinated database of visitor statistics.

Reference has been made in this report to the inconsistency in the collection of visitor statistics, with problems being exacerbated by the different interpretation of visitor types and sometimes no differentiation within the aggregated data, leading to a misinterpretation of genuine tourism visitor levels. In addition, regional interpretations of data are frustrated when published statistics, purporting to be official, are inconsistent with regard to time, place and quantity.

Recommendation 2. That detailed assessments should be conducted of the various impacts of tourism development on local economies, cultures and the environment.

There is a tendency for generalizations drawn from other contexts to be imputed to the Pacific region. In addition, anecdotal "evidence" and speculation are sometimes used to underpin recommendations or decisions. It is necessary for a series of systematic case-studies, purpose-designed for the region, to be undertaken so that meaningful comparisons can be drawn, and sensible interpretations made.

Recommendations 3. That an inventory of all studies on the region should be composed, with sufficient detail to minimize the likelihood of resource misuse through repetition, and duplication.

Such an inventory, compiled and held at a convenient central location, would avoid the needless repetition of studies, and would set each study in its appropriate context so that generalizations across studies could be drawn, or the idiosyncrasy of particular studies recognized.

Recommendation 4. That a formal network of tourism planners working in the region should be established.

One of the continuing problems seems to be that few people, working independently, are aware of the commonality of problems, and of approaches to problem-solving. A formal network, in conjunction with the benefits derived from the implementation of recommendations 1, 2 and 3, would provide a basis for, if not consistency, then at least coordination in tourism planning in the region.

Recommendation 5. That an evaluation should be made of current tourism planning theory to determine which concepts and principles are relevant to the special circumstances of the region, and how they may be adapted.

As mentioned above, most available tourism planning theory has been developed for land-based situations. The special circumstances of the Pacific region, with even independent nations dispersed across vast ocean distances, require purpose-designed strategies, rather than the application of only partially relevant theory.

Recommendation 6. That the differences in the region should not be "forced" into unreasonable aggregations of data compilations, of policy positions and so on.

The accumulated benefit from the implementation of recommendations 1 to 5 would reveal the inadequacy of the present tendency towards regional generalizations. It is most likely the differences, rather than the similarities, which will provide the basis for the generation of "niche markets" to attract visitors into the region.

Recommendation 7. That the "real" significance on the world scale of the region's environmental and cultural heritage should be determined.

Reference has been made in the report to a graduated scale of significance (from international to local). Despite protestations to the contrary, it is unlikely that all areas and all cultural manifestations in the region are of world significance. Thorough investigation, inventory compilation and interpretation would reveal relative significance.

Recommendation 8. That the sensitivity of the cultural and natural environments should be assessed systematically, and that region-specific limits of carrying capacity should be determined.

There is a likelihood that, without detailed local and regional assessment, capacity thresholds introduced from other countries and contexts may be imposed without full realization of their consequences.

Recommendation 9. That a commitment should be made by the countries in the region to form a composite regional organization responsible for coordinating tourism planning and development.

This might be through the expansion of TCSP if the political situation would allow this. A single coordinated tourism body for the region would be a distinct advantage.

The different and sometimes overlapping membership of the regional agencies for the countries in the region is not conducive to coordination. Without integration and coordination an already unbalanced distribution of tourism activity may persist and even expand. The impact will be experienced throughout the region. Action in response to the previously listed recommendations could lead to a positive and pro-active response to the implications of tourism development in the region. The key is planning and management. Without a commitment to a coordinating agency, idiosyncrasy and independence will dominate the form and structure of tourism development in the region.

219. Clearly, the need is for:

- (a) More and thorough research;
- (b) More advice and help with implementation;
- (c) More standardization in inventory compilation;
- (d) Increased commitment to regional cooperation and coordination;
- (e) An inventory of consensual objectives for the region;
- (f) A commitment to an agency which
 - (i) Is given responsibility;
 - (ii) Accepts responsibility for overseeing tourism planning and development in the region
- (g) More training, not only for the industries servicing tourism, but also in the intricacies of tourism planning.

220. The real impact of tourism development on the region is not known. Information on the ramifications of local land systems, local social structures, local environments and local economies remains vague. The impact of tourism development on the region is assumed to be a replication of what happened elsewhere. Is such a generalization reasonable and accurate? Just as the impacts and implications are uncertain, there seems to be a lack of certainty about opportunities. To some extent, the underlying difficulty is political; having achieved political independence to a large degree, the region is realizing its economic dependence. At least an expression of tourism development avoids the alternative of a dependency on foreign aid and on funds from expatriates.

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ANNEXES

NOTE: Different sources give different figures for visitation numbers in any one year. Figures should be looked upon as a general guide only.

Annex I

COUNTRIES AND AREAS OF THE REGION, THEIR AFFILIATIONS AND
TOURISM PERCENTAGES

	<i>TCSP member</i>	<i>ACP participant</i>	<i>WTO Data</i>	<i>% of regional tourism Arrivals</i>
American Samoa	X		X	2.88
Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands				19.39
Cook Islands	X		X	1.74
Fiji	X	X	X	14.24
French Polynesia	X		X	6.76
Guam			X	39.83
Kiribati	X	X		0.18
Marshall Islands	X		X	0.18
Micronesia (Fed. States of)	X			0.92
Nauru				0.06
New Caledonia			X	4.35
Niue	X		X	0.03
Papua New Guinea	X	X	X	2.08
Republic of Palau				0.78
Samoa	X	X	X	2.42
Solomon Islands	X	X	X	0.46
Tokelau			X	0.00
Tonga	X	X	X	1.48
Tuvalu	X	X	X	0.03
Vanuatu	X	X	X	2.19
Wallis and Futuna				0.00

Annex II

**TOURIST ARRIVALS 1990 AND PERCENTAGE OF REGIONAL TOTAL WITH
PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION EMPLOYED IN TOURISM-RELATED
JOBS WHERE KNOWN**

<i>All 21 countries and areas</i>	<i>Tourists</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>% employment</i>
American Samoa	56,373	2.88	
Commonwealth of the Northern Marianas (Saipan)	380,056	19.39	37
Cook Islands	33,900	1.74	20
Fiji	279,000	14.24	
French Polynesia	132,361	6.75	8
Guam	780,404	39.83	
Kiribati	3,300	0.18	
Marshall Islands	3,500	0.18	
Micronesia (Fed. States of)	18,060	0.92	2
Nauru	1,035	0.06	
New Caledonia	85,213	4.35	
Niue	649	0.03	
Papua New Guinea	40,742	2.08	3
Republic of Palau	15,000	0.78	
Samoa	47,600	2.42	6
Solomon Islands	9,200	0.46	2
Tokelau	25	0.00	
Tonga	29,011	1.48	7
Tuvalu	700	0.03	
Vanuatu	43,009	2.19	
Wallis and Futuna	100	0.00	
TOTAL	1,959,238	100%	

Annex III

STATISTICS ON MEMBERS OF THE TOURISM COUNCIL OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC

<i>TCSP countries and areas</i>	<i>Tourists</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>% of 21 country and area totals</i>
American Samoa	56,373	8.08	2.88
Cook Islands	33,900	4.86	1.74
Fiji	279,000	40.01	14.24
French Polynesia	132,361	18.98	6.76
Kiribati	3,300	0.47	0.18
Marshall Islands	3,500	0.50	0.18
Micronesia (Fed. States of)	18,060	2.59	0.92
Niue	649	0.09	0.03
Papua New Guinea	40,742	5.84	2.08
Samoa	47,600	6.83	2.42
Solomon Islands	9,200	1.32	0.46
Tonga	29,011	4.16	1.48
Tuvalu	700	0.10	0.03
Vanuatu	43,009	6.17	2.19
TOTAL	697,405	100%	35%

Annex IV
STATISTICS ON ACP PACIFIC MEMBERS

<i>Countries</i>	<i>Tourists</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>% TCSP countries</i>	<i>% of 21 country totals</i>
Fiji	279,000	61.65	40.01	14.24
Kiribati	3,300	0.73	0.47	0.18
Papua New Guinea	40,742	9.00	5.84	2.08
Samoa	47,600	10.52	6.83	2.42
Solomon Islands	9,200	2.03	1.32	0.46
Tonga	29,011	6.42	4.16	1.48
Tuvalu	700	0.15	0.10	0.03
Vanuatu	43,009	9.50	6.17	2.19
TOTAL	452,562	100%	65%	23%

Annex V

WORLD TOURISM ORGANIZATION STATISTICS FOR THE REGION: PERCENTAGE
BREAKDOWN OF TOURISTS BY COUNTRY OR AREA OF ORIGIN

<i>Country/area</i>	<i>N.Am.^{a/}</i>	<i>Asia</i>	<i>Europe</i>	<i>Aus/NZ^{b/}</i>	<i>Oceania</i>
American Samoa	29	1	8	12	50
Cook Islands	15	1	17	62	5
Fiji	20	6	15	51	8
French Polynesia	44	8	35	11	2
Guam	5	71	10	1	13
Marshall Islands	26	58	3	3	10
New Caledonia	2	35	21	31	11
Niue	8	1	10	64	17
Papua New Guinea	15	13	15	52	5
Samoa	10	1	7	38	44
Solomon Islands	10	5	7	48	30
Tonga	22	13	17	33	15
Tuvalu	15	8	20	28	29
Vanuatu	3	3	3	67	24
	224%	224%	188%	501%	263%
Average % WTO data	16%	16%	13%	36%	19%
TCSP^{c/} member countries	21%	6%	18%	37%	18%

^{a/} North America.

^{b/} Australia/New Zealand.

^{c/} Tourism Council of the South Pacific.

Annex VI

PACIFIC ISLAND PROFILES

From Fairbairn, T., E. Marrison, R. Baker and S. Groves, *The Pacific Islands - Politics, Economics and International Relations* (Honolulu, East-West Centre, 1991).

AMERICAN SAMOA

Geography

American Samoa is made up of five main islands and two atolls located east of the 171st meridian of W longitude. The total land area is 197 km² and sea area encompasses 390,000 km². The main island is Tutuila, where the administrative centre Pago Pago is located. The islands were formed from the remains of extinct volcanoes leaving central mountain ranges with limited coastal plains.

Population

The population is around 36,700, with a density of 186 per km². American Samoans are Polynesians, ethnically the same as Samoans, and speak the same language. They have free entry into the United States of America; an estimated 65,000 have migrated to the United States west coast while some 20,000 American Samoans reside in Hawaii.

Politics

American Samoa is an unorganized, unincorporated Territory of the United States under the general supervision of the Department of Interior.

Economy

The United States Government is the biggest employer, followed by the tuna canning industry. Tourism is the next largest cash earner. There is a thriving fishing industry, but the economy is heavily dependent on assistance from the United States Government. GNP is \$US 55.8 million, and per capita GNP \$US1,845 (1982 figures).

Visitor figures

1986	1987	1988	1989	1996
39,762	45,127	46,524	54,721	56,373

COOK ISLANDS

Geography

The Cook Islands is located between 156° and 167° W longitude and between 8° and 23° S latitude. The Cook Islands comprises 15 islands with a total land area of 240 km² in a sea area of 2.2 million km². The main island is Rarotonga on which the capital Avarua is located. The islands are a combination of volcanic islands and low-lying coral atolls.

Population

The population of the Cook Islands is about 18,000, with a population density of 75 per km². Most of the people live on the main island of Rarotonga. The people are mostly Polynesian. Cook Islands Maori and English are the main languages. Because of limited economic opportunity in the islands, many Cook Islanders migrate to New Zealand.

Politics

The Cook Islands was administered by New Zealand until 1965. At that time the Cook Islands became self-governing in free association with New Zealand, which is responsible for defence and foreign affairs.

Economy

The economy of the Cook Islands is mainly subsistence agriculture and fishing, with tourism also playing an important role. The primary exports are copra, fruit juices, fruits and vegetables. The gross national product (GNP) of the Cook Islands is \$US20 million (1985) and the GNP per capita is \$US1,360.

Visitor figures

1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
31,245	32,112	33,886	33,000	34,218	39,984

FEDERATED STATES OF MICRONESIA

Geography

The Federated States of Micronesia is located between 0° and 14° N latitude and 136° and 166° E longitude. The country is made up of hundreds of islands that range from lush high volcanic islands to low-lying coral atolls. These islands comprise a land area of 700.8 km² scattered over hundreds of thousands of square kilometres of ocean.

Population

The population of the Federated States of Micronesia is about 93,000. The people are mostly Micronesian with some Polynesians and Americans. The population density is about 133 per km². Languages are mainly Micronesian dialects and English.

Politics

The Federated States of Micronesia is divided into the four States of Pohnpei, Chuuk (Truk), Yap and Kosrae. The national Government, based on the American system, is located on Pohnpei in the capital of Kolonia. The country's colonial history includes rule by Spain, Germany, Japan and finally the United States. Under United States administration, the Federated States of Micronesia became a United Nations Trust Territory at the end of the Second World War. It became self-governing in free association with the United States in 1986.

Economy

The GNP is \$US106 million (1983). The economy is based mainly on traditional agriculture and fishing. There are very few exports; the main products are copra, black pepper and fish.

Visitor figures

1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
12,300	14,740	-	-	15,000

FIJI

Geography

The Republic of Fiji is located between 15° and 22° S latitude and 177° W and 175° E longitude. Fiji is made up of hundreds of islands comprising 18,272 km² with a sea area of about 193,000 km². The main

islands are Vanua Levu and Viti Levu, where the capital Suva is located. There are large volcanic islands and many smaller coral atolls.

Population

The population of Fiji is about 732,000 with a density of 40 per km². Most of the people live on the island of Viti Levu. The population is comprised of 46 per cent ethnic Fijians (Melanesians), 43 per cent ethnic Indians and 8 per cent others. Languages widely spoken are Fijian, Hindustani and English.

Politics

Fiji was administered by the United Kingdom until independence in 1970. At that time a parliamentary democracy was established with a prime minister as the head of government. Parliament was suspended following two military coups in 1987 and, Fiji became a republic in October of that year.

Economy

The GNP of Fiji is about \$US1,190 million (1989) with a GNP per capita of \$US1,572. Agriculture, tourism and manufacturing are the major components of the economy. Much of the population is in the subsistence farming sector. Major exports are sugar, textiles, gold, copra, fish and timber.

Visitor figures

1988	1989	1990	1991
208,155	251,000	278,996	259,350

FRENCH POLYNESIA

Geography

French Polynesia contains five main island groups (Society Islands, Tuamotu Archipelago, Gambier Islands, Austral Islands and Marquesas Islands) totalling some 130 islands extending from 7° to 29° S latitude and from 131° to 156° W longitude. The largest island is Tahiti where the capital Papeete is located. Total land area is 4,000 km² in an area of 4 million km² of ocean. Most of the islands are archipelagoes composed of now extinct volcanoes with high mountainous formations and deep valleys.

Population

The population of French Polynesia is 176,800, with two thirds living on Tahiti. Population density is 44 per km². Polynesians constitute about 70 per cent of the population with Europeans (15 per cent), part-Europeans (8 per cent) and Chinese (7 per cent) making up the remainder. All Polynesians and most of the Chinese are French citizens. The official languages are French and Tahitian.

Politics

French Polynesia is an overseas Territory of the French Republic and is represented in Paris by a senator. The French Republic is represented in French Polynesia by a High Commissioner.

Economy

Except for tourism, which plays an important role in employment in Territory, the economy of French Polynesia is dominated by French Government spending, half of which goes to the military and much of the

rest to French civil servants. The main agricultural products are copra, coconut oil, vanilla and coffee. There is potential in fisheries and seabed mineral deposits, but these remain undeveloped. The GNP is \$US1,370 million and per capita GNP \$US7,480 (1985 figures).

Visitor figures

1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
142,820	135,387	139,705	132,361	120,938

GUAM

Geography

Guam is a 549 km² volcanic island located at the southernmost end of the Mariana Archipelago at 13° 26' N latitude and 144° 43' E longitude. Guam also has a 218,000 km² sea area.

Population

The population of Guam is 119,800 and the density 248 per km². Ninety per cent of the population lives in the capital city of Agana; 24 per cent are military personnel and dependents of the United States Department of Defence. English and Chamorro are the official languages.

Politics

Guam is an unincorporated Territory of the United States under the general supervision of the Department of Interior. A 1988 poll showed the majority of Guamanians favour a Commonwealth arrangement with the right of self-determination for Chamorros and limited powers of the United States to alter the Commonwealth status.

Economy

Guam is heavily dependent on imports and relies on the United States Government for financial support. Tourism is the most important industry in the private sector and the second major revenue earner after federal government expenditures (including the military). There is potential for fisheries development since Guam is located near productive fishing grounds. GNP is \$US670 million and per capita GNP is \$US5,470 (1985 figures).

Visitor figures

1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
407,070	483,934	585,799	668,748	780,404

KIRIBATI

Geography

Kiribati (pronounced Kiribas) is a country of 33 low-lying coral atolls in the middle of the Pacific Ocean. They comprise a total land area of 811 km² in a sea area of 5 million km². They are scattered from 4° 43' N to 11° 25' S latitude and 169° 32' E to 150° 14' W longitude. The capital is Bairiki on the island of Tarawa.

Population

The population of Kiribati is 67,000 with a density of 83 per km². They are Micronesian and speak Gilbertese and English. Thirty-three per cent of the people live on Tarawa.

Politics

The islands of Kiribati were formerly the Gilbert Islands, administered as a British Territory together with the Ellice Islands (now Tuvalu). They became an independent State in 1979.

Economy

Kiribati has an economy based on subsistence farming, copra and fishing. Owing to the nature of the low-lying coral atolls, agricultural diversification opportunities are limited. The GNP of Kiribati is \$US33 million (1989) with a GNP per capita of \$US471. Main exports are copra and fish.

Visitor figures

1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
3,201	3,741	3,500	3,300	3,332	3,041

MARSHALL ISLANDS

Geography

The Marshall Islands are a series of 34 low-lying coral atolls comprising a land area of 171 km² in a sea area of around 2 million km². These islands are scattered between 5° and 15° N latitude and 162° and 173° E longitude. The largest island and capital is Majuro.

Population

The Marshallese people are of Micronesian descent and speak Marshallese and English. The population of the Marshall Islands is about 44,000 with a density of 257 per km².

Politics

The Republic of the Marshall Islands was formerly part of the United Nations Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands. It became self-governing in free association with the United States in 1986.

Economy

The mainstays of the economy are subsistence farming, fishing, copra production and United States military spending at Kwajalein Atoll. Per capita GNP is \$US1,317 (1984).

Visitor figures

1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
3,487	3,131	3,300	3,400	3,500

NAURU

Geography

Nauru is a single uplifted coral atoll with a land area of 21 km². Its exclusive economic zone (EEZ) has an area of 320,000 km². Nauru is situated 41 km south of the equator at 166° 56' E longitude. The capital is Yaren.

Population

Nauruans are Micronesians. The island of Nauru has a population of about 8,000 with a population density of 381 per km². Of this 8,000, about 5,000 are native Nauruans. The others are immigrant workers. The main languages are Nauruan and English.

Politics

Nauru was administered by Australia until independence in 1968. The Republic of Nauru has a democratic government.

Economy

The main economic activity of Nauru is phosphate mining: it gives Nauru the highest GNP per capita in the Pacific – \$US8,070 (1985). The GNP of Nauru is \$186 million (1989), based almost entirely on phosphate mining. The phosphate will soon run out, and Nauru is investing its revenues in anticipation of that eventuality. A major national issue is reclamation of the mine area.

Visitor figures

1990
1,035

NEW CALEDONIA

Geography

New Caledonia consists of one large island, one smaller island and the Loyalty and Huon island groups. The largest island is New Caledonia where the capital of Noumea is located. The total land area is 19,103 km² and the total sea area is 1,740,000 km². The islands lie between 19° and 23° S latitude and between 163° and 168° E longitude.

Population

The population of New Caledonia is 153,500 with a population density of 8 per km². About 43 per cent of the total are indigenous Melanesians. All New Caledonians have full French citizenship. The official language is French, but about 30 Kanak dialects are spoken.

Politics

New Caledonia is an overseas Territory of France.

Economy

The economy of New Caledonia centres around nickel production, but the islands have immense other mineral resources that include iron, manganese and cobalt. The only agricultural exports are coffee and copra. Tourism has been the second most important industry since 1981 when it was recognized as an economic development priority. GNP is \$US860 million and per capita GDP is \$US5,760 (1985 figures).

Visitor figures

1987	1988	1989	1990
59,862	60,502	81,675	85,213

NIUE

Geography

Niue is a small uplifted coral atoll with an area of 258 km². Niue's EEZ is about 390,000 km². It is located at 19° S latitude and 169° W longitude. The capital is Alofi.

Population

There are about 2,500 Niueans on Niue with a population density of 10 per km². Niueans are Polynesian. Both Niuean and English are spoken. A large number of Niueans migrate to New Zealand; as a result there are about three times as many Niueans in New Zealand as there are on Niue.

Politics

Niue was administered by New Zealand until it became self-governing in free association with New Zealand in 1974.

Economy

The GNP of Niue is \$US3 million (1985) with a GNP per capita of \$US1,080. Primary exports are fruit products (lime and passion-fruit), root crops, coconut products, honey and footballs.

Visitor figures

1987	1988	1989	1990
361	481	640	993

COMMONWEALTH OF THE NORTHERN MARIANA ISLANDS

Geography

The Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands contains 17 islands in the North Pacific running north to south for a distance of 543 km, from 20° 33' to 14° 08' N latitude all within 145 to 146° E longitude. The main island is Saipan, where the administrative centre is located. The total land area is 475 km² with a sea area of 777,000 km². The islands are mountainous highlands of either limestone or volcanic rock.

Population

The total population is 20,600 with a density of 43 per km² centred on the island of Saipan. The population, once moved by the Spanish to Guam and the Caroline Islands, has great cultural and social diversity. The islanders are Micronesian, with the Chamorros making up the majority. Chamorro, Carolinian and English are widely spoken.

Politics

The Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands is a self-governing Commonwealth in union with the United States under a covenant signed in 1975.

Economy

Over half of the local budget is a direct United States subsidy. Tourism represents the major industry, but private business entrepreneurs continue to increase as the economic base develops to include construction, retailing and service industries. GNP is \$US165 million and per capita GNP is \$US9,170 (1982 figures).

Visitor figures

1986	1987	1988	1989	1990
157,207	186,203	233,291	301,818	380,056

REPUBLIC OF PALAU

Geography

The Republic of Palau is a group of some 340 islands with a total land area of about 50 km² and a sea area of 629,000 km². The islands lie between 76° 50' and 8° 15' N latitude and 133° 50' and 134° 45' E longitude. The four larger islands of the main group - Arakaseson, Koror, Babeldaop and Malakal - are all volcanic; the remainder are raised coral limestone, with one atoll to the north.

Population

The total population is 14,000 with a density of 28 per km². About 5,000 Palauans live elsewhere – mostly on Guam. Only eight of the islands in the group are permanently inhabited, and over half the population lives on the island of Koror where the administrative centre is located. The islanders are Micronesian with considerable ethnic affinity to the people of the Federated States of Micronesia. English is widely spoken.

Politics

The Republic of Palau was formed under a constitution in January 1981. Although there have been seven referendums on a Compact of Free Association with the United States, these have failed to attain the two-thirds majority vote needed to resolve a conflict between United States nuclear defence policy and a non-nuclear provision in the Palauan Constitution.

Economy

The economy of Palau is almost entirely based on grants from the United States Government. There is a small fishing industry. Tourism is regarded as having great potential importance. GDP is \$US31.6 million and per capita GDP \$US2,257 (1986 figures).

Visitor figures

1990
15,000 estimate

PAPUA NEW GUINEA

Geography

Papua New Guinea is the largest of the Pacific island States. It comprises a total land area of 461,690 km², located between 0° and 12° S latitude and 141° and 160° E longitude. This broad range encompasses an EEZ of 3,108,000 km². The largest part of Papua New Guinea is situated on the eastern half of the island of New Guinea. The capital of Port Moresby is located on the southern coast of this island. Other major islands are New Britain, New Ireland, Bougainville and Manus. These are large continental islands with rugged terrain. There are also many smaller islands.

Population

The population of Papua New Guinea is 3.5 million. With the large land mass, the population density is only 7.6 per km². Many villages are isolated from each other. The southern coast of New Guinea is separated from the populous central and northern parts of the country by rugged terrain. There are about 700 language and cultural groups in this Melanesian country. In addition, three languages are spoken by many groups. These are Tokpisin (pidgin), Hiri Motu and English.

Politics

Papua New Guinea was administered by Australia from the First World War until independence in 1975.

Economy

Papua New Guinea has a GNP of \$US2,823 million (1989) and a GNP per capita of \$US820. The mainstays of the economy are subsistence and plantation agriculture, fisheries and mining. Major exports are copper, gold, fish products, copra products, coffee, cocoa, timber and tea.

Visitor figures

1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
31,900	34,970	40,529	40,918	40,742	39,051

SOLOMON ISLANDS

Geography

Solomon Islands is a chain of six large islands and many smaller islands located between 5° and 12° S latitude and 155° and 170° E longitude. They comprise a land area of 29,785 km² extending over 600,000 km² of sea. The major urban centre and capital is Honiara located on the island of Guadalcanal.

Population

The inhabitants of Solomon Islands are predominantly Melanesians with about 90 different languages and ethnic groups; there are small numbers of Polynesians and Europeans. The total population is about 286,000 with a density of 10 per km². English is the official language.

Politics

Solomon Islands was a British colonial possession. The islands were the scene of major fighting during the Second World War, and became independent in 1978.

Economy

The GNP of Solomon Islands is \$US133 million (1989), with a GNP per capita of \$US410. Solomon Islands' economy is based mainly on subsistence agriculture. The major exports are fish products, timber, palm oil and copra, cocoa and some gold.

Visitor figures

1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
11,630	12,555	10,679	9,860	9,195	11,105

TOKELAU

Geography

Tokelau consists of three atolls - Atafu, Nukunonu and Fakaofu - located between 8° and 10° S latitude and 171° and 173° W longitude. Each atoll has a number of reef-bound islets around a lagoon. Total dry-land area is 12.2 km², with 165 km² of enclosed lagoon area and 290,000 km² of territorial sea.

Geography

The population of Tokelau is about 1,600 with a population density of about 131 per km². The people are Polynesian. Tokelauans are British subjects and New Zealand citizens. Their language is similar to Samoan and Tuvaluan; English is sometimes spoken and is taught as a second language.

Politics

Tokelau is a Non-Self-Governing Territory administered by an administrator of Tokelau who is responsible to the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs through the Office for Tokelau Affairs.

Economy

Tokelau's economy is based mainly on resources from the sea, and coconut and pandanus palms. A shortage of natural resources has been the major factor encouraging migration to Samoa and New Zealand. GDP is \$US1 million and per capita GDP is \$US670 (1983 figures).

Visitor figures

1990
25

TONGA

Geography

The Kingdom of Tonga is located between 15° and 23° 30' S latitude and 173° and 177° W longitude. Tonga comprises three main island groups (Tongatapu, Ha'apai and Vava'u) that are mainly coral atolls with

some volcanic islands. There are some 150 islands, of which 36 per inhabited. These islands have a land area of 697 km² with a sea area of 699,000 km². The capital, Nuku'alofa, is located on the southerly island of Tongatapu.

Population

Tongans are a Polynesian people with their own language. They number about 96,000 located mostly on the island of Tongatapu. The population density of Tonga is 138 per km². Both Tongan and English are spoken. There are a large number of Tongans living in New Zealand and the United States.

Politics

Tonga is a constitutional monarchy dating back to its first constitution in 1875 established by King Tupou . Tonga was a protectorate of Great Britain until 1970 when it gained full control of its affairs.

Economy

The GNP of Tonga is \$US78 million (1989) with a GNP per capita of \$US750. Most Tongans are involved in subsistence agriculture. The other main economic activities of Tonga are tourism, coconut products, bananas, vanilla, fish, squash and some light manufacturing.

Visitor figures

1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
44,677	39,570	40,377	39,230	20,919	21,524

TUVALU

Geography

Tuvalu is a chain of nine low-lying coral atolls located between 5° and 10° S latitude and 176° and 179° E longitude. These atolls rise only a few feet above sea level and comprise a land area of only 26 km² in an ocean area of 906,000 km². The main island and capital is Funafuti.

Population

Tuvaluans are Polynesian. They speak Tuvaluan and English. There are 9,000 inhabitants with a population density of 346 per km². Most live on Funafuti.

Politics

Tuvalu was once a part of the British Territory of the Gilbert and Ellice Islands. The Gilbert Islands became part of Kiribati and the Ellice Islands became the independent State of Tuvalu in 1978.

Economy

Tuvaluans are engaged mainly in subsistence agriculture and fishing. The GNP is \$US4 million (1989) with a per capita income of \$US500. The only agriculture that the limited soil allows is copra production. There is also some export of fish.

Visitor figures

1988	1989	1990	1991
680	567	671	976

VANUATU

Geography

Vanuatu is made up of about 80 islands located from 12° to 21° S latitude and 166° to 171° E longitude. They comprise a land area of 11,880 km² with an EEZ of 686,000 km². Vanuatu's islands are a combination of large high islands and small coral atolls. The capital is Port Vila on the island of Efate.

Population

The people of Vanuatu are a Melanesian people with 100 different ethnic and language groups. There are about 150,000 people in Vanuatu with a density of 13 per km². English, French and Bislama (Vanuatu pidgin) are widely spoken.

Politics

In the colonial period, Vanuatu was administered jointly by Great Britain and France. Vanuatu gained independence in 1980.

Economy

The GNP of Vanuatu is \$US87 million (1989) with a per capita income of \$US568. The majority of the people live on subsistence agriculture. Major economic activities are tourism, copra production, cocoa, coffee, timber, fishing and offshore banking.

Visitor figures

1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
14,648	17,544	23,865	31,047	35,042	39,784

WALLIS AND FUTUNA

Geography

Wallis and Futuna consists of two separate islands about 200 km apart, extending from 13° 20' to 14° 21' S latitude and from 176° 10' to 178° 10' W longitude. The capital Mata Utu is located on Wallis Island. The islands are of volcanic origin surrounded by reefs and cover a land area of 255 km² and 300,000 km² of sea area.

Population

The population of Wallis and Futuna is 14,700 with a density of 58 per km², with the majority of islanders living on Wallis Island. The islanders are Polynesian and have French nationality, with French being the official language.

Politics

Wallis and Futuna is an overseas Territory of France. The Territory is divided into three districts corresponding to the three kingdoms of Wallis, Alo (Futuna) and Sigave (Futuna).

Economy

Wallis and Futuna has a subsistence economy heavily funded by the French Government. The main sources of cash income are government work, and funds sent home by relatives working in New Caledonia. Agricultural production meets local consumption needs, but there is little prospect for agricultural development because of a shortage of fertile soil and an inherited land-tenure system. Total GDP is \$US7.9 million (estimate for 1985).

Visitor figures

1990
100 estimate

SAMOA

Geography

Samoa is made up of two large and two small inhabited islands. They are located between 13° and 15° S latitude and 168° and 173° W longitude. The land area of Samoa is about 2.934 km² with an EEZ of 122,000 km². The capital is Apia, located on the island of Upolu. Samoa's main islands are large volcanic islands.

Population

The population of Samoa is 170,000. The population density is 58 per km². Samoans live mainly on the island of Upolu and around the capital Apia. Samoans are Polynesian and speak both the Samoan and English languages. Although Samoa has a high birth rate, the growth rate of the resident population is stable owing to migration to New Zealand and the United States.

Politics

Samoa was formerly a German colony. Under a League of Nations Mandate it became a Territory administered by New Zealand and later a United Nations Trust Territory administered by New Zealand. In 1962 Samoa became the first country in the Pacific islands to regain full independence.

Economy

The GNP of Samoa is \$US98 million (1989) with a per capita income of \$US539. Most of the population is engaged in subsistence agriculture. There is some light manufacturing and tourism. Remittances from family members overseas contribute a large part of foreign exchange earnings. The primary exports are copra, timber, cocoa, bananas and taro.

Visitor figures

1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
47,710	48,663	49,088	48,000	48,094	39,414