

**The Socio-Economic Consequences of Tourism in Levuka,
Fiji**

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Abstract

This thesis examines the proposition that the local population at a tourist destination copy the economic behaviour of tourists and learn to give economic value to the same objects and activities that are demonstrated by tourists. Levuka, the old capital of Fiji, served as the case study.

It was found that decisions are based on the experiences and the cultural template of which those decisions are a part. There are many acculturating factors involved in the learning process as a subsistence-based economy becomes more monetised. The purchasing habits of tourists have little obvious effect. However, there is evidence that what is of value to tourists and what encourages them to visit the destination are not fully appreciated by many of the host population. Examples of these culturally dissimilar values are externalities such as the physical structures of the built environment and unquantifiable factors such as the ambience of the destination.

It is argued that an understanding of the factors that have created cultural rules is necessary if a complete analysis of the effects of tourism is to be undertaken. This can be achieved by considering change as a process and tracing that process by examining the cultural history of the host community. Tourism should be seen as another aspect of change. The response to tourism will then be seen as a new challenge that will be met using the lessons previously learnt and incorporated into the cultural template.

Levuka



Plate 1. Source: Siers 1985

God gave all men all earth to love,
But since our hearts are small,
Ordaired for each one spot should prove
Belovèd over all;
That, as He watched Creation's birth,
So we, in godlike mood,
May of our love create our earth
And see that it is good.

So one shall Baltic pines content,
As one some Surrey glade,
Or one the palm-grove's droned lament
Before Levuka's Trade.
Each to his choice, and I rejoice
The lot has fallen to me
In a fair ground--in a fair ground--
Yea, Sussex by the sea!

Rudyard Kipling, 1902

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Finally I would like to thank my co-opted supervisor Vienna Cummins, who always projected her comments in such an understandable manner.

Fijian Pronunciation

In the text of this thesis all Fijian proper names have been spelt in the Fijian form. This requires an explanation of Fijian pronunciation.

Consonants are pronounced as in English except for the following:

B as 'mb' in December

D as 'nd' in hand

Q as 'ng' in linger

G as 'ng' in bring

C as 'th' in tooth

Vowels are regular and pronounced as:

A as in father

E as in gauge

I as in cedar

O as in note

U as in tue

So, for example, Cakobau's name is pronounced Thakombau, and Nadi is pronounced Naandi.

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Chapter One

Introduction

The initial motivation for the research presented here was the result of a waning interest and a growing one. The waning interest was due to an increasing disillusionment with the theoretical basis of orthodox economic theory. The number of assumptions made and the validity of those assumptions seemed increasingly unrealistic, particularly when made regarding non-Western societies. While unrealistic assumptions, in themselves, are not necessarily a problem (for example, planetaria use a geocentric model of the universe in order to explain the movement of the stars relative to the earth) assumptions made for one kind of social organisation are not necessarily valid for another.

The growing interest was that of the effects of tourism in microstates. This followed my master's degree dissertation on tourism in The Gambia and ten years working for a tour operator in the United Kingdom. However, it was my discovery of non-orthodox, behavioural economics and economic psychology that rekindled my interest in economics. These fields of study seemed applicable to the problems of host-guest interactions at a tourist destination, particularly in a cross-cultural setting. Instead of assuming that all people would behave in a similar way in one particular circumstance, concepts of rationality become subjective. People make decisions based on their cultural backgrounds and their current state of knowledge. This realisation allows for a greater degree of dynamism within economic systems. Thompson (1979 p89) points out that there is a "contradiction between concepts, which are always static, and processes, which are never static". This, I believe is particularly relevant to the study of tourism. Tourism becomes a process. A tourist destination has a stream of people from outside visiting. Local people learn how to relate to the guests and are able to re-evaluate their interactions with guests after each meeting.

Much has been written on the host-guest interactions but fundamental questions remain. The most important of these is the question of *why* local people behave as they do towards both tourists and the development of tourism in their home region.

By addressing this question it is also possible to evaluate the differences in the responses of separate groups within the destination area. A clearer understanding of these responses also provides a better means of planning for tourism because the processes by which people make their decisions can help understand future responses to change.

The purpose of this thesis, then, is to examine the effects of tourists and tourism on the economic behaviour of the host population and to develop a means by which a greater understanding of the effects of tourists on local economic behaviour can be achieved. In order to illustrate this, Levuka, Fiji has been chosen as the tourist destination to portray the theoretical component of the study.

Theoretical development of the study of tourism

Tourism, by its very nature, will affect local economic behaviour. At the simplest level tourists will spend money and local businesses will employ staff. There will be an injection of income into the local economy. This study will attempt to develop the theoretical basis of concepts on the transmission of economic ideas and values introduced by tourists and tourism into a community. It will show how tourists influence local people about what is of value. The study will include not only goods and services but also the values that tourists place on all aspects of the tourism product such as the built environment and concepts such as historical appreciation.

Research objectives

The ultimate goal of understanding the effects of tourists and tourism on local economic behaviour requires the setting of intermediate objectives. It is not possible to achieve the main goal without understanding each of the following:

- 1 To identify the processes of change in economic behaviour that have already occurred, that is an historical analysis.
- 2 To determine the primary agents for the growth in the supply of the tourism product.

- 3 To assess the response of the host population to the promotion of tourism.
- 4 To assess the type of tourists that visit the destination.
- 5 To understand the motivation of tourists to visit the destination.
- 6 To determine the level of host/guest interaction.
- 7 To distinguish the differences in economic behaviour between the host population and the tourists.

These objectives have to be melded together in order to put the changes that are occurring in context. In all communities some form of change is occurring. The direction of that change is either dictated by past changes or a result of some exogenous variable coming into the community. In the case of tourism the exogenous variable would be outside tourism entrepreneurs affecting change and/or the tourists that visit as a result. Nevertheless, the reaction of the local community will be affected by past effects of outsiders in the area. Additionally, tourism promotes the increase of outsiders visiting but it is likely that these outsiders, the tourists, behave differently to the tourism entrepreneurs if local people run the businesses. Tourists at one location may also behave differently to other tourists in other destinations. It is, therefore, necessary to gain an understanding of the type of tourists that visit the destination, the reasons for their visit and the differences between their behaviour and those of the local people. Similarly it is necessary to know how much contact the tourists have with local people. Finally, it is also necessary to show how local people use their own worldview to construct an understanding of the actions and attitudes of the tourists. To ignore any one of the objectives would result in an unbalanced study.

Definition of economic behaviour

Because this thesis is both broad and historical the underlying theoretical assumptions that will be the basis for this research demand some initial explanation. Neo-classical economists argue that all people make choices based on the best possible outcome for themselves but, as Choi (1993) and Earl (1986) point out, people make decisions from positions of uncertainty, complexity and incomplete information. It is, therefore, impossible for them to know what that optimum

outcome is. They may have objectives that they would like to achieve but there is always the possibility that unforeseen results will occur. Similarly, people include the reactions of others who are not involved in a particular decision in their decision-making process. People consider a number of non-economic factors when making economic decisions. This is not a concept that is included in neo-classical economics.

Webley and Lea (1993 p464) define economic behaviour as “those behaviours concerned with the acquisition, management and distribution of wealth”. Economic behaviour in this thesis will be defined similarly - as the observable economic actions of all the participants in the tourism destination - but it will also include the beliefs from which those actions result. The addition of economic beliefs is necessary because it allows for the inclusion of changing beliefs in what constitutes wealth – not just personal wealth but also the collective wealth of the society. While an object may not change, conception of its value can alter. In addition consideration of systems of economic beliefs allow for the recognition that two people may act in the same way in any one instance but their reasoning for those actions may be different. As Searle (1995 p5) points out “the description of the overt behavior of people dealing with money, property, etc., misses the underlying structures that make the behaviour possible”. As a result the two people who acted in a similar way in one situation may, in a similar situation, act differently. Without an understanding of the way people conceptualise the world one may assume that these two people would always act in similar ways in similar situations. However this could prove to be a false assumption. For example, in the context of this thesis it will be shown that many local people and outside interests are agreed that the heritage of Levuka should be preserved but their reasoning for this preservation is different. If, at some stage, any group deem that the assumptions they made for demanding the preservation of the Town’s heritage are incorrect (for example, that more tourists will come as a result of heritage activity) then their support for preservation may be re-evaluated.

Using such a broad definition of economic behaviour will of necessity result in much overlap with general social behaviour. The point at which social behaviour no longer has an economic component is blurred. However, there are social behaviours that do

not include any aspect of economics. As will be illustrated later the wedding of the daughter of Tui Levuka, while in itself not being of economic consideration, does have economic consequences for the many people in Levuka who were expected to provide goods and services as part of the wedding celebration. In this thesis behaviour that is the result of or has consequences in the “acquisition, management and distribution of wealth” will be considered relevant to the study provided that the behaviour involves tourism.

Tourism involves a broad range of human activity. International tourism also results in people from different backgrounds with a variety of cultural templates coming into direct contact with each other. Unless account is taken of all the dimensions involved in the destination area an incomplete picture will be created. It is, therefore, necessary to understand the development of the destination before it became a place of interest to tourists. It is also necessary to understand how both local people and tourists view the destination, which requires a knowledge of the worldviews of both groups. As a result chapters two to six will investigate each of these dimensions before they are brought together to provide a broader framework of the effects of tourism on local economic behaviour.

Thematic approach

Following the assumption that people learn from experience and that different experiences result in different worldviews a number of themes will be considered in each chapter in this thesis. These will include macroeconomic events; technological change; socio-economic impacts; the interaction of local people and outsiders; the political economy of tourism and the destination and; the development and change of different cultural meanings in objects and activities. By using this thematic approach it will be shown that many of the supposed results of tourism have occurred in other areas of cultural growth and change.

Structure of the thesis

Following this introductory chapter, chapter two will present a review of the literature on host-guest interactions and the reasons for the promotion of tourism as a development option in poorer countries. Chapter three provides a history of Levuka. An understanding of the history of the Town is needed in order to assess the changes that have occurred as a result of contact with the rest of the world prior to the advent of tourism. Changes that occur at the same time as tourism development are sometimes solely attributed to tourism because, according to Wilson (1993 p 36) there is a "lack of an adequate longitudinal time dimension to many ethnographic studies". An understanding of outside influences will provide a basis for two hypotheses. The first is that people learn to behave in certain ways in response to particular situations. They learn from both personal and societal experience. As a result their decision-making processes, when confronted with new experiences such as tourism or tourists, are based on what they already know and have experienced. The second, which follows on from the first, is that only some aspects of behaviour are affected by tourism and those are the same aspects that were affected by other contacts with the outside world.

The chapter also introduces tourism to the equation and focuses on the development of tourism to Levuka. In addition a review is made of the various reports that have been written concerning future growth of tourism in the Town.

The heritage and culture of the destination are examined in chapter four. Heritage, as a tourist attractor, is becoming an important theme in tourism literature. However, there has been little debate on the cross-cultural aspects on the meaning of heritage. The chapter will start with a review of literature on heritage followed by an analysis of the results of the data collected on local conceptualisations of heritage. What will be shown is that there are differences in the values and meanings of heritage among the different groups in Levuka. Heritage is conceptually different among different ethnic groups but these differences are not acknowledged. Consequently, even when people agree on the need to preserve the Town the reasons for that preservation will differ.

Just as it is wrong to assume that all local people are alike it is also wrong to make this assumption about tourists. Chapter five is an analysis of the type of tourist that visits Levuka. Only with an understanding of tourist types can tourist behaviour be understood. It will be argued that the type of tourists that visit Levuka are different to the type of tourists that visit the more popular coastal resorts of Fiji. Tourists to Levuka may not behave in the same way as resort based tourists in Fiji. As a result one cannot assume that their influence on local people is the same. Consequently, the way in which Levuka is marketed should not necessarily be the same as that of other parts of Fiji.

Chapter six is an analysis of host-guest interactions. It is here that an understanding of the 'demonstration effect' becomes an important consideration. The focus is the extent to which tourist behaviour (as opposed to 'tourism' in a broader sense) influences the economic behaviour of local people.

Chapter seven presents an integration of the findings in chapters three to six. Here I present a broader framework of host-guest interactions and evolution than could be offered in each component part. It is here that the central objective of the thesis - the extent to which tourism affects the economic behaviour of local people - is examined.

I have chosen to structure the thesis in this way for a number of reasons. Within the study of tourism there are a number of different topics and each of these topics need to be combined to create a complete picture of the destination. As a result it is more appropriate to present the literature reviews for a particular topic with the topic rather than including it with the more general literature review of host-guest interactions in chapter two. Chapters three to six are intended to create the platform on which the main investigation is presented.

Summary of Organisation

This chapter has described the purpose of the study and the means by which that will be achieved. To understand the effects of tourism on economic behaviour requires

an understanding of a number of intermediate objectives. These objectives are interrelated and have to be combined to give a broad picture of the destination and its development.

Economic behaviour is defined to include social behaviours that have economic consequences. As a result there will be an overlap between economic and social behaviour however an analysis of social behaviour will only include those behaviours connected with economic behaviour. Economic behaviour is far more than behaviour concerned with transactions.

The organisation of the thesis is structured in such a way that the framework for the analysis of the data can be made in the context of changes that have occurred before and the influences that are occurring now.

Epistemology and Methodology

The study of tourism

The systematic study of tourism is a relatively recent phenomenon within the social sciences (Smith 1989). Piecemeal studies have been made since the end of the First World War but it is only within the last twenty to thirty years that more detailed and integrated approaches have been taken. Van den Berghe (1995) suggests that one of the reasons for this may be an underlying suspicion amongst academics regarding the study of what they (and others, of course) do when they are not being academics. This attitude has been hinted at within some of the literature that considers tourism as means of escape from everyday life (MacCannell 1976, Urry 1990). Tribe (1997) argues that the "youthfulness" of tourism studies has encouraged the belief that it lacks "academic weight".

However, as Przeclawski (1993) points out, those studies that have been made have been based firmly in the traditions and methodologies of individual disciplines. Tribe (1997 p535) argues that tourism is a field of study rather than a discipline in its

own right and that recognition of this fact will encourage "the legitimacy of a variety of research tools". However, the use of different research tools makes the subject susceptible to argument over the academic rigour of varying forms of methodology; the most obvious of these being the differences between quantitative and qualitative approaches (Walle 1997). Different disciplines have different approaches to solving similar problems and, as Earl (1986), writing of economics, notes, the use of another approach can result in censure within the discipline. Douglas (1982 p174) is more explicit: "The centre of an intellectual discipline is defined by its capacity to settle its own theoretical problem on its own terms.... The fringes are for the fringy". It could be argued that the study of tourism is considered "fringy" in most disciplines or, to use Remenyi's (1979) less colloquial terminology, inhabiting the area between the inner core of a discipline and the boundary of that discipline. As the study of tourism is not part of the core of any discipline there is a requirement that the methodology of other disciplines will need to be used in the study of the phenomenon. This, however, should not be seen as a weakness but rather a strength. As Hanson (1995 p21) points out when discussing general systems theory, "the target of analysis can legitimately be thought of as wholes, contexts, or relationships, rather than a common reliance on theory that is designed to dissect phenomena into parts for purposes of analysis".

As a result I will follow Keesing's (1989) instruction that social sciences must borrow from each other. Accordingly, an interdisciplinary rather than a multi-disciplinary approach will be taken. Leiper (1981 p72) distinguishes between the two as follows:

Multi-disciplinary studies imply that more than one discipline is brought to bear on some topic. Interdisciplinary studies imply something extra, that the methodology involves working *between* the disciplines, *blending* various philosophies and techniques so that the particular disciplines do not stand apart but are brought together intentionally and explicitly to seek synthesis.

As will be illustrated in the next section an interdisciplinary approach also allows for a comparison of the theories of different disciplines when they are approaching the same problem

Theoretical basis of the research

Behavioural economics

In recent years growing dissatisfaction with neo-classical consumer theory has been evident. Alternative views, labelled psychological economics and behavioural economics, have been offered. It is not in the scope of this thesis to discuss the arguments that have been traded by the proponents of these different schools of thought other than to show how some of them are directly relevant to tourist motivation and behaviour.

Much of the theory of choice suggested by behavioural economists is developed from the concept of the 'individual as scientist' first suggested by psychologist, George Kelly, who developed the concept of Personal Construct Theory (Earl 1990, Choi 1993). Kelly suggested that in order to make a decision an individual uses a previously developed procedure to evaluate the known facts relevant to the decision required. However, a novel situation requires the development of a new procedure. The consumer, therefore, subconsciously puts forward a hypothesis and tests it. If the test proves to be successful the hypothesis becomes a new procedure which is used in similar situations. If the test proves to be unsuccessful another hypothesis is developed. The starting point for these ideas is that people do not have perfect knowledge and that they are aware of this fact. As a result they strategically deal with the knowledge that they lack knowledge (Elster 1984). This reduces the concept of 'rational' behaviour to that of 'reasoning' behaviour (Choi 1993) even if the reasoning is faulty as a result of ignoring or misinterpreting available information. Consequently the consumer does not maximise utility, as orthodox economists argue, but, according to Simon (1988), attempts to attain a satisfactory level of utility. The individual does not, therefore, act reactively but proactively. Action or behaviour is a result of a desire to achieve a particular goal (or retain a particular situation).

Experience and learning is a constant theme among behavioural and psychological economists (Earl 1990, Choi 1993). The starting point for this is that people try to predict and control events rather than being motivated by drives as Maslow

suggested. The essence of life is gathering information. Choice is experimental activity based on previous experiences. Of course, if a particular decision is more unusual or different from those made in the past the more tenuous the results of previous choices and the less control the individual has. A tourist has much more control in a luxury hotel where s/he is waited on and can order whatever s/he chooses from the kitchen. There isn't even the worry that something will go wrong in the preparation of a meal as might happen when one prepares it for oneself. On the other hand there may be many things outside the tourist's experience in a tourist setting. This is particularly true with regard to souvenirs. While not specifically considering tourism Earl (1992) shows that the economic theories of Tibor Scitovsky hold relevance:

Scitovsky predicts one-sided price-making behaviour in markets for non-standard commodities in which both the number of buyers and sellers and their expertise are not evenly matched. (If both sides of a market lack expertise Scitovsky predicts the emergence of intermediaries)

Earl 1992 pp272-3.

The growth of "middlemen" has been noted in the literature of souvenir production and distribution (for example, Parnwell 1993, Simpson 1993, van den Berghe 1994). Local people may have little conception of the value of their traditional crafts to tourists. Similarly tourists are unaware of what is available or the market value for such crafts. It is left to local, urban entrepreneurs to act as a link between the suppliers and consumers.

The consequence of tourists visiting a destination may provide a new set of problems for the local people to solve. If this hypothesis is accepted then changes resulting from tourism development are no longer just a question of how people of the developing world come to understand the economic systems of the developed world. Instead they are also concerned with how local people solve the economic problems with which they are faced including those problems of dealing with a people who hold a different worldview. Local people will attempt to achieve their goals by incorporating what they observe and experience through tourism in relation to their

own construction of the world. This may result in a change in their behaviour. Alternatively they may look to people from within their own community, whom they believe have greater knowledge and understanding of tourist behaviour, when deciding how they should act.

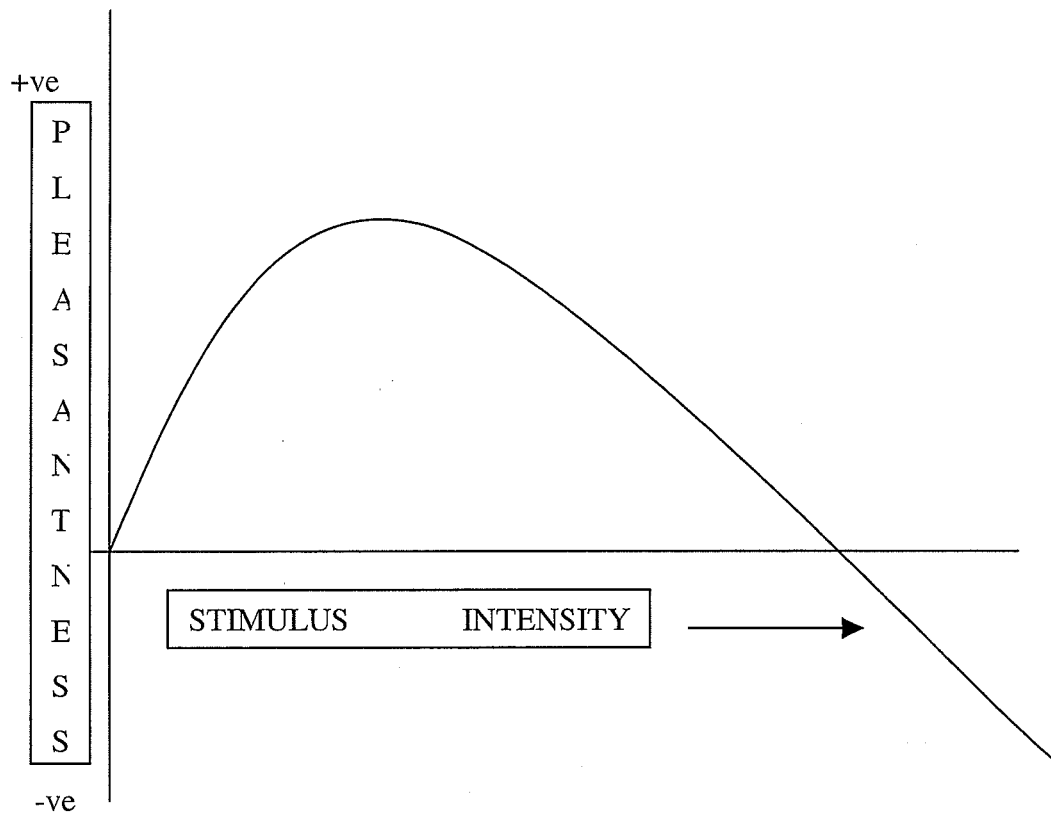
Implicit in any discussion of reasoning and decision making is motivation. Both desire and lack of desire can be described as the engine of decision making. Not only do novel situations confront the consumer because of outside influences, they are also actively sought by some people. In order to illustrate why this may be the case Scitovsky (1976) used the Wundt Curve (fig1.1) to give Berlyne's optimal arousal model an economic orientation (Earl 1992). Scitovsky argued that people look for stimulation when making choices. However, while they like variety they do not like the completely unfamiliar.

The new and surprising is always stimulating, but it is attractive only up to a limited degree, beyond which it becomes disturbing and frightening. Attractiveness first increases, then diminishes with the degree of newness and surprisingness.

(Scitovsky 1976, p34)

As something new becomes more commonplace it provides less stimulation. Information is absorbed by relating it to what is already known. The optimal level of stimulation, then, is between the extremes of what Earl (1992) described as 'burnout' and 'rustout'. Scitovsky (1976) argued that in the western world people can choose how much stimulation to confront. This is directly relevant to choice of tourist destination and the activities a tourist participates in once there. People who are over-stimulated in their home environment are more likely to want to relax when on holiday whereas those whose lifestyle positions them to the left of the Wundt Curve are likely to demand excitement. Scitovsky argues that people in primitive societies did not need to seek out stimulation because they find it in trying to satisfy their basic needs. This aspect of the hypothesis leads Scitovsky to differentiate between comfort and pleasure. Feelings of discomfort and comfort are a result of the level of arousal and its relationship with the optimal level. Pleasure is a consequence of changes in the arousal level and can be attained by either reducing the level (moving

Figure 1.1 Wundt Curve



to the left of the Wundt Curve to increase pleasure) or by increasing it (moving to the right). Scitovsky's three main motivational forces can be summarised as:

- 1) the drive to relieve discomfort;
- 2) stimulation to relieve boredom;
- 3) pleasure that accompanies and reinforces both.

These three motivations, however, illustrate the exclusivity of comfort and pleasure. In order to move to an optimum level of arousal one must start at a non-optimum level. In other words "discomfort must precede pleasure" (Scitovsky 1976, p62). The dilemma for every individual is the choice between pleasure at the sacrifice of comfort and more complete comfort at the sacrifice of pleasure. Comfort can become habitual because any action that leads to an optimal level of comfort reinforces that behaviour. The slower the realisation of the loss of pleasure the stronger the reinforcement for comfort becomes. There is comfort in habits and the

desire to maintain them is stronger than the desire to maximise pleasure. Scitovsky divided the search for pleasure or comfort into two concepts. "Diversive exploration" described someone seeking general comfort while "specific exploration" illustrated the twin pleasures of "mounting tension and its subsequent release, but with the temporary disorientation of above optimal arousal" (Scitovsky 1976 p76). This goes some way in explaining why some people partake in adventurous activities, such as bungee jumping or white water rafting whilst on holiday while others prefer an organised package tour so that they can relax on a beach. It also offers an explanation as to why younger people tend to be more adventurous while on holiday while older people require more comfort; they are more likely to have reinforced their desire for comfort. Of course, this should not be considered an exclusive explanation. Levels of wealth, personality, socialisation, education and the availability of time for travel are among the other relevant factors. Iso-Ahola (1980) considers that intrinsic motivation must be included within the framework of optimal arousal. In his view it is the responsibility of tour operators and leisure-facility managers to provide customers with the opportunity to increase self-esteem which, in turn, will increase levels of satisfaction.

Fundamental to Scitovsky's arguments is the idea that people learn by experience. It is these experiences that lead them on to newer experiences and what would once have been a negative stimulus becomes an optimal one. Knowledge and understanding reduce the absolute "newness" of a new experience. In a tourism context this is akin to Pearce's (1993) travel career ladder. If the purpose of a holiday is stimulation what would once have been considered a pleasurable holiday becomes boring as one's travel experience increases. Scitovsky's model, however, has the advantage of explaining the so-called post-modern tourist who is equally content with the artificial as with the authentic. The rides at Disneyland, for example, provide excitement that is more easily attainable and under much more control than other vacational activities. The *illusion* of danger is created.

Paradigmatic approach

Another hypothesis on consumer behaviour is Choi's (1993) paradigmatic approach.

Unlike traditional economic theory, but similar to other behavioural economists, this also starts from a position of uncertainty in decision-making.

The neo-classical concept of rationality, or consistency, is problematic since it tends to sweep under the carpet the question of how a decision maker arrives at his or her belief in the uncertain situations he or she faces on a daily basis.

(Choi 1993 p21)

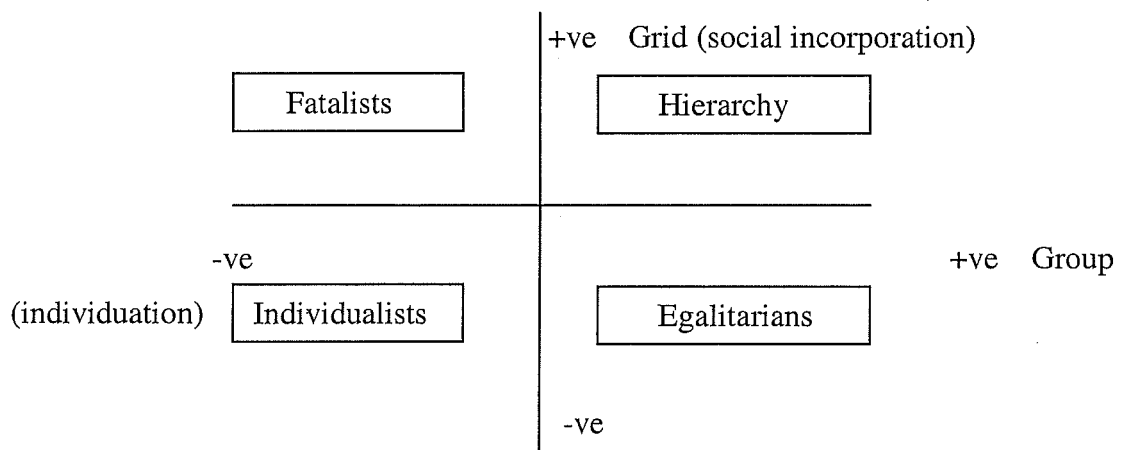
Choi lists the sources of uncertainty as:

- 1) Complexity of calculation;
- 2) Unpredictability of the future;
- 3) Interdependence of human actions;
- 4) Nature of mental processes.

People construct their worldview based on their own experiences and those of others with whom they feel an affinity. They then act in accordance with the understanding that they have developed. Any error that occurs as a result of any action is then part of the learning process and not due to irrationality. The amount of risk that a person is likely to take when making a decision will depend on personality type and the strength of existing paradigms. Choi differs from Scitovsky by arguing that people dislike uncertainty and will "do everything in their power to render their situation comprehensible" (Choi 1993 p152). Uncertainty, in Choi's view, therefore necessitates decision-making. The decisions made will be a result of the desired outcome which, in turn, will depend on the 'locus of control' for an individual. The more individualistic a society the more internal the locus of control (Earl 1990). The more collectivist a society is the more likely that actions are dictated by convention. In these societies decisions taken, in Choi's terms, are a result of paradigms that have been implicitly agreed upon as a way to deal with a particular situation. This view echoes Gudeman's (1986) contention that all societies have their own model of how the economy works. If an individual acts in any other way, that is unpredictably, this will lead to an increase in the level of uncertainty among other members of the group and could result in ostracism. Ostracism, in turn, will result in the increase of uncertainty for the deviant individual in other areas of behaviour that required the co-operation of the group.

This is related to the individual's position on the group axis of Douglas' (1982) Cultural Bias analysis (Thompson, Ellis and Wildavsky 1990). In this model of human behaviour Douglas postulates that an individual can be placed somewhere on a graph consisting of two axes. The x axis is the 'group' axis, or the dimension of 'individuation'. The further to the right one is positioned the more one will take into account the group view. She calls the y axis the 'grid' axis, or the dimension of 'social incorporation'. The higher one is on this axis the more one accepts the rigidity of the social system. As a result the four sectors of the graph show the following:

Figure 1-2. Cultural bias



Locus of control is also of relevance to an individual's decision making processes. Under Douglas' schema a fatalist is seen as holding a low level of individuation and a high level of social incorporation – they have a low locus of control. One's feeling of personal control is related to one's position *vis-à-vis* other members of the community. It is also related to religious beliefs and the natural environment. A strong belief in an omnipotent and omniscient being may reduce the incentive to find better ways of achieving particular ends (Fromm 1942). It also reduces the uncertainty in the world by allowing the belief that a superior knows what he/she/it is doing and is more likely to occur among individuals high on the grid axis of Douglas' Cultural Bias (1982). This does not preclude contrary beliefs provided they exist in

different spheres of life (Elster 1985) or even occasional instances of them occurring in the same sphere as that can be written off as an anomaly. However if contrary beliefs or understandings occur regularly then the worldview has to change in order to accommodate them (Thompson 1979).

Similarly the natural environment will influence beliefs in what can be done and what is worth doing (Brislin, Lonner and Thorndike 1973, Choi 1993, Hodgson 1993). In a particularly harsh environment there may be little room for experimentation because the margin of error between life and death is too small. In areas where immediate survival is not such a problem natural phenomena, such as cyclones, may have a major influence on long term planning if it is believed that everything will be destroyed every few years.

Choi (1993) recognises that the logical conclusion of cultural paradigms dictating actions is that the decision making process will reach a point where one practice will become dominant and liable to ossification. This does not happen for a number of reasons. Firstly, different groups of people have different conventions and the interaction of these groups results in the interaction of the conventions. This can result in radical changes in behaviour as new methods are sought in order deal with the "unpredictable" behaviour of the other group. Secondly, within each group there are different hierarchies of conventional decision making, which may sometimes conflict (Hodgson 1993). If one course of action does not have precedence over another a new action may be decided upon or a decision on precedence tested. Thirdly, a desirable outcome may be observed occurring within another group. In an attempt to emulate this outcome new paradigms may be created. Whether this happens will be dependent on the level of anxiety created as a result of having to achieve this goal.

The interaction of tourists and the host community can provide examples of these problems. Members of the host community may behave in one way towards tourists and another way towards each other in similar circumstances. An obvious example of this is food preparation or even methods of eating. In some cultures the shock of seeing a tourist eating with his or her left hand could be overcome by providing

cutlery. This would solve the problem of traditional values of hospitality conflicting with traditional values of cleanliness. In Fiji, just after the 1987 coup, Sunday trading was banned. However an exception was made for tourist resorts. Similarly challenges may occur because the tourist lifestyle could be seen as desirable by some members of the host community and not others. Alternatively certain aspects may be desirable, such as the apparent level of wealth, while other aspects are considered undesirable such as the type of clothing worn by tourists.

Combinations of reasons for making a particular decision are also likely. For example a response conditioned by society may occur in order to avoid societal disapproval even if an experimental response could result in a better outcome. This would be a variation on Scitovsky's concepts of comfort and pleasure. The weighting given by an individual to each of these methods will be dependent on a number of factors. These will include past experience, which will be moulded by social background, individual psychology, location and the amount of time available to make the decision. For example the location in which a decision is made may alter the weighting an individual gives to any particular reasoning. Anyone away from people from whom they seek approval may relax a constraint, which may explain why tourists behave in ways that they would not when at home.

If a behavioural pattern is a result of particular decisions made, then a change of behaviour is a result of choosing a different course of action from that which was once, or still is, considered the norm. Following this assumption I make four further assumptions about individual choice. People learn how to behave in given situations based on:

- 1 Learnt behaviour that has been passed on from previous generations – cultural behaviour;
- 2 How they, as individuals, have behaved in the past – learnt behaviour;
- 3 The results that they have observed in other people's behaviour – observed behaviour;
- 4 The meanings that they ascribe to particular objects, institutions and patterns of behaviour – meaning.

If true then these assumptions would hold for both the tourists and the local population. The initial behavioural differences that are observable between host and guests would then be a result of different cultural backgrounds and worldviews, and changes to behaviour will also be dictated by an individual's worldview.

The theoretical bases for these assumptions, while coming from an economic psychological background have a clear resonance with sociological theories such as symbolic interactionism and social constructionism.

Symbolic interactionism and social constructionism

McCall and Becker (1990 pp 3-4) define symbolic interactionism as:

Any human event can be understood as the result of people involved (keeping in mind that that might be a very large number) continually adjusting what they do in light of what others do, so that each individual's line of action "fits" into what others do. That can only happen if human beings typically act in a nonautomatic fashion, and instead construct a line of action by taking account of the meaning of what others do in response to their earlier actions. Human beings can only act in this way if they can incorporate the responses of others into their own act and thus anticipate what will probably happen, in the process creating a "self" in the Meadian sense.... If everyone can and does do that, complex joint acts can occur.

This follows Blumer's (1969) three premisses of symbolic interactionism. Firstly, the way a person acts towards a particular thing depends on what that thing means to him or her. Secondly, the meaning is created through social interaction and thirdly, meanings change through increased experience. The important point here is that nothing has an intrinsic meaning. Meanings can only be socially created and interpreted by the individual. Blumer (ibid.) argued that the first point is often forgotten by social scientists. It will be shown in subsequent chapters that the meaning of a thing to an individual is a particularly significant factor in understanding the behaviour exhibited towards it. In Levuka this is most obviously evident in the meaning attributed to buildings by different groups. However it can also be seen in the meaning of such concepts as the definition of a 'tourist'. It will also be shown that meaning is created through the social interaction of tourists and

local people but that the created meaning is not the same for both groups. Local people do not come to view objects in the same way as tourists though the meaning of the objects changes. A 'third' meaning is created. This follows Goodman's (1996 p9) instruction that "(t)here are very many different equally true descriptions of the world, and their truth is the only standard of their faithfulness". This concept is closer to theories of social constructionism, which Littlejohn (1996 p179) defines as being the result of people communicating with each other in order to interpret events. "(R)eality is constructed socially through events".

In this thesis I will show that the values given to different objects and behaviours vary between social groups. In the case of tourists there is a collective understanding created from contact with other tourists and from the sort of guidebooks that are marketed at the tourist types that visit Levuka.¹ Similarly, local people construct their own values based on their ethnic background and education. As a result it will be shown that many of the assumptions made by various groups involved in tourism in Levuka about how other people will behave may be inaccurate because these assumptions are based on the individual's own worldview without considering the worldviews of others.

Summary of epistemology

The theories presented here dictated the methods and means of data collection. The emphasis of the research is to find the processes by which people come to the decisions they make regarding tourism. The results of any changes that occur are related directly to the decision-making processes which, in turn, are related to the cultures of the different groups within the destination area. As the approaches described illustrate, decisions are based on a variety of assumptions and culturally based conventions. It is only by understanding these deep seated conventions that an understanding of why changes to economic behaviour occur. Similarly, the effects of tourism can also be put into the context of other changes that have occurred.

¹ A Swiss/British tourist who said that she carried both French language and English language guidebooks gave an anecdotal example of this to me. She felt that the descriptions of restaurants were more accurate in the French guidebooks whereas she chose accommodation from the English books.

Thus, to explore the nature of economic actors within a tourist system, a variety of methods are required. The next section will detail these.

Data Collection

Choice of Levuka

Levuka was chosen as the fieldwork site for a number of reasons.

Firstly, a destination with only a small number of tourists was required. This was because while tourism is said to have behavioural consequences at a destination these consequences must start at some point. I hoped that by choosing Levuka the effects of tourism could be analysed at an early stage.

Secondly, Levuka was known to me having visited as a tourist myself in the mid-1980s.

Thirdly, the Government of Fiji is attempting to obtain World Heritage status for the Town. If this is achieved then an analysis of tourism there *before* this occurs would provide useful data for further research on the consequences of World Heritage status on tourism to a destination.

Period of study

The data collection for this research was primarily carried out in the period from October 1996 to July 1997. A visit was made to Levuka for two weeks in May 1996 to confirm the suitability of the fieldwork site and in order to make contact with government officials in the Fijian Ministries of Tourism and Aviation, and Education, to obtain permission to carry out the research. This was considered of great importance because originally the fieldwork site chosen was in Vanuatu. The ni-Vanuatu site was rejected because of requirements that would have compromised

the confidentiality of the subjects interviewed. No such problems were encountered in Fiji.

In the period between May and October 1996 three questionnaires were devised. The first was for tourists, the second for local people, and the third for local shopkeepers (see appendices A, B and C).

Methodology

The methods used in this study are primarily qualitative though some quantitative methods have been used in order to substantiate some of the qualitative data obtained. As Richins (1999 p 98) acknowledges, "there are positive advantages to using a number of methodologies in exploring various research objectives".

For tourists the object was to obtain basic demographic data, travel experience, and levels and patterns of expenditure while in Levuka. Because of the need for details on expenditure I attempted to interview tourists at the end of their stay in Levuka. As a result there is probably a bias towards longer stay visitors in my data. This is because tourists only staying for one night left before I had the chance to interview them. The only tourists who refused to be interviewed were members of a large group of university students from the United States. All tourists were interviewed in English. Only one tourist, a Japanese woman travelling on her own, spoke insufficient English for it to be possible to conduct a detailed interview. I only attempted to interview overseas tourists as these were the most easily identifiable. One hundred and thirty tourists were interviewed using the questionnaire. In most cases the interview resulted in non-quantitative responses, which were noted. Taped interviews were made with five tourists. I also undertook participant observation with tourists in a number of locations around Levuka and Ovalau.

For local people the questionnaire was designed to obtain demographic information; measures of acculturation which included religious beliefs, travel overseas, family members overseas, exposure to newspapers, radio, television and videos; contact with tourists; and responses to and understanding of tourists and tourism. Again all

local people were interviewed in English. While it is possible that this may have introduced a bias into the sample I did not meet any local adults who did not speak English. As will be shown later, Levuka has had three secondary schools for over 100 years, all of which use English as their teaching medium and all of which are attended by local children. In addition English is the language that is used between the different races. Levuka is a multi-cultural society. A Fijian will talk to an Indian or Chinese shopkeeper in English.

Three local people refused to be interviewed. Two of these refusals were at the beginning of the fieldwork period. The reason given was that they had nothing to do with tourism. The other gave no reason. Later I discovered that many people were happy to talk about tourism in an informal setting even if they felt that they had nothing to do with it. Fifty-three local people were interviewed using the questionnaire. Qualitative data were also collected both with the quantitative data and separately. It was originally planned that semi-structured, taped interviews would be held with local respondents but I found that this was not acceptable to most local people. Those in positions of authority, such as members of various administrative bodies in the Town, or those with higher levels of education were not averse to being taped but the majority of other residents preferred not to be recorded. As a result only 13 people were taped. However 32 other interviews were held with local residents and recorded as field notes giving a total of 45 in-depth structured interviews.

The questionnaire for shopkeepers was designed to confirm the data gathered from tourists and to put sales to tourists in the context of total sales. I also intended to discover shopkeepers' attitudes towards the regulations concerning the upkeep and maintenance of the buildings from which they traded. Only two shopkeepers, both ethnically Chinese, refused to be interviewed. I did not attempt to interview the managers of the two banks in Levuka.

During the study another questionnaire was created for people taking courses at the Dive Centre but during the period of the fieldwork only nine people took dive courses and of these only seven completed the questionnaires. All the questionnaires

(except for those for the divers) were administered face to face with the interviewees and notes were taken whenever the respondents chose to expand the answer given.

Finally, unstructured interviews and participant observations were held with local people. The participant observations were usually at informal gatherings, often sitting around a kava bowl. As Thomson, a one time government official remarks (1999 p68), “fifteen minutes of kava swilling and chat usually got you more pertinent information than you could get from a day of memoranda and telephone calls”. However, the respondents were made aware of the fact that I was collecting information on attitudes towards tourism in Levuka. Very occasionally, I would be told things off the record (about five times in total). This information was not taped or noted. In most cases it was about the personalities of other residents in the Town and not directly relevant to the study.

The respondents

The methods used for selecting tourists were similar to those used by van den Berghe (1994) in his study of San Cristobel, Mexico. The selection of respondents was made on a non-random basis except for the shopkeepers from all of whom I requested an interview. For tourists I consciously sought to achieve diversity in terms of gender, age and nationality. In most cases I would approach tourists either in Beach Street or a hotel and request an interview for the day before they planned to leave Levuka.

Verbal informed consent was obtained from all participants who were told that their names would not be used in the final analysis however many said that they had no objection to being named. It would have been culturally inappropriate to obtain written consent from respondents.

In all cases interviews were held in English. On two occasions some questions were translated into Fijian by another respondent. This may not necessarily have been due to language difficulties. As will be shown in the results there were some conceptual

differences evident too. In some of the informal conversations respondents would speak in both Fijian and English. Comments about tourists and tourism were translated into English for me. In most cases I was able to tell when the conversation was about tourists and tourism because the English words for these are used even if the speaker is talking in Fijian.² The Fijian word *vulangi*, meaning visitor or guest, is also used occasionally along with *kaivulangi* which means visitor from another country. I did not hear or was not aware of the word *kaitani* being used in relation to tourists. *Kaitani* means 'stranger'.

I began interviewing tourists as soon as I arrived in Levuka. The concept of asking their opinions on tourism was not alien to them (though some North American tourists did ask me what I was selling when I had finished the interview). I did not start interviewing local people until I had been in Levuka for four months. This was so that most respondents recognised that I had been in the town for some months. Even so I had to be careful how I worded any introduction. Most of the Fijian respondents were not used to being asked their opinion by an outsider and in some instances they tried to steer me to people whom they believed knew more about tourism. Often there would be more than one person present at an interview. As Becker (1995 p49) observed regarding her research in Fiji, to object to this would have been culturally inappropriate and 'unnatural' for the respondents.

Similarly, because of the need to follow local protocol a non-probability sampling method was used (commonly called "the snowball" method). A respondent would be asked to introduce me to other respondents. I used a number of 'snowballs' in order to reduce the likelihood of bias in the sample such as all people coming from the same church or *tikina*. I also waited to be invited to social gatherings where I was invariably introduced as a New Zealander who was writing a book on tourism. On some occasions I was introduced as someone who was conducting a study on tourism

² The Fijian word for tourist, *saravanua*, is seldom used and in some cases not understood to mean 'tourist' by Fijians. Originally it was the name given to a herald who travelled about the islands. The correct term was *Roko Tui Saravanua* with *saravanua* meaning traveller. The government has attempted to use the word in the sense of 'tourist' in some of the literature on tourism in the Fijian language. However, *saravanua* is a term that can include Fijians and, as will be shown later 'local tourist' is not a familiar concept to many local people. The word 'tourist' is generally conceptualised to mean people visiting the country from overseas.

in Levuka. This generally led to the belief that I was working for the government or for the main tour operator in the Town. In these instances the responses that I received to my questions appeared to be much more guarded. To most respondents, who did not understand the concept of university research degrees, the idea that I was a student, given my age, was ridiculous. The local understanding of a student is someone at high school. I, therefore, did not say that I was a student. I stated to each respondent that I was finding out what people in Levuka thought about tourism and tourists.

Table 1-1 Summary of methods schedule

Date	Location	Method	Objective
February 1995- September 1996	New Zealand	Literature review	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Background information • Thesis proposal • Permission from Fiji Government and local chiefs/mayor
October 1996- July 1997	Levuka	Structured quantitative and qualitative interviews with a) tourists (n=130) b) local people (n=53) c) shopkeepers (n=20). In-depth interviews with local people (n=45). Participant observation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Main data collection
September 1997 – September 1999	New Zealand	Coding Analysis Literature review	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integration of data • Development of conceptual framework

Chapter Two

Literature review

Introduction

The literature that is reviewed here relates to those aspects of tourism studies that address the broader ramifications of changing economic behaviour of the hosts in a destination. However, not all the literature will be reviewed here. The heritage literature is reviewed before the heritage chapter. This method was chosen because there are some aspects of tourism studies that can be considered global; that is, general to all the chapters that follow, whereas some literature is more specific to individual chapters.

The literature review presented here is divided into a number of different parts. These will begin with a review of the reasons for the study of tourism and how it has been studied over the last thirty years. There will then be a review of the studies on the impacts of tourism on the destination, the local people and their culture. The chapter will finish with a review of the politics of decision making and Pacific Island cultures and economic behaviour.

Tourism

Tourism, as Runyan and Wu (1979) state, is a remarkably complex phenomenon. It involves some aspect of all the social sciences as well as many of the applied natural sciences. Ecology and engineering are as relevant as business and sociology. Interwoven with these are the arts from architecture to dance. Tourism crosses the boundaries of both work and leisure. It impacts on people across both social and cultural spectra. The understanding of tourism's inherent complexity is a challenge to all those involved with it because tourism can mean many different things to different people.

There are still major gaps in the understanding of tourism. Little has been written on its historical development (cf. Turner and Ash 1975, English 1986) and most of the

writing is from a western, industrialised perspective. A possible exception is Douglas (1996) but even she analyses the growth of western tourist businesses in Melanesia. Only recently have themes or schools of thought begun to emerge (Jafari 1989).

Apart from isolated enquiries into the nature of tourism (for example Young 1973) the first social scientists to consider tourism were economists who saw potential for the macro economic development of national economies. It provided a non-threatening form of export, as it did not appear to reduce employment in the importing state (that is, the tourist generating regions) to a significant effect (Britton 1982). (The microeconomic consequences were not considered until later (cf. Urry 1990)). It also gave the destination nations a boost to their balance of payments which, in turn, would allow them to purchase more goods from the tourist generating regions; it provided employment and income. This period of tourism analysis is what Jafari (1989 p20) called the "Advocacy Platform".

However, what makes tourism a unique export commodity from a positive point of view also makes it unique from a negative standpoint. Tourism is an export consumed within the exporting area (de Kadt 1979). The consumers have to visit the producers in order to obtain the product. It is one of the few products where most of the consumers meet the producers face to face and where all the local people that the consumer meets become part of the product. This is not the case for the other exported goods where the two groups never come into contact. A Muslim sugar cane farmer is never likely to see or even know that the sugar s/he grows is going to be used in the production of alcohol. The same Muslim farmer is not shielded from the behaviour patterns of tourists should another exported product in the region be tourism. Another unusual attribute of the tourism product is that much of it has not been specifically created for the consumer. (For example landscapes, many buildings, local cultures and local people are all products of different processes.) The changing observations of tourism led to the development of the "Cautionary Platform" (Jafari 1989 p21) and took into account the impacts of tourism on a much broader scale than just the macroeconomic viewpoint. Environmental, social and

cultural problems were analysed as well as an increasing attention on microeconomic aspects.

The debate between the advocacy and cautionary schools led to the realisation that three factors need to be understood when considering the impacts of tourism. The first is the type of tourism that was being developed; the second, the type of tourists that visit a particular destination; and the third being the socio-cultural values of the people living in the destination. To lessen the detrimental impacts and increase the positive ones any tourism development should be adapted to the local situation considering the social, cultural, physical and economic environment. Jafari calls this the "Adaptancy Platform". The latest school in tourism studies, according to Jafari, is the "Knowledge-based Platform" which endeavours to create a theoretical basis to the study of tourism and to develop models in an attempt to explain the observations that had been made by the earlier schools of thought. As Jafari (1989 p 25) points out, each of these platforms - advocacy, cautionary, adaptancy and knowledge-based - "emerged chronologically, but without replacing one another." Today, much of the literature is still calling for a more holistic approach to tourism research (Przeclawski 1993) and a more rigorous theoretical approach.

Irrespective of which approach is taken in the study of tourism what must be considered is the reason behind tourism itself. Tourism is only one of a number of activities that people can undertake and it is something that most people are not undertaking most of the time (Leiper 1990). Why does tourism exist? Why do some groups encourage tourism? Why do others dislike it? The first of these points is related to tourist motivation. What is it that causes some people to want to go to other areas for short periods of time? An answer to the second question must consider both the tourist generating regions and the destinations. Private companies in both regions are often aided by the governments of the region and international organisations. The third question should also be viewed from the perspective of both regions. Some people who live in the destination area are opposed to tourism because of the socio-cultural effects. Similarly some people in the tourist generating regions are opposed to tourism because they feel that it leads to the homogenisation of world culture. As Lanfant and Graburn (1994 p 103) point out "For a developing

nation not to choose tourism amounts to eventual death according to economists, but to choose tourism is also death according to anthropologists." Each of these questions will be considered more fully in the introductions to later chapters.

Following Jafari's (1989) reasoning the development of tourism and, subsequently tourism studies, has been dominated by a series of reactions to events. However, it would seem that at times the context of the development has been forgotten. Tourism is just one part of both global and local social and economic systems. It is not the only factor that is causing change in societies around the world. Similarly, tourism is not developed in a destination for no reason. As Blau (1993) notes, change is not lauded for its own sake but for the results that accrue. However, what is an acceptable result for one person may not be acceptable for another. Similarly, as Scitovsky (1976) and Choi (1993) argue, the level of uncertainty that occurs during the period of change will vary for different groups of people resulting in different levels of willingness to embark upon that change.

Tourism and change

Tourism causes a range of changes including economic. If this were not the case then governments, businesses and individuals would not promote tourism. From a commercial and macroeconomic point of view the change required of tourism development is an increase in wealth. An individual is prepared to initiate change and to react to external changes in the hope of increasing levels of wealth and therefore the goods and services that can be purchased. This, however, is very much a "western" view of the world that developed during the major social upheavals following the religious, agrarian and industrial revolutions as Europe emerged from the feudal systems of the Dark Ages (Xenos 1989).

Nevertheless, even if the majority of a population were not interested in wealth creation they will be affected by the minority that are, especially if the wealth creation takes place close to where the majority live. The development of a beach resort, for example, can affect access to the sea for neighbouring villagers. Harrison (1997b) gives an example of this on Mana Island in Fiji. Lewis (1984) also gives an

excellent anecdotal example of this when describing the changes that occurred in a Spanish fishing village as a result of one man introducing tourists to the area.

The growth of tourism

The significance of tourism and travel has grown with the continued development of technology. In modern times Thomas Cook was able to start his tours because of the development of the railway. Later the advent of the jet airliner brought overseas travel into the realms of possibility for an increasing number of people (Burkart and Medlik 1981, Holloway 1985, Turner and Ash 1975, Urry 1990). Tourism as a significant economic factor had become apparent by the mid 1960s when governments began to view international movements of tourists as a major social trend that could be used to the advantage of their nation. Tourism had, of course, been very significant to particular towns for centuries for religious reasons, medicinal purposes such as the spa resorts of Europe or, from the mid nineteenth century, as seaside holiday towns. However, these movements of people were not considered in the macroeconomic health of the nation as most of the tourist movements were domestic. With the growth of international mass tourism the potential for macro economies became more evident. As Urry (1990) points out international tourist expenditure increased over forty-seven fold between 1950 and 1984.

Macroeconomic consequences of tourism

For most developed countries tourism could add to the economy but it was not overly significant because of the diverse nature of these economies. However it was the middle income countries in Europe, such as Spain, that first seized on the potential for economic development that foreign tourism could assist. Tourism development came to be seen as a means to earn foreign currency and therefore help the balance of payments. This, in turn allowed Spain to move from being a primarily agriculturally based economy to one that relied more heavily on the service and manufacturing sectors (Sinclair and Gomez 1996). It also provided employment particularly in areas with little existing industry as tourists tended to prefer to visit these areas. (The

coastal areas of Catalonia, Andalucia and the Balearic Islands are examples of this phenomenon in contrast to the north-west coast, which is heavily industrialised around San Sebastian). In 1997 Spain had the third highest number of international arrivals and received the third highest level of tourist receipts in the world (WTO 1998). It is probably not coincidental, therefore, that one of the earliest articles on the socio-cultural consequences of tourism was related to Spain (Greenwood 1972).

The study of tourism also followed this change of emphasis and tourism growth came to be seen, at least as far as economics was concerned, in the context of the macro economy. Projects to encourage tourism were funded by the IMF and the World Bank as tourism was viewed as a non-threatening form of export because it was not in direct competition with the exports of developed nations. Edwards and Cleverdon (1982), for example, listed the benefits of international tourism as follows:

- a) a foreign exchange earner;
- b) a growth sector with high price and income elasticities;
- c) a provider of employment;
- d) allowing for diversification;
- e) evening out regional differences in employment and income;
- f) facilitating the possibility of demand from the tourist sector for other goods and services within the economy;
- g) increasing government income through taxation;
- h) possibly encouraging foreign investment for other sectors of the economy as a result of a better, higher profile international image.

Other writers (English 1986, Hall 1994b, Mathieson & Wall 1982, Pearce 1989 (quoting Krapf (1961)), Peters 1969) have suggested similar benefits. Milne (1990) adds that tourism is also different from other exports because much of the product, such as the sun, the sea and to a lesser extent the beaches, are viewed as renewable.

As international tourism began to increase it was considered by governments and international organisations to have many of the advantages of other exports but with fewer of the disadvantages. This is particularly relevant to Fiji because it provides an explanation of tourism development that occurred on the western side of Viti Levu.

Many hotel complexes were built within an easy drive of Nadi airport in order to encourage trans-Pacific travellers to stop over as well as create a holiday destination for Australians and New Zealanders. It was hoped that tourism would supplement the exports income from sugar.

Nevertheless, one should not assume that the benefits to all economies are uniform. The amount of foreign exchange earned, for example, is dependent on the leakages from the economy. These vary depending on the size and productive capacity of the economy but first round leakages can range from between 90 to 50 percent for South Pacific island groups (Edwards and Cleverdon 1990). Similarly the benefits are not uniform within a country. The figures are the aggregate effect of the total level of tourism within a country and will vary widely from one tourist destination area to another depending on the product that is offered. Methods of calculating the tourist multiplier, both nationally and regionally have been debated (cf Archer 1984, Jackson 1986, Mathieson and Wall 1982, Wanhill 1994). The value of any tourist dollar is dependent on how much of that dollar remains in the country. If tourists buy imported goods and the hotels that they stay in are foreign owned with expatriate management, then the benefit to the local economy is severely reduced. This situation is made worse if the local people then start buying imported goods that the tourists buy.

Increasing the level of employment was also seen as one of the key factors in favour of tourism development. Employment is provided in a range of service industries from hotels and restaurants to transport and retail outlets (Ikeda & Collison 1990). In addition, tourism also has a high employment multiplier. A resort will provide, for example, peripheral jobs in such industries as agriculture. Again much debate has developed with regard to the quality of the jobs that are created. While tourism is a labour intensive industry (at least at the resort level, after airlines and reservation systems in the tourist generating country have been excluded) it has been argued that the jobs created are servile, seasonal and lacking long term potential for individual development (Crick 1989, deKadt 1979, Turner and Ash 1975). Sami (1975) states that in Fiji managerial work often goes to outsiders. The opportunity cost of employment associated with tourism has also been noted. A full time worker in the

tourist industry is, by definition, not working in another sector of the economy. Some studies add that workers in the tourism sector tend to be better educated than the national average and would be more productively employed, from a national point of view, in other areas of the economy (Esh and Rosenblum 1975). The actual result probably depends on the level of development of the destination and the ownership of the various facilities. In his area destination lifecycle model Butler (1980) suggests that if facilities are locally owned then the probability will be that the managerial positions are filled by local people.

There is also a tendency in developing countries for a large informal sector to develop. Local people offer services such as guiding to tourists that are not recorded in government statistics. These services may not necessarily be illegal though illegal services, such as prostitution and drug dealing, may also be provided. One of Crick's (1992) respondents argued that the unofficial "guides" in Sri Lanka would turn to crime if there were no tourists. Other writers (for example, Bollard 1974, Fox 1975, Pizam 1982) argue that tourism encourages an increase in crime.

The provision of employment is, of course, directly related to the expansion of the local economy. It is here that the debate on what exactly constitutes the tourism industry is relevant (Leiper 1979, 1990, Smith 1988, 1991, Tremblay 1998). It has been argued that tourism increases demand in other sectors such as agriculture (Telfer and Wall 1996) and arts and crafts (Parnwell 1993). Again this will depend on the location of the tourists, the type of tourists that visit and the form of tourism development.

Many single cash crop developing economies were encouraged to develop a tourism infrastructure in the hope that it would allow for some diversification in the economy. However, such policies imply that there are enough resources to allow it to take place. In some microstates the introduction of tourism has resulted in the degradation of traditional primary industries because these industries have been unable to compete for the limited amount of labour available (Lea 1988). Working in the tourism industry is viewed as an easier job than farming. However, as Wilkinson (1989) points out, it has also been argued that for many island microstates,

Wilkinson (1989) points out, it has also been argued that for many island microstates, particularly those in the tropics, there is no alternative to mass tourism. This, though, is a short-term view.

The alternative of more passive involvement through the encouragement of smaller-scale, locally-based development may not appear to provide the potential for massive growth in tourism revenues. But it may be much more stable economically in the long run and better able to re-distribute more evenly the economic benefits of tourism across the local population

(Wilkinson 1989 p168).

What is significant in the above approach is the concept of small, locally based projects rather than encouraging attempts to attract the mass market. One of the main difficulties, however, is the method by which the benefits are evaluated. In national economic terms it is probable that small-scale tourism does not provide the income that larger developments do. At the village level, though, there may be greater advantages due to tourist businesses conforming to local norms, thus causing less disruption and generating local income. In other words, in order to evaluate tourism successfully its opportunity costs must be fully considered (MacNaught 1982). This has yet to be done because, again, there is no consensus as to how to define this form of tourism (Weaver 1991) and because of the inherent difficulties of cost benefit analysis especially when social costs are considered (Mathieson and Wall 1982).

What cannot be answered, except in the long-term, is the effect of structural changes in employment with the possible loss of traditional skills. Attributing this consequence to tourism or any other change in society is impossible without a longitudinal study. Differentiating between tourism and other factors is probably more difficult because it requires more than a longitudinal analysis. A fall in the popularity of a destination resulting in a reduction of employment could have serious effects if those made redundant cannot return to more traditional occupations because the skills for those have been lost. This, as will be shown later with the tuna canning factory in Levuka, is not a problem that is restricted to tourism. Anecdotal evidence from travel writers such as Theroux (1992) suggests that many fishing and boat building skills have been lost amongst Pacific islanders as a result of contact with the

Western countries. This is supported by some studies in French Polynesia listed by MacNaught (1982).

Tourism has grown dramatically since the beginning of the 1960s. With its growth the understanding of its consequences has also grown even if this has only been as far as realising the complexity of these consequences. The belief in a simple economic model based on expenditure by tourists and the income gleaned by hosts has given way to a realisation that only part of the equation is considered by such arguments. In addition to these are changes in behaviour of the local people caused by being in close proximity to tourists. Tourism is not the cost free export that was imagined when it was first seen as a way out of poverty for poorer countries.

Socio-economic impacts of tourism

As was stated earlier most of the early analysis of the economic benefits of tourism concentrated on the macroeconomic advantages. The decision makers were thought to be governments and international agencies such as the IMF and World Bank which offered financial aid to develop tourism infrastructure (de Kadt 1979). At the local level the impacts of tourism have tended to concentrate on the socio-cultural aspect of development. Many scholars argue that tourism transforms culture (for example, Greenwood 1972, 1989, Lafant and Graburn 1994, Turner and Ash 1975). This could be described as a structural change in society. Not only has the 'way things are done' changed but also the reasons for doing things have also changed. Nettekoven (1979), however, issues a note of caution. He argues that the amount of contact tourists have, and want, with local people is limited. Nevertheless, where contact does occur there is a potential for change.

One aspect of local culture, however, is economic activity and this has not been given the same level of attention in the tourism literature, though the sub-discipline of economic anthropology is devoted to this field in a more general sense. As people throughout the world become more integrated within the world economy their societies go through profound changes. At the socio-cultural level this may result in changing power structures nationally, regionally and within the family. At the socio-

economic level this is seen when not only economic activities change but also the reasons for those activities. Commoditisation has been noted by both anthropologists and tourism scholars (for example, Appadurai 1986, Dawson 1991, Harrison 1993, Smith 1989). The processes of change, rather than just the results of the changes, need closer scrutiny from those studying tourism. In this way causal relationships can be more clearly identified. As an example one possible explanation for the loss of traditional seafaring skills amongst Pacific people could be the introduction of the outboard motor. There is less need to be able to paddle canoes or sail than there was before motors were introduced. In the same way adverse tides, currents and winds do not hold as much significance. However, motors need to be purchased, as does the fuel to run them. Some of the cautionary group of analysts appear to argue that if a community buys a boat in order to take tourists to an otherwise inaccessible beach, then tourism is causing the loss of tradition. It is possible, however, that a community may decide that it can also get its excess food production to market more easily as a result of owning the outboard, and giving rides to tourists will help pay for this facility. In this case is tourism creating the desire for money or is the desire for money encouraging the development of tourism?

There are similar arguments regarding cultural events. Stymeist (1995) shows that firewalking in Beqa, Fiji, has a long tradition but that its function has always been to bring power and prestige to the villages that perform it. On at least two occasions the skills required to perform the activity were close to being lost until a method of adapting it to continue its power function was achieved. Now it is only performed in hotels for tourists. The money earned from these performances goes to improve the infrastructure of the village and, thus, improves the standing of the village in comparison to others. The function of firewalking has not changed even though money is now the medium for that function. In another Melanesian example given by Harrison (1993), it was common for people from one community to sell dances to people in other villages. These were not sold for money but were sold nonetheless as part of the processes of barter and exchange. If these dances were to be performed to tourists for money would this be any different to what has happened in the past? Dawson (1991 p37) concludes that cultural festivals are "generally motivated by a desire to express, affirm and preserve a particular cultural heritage". This does not

preclude adapting and reinterpreting activities in order to do this. The main difference in performing for tourists is that tourists are less likely to have an understanding of the meaning of the dance so the adaptation could become greater when performing for them. In Pohnpei, for example, dancers have adapted "foreign influences with their own cultural forms" (Petersen 1992 p17), and have created new dances based on the activities of foreigners.

Forms of economic activity may change when contact with other societies increases. This is to be expected. People generally take advantage of improvements to their lifestyle that can be accrued through trade. For example, sandalwood was traded between Fiji and Tonga because it was the best available wood for building canoes. This is part of economic development. However, some forms of economic activity are not possible because of cultural values and morals. For example, in some parts of the world it is considered unethical to sell blood. This is generally in countries with a social health service. However, in other countries selling blood is perfectly acceptable. A major change in values would have to occur to allow blood to be sold in those countries where it is not. Certain forms of economic activity, then, can be proscribed by cultural values and morals. If those values change then previously unacceptable activities may become acceptable. It is this concept that is reviewed next.

Nevertheless, scholars such as Britton (1983, 1991) argue that tourism is inherently a result of capitalism and as a result imposes capitalist ideology on the host nation. However, in his study of Fiji the historical arguments that he uses to develop this theme ignore some of the fundamentally indigenous aspects that were involved in the development of the colonialist structure such as the Tongan-Fijian rivalry and the attempts by the colonial administration to allow Fijians to avoid the capitalist business structures if they wished. His arguments on the socio-economic effects of tourism may be valid for the west coast of Viti Levu but as he acknowledges in his 1991 paper, they may not be valid for areas visited by FIT tourists who attempt to avoid the structures of the institutionalised tourism industry. He also ignores the fact that tourism exists in non-capitalist societies.

Tourist types

Tourists have a socio-economic effect. However, it would be wrong to assume that all tourists have the same effects. There are differences between tourists which may result in a variety of effects. This section introduces the literature on the tourist variable.

In an attempt to understand tourist behaviour different types of tourists and forms of tourism have been suggested (for example Cohen 1979, Plog 1987, Smith 1979). These have been linked showing a tendency for particular tourist types to participate in particular forms of tourism. It has also been hypothesised that there is a correlation between tourist types and the stage of development of a tourist destination (Butler 1980, Keller 1987). However, more recent studies have questioned the validity of some of the implied assumptions that have been made in many of these studies. There is now a suggestion that a tourist type depends not only on the tourist but also on the setting (Boerjan 1995, Cohen 1995, Loker 1995).

Plog first applied a psychographic model to tourist behaviour in 1974. Essentially he developed a continuum as a result of his attempts to discover why some people fly to their destinations while others use other means of transport. At opposing ends of the continuum, which he claimed is normally distributed, are allocentric and psychocentric personality types.

According to Plog (1987) the psychocentric-allocentric distinction was also evident in the choice of destination. Psychocentrics prefer packaged holidays that involve little activity and destinations that provide environments with which they are familiar. In contrast allocentrics show more independence in their travel arrangements and are more likely to visit destinations that offer a contrast with their home environment. Plog included destinations in his original model which gave it the impression of being somewhat ethnocentric but this was revised as the model developed. In later versions it was also suggested that allocentrics go to new destinations first which are then visited by people with an increasingly less extreme allocentric profile as the destination becomes better known. This introduced a certain amount of dynamism into the model.

A similar theme was considered by Smith (1989) in her categorisation of tourist types and their adaptations to local norms (table 2.1). Although Smith was building a model to illustrate the tourist impact on a host culture the similarities with the Plog model are fairly obvious. The explorer is at the extreme end of the allocentric side of the continuum while the charter tourist is at the other extreme.

Table 2.1 Smith's tourist typology

<u>Type of Tourist</u>	<u>Number of Tourists</u>	<u>Adaptation to Local Norms</u>
Explorer	Very limited	Accepts fully
Elite	Rarely seen	Adapts fully
Off-beat	Uncommon but seen	Adapts well
Unusual	Occasional	Adapts somewhat
Incipient Mass	Steady flow	Seeks Western Amenities
Mass	Continuous influx	Expect Western Amenities
Charter	Massive arrivals	Demands Western Amenities

(Smith 1989 p12)

The only major difference is the ethnocentricity of Plog's model. There is one other advantage to Smith's classification. That is that it allows for movement through the groupings of an individual tourist. As has been suggested earlier the Plog model can be described as dynamic inasmuch as it allows for a destination to attract different sorts of tourist over time but with Smith's classification it is possible for a tourist to be an explorer on one trip and on a charter trip in the next. Cohen (1995) considered that this was the kind of behaviour one would expect from a post-modern tourist.

This is a theme that is also taken up by Pearce (1993) in his adaptation of Maslow's hierarchy of needs (table 2.2). He created a hierarchical system of motivational factors. This allowed the tourist to move within the system depending on the particular circumstance involved in creating the desire for the holiday. It also allowed for a variety of motivating factors depending on the situation at the time of making

the decision about where to holiday. More recently this system has been enlarged to create a travel career system (Oppermann 1995, Pearce 1993).

Following Maslow, the five stages of the ladder included biological needs, safety and security, relationship requirements, self development and finally self-actualisation. Pearce called this a career system because people could progress through it but include lower level motives as they did so.

Table 2.2 Pearce's tourist career ladder

Code	Question content	Career level
Relaxing	Relaxing in a nice safe environment	Relaxation
Escape	Escaping from the everyday world	Relaxation
Rides/thrills	Enjoying the adventures and excitement of rides	Stimulation
Close friends	Seeing and doing things with friends	Relationships
Family day out	Enjoying a day out with the family	Relationships
Talked about	Visiting a well known and talked about attraction	Self-esteem and development
Improve knowledge	Improving my knowledge and understanding of people, places, events	Self-esteem and development
Part of place	Really feeling a part of the place	Fulfilment

(Pearce 1993 p127).

Cohen (1979) suggested something similar when discussing touristic experiences. He made five categories:

- 1) The recreational mode which is synonymous with relaxation
- 2) The diversionary mode which is synonymous with escape
- 3) The experiential mode which is synonymous with rides/thrills
- 4) The experimental mode which is synonymous with knowledge
- 5) The existential mode which is synonymous with being a part of the place.

Boerjan (1995) suggests that the particular career level that a tourist expects to attain is also dependent on the duration of the trip away or, which is more likely, the career level is dependent on how the tourist perceives the visit - whether it is a short break or a holiday. On a short break only relaxation and stimulation are likely to be the motivating factors for the visitor whereas on a longer holiday an experienced traveller is more likely to be motivated by the higher levels of the career ladder.

Originally Pearce's ladder was developed for analysis of theme parks but it has been extended to include other sectors of the tourist market. Loker's (1995) study of the backpacker market is an example. Here some amendments have been made to Pearce's original Travel Career System changing the code slightly to make it more applicable to backpackers who are less likely to be travelling with family members as they are "predominantly young travellers on extended holiday" (p115).

What is particularly interesting about Loker's study is the way that its conclusions both confirm and reject certain aspects of the theoretical models already put forward. The backpacker market would appear to be in one particular position on Plog's continuum as backpackers all use similar forms of transport and accommodation in order to visit similar destinations. However this study showed that there were four distinct psychological groups within the same market:- achievers; self-developers; social/excitement seekers; and escapers/relaxers. This raises the question of whether Plog's psychographic system indicates the age and travel experience of the tourist. Loker's results show that the further someone has travelled in order to reach their destination, in this case Australia, the more likely they are to be in the upper levels of the travel career system. This could be because an individual is more likely to have some travel experience closer to home before going on a long journey (Oppermann

1995). Unfortunately the study only asked the respondents how long they had been travelling on the trip in which they were currently engaged and not about their lifetime travel experiences. If this were significant then it could be argued that there is a closer relationship between Plog's system and Pearce's. The only alteration needed for Plog's ideas are the means of travel.

These conclusions replicate alternative studies made to test Plog's theories though not specifically in relation to Pearce's ladder (Madrigal 1995). Allocentrics are seen to want self-fulfilment and accomplishment while psychocentrics want security. Madrigal further argues that Rokeach's hierarchy of personal values are a more reliable predictor of group versus individual behaviour. This is another difference Plog made between allocentrics and psychocentrics.

Psychocentrism, lower career levels and mass tourists are all likely to be personality traits of the inexperienced tourists and therefore likely to limit the possible destinations from which the tourist will choose. Experienced travellers may still behave in the same way as unadventurous tourists on occasions, however. Individuals move up Pearce's career ladder, or Smith's tourist types, or to the left of Plog's continuum and with this progression all lower level factors can be included whereas higher level ones cannot. Gaining experience in travelling does not necessarily exclude lower level factors. There is some evidence to suggest that as tourists get older they tend to become less adventurous or, at least, demand more comfort (Errington and Gerwertz 1989). This could be because reference standards have also changed. After experiencing accommodation of superior quality, say, it is more difficult to accept something of an inferior quality. This, of course is dependent on how the tourist defines quality and the kind of experience that is being sought.

The concept of setting as a determining factor in a person's behavioural patterns is not new in psychology (Gramann, Bonifield and Kim 1995, Ross and Nisbett 1991). People behave differently in different situations. They are also influenced by the way that other people in the same situation behave provided that they feel that they have something in common with them. Conversely people out of their normal

habitat can "abandon customary constraints without fear of censure" (Ross and Nisbett 1991, p27). This is particularly true of tourists (Crick 1989, 1992, Krippendorf 1987, van den Berghe 1994) and seems to have been for some time (see Hyndman quotation on p 94 of this thesis).

Forms of tourism

Just as tourists are classified into different types so, too, can forms of tourism can be given different titles. This is partly a marketing technique to attract people whose interests coincide with what the promoter of a particular area (both geographical and intellectual) believes are on offer.

Travel to areas in the less developed countries is generally called "ethnic tourism" and is primarily motivated by a desire to visit areas that are inhabited by people whose culture is distinct and separate from that of the tourist (Harron and Weiler 1992, Smith 1989, van den Berghe and Keyes 1984). There is also some overlap with other definitions because the prime reason for travelling can seldom be divorced from other factors. For example "environmental tourism" is defined as being geared for people with an interest in "unspoilt" flora and fauna. However, this would appear to be a necessary pre-requisite for ethnic tourism. If an area is not "unspoilt" then the people that the tourists go to see are not likely to behave authentically. As van den Berghe (1995 p 81) rather cynically states ethnic tourism "consists largely of rich, university-trained people coming to look at poor, mostly illiterate peasants". Ethnic tourism should not be confused with "cultural tourism" which is considered to put the history and setting as the primary motive. Smith (1989 p32) states that "Ethnic tourism is a combination of Culture and Nature tourism."

Authenticity

The previous section showed that different types of tourists visit a variety of destinations. The question that arises from these observations is 'Why?' The motivation for tourism in general as well as particular forms of it has been hotly

disputed. Some (Krippendorf 1987, MacCannell 1976) see the motivation for tourism as a result of alienation from real life in the western world. Tourists are on a quest for the authentic. Allied to this belief is the question of whether the quest is satisfied.

In recent years, however, there has been much debate on the meaning of authenticity. This is related to concepts of cultural development and tourist motivation. A living culture is always changing. This, presumably, allows it to be considered authentic. A dead culture can only be reconstructed in a museum setting though it may use actors (examples include Georgetown a reconstructed colonial town in the United States, and Shantytown, a gold mining town on the West Coast of New Zealand). Other "living museums" offer historical representations of living cultures and, "have the great advantage of structuring tourist visits to a site away from the daily lives of ordinary people" (Smith 1989, p11). They also "offer a more accurate ethnographic view than is reflected in the modern native culture" (Smith 1989, p11). This, of course, raises a number of questions regarding authenticity. Is it more authentic to see a native American in traditional costume than in jeans and T-shirt? (See Reader (1988) for photographic illustrations of this.) What is the tourist's view of authenticity? Similarly, there are very few areas in the world that have not been changed by humankind. As an example supposedly unspoilt and natural areas of New Zealand are no longer inhabited by the moa, a bird hunted to extinction in pre-European times.

MacCannell (1976) attempts to answer some of these questions with the concept of front and back regions which he developed from the work of Irving Goffman (Pearce and Moscardo 1986). The front regions are those for display while the back regions are the private preserve of the individual, family or society. He argues that tourists look for the authentic; that they want to get beyond the front region to see what is happening in the back region. This has resulted in what he describes as "staged authenticity" - front regions that are made to look like back regions - and "reconstructed ethnicity" (MacCannell 1984). This is not the place to consider the broad ramifications of this idea but with regard to ethnic tourism it certainly has validity. This sort of tourism is popular with people who want to see how other

people live. However the objects of "the tourist gaze" (to use Urry's (1990) term) are only prepared to allow this in certain spatial and psychological areas. Smith (1989) gives the example of Inuit women hiring taxis to take carcasses home to be butchered in private. National Radio in New Zealand reported complaints by residents in Auckland that tourists had been peering into their homes (*Checkpoint*, National Radio 5/3/95). People do not like being part of the uncontrolled tourist gaze (Corrigan 1997).

Cohen (1988) criticises MacCannell on a number of points. Firstly he debates the concept of authenticity arguing that it is ridiculous to consider that authenticity can only be the preserve of primitive societies. It is, in his view, a quality that can only be given by the viewer. Something is authentic if the tourist considers it to be authentic irrespective of how a third party views it. Tourists "will be prepared to accept a cultural product as authentic, insofar as traits, which they consider to be diacritical, are judged by them to be authentic. These traits are then considered sufficient for the authentization of the product as a whole" (Cohen 1988, p578). Pearce and Moscardo (1986) go further arguing that consideration must be given for the tourist's desire for authenticity. Redfoot (1984) and Cohen (1988) argue that the quest for authenticity is stronger for "intellectuals" than for the majority of the travelling public but assume that this quest is constant. It would seem far more probable that the desire for authenticity varies with any given situation. There will be times when some tourists demand authenticity and will be disappointed when they perceive that they do not find it but, conversely, there will be other times when the demand will not be there and even times when they are confronted with it but do not want it. Some tourists feel guilty if they see the poverty in which many people in the developing world live (van den Berghe 1995). This can result in the paradox of the tourist giving presents such as clothing and then feeling disappointed when they do not see local people in traditional costume. This raises one final issue of whether authenticity is about how people live now or how tourists would like to believe that the host community lives. Many of the arguments for authenticity seem to suggest that all non European cultures should be fixed in a cultural climate unchanged from that which existed when Europeans first came into contact with that culture. This may be because the nuances of cultural differences would be difficult for tourists to

perceive if there has been much cross-cultural trade. The host population becomes less 'exotic' and more like the tourist. The key point here is that this cultural trade can take place between non-European cultures (Harrison 1993). It is acceptable for similarities to exist between cultures that have incorporated ideas taken from each other provided that they are non European. It is still authentic. However if one of the cultures from which ideas are borrowed is European then the culture becomes inauthentic in the eyes of the European tourist.

Authenticity in things

The question of authenticity probably rests on how the viewer is experiencing the object in question. To label an object inauthentic is to label it a fake. It is not real. However while something may not be real in one sense it may be real in another. In the context of Western art forgery, though with obvious relevance to traditional arts and tourism, Lessing [1965 p461] states, "(c)onsidering a work of art aesthetically superior because it is genuine, or inferior because it is forged, has little to do with aesthetic judgement or criticism. It is rather a piece of snobbery." A work of art may not be an authentic Picasso, say, but this does not preclude it from being an authentic work of art.

Dovey (1985) provides the example of window shutters. These have been transformed over the years from being a functional part of the architecture of a particular style of housing to being a form of decoration. She asks at what point did the shutters become inauthentic. In one sense they are inauthentic as soon as they are unable to carry out their proper function. In another sense they provide an authentic style to a building even if they cannot be used. Her conclusion is that authenticity should be considered a process rather than a form. The meanings of objects change over time, however they have to be connected to the past in some way for them to retain their authenticity.

Eco (1990) goes further and argues that it is the experience that needs to be authentic. He uses the examples of fake Iron Maiden torture chambers. The fakes represent a reality. It is the reality that is authentic and it is not important how that reality is reached. Wang (1999) calls this 'existential authenticity'. Tourists search

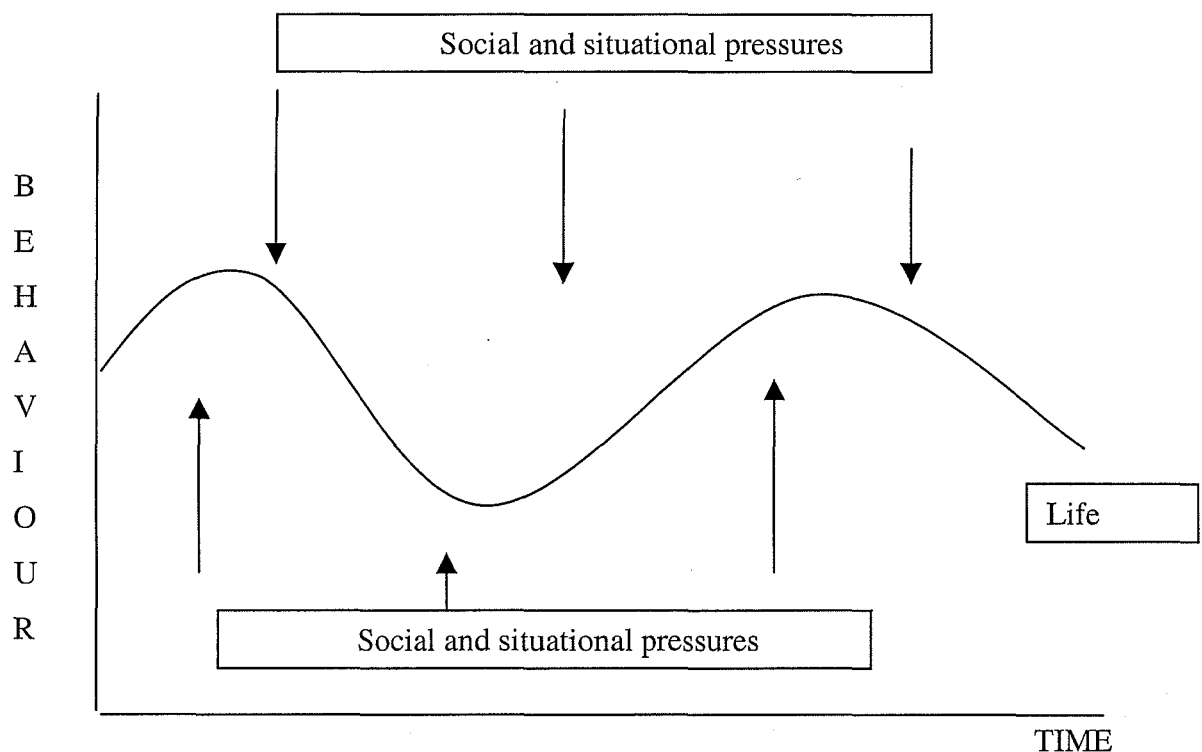
for an authentic experience which may have “nothing to do with the issue of whether the toured objects are real” (Wang 1999 p 359). This argument puts the onus on the tourist. If the tourist is happy with the experience it is authentic. I would argue that tourists often see beyond this. As one tourist told me after he had been on both the main excursions from Levuka. “Lovoni is how Fijians live today and Devokula is how they would like to live” (see plates 2 and 3).

Psychological needs of tourists

The nub of the argument, then, is dependent on how both the tourists' and local cultures are defined. If the search for authenticity is a result of alienation from one's own culture then, by definition, one does not have a culture. It belongs to someone else. "People go away because they no longer feel happy where they are - where they work, where they live" (Krippendorf 1987). The evidence for this increasing alienation is that more and more people are going away, are travelling. Is this really what the evidence is telling us? Krippendorf's statement is too simplistic. People go away because their home environment lacks something that they would like to have. Someone who goes to an ice-cream parlour goes there because they want an ice-cream. This does not mean that they are unhappy with the clothes store or the greengrocer's. The action of purchasing one good cannot be seen in isolation from the purchase of all other goods. Holidays should be treated as just another of these goods with its own set of attributes. What makes tourism more complex is that it has a wide range of variable attributes. People do not just buy a holiday in the same way as they do not just buy a pair of trousers. At the most basic level one of the attributes for a pair of trousers is that they must fit. In the same way a holiday must fit the psychological need of the tourist. The tourist will attempt to match his or her composite needs with the composite attributes that a particular holiday provides. As the needs change so will the sort of holiday chosen. Because a holiday provides certain needs cannot mean that needs provided in the home environment are rejected or seen as inferior. Individuals have an idea of how they gain fulfilment in their lives. The means of attaining this fulfilment is subject to a number of constraints such as social, situational and perceptual. These constraints act as forces bending and altering the individuals behavioural patterns over time (see fig. 2.1).

If social and situational pressures are pushing the individual's life course in a direction in which they are not happy they will attempt to compensate. In major cases this requires a permanent life-style change. However, if a temporary change will surface, a short-term change in location offers a similar relief without the danger of losing long-term life-style. To use Festinger's (1962) terms a holiday will provide a reduction in cognitive dissonance that has developed since the previous holiday. These concepts are also linked to those of Scitovsky's (1976) hypothesis of optimal arousal that was considered in the introduction. The home environment is either too stimulating (because of, for example, a stressful job), so the holiday chosen by the individual provides rest and relaxation, or it is under-stimulating so a more adventurous holiday destination is chosen. Again, as Iso-Ahola (1980) cautions, the personality type of the individual must also be taken into consideration.

Figure 2-1 Social and situational pressures



Krippendorff (1987 pp30-31) lists thirty-one activities pursued during tourists' main holidays. All of the activities except those that are dependent on weather and

Examples of current and past Fijian architecture.

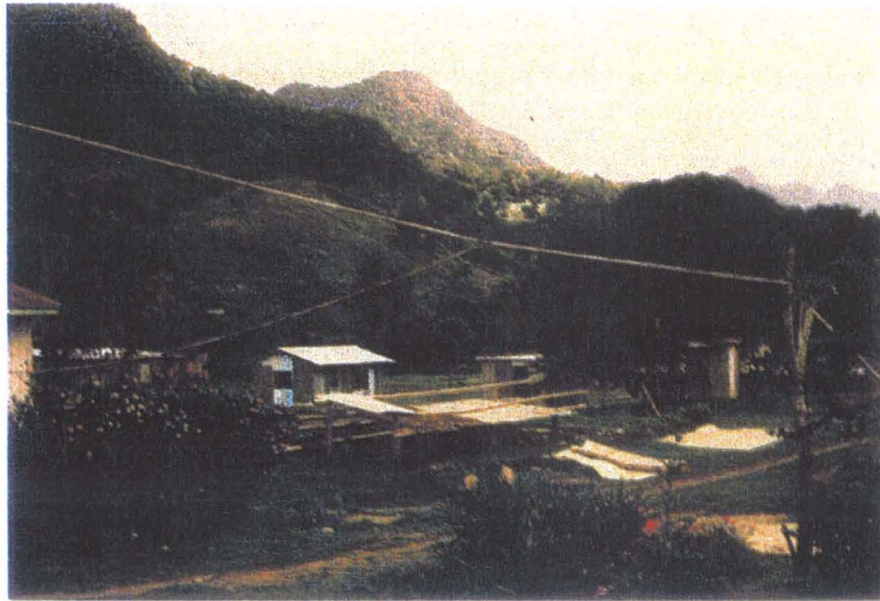


Plate 2. Lovoni Village. The buildings are typical of those in a Fijian village on Ovalau today.



Plate 3. Devokula Cultural Village provides tourists with an idea of how Fijian villages used to look.

landscape could be carried out in the tourist's home town. He gives no indication of how many tourists participate in these activities when at home. I would argue that tourists go away to do these activities because they are easier (or at least as easy) to do away from home. This is because apart from the social and situational constraints being relaxed the meaning of the activities change. For example people may allow friends to see them naked on a beach but would on no account let themselves be seen naked in their home by the same people. To do so would laden the situation with sexual connotations. The beach, on the other hand, is a public place where other people are in the same state of undress. Similarly, the fourth most popular in Krippendorf's listed activities is "Talk to new people". It is possible to do this in one's home environment but it is much easier to do it where few people know each other and should the new found friends turn out to be unsuitable for long term friendship they can be dropped relatively easily. There is an awareness on the part of both parties that the assumptions that one makes about a stranger initiating conversation beyond the inconsequential or phatic level on home territory, do not apply on the mutually neutral territory of a holiday area.

Summary of authenticity

Tourists' lives are conditioned and controlled by various social, situational and experiential factors in the environment in which they live. These factors restrict some of the things that they enjoy doing so they go to an area where they can behave more freely. The constraints have been relaxed. The situation in which they choose to holiday is dependent on what particular aspect of their lives that they want to fulfil. If, for example, they feel that their home environment is not sufficiently stress-free they will choose one that is. Alternatively they may feel that their home environment doesn't allow for enough adventure so they will attempt to include adventure in their holiday. A tourist who likes to experience other cultures will choose to go somewhere that has a totally different culture. The tourist also has some form of awareness of how much of a counter balance is required and relates that to past experience. For someone who has never been out of their home village a holiday in the capital city could provide as much adventure for them as riding on horseback across Mongolia would for an experienced traveller. The purpose of all

these opposites is to add balance to that particular factor in their lives. They may feel that other aspects are balanced already. These they will not want to change when they are away and they take them with them "like a passenger on the pillion seat" (Krippendorf 1987 p 31).

The question of authenticity then becomes a question of the authentic experience of the main motivational factor for the holiday. A tourist who goes away for better weather and a stress free time is likely to be satisfied with the local cultural show put on in the hotel because the culture of the area is not the main motivation for the trip. The show may well be an example of "staged authenticity" but that is not important. It is also unimportant for the tourist whether any lack of authenticity is perceived or not. However, a tourist whose primary reason for travel is to observe different cultures will not be satisfied with a show in an hotel. Sitting with a group of westerners in an approximation of a western theatre is a western experience irrespective of the authenticity of what is being shown on the stage. For the first group of spectators the emphasis is on the spectacle. For the second group it is on the act of spectating. Tourist behaviour in a tourist setting, then, is related to behaviour and behavioural controls at home. The choice of destination will offer something that it is not possible to do (or is not as easy to do) at home – either because that activity is not available, there is not the opportunity, or because the activity is not socially acceptable.

Changing values and morals

Tourists visit a destination with an idea of what they are looking for as individuals. Their expectations are partly dependent on their past experiences as tourists and what they have recently experienced in their general lives. The question now arises as to how their behaviour, as tourists, influences the people who live in the destination.

To understand the influence of tourism in changing values and morals firstly an understanding of what values and morals are and how they are integrated into a society is needed; and secondly some mechanism needs to be developed that will

isolate different factors that cause the evident changes. Proponents of the modernisation theory of economic development argue that a change in values is necessary for economic development to take place (Mullins 1996). However, MacNaught (1982) argues that when a change in values appears to occur at the same time as tourism development many commentators believe that the value change must be a result of the tourism development.

Over time values change. These changes occur as a result of a variety of social, economic and environmental developments of which tourism is just one. While it is inconceivable that tourism does not induce some form of change it is extremely difficult to isolate which changes have occurred as a result of tourism. Even if tourism can be isolated the question of how it causes change still requires an answer. In order to do this an understanding of morals and values within the society in question is necessary.

Pioneering work on value systems was carried out by Rokeach (1968). He based his ideas on three assumptions. Firstly, some beliefs and values are more important than others to an individual; a personal hierarchy of beliefs will be evident. Secondly, the more important a belief the more it will be resistant to change. Thirdly, the more important the belief the greater the consequences should it change. Schwartz (1992) developed the analysis by listing ten basic types of values and suggests that the weighting for these is dependent on the individual and the social structure in which s/he operates. Hofstede (1983, 1984) had already identified four dimensions of national culture (individualism versus collectivism; large or small power distance; strong or weak uncertainty avoidance; and masculinity versus femininity) which provided a possible explanation of the weighting. The response to external pressure for change will depend upon the particular combination of these dimensions in a social group. Within groups, moral values encourage people to comply with what are accepted as local norms because this reduces levels of uncertainty. This phenomenon has been observed by anthropologists (Blau 1993, Kopytoff 1986), psychologists (Schwartz 1994), sociologists (McCrone 1994), and economists (Choi 1993). If these beliefs are put under too much stress then the reaction may be violent (Hodgson 1993, Thompson 1979). Where the structure of the value system cannot

adapt to the external pressures they either crumble or there is a major reaction against the change. This was amply illustrated by the coups that occurred in Fiji in 1987 (Bain 1989, Dean and Ritova 1988).

Thompson, Ellis and Wildavsky (1990), following Douglas' (1982) 'Cultural Bias' model, which, in turn, is a development of Weber's analysis of the growth of capitalism, take values and attitudes beyond the society to the individual. Douglas's model suggests that each individual works within a system of penalties and rewards that are dictated by society. The grid dimension measures the level of individualism while the group dimension measures social incorporation. Fijian society displays high grid and high group. High grid characteristics are those that prevent social mobility and high group characteristics are illustrated by strong social cohesion. Combined they suggest a hierarchical social structure. Individualists will show low grid and low group characteristics. The implication of this is that "preferences are 'derived' from ways of life" (Thompson, Ellis and Wildavsky 1990 p57). This links with theories on locus of control. An internal locus of control results in an individual believing that s/he can alter his or her own situation whereas an external locus of control stifles personal effort (Lefcourt 1982, Vallerand 1997).

Values and morals are created by society in order to sustain a particular way of life, or, to use Wittgenstein's (1952) term - *form of life*. Wittgenstein defined this as the complex of rules and customs by which a social group live. Along with experience it creates a 'world view' by which individuals can decode what is happening around them and decide how to behave in the world (Ahmed 1991). As a result what an outsider with a different form of life would consider an irrational act becomes rational (Sperber 1982). An example of this is the Hindu attitude towards cattle (Reader 1988). From an economic point of view forms of life are what give things economic value. As will be shown in the chapter on heritage in this thesis an understanding and acceptance of the concept of different cosmologies is necessary to understand the cultural differences in valuing the heritage of Levuka.

When two different sets of values come into contact with each other they can usually co-habit. It is only when they are opposed to each other that major conflict may

occur. This is not to suggest that they will necessarily merge because some values are too important within the culture's cosmology to change readily. However, even major changes can be accommodated within a culture. The acceptance of Christianity by Fijians is an example of that. In this instance the structures of Fijian society were altered by changing the way they were understood (Lawson 1997). The Christian God was incorporated into the Fijian cosmology and modified how Fijians viewed the world. This sort of major change is fraught with difficulty because while the more fundamental arguments are understood the minor ones may be missed. The old customs of Fiji were of great value in maintaining health and cleanliness. New rules introduced by missionaries did not have their underlying meanings explained which lead to what Thomson (1908) called the 'degeneration' of the people. In other words the effects of changing values may not be what was expected. Tourism may be comfortably accommodated within the hosts' cosmology but result in unexpected consequences. The next section will give illustrations of this.

Tourism and values

With regard to tourism Greenwood (1989 p182) asks whether changes that occur as a result of tourism are doing so "from their own internal dynamics". Greenwood suggested that turning a traditional, local festival into a tourist spectacle destroyed its meaning for local people. However, his series of articles on a festival in Fuenterrabia (1972, 1977, 1989) could, arguably, illustrate the idea of Rokeach's (1968) hierarchy of values with the initial reaction of the people involved in the festival being modified by a more central belief in their own unique cultural identity. The politics of Basque nationalism overcame the significance of changing the festival to accommodate tourists. The passive resistance to the change forced on the town may also have been part of this struggle but Greenwood does not mention the mistrust of the Basques to the Francoist regime and Castilian Spain in general. This is a serious omission because at the time of the suggested change to the festival pro-Basque nationalist riots were occurring in Fuenterrabia following the Guardia Civil shooting of a young nationalist (Clark 1979). Basque nationalism had gone through a period of Francoist repression (Medrano 1995) because Franco considered the racial and linguistic heritage of the Basques as a threat to the unity of Spain (Collins

1986). An alternative interpretation of the events surrounding the festival could be that the Basque people lost interest in the festival when they felt that the repressive central government was trying to control it, irrespective of the stated reasons. However, as more tourists began to arrive in the region they realised that it could be used to promote their culture to outsiders. Thus the central government may have initially used tourism to control nationalism and later the local people used tourism to promote regional identity. This interpretation is supported by Young (cited in Wilson 1993). Tourism became just another tool in the local political battles. This example also illustrates the need to understand the historical and cultural background of a destination before conclusions are reached.

Prostitution is often cited as one of the results of tourism induced value changes.³ One study in Fiji seemed to assume that single male tourists will demand the services of prostitutes presumably because they are single males (Naibavu and Schutz 1975). However, the evidence is mixed as to whether tourism causes prostitution or whether tourists view it as another service that may or may not be available in a destination just as any other service may or may not be available (Hall 1992). There is also little evidence that prostitution is a direct result of tourism changing values rather than changing values allowing prostitution to take place. It may even be that the traditionally low status of women encourages prostitution and only by eradicating these traditional values will prostitution be eliminated, as feminist literature suggests. In Thailand, for example, most prostitutes obtain their income from local men (Harrison 1992).

From the demand side Kruhse-MountBurton (1995) infers that Australian men will not demand the services of prostitutes in Southeast Asia once they have rediscovered a role in Australian society. The demand for the type of prostitution available in Thailand and the Philippines, for example, but not available in Australia is fuelling tourism rather than tourism encouraging prostitution. However, the form of prostitution may change to cater for the new market (Jones 1982).

³However, at times, it appears that local cultural norms are wrongly attributed to tourism (cf Urbanowitz (1977) on transvestism in Tonga whose arguments are refuted by the evidence provided by Besnier (1997)).

Prostitution tends to be more common in urban areas. Another Fijian example suggests that there are probably two reasons for this. The first is that there is a market there and the second is that the traditional values of rural areas are not so strong in urban areas (Rajotte 1980). Generally, the new urban proletariat display different values to those of traditional rural communities and these are evidenced in a number of ways. This could be because the situational constraints on behaviour are relaxed (Ross and Nisbett 1991). Away from the controls of the village the restrictions created by traditional values decrease. Alternatively prostitutes may be manifesting behaviour associated with acculturative stress resulting from moving to an urban environment (see for example Berry 1988) or believe that this form of employment is the only way to obtain an income.

Changes in values have occurred in all societies that have gone through an industrialisation/monetisation process (cf Pahl 1984, Reid 1976 for examples in Britain, Hobsbawm 1988 for examples in other parts of Europe, Bain 1989, and Robertson and Tamanisau 1988 on Fiji). In Hofstede's (1983, 1984) terms as the extended family breaks down there is a move towards the individualism end of the individualism-collectivism axis. These have all resulted in the negative social changes that tourism is accused of such as an increase in crime, a loosening of social cohesion, and an increase in anti-social behaviour. As Greenwood (1989 p182) states "(t)he challenge, as yet unmet, is to conceptualize communities as a complex process of stability and change, and then to factor in the changes tourism brings". Tourism probably has the highest profile of all the agents of change that are occurring all the time in all communities and therefore is likely to receive the greatest amount of condemnation (MacNaught 1982).

While there has been debate on social changes brought by tourism what does not seem to have been considered in any great detail is whether tourism development results in changing economic structures or whether it just changes the economic activity that takes place within existing structures. Using economic terminology this

can be separated into two forms - frictional and structural change. An example of frictional change would be someone involved in a profit-oriented business switching from that to a tourism related business because they believe that that will make more

profit. Structural change is more significant on a socio-economic level because the reasons for setting up a tourist business would be different from the reasons for carrying out a previous occupation. An example of this could be a fisherman deciding to take tourists in his/her boat for cash rather than catching fish as part of local community obligations.

Kousis (1989) discusses the effects of tourism on family life in rural Crete. She touches on the economic systems of villages inasmuch as local business enterprises have traditionally been family based. While she states that there have been changes in the socioeconomic structure of "Drethia" she makes it clear that the traditional collectivist, non-monetary structures had begun to collapse with the introduction of agricultural machinery, electricity and roads before tourism arrived in the area. The technological development of this part of Crete facilitated the introduction of tourism which, in turn, hastened the changes. As a result those families that adapted more quickly to the changes gained the most and the social hierarchy changed. She also suggests that tourism resulted in a change to the moral values of chastity before marriage. However, she does not differentiate between the values changing and the opportunity to flout them becoming more available. Traditionally, pre-marital sex resulted in a hastily arranged wedding. It may be that forced marriages declined, not because it was no longer thought appropriate but because a wedding to a non-Greek, non-orthodox Christian was considered even more inappropriate. In other words, a whole hierarchy of values creates the structure by which the community organises itself. It is these structures that are of major importance. They change and adapt for a number of reasons and when they change they allow for a number of other activities to take place that previously did not occur. Does tourism cause these changes, does it respond to them, or does it result from these changes?

What happens to the economic structure of the town, village or community when tourism is introduced? It may very well be that a given number of jobs are created; that income generated within the community increases; that the traditional wealth creating businesses are no longer the main economic producers in the area; structural change occurs in employment patterns, and so on. However these only consider the distribution effects of tourism on the economy. They do not consider the changes to

the wider economic system and it is that system which is a product of social values. If the economic system has changed (to an increasingly monetised system as in the case of 'Drethia') then it is likely that the values that support it have changed. Will a collectivist society remain collectivist in the face of tourism and other development or will the methods of satisfying basic economic problems alter? Does competition occur in areas where it used not to exist? Do people perceive the benefits of the changes? Does tourism hasten the integration of a collectivist economy into a monetary one thus fundamentally changing traditional systems of exchange?

In part answer, Bonnemaision (1978) provides an example of monetisation occurring within an existing value system. The women of villages in Efate, Vanuatu, were not tied to the male hierarchical practices of traditional food production. As a result they were able to produce cash crops and sell them in the Port Vila market because men were culturally prevented from participating in commerce. For men acquired wealth could not be hoarded but had to be given in order to increase community status. The success of the market showed that traditional society was "sufficiently supple and pragmatic to adapt to the new conditions set by urban growth" (Bonnemaision 1978 p44). Similarly involvement in tourism enabled Yao women, in Thailand, "to become involved in commercial management, while under Yao culture this is usually discouraged because they are not allowed to own land" (Forsyth 1995 p893). In another ni-Vanuatu example de Burlo (1997) tells of a local tourism entrepreneur who closed down his operation once he had acquired the funds he needed for another project. He measured success differently from that of a western entrepreneur.

The discussion on tourism and economic values can be paraphrased as one of where tourism causes frictional or structural change in the destination's cosmology. Does tourism force local people to change what they do – frictional change? Does it force them to change why they do it – structural change? Finally, if structural change is occurring is this due to tourism or some other factor? MacNaught (1982) argues that rapid change has taken place in areas of the Pacific with no tourism but where other industries have been introduced. However, many authors believe that tourism and tourists provide a template that local people copy. This is the demonstration effect. Tourists demonstrate a mode of behaviour that local people attempt to emulate,

thereby causing a change in social behaviour that would not have occurred if tourism had not been introduced.

The demonstration effect

The concept of the demonstration effect was introduced into tourism research at an early stage by those who were concerned about the effects of tourism, especially in poorer countries. They argued that local inhabitants copy the behavioural patterns of tourists (de Kadt 1979, Turner and Ash 1975). Metalka, in his *Dictionary of Tourism* (1986 p30) is more specific in suggesting that patterns of behaviour are transferred from advanced cultures to “more economically primitive cultures”. Mathieson and Wall (1982 p142) suggest that the demonstration effect can be defined as hosts trying to copy the “behaviours and spending patterns” of tourists. This echoes De Kadt (1979 p65) who states that “(t)he effect is most easily and frequently seen in the local patterns of consumption which change to imitate those of tourists.” Turner and Ash (1975) claim that status is achieved in Dominica by the consumption of imported alcoholic drinks rather than the locally produced versions. De Kadt (1979) reports the adoption of imported tastes in the Seychelles. The implication of this, apart from the cultural change that it induces, is a lessening of some of the economic benefits that are claimed for tourism development. If tourists consume imported goods then an imitative change in the consumption patterns of local people will increase the overall propensity to import (Harris and Howard 1996).

While the demonstration effect is usually perceived as being negative it has also been suggested that it can have positive outcomes but this has not received as much attention. Jafari (1989) obliquely considers an increase in the hosts’ pride in their own culture. Van den Burghe (1995) goes further in suggesting that tourist interest in native Mexicans has increased Hispanic Mexicans’ appreciation of this ethnic group.

However, little attempt has been made to validate the demonstration effect hypothesis. It appears to have been taken as given by many commentators. Despite Smith’s (1993 p630) claim that the demonstration effect “is now seldom mentioned”,

it is still a term used uncritically in recent texts (for examples see Böröcz 1996, Bull 1995, Lanfant, Allcock and Bruner 1995, Lockhart 1997, Nash 1996, Pearce 1989, Saleem 1996, Shaw and Williams 1994, Vellas and Becherel 1995). In some cases there is seemingly naïve misinterpretation. Jafari, Nuryanti and Wall (1993) give the illustration of a boy who wants to be a tourist because he perceives tourists as being wealthy. "Tourism indeed creates 'demonstration effects' perhaps unique to itself" (p783).

Nevertheless, the concept of the demonstration effect has been criticised. Bryden (1973 p96) argues that "(t)he demonstration effect is...a vague and unsatisfactory concept. It does not, by itself, explain who is demonstrating what to whom and why, or to what extent and at what pace such 'demonstration' is occurring." English (1986 p49) complains that "no-one has yet attempted to verify the statistical significance of the demonstration effect." McElroy and Albuquerque (1986 p31) state that "despite the critical preoccupation in the literature" of the demonstration effect, there is no agreed definition of it and it has come to mean "almost any negative spillover casually associated with tourist activity." In one of the few attempts to test the hypothesis McElroy and de Albuquerque (1986 p33), in their study on the Caribbean, concluded that "non-tourist influences are more important predictors of ... consumption behavior". Tourism is only one aspect of change (Berno 1995, Crick 1989, English 1986, MacNaught 1982, Smith 1993). Local people will also see examples of foreign lifestyles and consumption in advertisements, magazines, on television and in films. Tourism may well add to these but it cannot be considered the sole cause.

Some writers (for example, Harrison 1992, Henning Brown 1984, MacNaught 1982) argue there is also something overtly patronising about the implicit assumption that the cultures of host societies are so weak that they need protecting from contact with tourists because they may want to copy the tourists' behaviour.

Economic origins of the demonstration effect

It seems likely that the concept of a demonstration effect was borrowed from economics. In the only systematic study on the demonstration effect of tourism and

tourists McElroy and Albuquerque (1986) claim that the term was formulated by Nurkse (1953) though Nurkse, himself credits Duesenberry (1952). However as a concept within economics the idea goes as far back as Adam Smith and David Hume. As 18th century Britain moved from a feudal society to a capitalist one it became acceptable to imitate one's 'betters'. This resulted in what Smith described as envy and Hume called esteem. A fundamental change in consumption patterns occurred with the rise of the middle classes from one where one's position dictated lifestyle (and therefore consumption) to one where lifestyle dictated position (Xenos 1989). In other words people came to copy the consumption patterns of those higher up the social scale in order to improve their social status.

Veblen (1899/1992) defined the concept of conspicuous consumption. This occurs because of the need to exhibit the trappings of wealth and power. Goods become a signifier of status. Duesenberry (1952) refined this to argue that the significance of the purchase was only within the context of the subculture of the purchaser (and in the process probably coined the phrase 'the demonstration effect'). He questioned why there are different propensities to consume among people with the same incomes in the same societies. His major finding was that real consumption tended towards the average consumption of the sub-group to which the consumer belonged. If average consumption is different between different groups within a society then the propensity to consume would vary between people on the same incomes but within different groups. Douglas and Isherwood (1979) cite the study of a northern English mining community by Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter to illustrate this point, where social censure and mild ridicule discouraged conspicuous personal consumption.

However, even within economic literature there is little empirical evidence to be found in support of the demonstration effect (Hirsch 1976). Some of the development economics literature mentions the demonstration effect (for example, Meier 1976), following Nurkse (1953), but again it is a concept that is accepted because it seems to have an intuitive correctness. Herrick and Kindleberger (1983 p510) define it as "imitative behaviour, following exposure to hitherto-unknown or -unappreciated modes of consumption or methods of production frequently applied to

consumption or production patterns seen as economically inappropriate in the context into which they are transplanted.” It is argued that high income earners in poor countries copy the consumption patterns in the west which results in a low propensity to save. However, as Hagen (1962 p41) points out, “(t)he theoretical foundation for the demonstration-effect thesis is rather shaky.” There is no evidence that there were high levels of savings in pre-contact times. Hagen does not dispute the possibility that there may be a shift in the sort of goods that are consumed by the elite but, by implication, he does restrict this change to the elite.

In the field of evolutionary biology ‘demonstrations’ and copying have received a more detailed definition than in the social sciences (see, for example, Blackmore 1999, Dawkins 1991). The biological definitions offer the possibility of greater understanding in the social sciences because the act of copying is broken down into three forms. These are: a) accurate imitation; b) inaccurate imitation, which results in different actions from that of the original; and c) social learning, which is a result of individuals having to learn to carry out an action rather than blindly imitating another organism. Blackmore (1999) argues that only humans can imitate (with the exception of some birds and their songs) whereas animals have to learn a new procedure. Genes, on the other hand copy accurately and inaccurately. One addition must be made to the biological distinctions in the demonstration effect when relating it human activity. Inexact imitation can take two forms – accidental and deliberate. Accidental inexact imitation occurs when a failed attempt is made to imitate exactly. In this case the imitator may be aware or unaware of the failure to imitate exactly. Deliberate inexact imitation occurs when it is not possible to imitate exactly. An example of this could be an attempt to copy a recipe without being able to obtain all the correct ingredients. A cook may use black pepper rather than cayenne. Deliberate inexact copying can become adaptation and social learning if there is a degree of experimentation involved.

An analysis of the demonstration effect in tourism must, therefore, consider whether local people are imitating tourists’ consumption patterns (correctly or incorrectly) or whether local people are observing different behaviour patterns and adapting them to local conditions and culture.

Other questions that need asking in relation to tourism are: whether tourism has to reach a certain level before the demonstration effect comes into being; whether it requires a certain type of tourist or a host population that has reached a particular level of development; whether it will be observed in all levels of the host society or just within certain groups initially and how this would filter into other groups? There also needs to be some differentiation between patterns of consumption and patterns of behaviour. It would seem likely that a member of the host population changing the brand of beer they consume after observing what tourists buy is less significant than someone deciding to consume beer instead of a culturally more specific beverage such as palm wine or kava. This, in turn, would be less significant than someone from a group that rejects all intoxicants (for example, a Muslim villager) deciding to consume beer as a result of tourist behaviour. In marketing terms the first scenario would be a change in brand loyalty, the second would be a case of substituting one good for another and the third would be substituting one set of moral beliefs for another resulting in a different basis by which goods are chosen. Finally, allowance must be made for technical advance. A metal axe is more functional than a stone one. A gun is better than a spear. An aqualung is better than a snorkel. Using a new tool, which has been taken from another culture, allows for the advancement of the borrowing culture.

The question of how the tourism demonstration effect works, then, comes down to one of decision-making processes in the host population. In the tourism literature it is such a vague hypothesis that any attempt to counter it would be almost impossible to put into action because there is no understanding of how it occurs or even if it really occurs. However, on a more general level of consumer behaviour some work has been carried out in economics.

Behavioural demonstrations

Proponents of the demonstration effect go beyond purely economic behaviour. Tourism has also been accused of affecting social behaviour. Members of the host population, particularly those in the younger age group, may imitate what tourists do. This has the effect of challenging traditional value systems (King 1993). Again,

however, it is difficult to separate the effects of tourism from other forms of acculturation. Changing values are also the consequence of urbanisation and industrialisation. The implication of the arguments put forward by the proponents of an active tourism demonstration effect is that it is more powerful than other forms of globalisation such as television. This is because the nature of the contact is face-to-face. However television broadcasts into MacCannell's (1984) 'back-stage'; newspapers and magazines are read there; relatives from overseas talk there.

More recently socio-economic studies have attempted to uncover mechanisms by which consumers make choices. If the conventional economic assumption of perfect knowledge is relaxed then people have to make choices in an environment of uncertainty. The theory of informational cascades (Bikhchandani, Hirshleifer and Welch 1992, Hirshleifer 1995) suggests that people imitate others because they assume that others have more information. This imitation, however, is restricted to "localised conformity" because "people in different places don't observe each other's behavior" (Hirshleifer 1995 p188). People learn by observing others even if what they 'learn' is not in their best interest (Becker 1991, Choi 1993, Hirshleifer 1995). This is the demonstration effect under a different name but with more sophisticated variations. Again echoing Adam Smith and David Hume the hypothesis is that people are more likely to imitate people of higher prestige because of a belief that they are better informed. However, those people are of the same cultural group. This is necessary because "only through the acquisition of a complex and culturally specific conceptual framework can sense data be understood" (Hodgson 1992 p254). Even so, there are times for no obvious reason one product becomes fashionable. Thompson (1979) uses the examples of stevengraphs and housing in a once undesirable area of London. He goes on to explain the phenomenon in terms of catastrophe theory while expounding his own rubbish theory. Very often the originally inexplicable choice of one product over another becomes self-reinforcing and therefore understandable in the long run. Once one product gains dominance over another people buy it because it is the dominant product (Arthur 1988). People buy it because people buy it.

These concepts are relevant to both the tourist and the host culture. The choice of destination for a tourist is not taken in isolation but as a result of marketing and/or recommendation. I would suggest that it is very rare for a tourist to select a holiday destination without knowing anything about it beforehand (or at least thinking that they know something about it). However, potential tourists can only know what they are told. This links with Barthes' (1973) concerns about descriptions in travel guides and the power that guidebooks have in directing the 'gaze' of tourists.

Smith (1993) argues that the demonstration effect works in two directions – that tourists demonstrate to their friends and acquaintances where they have been by the souvenirs they return with. Different types of tourists are likely to want different types of souvenirs (including photographs, see Fairweather, Swaffield and Simmons 1998) as well as different sorts of experience.

For the host there are two sorts of choices to make. The first is as a consumer and the second as a producer. As a consumer, according to the informational cascade hypothesis, decisions are made based on knowledge or the supposed superior knowledge of someone else. If tourists are seen as having superior knowledge then their patterns of consumption will be followed. If tourists are not seen as having superior knowledge, or if their behaviour is not understood, then local consumption will not change. There is one variation to this. A misunderstanding of tourist behaviour may lead to a change in local consumption patterns but the result will not resemble those of the tourists. In this scenario tourists have caused change but the change is not obviously that of the demonstration effect. However, it may be that the elite copy the consumption patterns of the west and later the local population copy the consumption patterns of the elite. This would combine the theories of the developmental economists with those of Bikchandani et al (1992) and Hirshleifer (1995). It would, however assume that the hierarchical nature of the society in question is fragile. Someone of lower social standing would have to feel that they are culturally allowed to exhibit greater wealth than their 'betters'. Therefore, following Polanyi (1977), an understanding of social institutions is necessary in order to understand economic activity within a society (Dalton 1971). Knox (1992),

for example, argues that the Maori model for business is different to that of Pakeha which they, the Maori, find spiritually damaging.

In Fiji, the desire and acquisition of western goods is rendered difficult by social obligations. “Many Fijian families remain in the lower socio-economic strata largely because of the costs of keeping up with...traditional commitments” (Dean and Ritova 1988 p89). While some people break free from this structure, allowing them to set up businesses, this is the exception. “Acquiescence and dependence were the result above all of the Fijian quest for security, of the need to *belong* to a coherent, neo-traditional social system” (Watters 1969 p46). If the demonstration effect is found to exist in Fiji is it in spite of these social traditions or have the traditions broken down? If they have is this as a result of the demonstration effect or is acquisitiveness a result of the breakdown? Dean and Ritova (1988) suggest that the breakdown is occurring because of urbanisation. It is then being transferred to the villages by urbanised villagers. As Blackmore (1999 p163) points out, “(w)e are more likely to be persuaded by someone we perceive as similar to ourselves”.

In addition to change caused by example is change deliberately caused by individuals. Some individuals within a community may wish to promote a different form of behaviour. However they can only do this if they have sufficient power, though they will usually take into account the political climate of the society. The next section considers the implications of power and control in a tourist setting and the ability to cause change.

Political economy and tourism

The politics of tourism development follow a number of strands. The first is the macro level in which governments attempt to increase the various quantifiable indicators of development such as levels of economic growth, GDP, and employment. The second is on the micro level in the geographical areas that the tourists visit. The third is the relationship between the various strata of society including both class or caste, and race. The fourth is the political and economic relationship between the host nation and the tourist generating nations. The fifth is

the cultural politics of status and status generation within both the host nation and region. All these points can be paraphrased in terms of the distribution of power (Hall 1994a). The distribution of the costs and benefits of tourism are not evenly spread. Those who hold the power are the ones that are likely to gain from any tourist development. The strength of local power will allow for greater control in who benefits from tourist development (Peck and Lepie 1977). Similarly, the power structures will also dictate what benefits are desired.

Tourism has been described as a form of imperialism (Britton 1982, 1983, Crick 1989, English 1986, Nash 1977, Turner and Ash 1975). For tourism to succeed in third world countries it has to be in a form that is acceptable to the tourists of the first world. In other words tourism development must follow the dictate of the first world irrespective of how the host population would like their society to develop. The simplistic response to this is to stop tourism but this will only happen if the local elite is opposed to it. Crick (1989 p 321) quotes the Tanzanian Youth League in this respect. "It is not a matter of coincidence but a matter of class interest that both the national and international bourgeoisie should show interest in the same field of economic activity." Even with the removal of the Marxist rhetoric this indicates differences in the motives for modernisation within developing nations.

Modernisation theory considers that development can only be achieved by westernisation and a move to a monetary economy. This is the position held by many governmental and trans-national aid agencies such as the IMF and World Bank and is a model easily understood by the westernised and monetised elites of the third world. However, this vision may not be shared by everyone within a society. The consequences to the elite of a country may well be very different from those that impact on other sectors of society. The elite obviously want to maintain their elite status and if this is based on their personal wealth then they will attempt to increase their incomes. As a result people in lower echelons of society may attempt to behave in the same way. However, because of entrepreneurial inexperience and a lack of understanding of what tourists expect the returns accrued may be limited (Britton 1982). In the meantime because the foreign interests through the elite are able to dictate tourist development local people may find that their freedom of movement is

restricted by the selling of land and beaches that were once open to all (Peck and Lepie 1977); that they are employed on racial grounds (Samy 1975); that the better jobs go to ex-patriots (Britton 1982); and that they unwittingly become part of the tourism product and are expected to behave in demeaning ways towards the tourists (Crick 1989, van den Berghe 1995).

On a local level the same catalysts of development will occur. Change will be initiated by the more powerful sectors in the economy. Obviously the only people who *can* instigate change are those with the power *to* instigate change. There are two means to attaining power. It may be inherited, as in chieftainships in Fiji, or achieved as in parts of Melanesia. Achieved power can, of course, be lost (de Burlo 1984)⁴. In highly structured collective societies the general population is likely to follow the lead of those with power. The antithesis of this sort of power is held by those who are outside these forms of power structures and are therefore not bound by the same rules and conventions (Watters 1969). Again Fiji is a good illustration of this. Chiefs in Fiji only have control over ethnic Fijians. Any power over other ethnic groups is indirect through control of land and latterly the political system. This is an important distinction because the motivation for change is different as a result.

The illustration of firewalking given previously shows motivation for the commoditisation of a Fijian festival as an indicator of regional politics. More prestige and power comes to richer villages. The Indian community of Fiji have used firewalking in the same way. Not only has their firewalking been used as part of their own inter-communal rivalry between south Indians and other Indians but also as part of the inter-ethnic rivalry with the Fijians (Henning Brown 1984). Similarly, it has been argued that the commercial development of Fiji was undertaken by non-ethnic Fijians because of the different social structures in the different communities and national political structures (Harre 1975, Naidu 1992, Rika 1975). Therefore, the motivation for tourism development may not have been direct. It may not have

⁴ It is unusual for inherited power to be lost but this did happen in the Polynesian island of Rotuma, Fiji. Howard and Rensal (1993) show how the local people stopped taking notice of their chief because of a dispute over tourist revenues from cruise ships.

firewalking in the same way. Not only has their firewalking been used as part of their own inter-communal rivalry between south Indians and other Indians but also as part of the inter-ethnic rivalry with the Fijians (Henning Brown 1984). Similarly, it has been argued that the commercial development of Fiji was undertaken by non-ethnic Fijians because of the different social structures in the different communities and national political structures (Harre 1975, Naidu 1992, Rika 1975). Therefore, the motivation for tourism development may not have been direct. It may not have resulted from a desire to make money but as a result of a desire to consolidate power and influence. Tourism, therefore, may only have been chosen as the vehicle for these ends. While this does not negate the impacts of tourism it does put them into a different context. If another means had been chosen with a similar degree of success then it could be assumed that the political motives would have been similar.

The negative impacts of tourism will only be addressed if they occur to those people in a position to change them or if addressing them will result in greater benefit to those in power than already exists. In the same way tourism can be used to negate the negative effects of other forms of monetisation. This is one of the goals of ecotourism. Tourism projects have been set up in the Solomon Islands and Vanuatu with the overtly political aim of persuading the local people to preserve the rain forests. Similarly tourists are charged US\$100 to see gorillas in the wild in East Africa in the hope that the revenue generated for the local people will dissuade them from poaching the animals. In these instances monetisation has already occurred so tourism is being used by outsiders as an alternative means of generating income.

Tourism also has a high propensity to suffer from political disturbance. Unrest in a country or even the threat of unrest is likely to have a detrimental effect on the number of tourists that visit. Even unrest outside a country can have the same results. For example, the Gulf War has been credited with the global downturn in international tourist numbers that followed. More recently the 1998 financial crisis in south-east Asia reduced the number of flights from that part of the world to Fiji. Korean Airlines no longer fly to Fiji as a result of the downturn in the Korean economy (Mather 1998).

While the consequences of political instability are probably beyond the control of those involved in tourism development the long-term consequences are important to quantify if resources are switched from other industries that are less susceptible. In the case of Fiji visitor numbers dropped dramatically as a result of the two coups in 1987. While there was a threat to sugar production from industrial action, the other major export earner, this was on the supply side rather than that of demand and therefore, more amenable to government control.

Culture

The methods and means of economic activity are embedded in and an integral part of the culture of a society. How people and societies allocate their scarce resources is dependent on how they believe that societies work. Culture itself is a very difficult concept to define, though the attempt has been made on numerous occasions, because of the need to understand how and why cultures adapt to changing circumstances. In addition to this debate is the problem of whether there are universal laws which can be said to cover all cultures. A neoclassical economist would argue that economic laws are universal, as would a Marxist. A supporter of the Particularist school of anthropology would argue that all societies are unique with no common factors. This is important in the study of the effects of tourism because tourism causes people from different cultures to meet.

Definitions of culture

Different disciplines define culture in different ways. Even within disciplines culture is defined differently. Jahoda (1982) considers it to be the result of people's relationship with nature. Ross and Nisbett (1991) offer a more theoretical explanation with the "tension system notation". Bruton (1985) quotes Frederick A Hayek's assertion that there are implicit rules within a society. This is similar to Polanyi's (1977) concept of institutionalism. Halperin (1988), on the other hand, argues that the relationship between these rules and ecological processes are different in different societies which results in cultural differences. Cultures are a product not just of people but of people and their relationship with place. Gudeman (1986, p28)

states that a "cultural model is comprised of the beliefs and practices which constitute a people's world". This is because he believes that all humans are modellers who base their behaviour on past experience and future expectations. This is an echo of Simon's (1988, p97) view that a "decision involves some goals or values, some facts about the environment, and some inferences drawn from the values and facts".

Some definitions of culture are based on the consequences of the culture. A culture is evident by how people behave and their behaviour is a result of the rules that they have created concerning behaviour. Kopytoff (1986, p70), for example, argues that "Culture serves the mind by imposing a collectively shared cognitive order upon the world". It is a truism to say that different societies behave differently and even that different "sub-cultures" within a society behave differently. What differentiates one society from another is how and why they behave differently. To write of a different culture is to imply that the way that people behave within them is different. Cultures may be similar in that many of the aspects of them are the same but some aspects will be very different and it is those aspects that separate them from each other. To put it more simply people believe that there are certain recognised modes of behaviour within the society in which they live. They may accept that these modes of behaviour are not universal but they will usually choose to conform to the behaviour patterns of the group in which they live. If these patterns are an integral part of their makeup they will carry them with them should they move to live in another society.

Cultural values

The phenomenon of cultural values has been addressed by psychologists as well as anthropologists and sociologists, however some argue that values are universal but just ordered differently. Beliefs are not equally important but the more central a belief the more resistant it is to change (Rokeach 1968). However if change occurs to the more central beliefs of a culture the outcomes are likely to be unpredictable (Ross and Nisbett 1991). If the proposition holds that individuals and societies are constantly re-evaluating expected outcomes as a result of past experience (Choi 1993, Earl 1990, Etzioni 1988, Gudeman 1986) then the potential for change within a

culture must be constantly available (Thompson 1980). However, it should not be assumed that beliefs that do not change become more fixed within the culture. Some beliefs are a result of more deeply held beliefs. Technological developments, for example, may change our beliefs on how something should be done but not on why they should be done. Similarly an activity that has been done for generations may be discontinued fairly easily without great changes to the belief system if a better alternative presents itself. Conversely, deeply held beliefs recently acquired, such as a religious conviction, may become far more entrenched in patterns of behaviour much more quickly.

However, it is wrong to think solely in terms of 'national' culture. As Bhabha (1994, p5) points out "The very concepts of homogeneous national cultures, the consensual or contiguous transmission of historical traditions, or 'organic' ethnic communities - as the grounds of cultural comparativism - are in a profound process of redefinition". This redefinition is needed in the study of tourism. Van den Berghe (1995) describes tourists as belonging to a "super-ethny", - meaning a tourist culture that transcends national cultures. While this may be a useful shorthand for describing how some members of the host community view tourists for the local producer it is far too general. Smith (1979) divides tourists into different types which can be considered synonymous with levels of adaptability to the host culture. The least adaptive tourist requires the security of what s/he is used to. This is particularly true of food and can be observed in any reasonably sized resort in southern Europe. Alcudia in Mallorca, Spain, for example, has distinct foreign national sections for bars and restaurants. Moving south from the port is firstly the British section with pubs rather than bars selling British beer. Next is the Scandinavian section where smorgasbord can be ordered. The German section follows this where German beer, kaffe und kuchen, bratwurst and other products associated with modern German culture are on sale. There is even a Spanish area after this close to holiday homes. Goods on sale in shops also follow national preferences to some extent. Van den Berghe (1995) states that local gigolos are particularly adept at understanding the differences in nationality and even regional differences in tourists.

Cultural economics

Economic activity can be evident in both peripheral and central cultural values. Technological development changes the structures of economic activity without altering the fundamental values that lie behind the behaviour. However, when economic activity moves into the realms of politics and philosophy beliefs are much deeper. Economics becomes part of the construct of how society should be organised. This, I believe, is the key to understanding why some aspects of economic activity can be adapted more readily than others. If an activity is just a means to carry out functions that are part of the operation of a culture, then the activity can be changed and adapted relatively easily. However, if an activity is part of the belief system then adaptation is much more difficult and with much broader consequences. Consequently, it is necessary to understand how economic behaviour is embedded in a culture if the effects of altering economic activity are to be properly understood. Bruton (1985 p1105) is more pro-active in his assessment of economic development: "(I)ndigenous development requires that the economic process be compatible with the prevailing social and cultural system, but, at the same time, it must generate change in that system". In the context of this thesis it is the cultural economics of the South Pacific and, in particular, Fiji, that must be understood.

Pacific Island economics

Pacific Island economic systems have developed as a result of the environment and social institutions. As Schoeffel (1996 p95) points out:

The pre-contact, traditional economies of the Pacific Islands discouraged individual accumulation and emphasised redistribution. This was in response to ecological imperatives: the major products – root crops, fish and game were perishable and could not be stored, so economic systems adapted, enabling surplus production to be redistributed to avoid waste.

Early colonial attitudes towards the Fijian economic system were not so understanding. The *Report of the Committee Appointed to Inquire into the Decrease of the Native Population* at the end of the nineteenth century stated that:

Mental apathy, laziness and improvidence of the people arise from their climate, their diet, and their communal institutions. The climate alone does not stimulate to exertion, the ordinary food of the people imparts no

staying-power, and the conditions of production do not demand that the individual must labour in order to exist, while the communal institutions paralyze (sic) the exercise of individual effort and destroy the instinct of accumulation

(Quoted from Thomas 1990 p 156).

Thomson (1908 p79) argued that “(t)he Fiji commoner reckons his wealth, not by the amount of his property, but by the number of friends from whom he can beg”.

While it is now possible to store food for longer periods the economic structures of the distribution of wealth are in place. Schoeffel (1996 p114) goes on to argue that “consumption is still generally more socially valued than accumulation, which probably affects the generally low propensity for savings noted by economic studies throughout the region”. Within Pacific Island cultures the incentive is to “transfer goods and services to meet reciprocal exchange obligations” (Halapua 1997). There is little cultural value in storing wealth for oneself. Ward (1971) argues that the level of fatalism amongst Fijians prevents change from occurring to the economic system. He adds that the land tenure system has prevented a Fijian middle-class which, he believes, is required for entrepreneurial activity. Within the Fijian nation the middle classes come from the Indians and Chinese. As a result entrepreneurs should not be regarded as being typical amongst Fijians (Watters 1969) for whom individualism is still discouraged (Becker 1995, Ravuvu 1983).

When analysing entrepreneurial activity in Kiribati Schutz (1993) argues that individuals who see an opportunity may have to develop this in the face of opposition from others in the same community. It is argued that the communal nature of Polynesian society restricts entrepreneurial activity (Poirine 1995, Schoeffel 1996). This view is supported by a number of individualism/collectivism studies (Hofstede 1983, Inkeles 1969, Punnett, Sing and Williams 1994). It is only when people move to other parts of the Pacific where they have no immediate familial obligations can they reap the rewards of operating a commercial business (Poirine 1995). This echoes Rajotte and Tubanavua’s (1982) comments on traditional values changing in an urban environment because of a move away from village life. For the same reason this is why most small businesses in the Pacific are run by Chinese or Indians. Crocombe (1994, p31) is more succinct. "The principles

on which commerce is based are often in conflict with the basic principles of many Pacific cultures." Nevertheless, even when people do move away from their home villages they are still expected to send money back. Bertrum and Watters (1985) argue that the economies of many south Pacific countries are based on migration, remittances, overseas aid, and bureaucracy (MIRAB). Income from family members elsewhere form an important part of nation income (for example see Shankman 1993 on Samoa). The family unit still maintains strong ties even over distance though the means of acquiring the income may not be known or fully understood.

Finney (1973), with reference to Papua New Guinea, argues that individual entrepreneurial activity is a culturally learnt activity. In a collectivist society, it is either a result of acculturation or a result of the changing structures within the indigenous society. However, there are examples of indigenous entrepreneurs finding culturally appropriate ways of dealing with the cultural requirements of reciprocity while remaining within the culture. Siwatibau (1997) gives two anecdotal examples. In the first a Fijian carpenter employed an Indian as his finance manager. It was culturally acceptable for the Indian to refuse credit to the carpenter's relatives whereas it would not have been possible for him to do that. In the other example a man from a chiefly family married overseas in order to avoid the huge financial burden of arranging the wedding at home.

Nevertheless, the problems for most indigenous entrepreneurs are to reinvest profit in the business rather than spread the profit amongst kin, and to avoid giving credit to kin. In Fiji there is an additional problem based around land tenure. Many villages receive income from leasing their land to Indians. The Indians work this land for profit while much of Fijian agriculture is subsistence based (Kelly 1992). Even within the wage economy Fijians are more likely to enter the public sector rather than commerce (Kelly 1992). However, those Fijians within the wage economy can obtain assistance from the communal structures of the village. Woodcock (1976) gives the example of striking coastal seaman and stevedores in Suva which, he says, "would have pleased the classic European syndicalists" (p323). The strikers were able to hold out against the employers because food was sent to the strikers from the

villages. While Woodcock does not make take the analysis of the situation further it is probable that it was also in the interest of the villagers for their kin to win the dispute and earn more in the city.

Irrespective of the opinions of writers regarding the desirability of the economic beliefs of Fijian people (and Ward (1971) does acknowledge that they do provide greater social cohesion) the economic system must be taken into account when considering the effects of tourism development. Again, however, tourism should not be made a scapegoat just because it is a visible form of economic development. The entrepreneurial activity of one or two individuals may use tourism as their vehicle to greater personal wealth but the social effects could be similar to those of other enterprises.

However, in the long run micro tourism businesses run by individuals may lack the capital to develop their businesses as much as they would like. They may also find that the price that they are offered to sell to an outside concern irresistible thus satisfying their personal wealth creating requirements at the expense of negative consequences to others in the locality. Outsiders may have far less understanding of the cultural mores of the community. In addition to these possibilities is the level of integration that the entrepreneur has with the local culture. If someone feels that they are not part of the group they may go their own way. The desire to preserve a culture is not likely to be great if one has been rejected by that culture unless there is something that can be gained from the preservation.

With regard to tourism there may also be conflict between tourists and hosts. The hosts may expect tourists to respond to the hospitality that they receive in a way that is not understood by the tourists. Reciprocity beyond that of paying for goods and services may be expected. If this does not occur disillusionment in tourism could result for the host population. On a more general level the perpetrators of any form of economic activity must take into account the underlying beliefs of how the local economic system works and work within that system to obtain the best results. While this may be possible for tourism entrepreneurs it may not be reasonable to

expect tourists to understand that they are in a culture with different concepts of economic behaviour.

Conclusion

The literature makes clear that there are a number of issues that must be considered when examining the effect tourism and tourists have on local economic behaviour. Firstly, a multidisciplinary approach should be taken because the study of tourism is an academic field rather than a discipline in its own right. Secondly, decisions, including economic decisions, are based on the culture of the decision-makers and grounded in the political institutions in the areas in which they are made. In the case of international tourism there is the added complication of cross-cultural interaction. Decisions reached may result in unforeseen consequences because account was not taken of cultural differences. In the following chapters the issues raised in the literature review will be addressed. It will be shown that many of the documented effects of tourism have occurred in non-tourism situations. The themes of change caused by tourism can be grouped into cultural/historical; tourist types; and host-guest interaction. However, an understanding of the extent of these themes can only occur if an analysis is made of them both historically and contemporarily in non-tourism situations. In this way a more complete analysis can be made of the effects of tourism in a destination. The following chapters will thus be grouped accordingly:

Cultural/ historical

- 1) power structures in the destination area;
- 2) the underlying cultural factors controlling economic activity;
- 3) the ownership of tourism sites and infrastructure;
- 4) the level of economic development in the destination area;
- 5) The effects of outsiders entering the destination;

Tourist types

- 6) who visits the destination;
- 7) why tourists visit the area;

Host/guest interaction

- 8) what values are affected by tourism;
- 9) how change occurs;
- 10) who benefits from it;

Non-tourism acculturation

- 11) other acculturating effects taking place that affect local people.

All these factors can also be affected by outside events. As will be shown in due course, many of the reasons that Levuka is popular with the tourists that visit today are due to events outside the control of both the people of Levuka and Fiji. Similarly, as the following chapter on the history of Levuka will illustrate, many of the effects of tourism discussed in the literature review can be seen to have occurred previously.

Chapter Three

Background to Levuka

Introduction

The following chapter deals with the history of tourism in Levuka Town (henceforth referred to as Levuka or the Town. The Fijian village next to Levuka will be called Levuka Vakaviti). However, it is necessary to understand the broader historical events of Levuka, which are related to the Town's geographical position,⁵ in order to understand why the Town developed as a tourist destination. This chapter will, therefore, begin with an analysis of the geography and social structures of Fiji and Levuka, as well as a brief history of the development of the Town⁵.

In the nineteenth century Levuka was an integral part of the development of modern Fiji. It will be argued that with an understanding of the historical perspective it is possible to understand the processes of change that have occurred and, as a result, the reason for changes that are occurring in Levuka now. Many of the consequences of tourism are observable in a non-tourist setting. If tourism is just another aspect of modernisation and globalisation then tourism will only effect change where change has occurred before. This is not to say that the consequences of tourism do not exist but rather that tourism is just another means by which change occurs. Only if tourism causes change where change did not previously take place then it can be held responsible for those impacts.

Following the tenets suggested earlier it is necessary to have some understanding of the history of Levuka in order to understand the social and economic situation that exists now and into which tourists arrive. This history is by no means exhaustive though no history of the town has been written. However Levuka figures prominently in the creation of the modern nation state of Fiji. It was the first capital of the country and the site of, firstly, the declaration of nationhood by Tui Cakobau in 1871 and then the cession of the country to the United Kingdom in 1874. As I will show later these are important events when considering the changes caused by

⁵ A more detailed history is provided in appendix D

modern tourism. Today Levuka is a "quiet, bucolic setting" (Kay 1993 p189) and "one of the more peaceful, pleasant, and picturesque places in Fiji" (Stanley 1993 p158). (Interestingly this sentence is omitted from the 1996 edition of the *Fiji Islands Handbook*). Another guidebook describes it as "historically unique" (McDermott 1981 p156) but then so is everywhere. The implied additional adjective is 'interesting'.

Geography of Levuka⁶

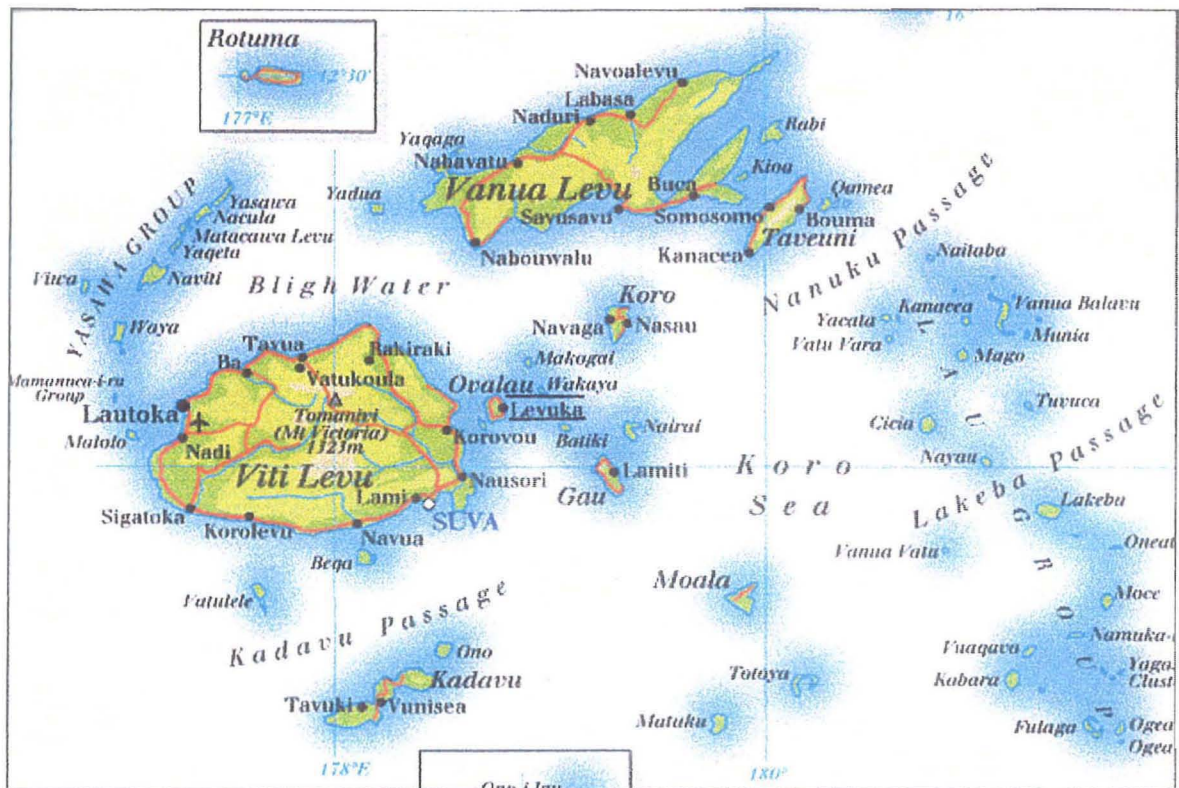
As with all countries the social, political and economic environment of Fiji is a product of its past and its geographical position. Fiji consists of 332 islands with Viti Levu being the largest at 10429 square kilometres situated at 18°S 178°E. The island of Ovalau, on which Levuka is situated, is just to the east of Viti Levu with a land area of about 100 square kilometres. Geologically it is similar to most of the western Fiji group being formed by volcanic activity (Ibbotson 1961) and rises very steeply from the sea to a high point of 612m. The centre of the island is an extinct volcanic crater and the site of the village of Lovoni.

Population

Tribally, there are two main Fijian groups on Ovalau. According to oral history the first of these groups to arrive were the Lovoni people who were founded by a renegade from Viti Levu. In the eighteenth century some of the coastal areas of Ovalau were settled by the Levuka people. They had been expelled from their original home, the island that became known as Bau, by the Bauan people who, at that time, lived on Viti Levu (Thomson 1908). Nevertheless the chief of Bau was, and is, still considered the paramount chief of the Levukan people. This was to

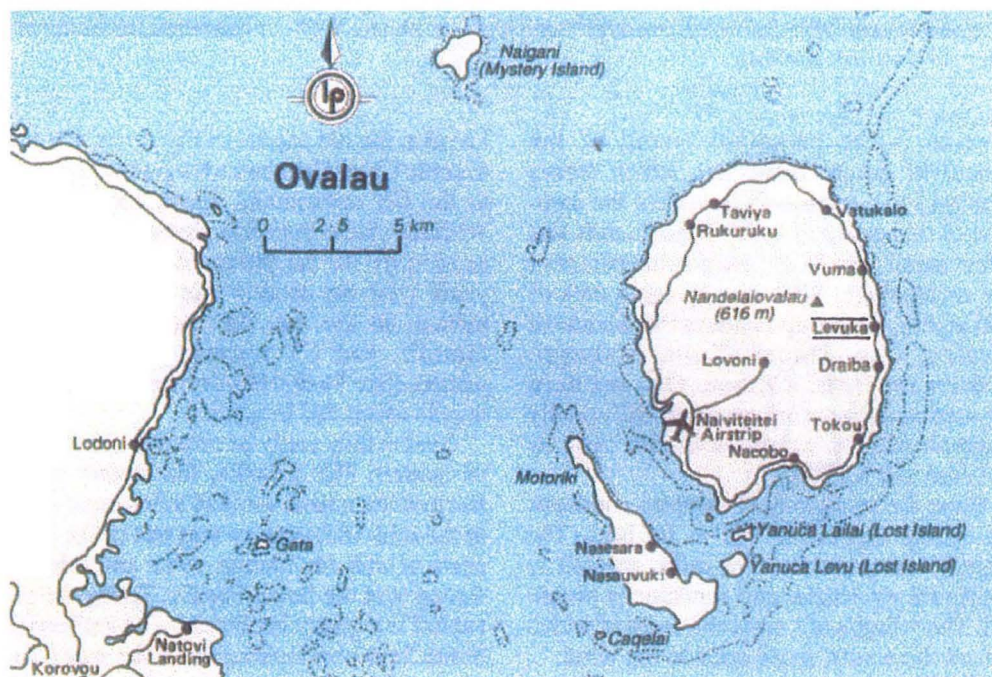
⁶ See maps on the following pages.

Map 1 - Fiji.



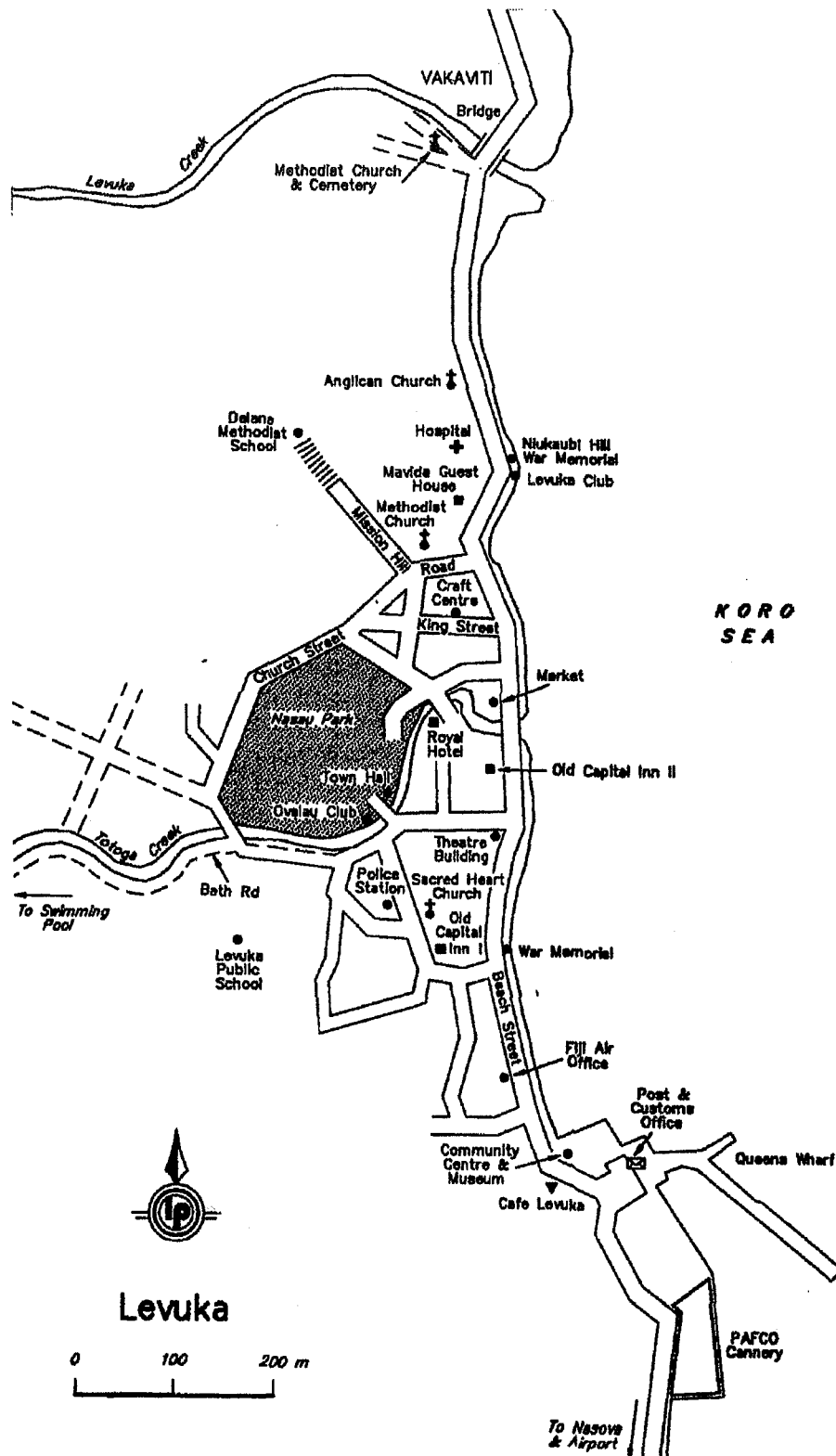
(c) 1995 Dorling Kindersley Multimedia

Map 2 – Ovalau.



Source: Kay 1993 p190

Map 3 – Levuka



Source: Kay 1993 p193

have major implications later in the history of Fiji and still has relevance to the effect of tourism in Levuka today.

There are other minority groups on the Island. The 1996 census showed that Levuka contained 185 Indians and 888 'Others' – Pacific islanders (mainly Solomon Islanders with some Gilbertese), Chinese, Europeans, Rotumans, and people of mixed racial ancestry – out of a total population of 3746. (This figure is for "greater Levuka" which includes villages that surround the actual town. According to the Health Department statistics 2744 people live in Levuka town which includes the settlement of Baba in the hills at the back of the town and Levuka Vakaviti. There are no figures for the old town of Levuka itself). On Ovalau very few non-Fijians other than Pacific Island communities live outside Levuka. There are seven non-Fijian born Europeans, which include six women five of whom are married to Fijian men. Two Indian families live away from greater Levuka and there are also two mixed Fijian-Indian families. An unknown number of part-European Fijians live elsewhere on Ovalau though the numbers are small. They include one of the old families of Levuka, the Pattersons, who own the shipping line that provides the ferry link with the mainland and the owners of some freehold land on the other side of the island to Levuka.

Fijian Social Structures

While being considered part of Melanesia Fiji is situated at the crossroads with Polynesia and there have been strong links with Polynesian Tonga particularly in the Lau group to the east. "The vivifying effects of race-mixture and culture-contact were seen in the development by the Fijians of a material culture superior to that of their Melanesian ancestors, and, indeed, in some specialised aspects such as the building of canoes and houses, surpassing that of the Polynesians" (Derrick 1950 p5). Contact with Tonga became more frequent by the eighteenth century with Tongan colonies in the Lau group and, until the rise of Cakobau, Tongans dominated Fijian

politics. The social systems in the Lau group are closer to those of Polynesia than in other parts of Fiji.

The social structure of Fiji was, and still is, hierarchical (Clammer 1976). It was based around the *yavusa*, which includes all people descended from a legendary leader. The *yavusa* was split into *mataqali* each of which organised the ownership and cultivation of land. Sometimes, in order to simplify the organisation of the *mataqali* a further division was made into *itokatoka* which consisted of closely related households. In addition each *mataqali* had a specific function to perform on ceremonial occasions and in preparation for war. As warfare was a constant part of life two more groupings were common primarily for political purposes. Groups of *yavusa* would combine to form Vanua⁷. Each *vanua* would have a paramount chief who was the chief of the most powerful *yavusa* within the *vanua*. At the end of the eighteenth century, especially after contact with European technology, a higher order of confederation developed, the *matanifu* (Routledge 1985). These were flexible and volatile alliances until they were given a more formal status by the British colonial administration. The intrigue and treachery that occurred within these groupings in the quest for power resembled the "great game" of European politics of the nineteenth century. As a result they were far more fluid than this description suggests. *Yavusa* broke up due to internal quarrelling and today a *yavusa* could be spread throughout Fiji and one village may contain members of different *yavusa*. However, members of a *yavusa* today would feel that they have links with that particular part of Fiji with which their *yavusa* is linked, though this may be a 'modern tradition' following European ideas of the ownership of land (Oliver 1989, Routledge 1985). While the attempts of the Imperial authorities to codify the traditional political structures have been accepted as accurate by the post-colonial government, there is evidence that major variations in these structures were apparent throughout the Fiji group before colonisation (France 1969).

⁷ It should be noted that while Vanua is commonly translated as meaning land "it does not mean only the land area one is identified with, and the vegetation, animal life, and other objects on it, but it also includes the social and cultural system - the people, their traditions and customs, beliefs and values, and the various other institutions established for the sake of achieving harmony, solidarity and prosperity within a particular social context" (Ravuvu 1983 p70). It is also currently used as part of the name of one of the nationalist Fijian political parties.

Three concepts of Fijian communal life that are key to the understanding of the development and growth of Fiji and which are still effective in discouraging western style entrepreneurial activity are communal *lala*, personal *lala*, and *kerekere*. *Lala* is the process of sharing. Any wealth attained by one member of the community is to be shared with the others. *Kerekere* is the system of borrowing without needing to ask and with no fixed time set for the repayment. Personal *lala* is a form of taxation paid to a chief by outsiders who use land associated with the village. Chiefs can also demand funds from villagers for weddings, feasts and other village activities. Today the churches are also involved in claiming this form of *lala*.

The first Europeans

The great change that occurred in Fiji, which allowed for the major changes in political outlook was contact with western adventurers. The first Europeans to live among the Fijians were probably crew from the prophetically named HM frigate *Pandora* which stopped in Fiji for a period of about five weeks while searching for the *Bounty* mutineers and spread a number of diseases. At the start of the nineteenth century the *Argo* was wrecked in the Lau group and a number of her crew survived as beachcombers while introducing the local population to firearms, alcohol and European diseases (Derrick 1950, Diamond 1997). The exact date of this is uncertain (Derrick 1950) but the consequences are clear. It led to the European discovery of the sandalwood (*Santalum yasi*). Sandalwood had been traded between Fiji and Tonga for some time because it was a good wood for canoe building. The Tongans had supplied the Fijians with barkcloth and later nails and other metal products obtained from their earlier contact with Europe. Greif (1977) suggests that here may also have been some trade with the Chinese before Europeans arrived. While the risks for Europeans of obtaining the wood were high so were the profits. The ferocity of the Fijians was such that "for a time the trade was comparatively respectable" (Derrick 1950 p40) in contrast to European activities in other part of the Pacific but as competition between European captains became more intense help was

offered to Fijian chiefs in their military campaigns. Guns became an acceptable *tabua*⁸ rather than the traditional whale's tooth (Samson 1995).

Political structures and the introduction of European technology

With the arrival of European weapons technology, at the start of the nineteenth century, the raids and skirmishes that had characterised Fijian warfare became more destructive and allowed for the creation of powerful kingdoms by uniting smaller chieftainships. At this time Bau, an island off the coast of Viti Levu near modern Suva, was the home of a relatively unimportant *yavusa* but using the *vasu* right grew to be one of the most powerful kingdoms by the middle of the century. The *vasu* right allowed a nephew to take, without permission, the property of his maternal uncles, and, if the nephew's mother came from a chiefly family, the property of the uncle's village. The chiefs of Bau used the system to create alliances or at least neutralise other chieftainships in the pursuance of their military campaigns. Out of this political and military strategy came Cakobau, one of the key chiefs in the development of nineteenth century Fiji, and later King of Fiji.

The development of European Levuka

The trade in sandalwood only lasted ten years but in this period David Whippy, the founder of European Levuka, had been abandoned on Ovalau. He developed friendly relations with the Tui Levuka and was given land next to Levuka Vakaviti on which he was able to build a trading post. Levuka became known as one of the safer areas of Fiji, partly because of the good terms on which the local population and the Europeans lived, and partly because Ovalau was politically stable. As a result Whippy was joined by other Europeans.

Despite setbacks caused by Levuka being a vassal chieftainship of Bau, the Town continued to grow and the citizens of the Town came to realise that they had a certain degree of power. A major reason for this was because Cakobau needed friends to

⁸ *Tabua* is a whale's tooth used in ceremonial exchange particularly when forgiveness or permission is required.

oppose his rival Ma'afu, a Tongan who controlled the eastern islands in the Fiji group. However the growth of the Town resulted in the arrival of many Europeans who were considered undesirable by the original European population. Levuka became a wild, frontier town with widespread drunkenness and unruly elements who acted outside any legal jurisdiction. Scarr (1984) quotes two comments of a British visitor H M Hyndman to illustrate the point.

Levuka, a scene of unseemly drunkenness and rowdyism until the early hours of the morning, now lay before us a peaceful pretty village with a native town beyond (p 36).

And

when Englishmen of apparently decent character and social training are removed from the influence of their early surroundings, and are quite free from the fear of Mrs Grundy, many of them do things which nobody would have believed possible for them to do beforehand (p 40).

There *were* men of reputable character in Levuka but because the town had become the *de facto* capital and because it was where most ships came to load and unload cargo as well as having no recognisable government, it became an anarchic place. Sailors and visiting planters from elsewhere in Fiji got drunk, argued about politics, fought and set up quasi-military organisations (Forbes 1875).

Cakobau tolerated the development of a European town in his territory because he wanted to control the whole of Fiji. He was, therefore, quite ready to use whatever advantages the European settlers in the Islands could provide. These included conversion to Christianity and a European style government. While these changes were made in order to gain European aid and defeat Tongan claims to the whole of the Fiji group of islands, they resulted in Fiji becoming involved in European imperial politics. One of the main reasons that Fiji was ceded to Queen Victoria was to counter United States monetary and territorial claims. Cakobau realised that he was not strong enough to prevent a forced take over of the Islands by a Western power and therefore he decided to choose which power would control the country and protect it. In contrast to the changes in the political structure, the introduction of Christianity was to result in profound changes to Fijian social systems.

For Levuka, Cakobau's ambitions also had far reaching effects. The Town became, the *de facto* capital of the Bauan confederacy and the *de jure* capital of an independent Fiji. As a result it became the capital of the British colony of Fiji by default. It also became the pre-eminent town in the South Pacific. This position was enhanced by having a sheltered harbour that became even more serviceable with the development of the schooner, a far more manoeuvrable vessel than its predecessors.

With colonial rule the town lost its frontier ambience and was developed more systematically than had occurred before. The Royal Engineers built a sea wall, bathing pools and a road around Ovalau. Buildings destroyed by cyclone were rebuilt in a sturdy colonial style.

Decline of Levuka

While Colonial rule brought some development, it also brought forward planning. The land area available for building was too restricted for Levuka to remain the capital. Ship design had also advanced so that the harbour was no longer suitable for larger steam vessels. The capital of Fiji was moved to Suva in 1882. With the move went, not only the offices of government, but also many of the prominent businesses. While some trade continued the Town declined steadily in importance. However, it began to attract a more genteel type of visitor than had arrived in the past (Allen 1907/1884). Its economic mainstay in the first half of the twentieth century was as a copra trans-shipment port. The extant rails for the copra trucks in Beach Street today bear witness to this. The decline in the economy along with the geographical limitations of the Town resulted in few new buildings being erected. Levuka declined into a sleepy, backwater which existed because of its historical importance. Its industry was a legacy of the past.

What industry that remained was lost in 1956 when the last of the copra businesses moved to Suva. The Town continued only as an education and administrative centre. Shops closed down and many of the remaining European population left. However the local economy was given a boost in 1963 when a Japanese aid project built a fish

freezing plant which was later developed into a tuna canning factory (Pacific Fisheries Limited – PAFCO). This revived the economic fortunes of the Town but again these were dependent on one major employer.

Levuka today – industry and people

In recent times the fortunes of PAFCO have been mixed. At one time PAFCO employed a thousand people on an island with a population of nine thousand (*Fiji Times* 21/6/97). During my period in Levuka PAFCO closed down twice - once just before Christmas for a period of six weeks and again in May for at least two months. This had serious effects on the whole economy of the town. The company injects about F\$60,000 into the local economy each week in wages alone and is the mainstay for the monetary economy of many families in the villages surrounding Levuka. During the close down periods the female workers turn to subsistence fishing and shell collection. The only time I saw a fish trap constructed was when the company was closed though this may have been coincidental.

Another problem, which many local people believe has been caused by PAFCO, is the reduction in sardines in the seas around the island. Tuna is caught by the long line method for the cannery because this is viewed as 'dolphin friendly' by the markets in North America and Europe that PAFCO supplies. However, this method requires bait which may have resulted in the overfishing of sardines in local waters (Emberson-Bain 1997). When PAFCO is shut and the local population needs to go back to traditional methods of production in order to feed themselves they find that the fish that were once plentiful are no longer there.

Moreover there is still a major need for monetary purchases. The schools still required their fees and any electrical goods bought on an instalment plan still have to be paid for. While Fijians appear to attach no stigma to having goods repossessed which have been bought on hire-purchase, non-payment in the other areas of life is not so easily accepted, especially to the churches. Since their arrival in Fiji the churches have demanded money from their parishioners (Gravelle 1979). During one

period that PAFCO was closed the local Catholic church was still expecting its parishioners to collect F\$100 a month per household for a period of three months. Fijians for whom Tui Levuka is the chief were also expected to provide money and goods towards the cost of his daughter's wedding. This duty was not liked in many quarters but neither was it ignored.

Other ethnic groups are not bound by the same cultural requirements. Indians have their own set of cultural rules. Indian culture is based on a work ethic focussing on providing for one's family. To them the family is the largest unit and much smaller than the *mataqali* for the Fijians. Respect in Indian society is also more easily attained through achievement rather than through birth. For Indians it is considered perfectly acceptable to retain the rewards of financial success unlike Fijian society where one is expected to distribute them. Similarly if one is in a position of influence there is less expectation to provide employment for people outside one's nuclear family than in Fijian society.

In many ways there are similarities between Chinese and Indian cultural values in Fiji. The major difference between these groups is that the Chinese preferred British rule to independence and therefore allied themselves with the majority of the Fijians while the Indians actively supported nationhood for the country. Some bitterness accrued from the belief that the independent government of Fiji helped Fijians at the expense of other groups. Since independence many of the small Chinese and Indian shops that were situated in outer islands have closed down, unable to compete with the community stores set up with government aid. The Chinese and Indian owners moved to the cities (Greif 1977). Nevertheless Chinese and Indian shops are far more common than Fijian owned ones in the towns. In Levuka there is only one Fijian owned business. None of the restaurants or places of accommodation are Fijian owned barring a cafeteria in the Fijian produce market, which is open intermittently.

The last group that should be noted are the descendants of other Pacific islanders who were brought to Fiji because of 'blackbirding' or through colonial policy such as

the relocation of Pacific Islanders from islands that were mined for phosphate. This group, while Melanesian, are not considered Fijian and only the children of women who are partnered with Fijian men will become Fijian. Near Levuka, for example is an Anglican village for Solomon Islanders. They will never be allowed to own the land on which they live and are unlikely to be able to lease land from anyone other than the Anglican church through lack of funds.

A thematic history of Levuka

A number of themes emerge from an understanding of the historical perspective which are relevant when analysing current tourism in the town. Some of the effects attributed to tourism elsewhere can be seen to have occurred before tourism existed to any great degree. Examples include the symbolic nature of owning European goods, such as a schooner; and the attitude of Europeans to later settlers. It is also too easy to assume that Fiji was a homogenous group of islands before contact with Europeans. As France (1969) shows this is most evidently not the case. An increasing Tongan influence was changing attitudes and culture. Most of the artefacts that are considered intrinsically Fijian came from Tonga originally. These include the *tabua*, *tapa*, (a cloth made from the bark of the mulberry tree) which is a Tongan word, and mats. The Lau group and other parts of eastern Fiji had some of the customs of Tonga incorporated into the social structure. The languages spoken were incomprehensible across the island group, though of the same obvious root. There is still some animosity towards people from the Lau group in Levuka today, which is particularly evident in the tourism sector.

Following the themes presented in the literature review on tourism the same themes will be presented in an analysis of the history of Levuka. No history has been written on the Town but in the nineteenth century it was the capital and major port of Fiji so there is some information on its early years. This is less easily obtainable for the twentieth century as the Town became increasingly marginalised. Nevertheless the

nineteenth century origins of the Town are important in understanding its attraction as a tourist destination now. Many of the causes of change that are attributed to tourism can also be seen occurring in the growth and development of Levuka.

Levuka became the first European town in the South Pacific and consequently was the first town outside of Australia and New Zealand to have western institutions and technologies such as schools, banks, newspapers, electricity and central government. Its founding was due to luck and circumstance resulting from the personalities of the people who settled there to the natural features of the area and the political machinations of various era.

The economy of Levuka

Since the arrival of the Europeans there has been a tendency for the economy of Levuka to be based on one industry. The initial object of trade was sandalwood, which was first traded with Tonga and later with Europeans. Following the overlogging of these trees, *bêche de mer* (*Holothuria*) became the dominant export. While this is still exported today it, in turn, gave way as the major export to copra and, later, to tinned fish. Currently there is much concern about the viability of the tuna canning factory and tourism is being suggested as an alternative. In this respect tourism is just one more industry that has developed accidentally and was later considered a suitable candidate for development.

All the industries have had impacts on the local area. The *bêche de mer* trade resulted in Europeans developing the European town of Levuka and subsequently developing the service industries that go with a capital city. Levuka is still a local administrative and educational centre. Once the capital had moved the copra trade maintained the Town though it was no longer the centre of political events in Fiji and became a place of greater refinement than had existed in the nineteenth century. The collapse of copra resulted in a severe local economic depression from which the Town was saved by the tuna canning factory. It was this depression which has made the

creation of a new source of income such an important issue for many of the traders in the Town today. They do not want to experience another collapse of the local economy again should the tuna cannery fail.

One factor that can clearly be observed in the economic history of Levuka is the effect of influences outside the control of the local people. Foreign markets have dictated the viability of the various industries that have operated in the Town except for the administrative services that have been provided. Production in Levuka has been export led and will continue to be so if tourism becomes a serious alternative source of income.

Ethnicity and tourism in Levuka

A number of non-Melanesian ethnic groups have settled in Fiji over the last 250 years. The first of these were the Tongans who developed distinct social institutions in the Lau group and attempted to take over the whole of Fiji. Whether this is the reason that many of the Lauan women in prominent positions in Levuka are unpopular or whether it is because Lauan women have the reputation for being loud and forthright in their views is a moot point. Nevertheless, it does have an effect on the way tourism promotion is organised in Levuka. A number of women with Lauan ancestry are involved in the tourism sector in Levuka and the wife of Tui Levuka is also Lauan. Antagonism towards these women could have an effect on the development of tourism in the Town. In any event the history of Lauan/Tongan intrigue in Fiji is fundamental to the development of the nation state of Fiji, and consequently Levuka, in the nineteenth century. To ignore this aspect of Fijian history as some writers do (see Britton 1983) is to render subsequent analysis irrelevant as it is as significant as the European interventions. The geopolitical struggle for power in the region demanded the cultivation of alliances with Europeans who, in turn, wanted facilities and amenities suited to their culture. It is for these reasons that Levuka was allowed to develop as a European town.

The European migration to Levuka is somewhat different to that of the Tongans. The various European groups that arrived in Levuka and Fiji can be categorised in a similar fashion to the tourist typologies. In fact many nineteenth century visitors to Levuka could be classed as tourists using WTO definitions (1993). The first arrivals were the adventurers. These varied in personality types from the almost piratical beachcombers to the honest traders such as David Whippy. These people adapted fully to local conditions living in local houses and eating local foods, though, of course, they had little opportunity for anything else. They were followed by entrepreneurial risk takers who liked to bring a bit of their culture with them. They wanted some western style amenities particularly in terms of housing. However, many of these lived in other parts of Fiji and adapted to local conditions there. It was when they visited Levuka that they expected 'western' amenities.

In Levuka another group followed who were looking for a place where they could indulge in excesses of one kind or another. Many of these were runaways who were trying to keep out of various legal jurisdictions. While they could not afford the comfort of the adventurous entrepreneurs they still expected plenty of western style goods such as alcohol. This group was disliked by the earlier settlers in what could be described as an example of the last settler syndrome (Neilson, Shelby and Eugene 1977). Nevertheless, it was the arrival of many of these people that resulted in Levuka maintaining and developing a European population and heritage. It did not become a Fijian town but remained a European town in Fiji.

Most of the early visitors to Levuka were not interested in deliberately changing the behaviour of the local people provided that they could continue the behavioural patterns of their cultures. This was not the case of the missionaries who came with the deliberate intention of changing local culture. Colonial administrators who attempted to codify local culture within a European legal framework followed them.

Within Levuka contact with Europeans was followed by European trade, religion and law. The result was a major alteration to the local social structure. Nevertheless, a distinct local culture remained. In the twentieth century women became wage

earners – a major change to the new social structures. It is within this context of change resulting from foreign intervention in Fiji, and Ovalau in particular, that tourists are now arriving. However, as has been shown, many of the effects that are attributed to tourism in the literature have already occurred.

Indians were initially brought to Fiji as part of an indentured labour system that was introduced to prevent the commodification of ethnic Fijian labour. While the first Indians to Fiji arrived in Levuka they did not stay there but moved on to the sugar plantations in Vanua Levu and Viti Levu. Indian and Fijian cultures have not converged to any great extent. In Levuka, as in other parts of Fiji, the adaptation of Indian culture to Fijian conditions has only been partial – or at least on a different path to that of other ethnic groups. There has been a distinct movement away from some of the cultural practices of India but this has not resulted in very much closeness with the Fijian population. There are still two distinct cultures, and their attitudes towards tourists and tourism businesses are different, as will be shown in a subsequent chapter.

Social structures

Social structures adapted with the introduction of colonial rule. With regard to Fijians these structures are identified as Fijian, but they are not the same as those that existed in the past. Degrees of uniformity have been established throughout the Fiji group which did not exist before. Land ownership has been codified with the *mataqali* as its basis. The ownership of land as a concept did not exist before in many parts of the country but now Fijians hold on firmly to the ownership of 83.7 percent of the land in the country; decreed to them by the colonial administration. Land disputes still occur and use of land even for established paths or roads is prevented at times. There is no concept of common land or right of way as exists in the English legal system even though that system is the basis for laws in Fiji. Similarly the British enshrined Fijian custom in statute. Where these customs differed from island to island they were made to fit in order to create a uniform

statute. This occurred to such an extent that, as Thomas (1990 p 149) observed “Commoners... often had to be told by white men what their customs were.”

Indian culture has also adapted. The Hindu Indians do not operate the caste system as the crossing of water broke it down just by arriving in the country. This has allowed Indians to work in occupations that their caste would not have allowed. The Hindu language used in Fiji has borrowed from Fijian and English and while comprehensible in India is still obviously different. A distinct Fiji Indian culture has developed. Some aspects of Indian culture have also crossed over to Fijians. For example, it is not unusual to find Fijian women making roti.

The meaning of Levuka

The meaning of Levuka is different to people of different races. It is for this reason that in analysing tourism in the area it is necessary to understand how the town was created because without it any adequate interpretation would be impossible. While many of the families of the earlier European residents have now left there are still many there, and more people are still arriving from overseas for a variety of reasons. Levuka, with a population of about 3000, is still very multi-cultural. During the fieldwork period, apart from the Fiji born residents, there were (using the Fijian form of categorisation) Europeans from North America, Europe and Australia who had settled to work or retire in the area; Thai, Filipino, Japanese and Malaysians who tended to work or had worked for PAFCO; and finally some Chinese who had come as marriage partners. There was even a full-blooded Native American though she has since left. It would be impossible for so many people of other races to move to a town of a similar size elsewhere in Fiji, and nor would they want to. For many rural Fijians knowing where someone's ancestors come from is vital in understanding how and why they behave as they do. In Levuka the same knowledge allows an

understanding of how tourism fits into the current social climate because cultural roots create cultural behaviour⁹.

Technological change

Other themes that are evident in an historical analysis of Levuka are the changes that have occurred due to technological advances. Technical change allowed Levuka to grow with the development of the schooner and also resulted in its demise as an important trading port when steam shipping was introduced. There are two major legacies of this. The first is that it is still one of the ports of entry into Fiji for visiting shipping including yachts. The second is that little has changed in terms of architecture since the end of the last century. Technological change also resulted in the copra industry collapsing in Levuka but allowed for the introduction of tuna canning. The latest change has been in the means of international travel which is why Levuka is now being suggested as a tourist destination.

Demonstration effect

On a more micro level the history of Fiji shows how the acquisition of European artefacts was viewed as a means of improvement by leaders. They were useful in power struggles and as symbols of that power. The most obvious example being the desire by both Cakobau and Ma'afu to have schooners because the Kings of Tonga and Hawaii had them. The schooners provided status – a necessary requisite for chiefs. They symbolised power. This is not unusual. Nearly every society has borrowed useful ideas and goods from other groups they have come into contact with (Diamond 1997). Borrowing occurs in between all groups. Many artefacts, such as the *tabua*, have been incorporated into Fijian society from Tonga. In terms of acculturation Mark Twain put the case succinctly when he wrote of the Fijians, “Only sixty years ago they were sunk in darkness; now they have the bicycle” (Twain 1897/1989 p94). However, these goods were not wanted purely because

⁹ A Fijian told me that one particularly outspoken Lauan woman knows that she will have to leave the island when her influential husband dies. Similarly a Canadian resident said of another Canadian, “He is the most un-Canadian Canadian I’ve ever met. He behaves like an American.”

they were western. They were wanted because they provide some benefit whether that is tangible or not. Guns, for example provided a means to extend the sphere of influence of leaders. Converting to a new religion provided a means to improve the education of society.

Outsiders brought new goods and ideas which were copied by Fijians in much the same way that local people are said to copy the ideas and purchasing patterns of tourists. What is generally not noted in the tourism literature are the local traditions and customs that remain. In terms of Fijian culture there have been many adaptations to change illustrated in Fijian history, starting with trade with Tonga. Nevertheless, there is still a Fijian culture which has survived the many changes that have occurred in Fiji over the last 250 years. The culture has adapted, dropping those aspects that no longer had a function; altering the means to achieve some ends; and keeping hold of those parts of the culture which could not be improved upon. The fact that there has been little cultural exchange between the Fijians and the Indians suggests that some degree of selection has taken place. The Indians did not provide an example that Fijians believed would improve their own lot.

Political economy

The political economy of Fiji has also adapted and changed as a result of the mix of peoples that have arrived in the islands. Adapted Fijian culture demanded that land remain in the hands of Fijians. This forced the Indians who left the plantation into commerce. Some writers such as Britton (1983) suggest that the Fijian chiefs colluded with the colonial administrators in order to bolster their own power bases. There is some truth to this. It certainly restricted the growth of a Fijian middle class that could challenge the chiefs. However, it should also be noted that the hierarchical nature of Fijian social structures fit more easily into a colonial setting than do those of the Indians. It is these same social structures that result in little direct Fijian involvement in tourism in Levuka.

Perhaps the most important change to the political economy of Fiji occurred because of the increasing contact with European technology. Guns enabled chiefs such as Cakobau and Ma'afu the opportunity to realise political ambitions. However, this also required the arrival of Europeans in greater numbers and the quasi adoption of European political structures onto Fijian and Tongan social hierarchies. Following cession reactions against what had happened elsewhere in the British Empire, notably New Zealand, resulted in a number of decisions that still have resonance today. Fijian chiefs have attempted to maintain traditional power bases through changing political structures.

Exogenous variables

Another element of significance that is apparent from the history of Levuka are those exogenous events over which no one in the Town had any control. For example, 'booms' and 'busts' in the town have been caused by changes in the price of cotton and copra. These have been affected by wars in other continents, such as the American Civil war and the Franco-Prussian war. Other external events have also affected events in Fiji. The change of government in the UK was one of the reasons that the third request for cession was accepted. This was aided by the more expansionist policies of Bismark in Germany, which also resulted in the German migration to the South Pacific and a growing German community in Fiji and Levuka. In the lead up to and following cession the German community were heavily involved in the trade and politics of Fiji. Many of the houses built in Levuka after the cyclone of 1879 town were designed and built by Germans. Today, European demand for 'dolphin friendly' tuna is resulting in a reduction in local fish stocks thereby reducing the possibility of a subsistence lifestyle.

Personalities

Finally, individual personalities have had a role in the development of the Town. Levuka was established because of the personalities of two men - Whippy and Tui

Levuka. If they had been different people then the European foundations of the Town may never have occurred and a European settlement in Fiji could have developed elsewhere. Similarly, the beliefs and personalities of Thurston and Gordon, two nineteenth century administrators, also had a major impact on the growth and development of Fiji. In recent times new arrivals to Levuka have attempted to dictate the direction of development in the Town, particularly with regard to tourism. This will be detailed later.

These themes in history have been highlighted because the same themes can be seen in the development of tourism in Levuka and will be illustrated later. The social structures that have developed in the country over the last two hundred years are affecting and being affected by what is happening now. However it cannot be emphasised strongly enough that changes were occurring in Fijian society before contact with Europeans. Europeans did alter the direction and speed of these changes, sometimes in a profound way such as with the introduction of religion and guns, but changes were already occurring as a result of increased contact with Tonga.

The growth, development and changes that have occurred to Levuka have also affected the way tourism developed in the area. This is problematic because it raises the possibility that tourism driven change is not unique but just another facet of change that occurs in all societies. The remainder of the chapter charts the past development of tourism in the Town and the plans that have been made to expand the tourism sector.

Tourism in Fiji and Levuka

Tourism in Fiji

Tourism has existed in Fiji since the introduction of the schooner trade. Levuka boasted many hotels and bars, far in excess of the number that could be supported by the local population. "It would not be an exaggeration to say that every second

house along that beach dealt in spirits, either wholesale or retail, and the difficulty was to know how they could all be supported by such a small community” (Forbes 1875 p25). While much of the trade came from domestic tourists, such as planters from outer islands (Forbes 1875), as international shipping grew so more people stopped off in Fiji on world or trans-Pacific trips. The best known was probably Mark Twain who recounted his experiences in his book *Following the Equator*. The first picture postcards of Fiji and Levuka were advertised in the *Fiji Times* on February 5th 1898 and published by Messrs Hedemann & Co of Levuka (Stephenson 1997). Today the only postcards of Levuka are those published by the Levuka Cultural and Heritage Society. Allen (1907/1984) has a section entitled "Fiji as an attraction for tourists" (p182-3) which states that the steamship companies organised "regular trips for pleasure parties" and noted that "(t)ourists are continually in quest of new lands to travel over, but only those who have experienced it can realise the vast and varied interest which attaches to a trip to this wondrous group." These included displays put on by the "natives". Nevertheless complaints were being made as early as 1907 about the inauthenticity of souvenirs. The *Fiji Times* of September 11th that year a German tourist wrote "like your postcards, your necklaces are made in Germany" (quoted in Stephenson 1997 p 13).

Tourism to Fiji continued between the two World Wars again aided by the introduction of new technology. By the 1930s flying boats were docking in the seaward side of the Grand Pacific Hotel in Suva opposite the Government Buildings. (The Ovalau Club, Levuka, displays photographs of these events). However there are no records of the numbers of tourists to Levuka. Nevertheless the historic aspects of the Town were possibly beginning to be of interest. Tudor (1946 p146), who visited in 1945, stated that "Levuka exists on its past glory and present copra trade". The only means of reaching the town then was on a small ferry that, on some occasions at least, required the passengers to wade out to it in order to board. Tudor (1946) also says that there was only one place of accommodation in the town at the time – the Royal Hotel, though the present owners of the Mavida Guesthouse claim that their establishment has been in operation since the last century.

The long term development of tourism to Fiji was greatly affected by the Second

World War when the Royal New Zealand Air Force and the US military converted an existing airstrip at Nadi into a major air base with paved runways (Stanley 1996). As with similar developments elsewhere in the Pacific this became a civilian airport following the war. Once again, following the pattern established by the cruise liners before the Second World War, Fiji's geographical location aided the growth in tourism as Nadi became a refuelling stop for trans-Pacific flights. The first jet flight out of the airport was in 1959 on a delivery flight of the first Boeing 707 for Qantas (Usher 1987) and the runway was lengthened to accommodate commercial jet aircraft. The consequence of this was to encourage the development of tourist hotels along the Coral Coast in western Viti Levu. By 1952 30,000 tourists were arriving annually. In 1964 this number had increased to 155,000 (Harrison 1997b). The growth in visitor numbers was more sporadic after that. In 1973 Fiji received 186,300 overseas visitors. This number dropped to 161,700 in 1975 probably due to the oil crisis of the period. The number had risen to 190,000 by 1981, 287,462 by 1993 and 359,441 by 1997 (Fiji Visitors' Bureau 1997, Bureau of Statistics 1998).

However as technology has improved the need for a trans-Pacific refuelling point is no longer required (Britton n.d.). This, coupled with various fuel crises, has resulted in only regional airlines servicing Fiji (Mather 1998) though some still do so as part of their trans-Pacific routing. This is particularly relevant to the tourists that visit Levuka for whom Fiji is a stopover between Australasia and North America. In 1997 the runway at the airport for Suva, Nasouri, was extended to allow it to take aircraft from Australia. Some members of the tourism sector in Levuka believe that this could result in a rise in visitor numbers from Australia to Levuka. Using the example of the runway extension at Christchurch, New Zealand, Gimpl and Dakin (1988) describe this belief as a cargo cult mentality. Because an airport exists does not mean that tourists will necessarily arrive.

Tourism in Levuka

In recent years there have been specific attempts to attract tourists, or at least to discover how to attract tourists, to Levuka. In the 1970s a guesthouse, the Ovalau Guesthouse, run by a Frenchman was in operation in addition to the old

establishments of the Royal Hotel and the Mavida Guesthouse. At the end of the 1970s the Old Capitol Inn opened and the Ovalau Guesthouse closed. The Royal Hotel was (and still is) owned by the Ashley family, an old European family with some Rotuman ancestry. In the 1920s the grandfather of the current owners leased the hotel from the retail chain Morris Hedstrom, itself a firm set up in Levuka in the nineteenth century. The family bought the hotel freehold in the 1960s. The Mavida Guesthouse is owned by the Patterson Family, another old European family with Fijian ancestry. Rosie Patterson who is from Lau currently runs it. Emosi Yee Show and his wife established the Old Capital Inn. Emosi (pers.comm. 1996) states that he set up the Old Capital Inn because he saw people being turned away from the Ovalau and Mavida Guesthouses. There were also few places to eat in Levuka at this period so his wife started a restaurant in the Inn “where everyone gathers for dinner” (Stanley 1984 p228). Anecdotal evidence from tourists who visited Levuka during this period, including personal experience, supports this statement. Emosi also offered tours of Ovalau, snorkelling trips, and visits to outlying islands. His intention was to cater for the backpacker type tourist. This function had not been carried out for tourists since the Royal Hotel stopped offering the service when visitor numbers dropped after the collapse of the copra industry in Levuka in 1958 (pers. comm. Nicky Yoshida née Ashley 1996). Emosi is Chinese-Fijian. His father came from mainland China to Fiji in 1930. His wife is of mixed Fijian-European descent. In all cases the owners of the various accommodations in Levuka are not classified as Fijians by the government but as ‘Others’. The only exception is Rosie Patterson who is from Lau, but in central Fiji Lauans are generally considered to be Tongans rather than Fijians by many Fijians.

Tourism in Levuka today

The average daily expenditure of tourists in Levuka is between 30 and 35 dollars. This includes accommodation costs and amounts to about half the average weekly income of Fijians excluding subsistence agriculture.

Direct employment in tourism is low. About 15 people are employed in the accommodation sector. Four people are employed in the one restaurant that caters mainly for tourists with another ten employed in restaurants that cater for both tourists and locals. Three people are employed in the travel agency and two in the dive shop. One guide makes money primarily from tourism though there are others who will guide illegally (i.e. they are unlicensed guides) on occasion. This compares with, for example, 100 people employed in the education sector, 98 in the local government and utilities sector, and between 600 and 1000 in the canning factory when it is open.

There are four hotels/guest houses in Levuka. They provide the following accommodations:

- Mavida Guesthouse- 6 doubles, 3 singles, 10 bed dorm plus another building of 3 doubles and dorm of 6 beds kept for groups. Total - 25 beds plus 12 in other building.
- Royal Hotel - Main hotel; 2 family (4 bed), 1 triple, 6 doubles/twins, 6 singles, 11 bed dorm = 40 beds. In addition 3 separate chalets of 29 beds. At the end of my field work period two new chalets with air conditioning were opened.¹⁰
- Colonial Inn - 5 doubles, 6 bed dorm = 16 beds
- Old Capital Inn II - 2 four bed, 8 doubles, 2 6-bed dorms, 2 cottages (4 beds each) = 40 beds.

The Colonial Inn caters primarily for people local to Fiji and, apparently, to seamen from the trawlers, occasionally. Only eight tourists stayed there during my period of fieldwork and most of those only stayed one night. The Old Capital Inn II used to be

¹⁰ The first guest in one of these was Sir Peter Ustinov who was filming a television programme following Mark Twain's route around the world. While Twain stayed in Suva rather than Levuka the producers of the programme felt that Levuka gave the correct nineteenth century ambience.

the main accommodation for tourists until the early 1980s but during my field work period the owner claimed that only thirty-five foreign tourists stayed there. I was unable to see the registers for both the Colonial Inn and the Old Capital Inn II. However from talking to tourists these figures would appear to be accurate. The only people who stayed at the Old Capital Inn II seemed to be on very tight budgets and took advantage of the \$16 full board offer. These numbers declined after the Leleuvia Resort stopped promoting it due to a dispute between the two owners.

In addition to these, small numbers of tourists stay with local people. These tend to be either friends or relatives of homeowners, or groups connected to churches. There are two houses that are let to tourists who are staying in the area for some time though these are not advertised. Eighty-seven yachts also moored in Levuka Harbour in 1996 and two chartered schooners visited in the same period (Harbour Master's official figures).

Outside Levuka but on Ovalau are the Ovalau Resort, Devokula Cultural Village and Rukuruku Resort. Of these the most popular was Devokula which had 35 people staying overnight during the fieldwork period. In all these cases tourists had to stay in Levuka for at least one night before moving to them. Three tourists were known to stay in Lovoni. Of these one was a woman who now lives in Auckland, New Zealand, but who spent the first three years of her life in Lovoni. This was her first return visit and she was travelling with a friend. The third was a British tourist who had made arrangements to stay at the home of the guide for the Lovoni treks and work in the village. He stated that he was more of a hindrance than a help as his inability to do simple tasks resulted in the Fijian workers watching him rather than getting on with their own work.

Tourist Activities

Tourism has occurred in Levuka almost since the founding of the town. However there has been a major change in the form of tourism. It would appear from historical records that originally most tourists were either visiting friends and relations or in the town as part of their business. Today most tourists visit because of

the historical associations of the town. Many visitors stated that they wanted something other than a beach as part of their experience of Fiji. Once in the Town there are two main excursions - the walk to Lovoni and the visit to the cultural village of Devokula. During my period of fieldwork there was also a diving operation in the Town, which offered trips snorkelling as well as scuba diving and diving lessons. Apart from these activities people walked to various fresh-water swimming holes or spent time in cafes and restaurants. Little money was spent on souvenirs and few tourists spent much time with local people outside the paid activities. Sometimes a local would befriend a tourist and take them around but this was not the norm. Generally the only place that tourists would meet local people would be when they were doing tourist activities that some locals were employed to do. These would occasionally result in introductions to other local people. While tourists were easily identifiable most local people had little to do with them.

The three bars in the Town provide the only other entertainment. While the bar in the Royal hotel was not open to non-residents this rule was not enforced for visitors from outside Levuka. The most popular place for tourists to drink other than in the restaurants was the Ovalau Club for which free temporary membership had to be obtained. This amounted to signing the visitors' book, which became an object of interest in itself. The other bar is the Levuka Club, which also requires non-members to 'sign in', was visited by far fewer tourists. One tourist described it as being "like a crack dealer's place". From the visitors books 672 foreign tourists signed in at the Ovalau Club between July 1996 and June 1997. It was only possible to obtain the figures for the Levuka Club for January 1997 to June 1997. Seven tourists signed in during that period. While this may be an underestimate it would be unlikely to be much below the actual figure. All these places had full size snooker tables though the one in the Royal was not well looked after and the Levuka Club also had a pool table. The Royal hotel showed videos every night and also on Sunday afternoon. From March there was also a television in the dining hall. This was introduced so that the staff and guests could watch the Hong Kong World Rugby Sevens tournament (which Fiji won) though few guests seemed interested. The television remained after the tournament was over though few people seemed to watch it other than for the news. This may have been because the television reception in Levuka is

poor without a high aerial and a signal booster, which the hotel does not appear to have.

An inbound travel agency also provides facilities for tourists. These are primarily for excursionists who are on holiday on the mainland. The travel agency instigated a bus service from the airstrip but this service was discontinued before the fieldwork period.

Tourism plans for Levuka

The Ovalau Guesthouse and the Old Capital Inn were the only practical changes that occurred to tourism facilities in Levuka in the 1970s and 1980s. However a number of studies have been made of the area. The first was the Tourism Development Programme for Fiji prepared by Belt, Collins and Associates for the UNDP in 1973 (subsequently referred to as the Belt, Collins Report). While this report was concerned with tourism in Fiji as a whole it included a section on Ovalau and Levuka. In 1977 the Fiji Visitors' Bureau wrote a preparation report for plans to preserve and restore Levuka. This was based upon the Belt Collins Report. In 1985 this was followed by a report on tourism development in Ovalau and Levuka prepared by the Pacific Area Travel Association (PATA). A number of follow up reports have been written for PATA since then by various heritage advisors that they have employed in the town and HJM Consultants were employed to produce a conservation study of Levuka in 1994. In addition the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation, Lomaiviti Provincial Council and the Native Land Trust Board (NLTB) all carried out their own studies on the viability of tourism projects on Ovalau in 1995.

The plans for tourism development of Levuka and Ovalau can be classified in two groups. Those dealing primarily with Levuka are concerned with the physical heritage. Those outside Levuka are generally called ecotourism projects by government agencies and the organisers of the operations themselves. What this appears to mean is village-linked accommodation in *bures* with some Fijian cultural

element. The preservation of Levuka has received official support whereas the small scale 'ecotourism' projects are a result of individual or community group efforts with little if any financial assistance from outside (Rodmell, 1995, Fisher forthcoming). These projects have been initiated "due to the desire of individuals or communities to find additional or supplementary sources of income" (Rodmell 1995 p36).

Belt Collins Report 1973

While the Belt, Collins report (1973) suggested that tourism should be planned in an attempt to maximise benefits the solutions offered were not in agreement with these goals. They listed eleven tourism developmental problems for Fiji as a whole:

- 1) Isolation from the main tourist generating areas resulting in high airfares;
- 2) Insufficient development capital;
- 3) Poor internal transportation;
- 4) Constraints on existing utilities such as water electricity and sewerage;
- 5) Lack of development of tourist attractions;
- 6) Mediocre quality of hotels;
- 7) A danger that tourism will greatly modify culture;
- 8) A danger that tourism may change the attractive nature of the landscape and water features;
- 9) A danger of over-commercialisation;
- 10) A trend towards land speculation affecting national development;
- 11) A temptation for an over-reliance on tourism to develop;

They predicted a drop in the average length of stay in Fiji from 7.2 days in 1970 to 6.0 days in 1981. Nevertheless they suggested that 250 rooms be made available in Levuka primarily through the building of a hotel on the site of the Levuka Club and attach a marina to this site. Assuming that each room could take two people that would have increased the carrying capacity of the town from 63 beds in 1984 (PATA

Report 1985) to 500, nearly an eight fold increase. At full capacity the proportion of tourists to local people would have risen from two percent to twenty percent. This would also require increased levels of infrastructure in other parts of the town to cater for tourists. Fiji as a whole has little water storage despite (or possibly because of) high rainfall (Baines 1982). In Levuka the water from the taps goes brown after heavy rainfall and water pressure can drop during periods of drought. Similarly infrastructure needs to be created to increase the supply water and electricity as well as process the additional waste generated by additional tourists.

PATA Report 1985

The PATA report (1985) was commissioned by the Government of Fiji and is subtitled “Tourism Development through Community Restoration” which clearly infers that the two things are linked. It is the result of a PATA task force sent to assess the “cultural and heritage (sic) significance of Levuka” (p1) in order to be able to recommend ways in which the town could be enhanced both physically and economically. The Task force was made up of a Sri Lankan architect, a New Zealand planning consultant, an American hotel resort developer and a Euro-Fijian artist and interior designer based in Australia. Also included was a “Fijian ‘counterpart’ group” made up of two Fijians, a representative of the Ministry of Tourism and the director of Town and Country Planning, and a Canadian hotelier who is now a naturalised Fijian. The Task Force chairman was from the United States and the co-ordinator was from Australia. They were both members of PATA as was the hotelier. (It should be noted that of the people on the task force one set up a group called the “Friends of Old Levuka” and another moved to the town in order to develop tourism there.)

The report stated that “Levuka is the cradle of modern Fiji” (p3) and listed a number of facets of Levuka that were discovered by the task force sent to investigate the town.

- 1) Cultural heritage to be found in the architecture, layout and residences.
- 2) The historic sites would be of interest to both international and domestic tourists.

- 3) Physically the buildings and infrastructure are deteriorating.
- 4) Economic activity in the town is stagnant. Closure of PAFCO would be a major blow.
- 5) Most tourists visit Nadi and the Coral Coast. "Levuka and Ovalau are receiving a disproportionately low percentage of tourist visits".
- 6) There is a limited supply of "good standard accommodation".
- 7) There is potential for upgrading both historic and commercial facilities.
- 8) There is local interest in revitalising the local economy.

The report then set out details of why Levuka should be preserved; what should be preserved; how this could be done and who would benefit from it. There is an obvious bias geared towards tourism, which is understandable given that the report was commissioned by a tourism organisation. However, the company of restoration architects that were employed to undertake a detailed inventory of the buildings were not instructed to consider tourism (pers. comm. Jeff Samudio, Design Aid Architects 1997).

One aspect that neither report addressed and is a problem for many potential tourist destinations in the relatively isolated parts of Fiji, such as Ovalau, is one of infrastructure and access. In 1984, 80 percent of hotel rooms in Fiji were in the area from Nadi to Suva inclusive on Viti Levu (PATA 1985). To transport these tourists to Ovalau and Levuka required direct flights from Nadi, increased flights from Nasouri and an improved ferry service. There is also a need for an improvement and expansion of basic amenities.

Tourist profile

The report states that in 1984 2500-3000 people visited Levuka overnight. Of these about half were domestic tourists most of whom stayed with family and friends. However there is no indication of how they arrived at these figures. In my analysis of visitor numbers I only concerned myself with overseas visitors as it was too

difficult to arrive at figures for domestic tourists. Since the PATA report two annual events have been instigated in an attempt to attract domestic tourists. These are the Hicks Lomaiviti rugby sevens tournament (sponsored by a local shop) which attracts top teams and international players from around Fiji, and the Back to Levuka week - a celebration of the history of Levuka. The sponsor of the sevens tournament stated that most visitors are housed with families; either family and friends or, in the case of the rugby players, billeted in villages (pers. Comm. 1996). The Back to Levuka week is a revived idea that was originally tried from 1980-83 (PATA 1986).

Cruise ships visit Levuka intermittently. During my fieldwork period this did not happen but there is some evidence to suggest that there is disillusionment with cruise passengers. The Tui Levuka has withdrawn any support from future visits because, he says, preparations were made to welcome visitors in to his village, Levuka Vakaviti, but the tourists did not arrive. The food prepared for the *meke* was wasted and handicrafts were produced for no purpose. Instead the tourists went to the European town or did not leave the ship. On other occasions the cruise ships have not docked at all even though they were scheduled to – or at least local people believed that they were (Tui Levuka, pers. comm. 1996). There is a general disenchantment with tourism in Levuka Vakaviti. The Ovalau Integrated Management Plan Issues Paper (Nawadra 1995) states that “it was felt that there was a weakness in the marketing of ecotourism attractions on Ovalau. This may be due to a deliberate effort by the Levuka Business community to control the local tourism industry from the town. ”

The PATA report points out that cruise passengers do not spend much except on souvenirs and handicrafts “neither of which are currently strong specialities of Levuka” (PATA 1985 p26). This is still the case today though. Tourists informed me that they would buy souvenirs in Suva because they were cheaper there. One souvenir seller in Levuka had tried to encourage local talent but she said that many of the goods produced were of variable quality and the producers of these goods objected when she put a mark-up on them (pers. comm. 1996).

PATA set their overall goals as increasing the number of visitors to Ovalau, increasing their length of stay, increasing their average expenditure and retaining that expenditure within the local community. In order to do this they recommended a number of short, medium and long-term strategies. In the short term (less than three years by their definition) support for the historical restoration of the town was to be obtained along with tourist promotion and the expansion of tourist related retailing and souvenir production.

In the medium term (three to five years) accommodation was to be upgraded, major restoration to be completed with increased promotion including overseas promotion and “(p)romotion to the market represented by families and middle-income tourist (sic) presently visiting the western coastal areas” (PATA 1985 p32). The cultural and historical aspects of the town were to be promoted.

In the long term (five to ten years) the development of upmarket accommodation was to have commenced. This would include a golf course, equestrian centre and yachting facilities. There would also be top quality duty-free shops and “(r)esearch into the needs, aspirations and expectations of target market segments” (PATA 1985 p33).

It was suggested that at an early stage a local Visitors’ Bureau should be established. However this should avoid “contentious issues and misunderstandings which could jeopardise local support and commitment” (PATA 1985 p33). One of the jobs for the bureau would be to encourage restoration by marketing the restoration process in two ways. Firstly with passive involvement “See your history restored in Levuka” and secondly with active involvement “Help make it happen...Come and participate” (p33).

A number of marketing slogans were also suggested. These included:

Levuka, where history lives.

Levuka, where Fiji begins.

Levuka, our common heritage.

Summary of PATA report

I have gone into some detail with the recommendations of this report because it is evident that a number of assumptions have been made both about heritage and tourism. Firstly there is an almost cargo-cultish belief that tourists will visit if the facilities are provided. While it is true that many of the overseas tourists that visit Levuka do so because of the historical nature of the town, the PATA report gives no indication as to why people would spend the extra time travelling in order to arrive at a luxury resort that provides the same sort of facilities (a golf course and so on) that they can find much closer to the international airport. This is especially true when the lack of beaches on Ovalau is considered. No market research has been conducted with tourists who visit Fiji for the more traditional sun, sea and sand attributes that are the main focus of tourist marketing. Most visitors to Levuka may go for the historical aspect of the town but how does this subset of visitors to Fiji match all tourists to Fiji? The lack of beaches may result in a lack of demand from families. Of the families that visited Levuka that I interviewed all went to either Leleuvia or Caqelai in order to have a beach for their children to play on.

The second point is how the people of Fiji (that is, all racial groups) view Levuka and its heritage. Do they consider that it is “where Fiji begins” and that it is part of “our common heritage”? Why would people from other parts of Fiji be interested in renovating Levuka for no payment? There is also an underlying paternalistic attitude towards local businesses. Much of the non-heritage parts of the report are concerned with telling local business people how to run their businesses. They are being told to invest in international tourism with no indication of what the returns will be or from where the investment monies are to come.

Other reports

In addition to these two commercially based reports both central and regional government have conducted studies of tourism development. These have tended to be more community based and fall into two categories. The first is tourist operations set up by local entrepreneurs and the second is projects set up by villages. In both cases there has been no external help, either governmental or commercial, for any project in Ovalau.

Rodmell (1995) gives a summary of all the ecotourism and cultural tourism projects in the islands under the jurisdiction of the Lomaiviti Provincial Council. These include Devokula Tourist Village near Aravudi, Danai Resort near Nauouo and Lomalagi Beach Resort at Daku, Moturiki. By 1995 Lomalagi had been abandoned because of logistical problems getting tourists to Moturiki and a poor choice of site. Water had to be carried there from the village: it was prone to flooding and suffered from a large number of mosquitoes. Danai had not advanced beyond the planning stage. A Frenchman, who had been involved in the early stages and who ran the bicycle hire company in Levuka, left Fiji in 1996. Devokula opened in 1996 and won the Cultural and Heritage section in the inaugural Fiji Excellence in Tourism Awards (*Fiji Times* 13/1/99). However the provision of accommodation has become only a minor part of its operation. Most of the income comes from day visitors to the cultural show.

The Native Land Trust Board investigated the possibility of using tourism as a means of forestry conservation. This has been tried at Abaca and Bouma. This report states that a guided walk to Lovoni from Levuka took 67 tourists a month. However, in another report for the Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation this tour and the operator of it were severely criticised for not involving the local community and for the total disregard of the provisions of the fair trading and practices act (Waradi 1995). The community centre, which acted as a de facto tourist information centre, refused to advertise the tours and the Levuka Heritage and Cultural Society evicted the operator from the office he rented in their building for non-payment of rent

(Levuka Historical and Cultural Society 1997). An alternative guided walk has been instigated by a member of the Lovoni Village since then and is proving popular with tourists and much less problematic with the village of Lovoni. However, family members of the previous operator have prevented the use of paths that cross their land. This has caused some problems for the new guide. He is unable to start his trek from Levuka. Tourists have to take a truck to the start point. This can add to delays and frustrations for tourists as the transport can be intermittent.

Finally, at the time of writing this thesis preliminary efforts were being made into applying for UNESCO World Heritage status for Levuka. This was being investigated by agencies of the Fijian Government following prompting by PATA and had resulted in one public meeting in Levuka on whether the initiative should be acted upon.

Conflicts

A number of conflicts are evident in the provision of tourism in Levuka. These appear to be based on personal antagonism, some of which are culturally based. The broadest of these is the belief that the tourism businesses of the Town are attempting to monopolise the income that accrues from tourists. There is a perceived barrier to creating tourism enterprises. This is partly due to the fact that two members of the Town Council own tourism businesses. Commonly cited examples of these barriers are the inability of the people of Levuka Vakaviti to attract cruise ship passengers to their village, and the refusal of the authorities to provide a liquor licence to the owner of a small restaurant. The failure of tourism ventures is believed to be caused by current tourism operators who are in positions of commercial and political power.

The personalities of some people involved with tourism has also caused problems. As was stated earlier the provision of a bus service from the airstrip by the travel agency was perceived by taxi drivers as an attempt to take trade away from them. This resulted in vandalistic attacks on the bus owned by the travel agency. Again

there was a belief that the owner of the travel agency had used means not available to others to obtain a bus licence.

Similarly, a group of women involved in tourist accommodation have set up a tourism committee, partly in response to the activities of the owners of the travel agency whom they feel are attempting to take control of tourism in Levuka. However, the tourism committee is viewed with suspicion by other members of the community. This is because of lineage of its members who have links with old European families of Levuka and Lau. The suspicion is probably not due to tourism but to ancient conflicts. It is coincidental that the women in question are involved in tourism.

Finally, as is detailed elsewhere, conflicts exist regarding trekking to Lovoni. This, again, is due to familial allegiances and ownership of paths on which the trek takes place. The operator of treks is prevented from using certain paths to Lovoni without paying fees to the landowners of the paths. A previous operator of a trek to Lovoni has used his influence in order to make difficulties for the new trek operator. To pay the fees would make the business uneconomic, as a result the walk cannot start in Levuka.

Underlying all the conflicts are political conflicts, some of which have been evident for two hundred years. Tourism has just become another weapon with which to fight them.

Conclusion

In recent years the desire to promote tourism in Ovalau and Levuka has been prompted by two separate motives. In Levuka a number of outside organisations, expatriots, foreign visitors and holiday-home owners have urged the preservation and renovation of the town. At the same time the perilous state of the local economy which is highly dependent on PAFCO has focused the need to diversify into other

areas of activity. Tourism has been suggested as a means to satisfy both these needs. It is believed that tourists will visit the town because of its historic appeal. This will bring additional income into the town which, in turn, will pay for the renovation of the historic buildings. Preservation will be justified, as it will provide income.

However, as will be shown in the next chapter, the understanding of basic concepts such as the meaning of heritage and what tourists actually desire has not been considered. In all the documents and reports on tourism in Levuka and Ovalau there appears to be an assumption that both the local people and the tourists conceptualise heritage in the same way. Without an understanding of the different worldviews it is feasible that conflict will occur and, more importantly, not be understood when it does occur.

The second motive is one that has encouraged projects elsewhere on Ovalau. For the people involved in these, the main motivation has been the additional personal and community income that might be accrued. These projects have been internally generated; that is, there has been no outside encouragement for them. The tourists that visit Levuka are seen as a source of income.

Chapter Four

Heritage

Introduction

One of the first aspects of tourism in Levuka that became apparent during my period of fieldwork was the importance of the architecture of the town. While this is not necessarily what attracted all the tourists initially it certainly became an important part of their experience of the town once they arrived. As a result I have chosen to introduce this chapter on heritage as the bridge between the historical background to the town and the effects of tourism today. Firstly I will review the literature that relates to heritage and perceptions of heritage in a cross cultural setting. The literature review on heritage is presented here because it is only pertinent to this chapter unlike the general literature review, which is global to the thesis. Following this review of literature I will show how, in recent years, tourism has been used as the main *raison d'être* by outside interests for the preservation and conservation of the architectural heritage of Levuka. However there has been no attempt to discover or understand how the majority of local people perceive heritage.

There will then follow a description and analysis of my data on the response of people in the town to the concept of heritage preservation and what they expect that it will achieve. This data will give some indication of changing economic values resulting from tourism.

Literature review

Heritage, like the demonstration effect and authenticity, is a term that is frequently used in the tourism literature without an agreed meaning. However, it is a difficult concept to define because it can cover a large array of seemingly dissimilar objects and ideas (Herbert 1989). These range from a strong attachment to land as seen in, for example, Kosovo, Palestine and Ireland, which are based on folk myth and memory, through specific styles in art and manifestations of cultural distinctiveness, to commercial products for which traditional production processes have been used in

their manufacture¹¹. On a general level heritage is something that individuals emotively claim as their own (or see as being someone else's) having been passed to them from previous generations (Prentice 1993). What is considered of importance to a culture's heritage does not have to be genuine and authentic (Hobsbawm 1983) but it must be symbolic of that culture (Barthes 1973). Some definitions may seem overly cynical or intellectually condescending: - "'Heritage' is TV (drama and documentary), museums, theme parks, costume reenactments (sic), school curricula, and more" (Crang 1994) – or overly general. Lord Charteris, chair of the British National Trust, is quoted by Hewison (1987) as stating that "heritage is whatever you want it to be". Nevertheless they illustrate that heritage is a subjective concept that is evidenced in objects, places and ideas that are important to individuals and societies.

Attempts have been made to provide definitions that encompass the range of concepts on what heritage is. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) offer five variations. Firstly, old physical objects that have acquired some form of status because they are old and have survived. Secondly, a form of community memory. Thirdly, artistic styles that are maintained in one particular place. Fourthly, native flora and fauna that have barely survived the arrival of exotic predators. Finally, the economic activity of making profit from these things in what has come to be known as the heritage industry.

Hall and McArthur (1996) suggest a number of reasons why heritage and its preservation has come to be seen as important in recent years. These mirror Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996). The first suggests that in a rapidly changing society people have attempted to retain buildings, townscapes and objects in order to help them maintain a link with past and therefore build a sense of continuity in their lives. The second is that heritage preservation helps maintain a sense of community and belonging. The third that heritage has a value in its own right. The fourth, that there may be educational and scientific significance, the fifth is that heritage has developed an economic importance, as people want to visit and see places for their historic values. Hall and McArthur add one more, which is that heritage is "an

¹¹ For example, in New Zealand it is possible to buy 'heritage jam' for which a premium is charged.

integral component of sustainable development” (1996 p2) though what they mean by this is not made clear.

In both cases these writers echo Lowenthal (1985) who explained that the past provides a context within which cultures can operate. It reaffirms an individual’s identity and belonging, and provides guidance by teaching later generations how to relate to the land and environment which, in turn, provides continuity and sequence. One’s heritage is also used to enrich the present through a veneration of the past and antiquity. Lowenthal also points out that this can be done quite safely because the past is over. It has terminated. However it can and does provide a justification for the actions of the present even if those actions were never envisaged in the past. A ruin may be venerated now but was not conceived as a ruin (Lavoie 1998). Similarly a ruin may be restored in a historically inaccurate way in order to emphasise the sense of continuity with and belonging to the present of those who venerate it. The Alamo, for example, has been restored to reflect Anglo-American architecture rather than the original Spanish-Mexican style because that is more comforting to the majority of (Anglo-American) visitors. Jim Bowie, Davy Crocket and the rest were good Americans upholding American values. The place of their sacrifice, visited by people of a similar culture, should also represent those values (Lowenthal 1998).

None of these descriptions of heritage differentiate it from culture but it is important this distinction is made. Culture refers to the aggregated inherited beliefs, values, knowledge and ideas from the past as they manifest themselves in the present while heritage refers to one or more parts included in that aggregation. Similarly, the terms preservation and conservation are used interchangeably. “The World Heritage Convention and Operational Guidelines do not specifically define preservation. Preservation is used interchangeably with conservation, safeguarding and protection in the operational guidelines” (UNESCO 1996). “Conservation may involve, an increasing extent of intervention: non-intervention, maintenance, stabilisation, repair, restoration, reconstruction or adaptation” (ICOMOS New Zealand 1992).

In recent years, however, concepts of heritage have gone beyond individual cultures. The United Nations, through UNESCO, codified the principle of World Heritage in

1972. Sites, both natural and cultural, were designated as being part of the collective heritage of all people (Hall and McArthur 1996). Heritage has become universal. "Historic areas and their surroundings should be regarded as forming an irreplaceable universal heritage" (UNESCO 1996). However the World Heritage Charter does not address the problem of different cultural interpretations of heritage. Some would argue that their interpretation is overly Eurocentric (Kirby 1997) but the Charter does expect signatory states to create heritage sites. National governments have to apply for UNESCO recognition of the sites (as the Fijian government is for Levuka). Nevertheless, the application process in the case of Levuka is being promoted by a small group of people, most of whom do not live in the Town. The UNESCO World Heritage charter appears to assume that what the government considers to be a place of National heritage is what local people assume to be of value.

Heritage and landscape

Interest in heritage has grown at an enormous rate in recent years, particularly in developed countries (Alzua, O'Leary and Morrison 1998, Middleton 1994). With this has grown a commercial heritage sector. As Newcombe (1979 p32) points out "the relics of the past are conspicuously popular with the public and are, consequently, of great interest to the recreational industry."

There is a tendency in much of the heritage literature to assume that the meaning of heritage is the same for all cultures. However, there are a large number of different conceptualisations of what heritage means even within a particular society. It should not be presumed, therefore, that western conceptualisations are necessarily understood in non-Western societies. Problems can arise if a western view of heritage is imposed on local people because the basic assumptions of the meaning of heritage and the past are at variance. To use the terminology of cross-cultural psychology heritage is an etic concept, that is, it is universal across cultures, whereas what constitutes heritage is an emic concept, in other words, its applications and understanding are culturally specific. There is a possibility that the cultural

specificity of the images of heritage will not be acknowledged; that an etic will be imposed.

In terms of heritage what is of value is learned either explicitly through being told that an object is an icon of one's culture or implicitly by the object always being there or being important as part of one's self image. Julian Barnes, in his novel *England, England* (1998) lists examples of English heritage which include the Royal Family, various historic buildings, Manchester United Football Club, *The Times* newspaper and the white cliffs of Dover. These are tied together with the history of England. Explicit and implicit aspects of English heritage are interrelated. "The cultural basis for behavior – including aesthetic behavior – is transmitted socially through the use of language and other tools" (Bourassa 1991 p91). The cliffs at Dover, for example, are linked to English heritage through song, history and an awareness that Britain, (though not England) is an island. This links with the idea that behaviour is a learnt cultural construct.

Similarly, concepts of landscape as part of heritage, and the built environment as part of landscape must also be acknowledged. Landscape is a complex blend of physical and cultural motifs that are given varying degrees of weight depending on what is considered culturally important in that particular era. To use Lowenthal's (1985 p187) words, the past is what is "experienced and believed". There are certain landscapes in which people feel more at home. Orians (1986) argues that the savannah is a universally comfortable landscape because humanity originated in the plains of East Africa. However for most individuals there are some landscapes with which they relate more easily. These are the landscapes of their personal histories, though the histories can be generations long. Included with the landscape are built structures, which become an integral part of the landscape (Appleton 1994, Lavoie 1998, Schama 1995).

The value of particular landscapes and built structures may vary over time and between different cultures. One of the best uses of language to implicitly state this is

to be found in Shelley's *Ozymandias*¹². In this poem the meaning of a statue changes because of an altered cultural heritage of the viewer. In the past the viewer related the statue to Ozymandius, "king of kings". Now the viewer is a tourist for whom the element of fear engendered by knowledge is absent. What the statue symbolises is different but the power of that symbolism is still as effective.

A heritage object has to lose all forms of symbolism in order to become junk. It must become meaningless. However, it can also move from a meaningless 'junk' state back to having value. For example an old 78rpm recording of Elvis Presley became worthless with the introduction of 33rpm and 45rpm records, particularly if the old songs were re-released in the new format. However an original 78rpm *Sun* recording of Presley is now valuable. Changes in value such as this is the basis for Thompson's (1979) rubbish theory. Conflicts occur when the symbolism exists for one culture but not for another and the preservation of an object is seen as restricting progress by those who do not value it.

The value of landscape must also be acknowledged when considering heritage but so must the cultural diversity found in understanding how that value is created. In western traditions, landscape "becomes the most generally accessible and widely shared *aide-mémoire* of a culture's knowledge and understanding of its past and future" (Küchler 1993 p85). Memories are preserved and enhanced by visual landmarks such as architecture and other signs of human activity. However, the landscape of New Britain in Papua New Guinea, for example, is a "template in the

¹² *Ozymandias*

I met a traveller from an antique land
Who said: Two vast and trunkless legs of stone
Stand in the desert... Near them, on the sand,
Half sunk, a shattered visage lies, whose frown,
And wrinkled lip, and sneer of cold command,
Tell that its sculptor well those passions read
Which yet survive, stamped on these lifeless things,
The hand that mocked them, and the heart that fed:
And on the pedestal these words appear:
'My name is Ozymandias, king of kings:
Look on my works, ye Mighty, and despair!
Nothing beside remains. Round the decay
Of that colossal wreck, boundless and bare
The lone and level sands stretch far away.

process of memory-work” (Küchler p86). Landscape becomes part of the *process* of remembering “which is forever being transformed in accordance with a culturally constructed template” (Küchler 1993 p104), rather than just an encryption of memory. In western cultures landscape is generally seen as the *site* of an event. In some non-western societies it is seen as *part* of the event. Landscape is not only something from which social and cultural activities can be read but also an integral part of those activities. It becomes entwined with the memory of the past rather than just being the backdrop. As Tuan (1977 p 150) points out, a person from an agrarian culture

finds recorded in his land the ancient story of the lives and deeds of the immortal beings from whom he himself is descended, and whom he reveres. The whole countryside is his family tree.

An example of this on Ovalau is the settlement of Vagadaci about four kilometres north of Levuka. This is known locally as the cricket ground where Princes Albert and George (who became George V) played for a visiting team against the Levuka cricket team. This area is now the site of a housing estate for government employees. There is no sign of a cricket pitch or even any spare land. Nevertheless a number of local respondents referred to the game when referring to the place. The game is as much a part of the place as the houses there now. Interestingly, the place did not seem as important for non-Fijians as it did for Fijians. One Indian respondent who sponsors sports events in Levuka talked of commemorating the match with a cricket tournament in the town to complement the rugby sevens tournament he already sponsors. An Australian, Victor Carell, who was heavily involved in establishing the community centre wrote that a, “tourist attraction could be the annual re-enactment of the historic cricket match” (PATA 1985). However, to Fijian respondents there can be no re-enactment as the cricket pitch at Vagadaci has been built on. To the Fijians the place and the activity are integrated. One is part of the other even though there is no visible sign of the activity still in the place. Non-Fijians are able to separate the two and therefore move the activity to another place. There is no link between the two except in oral tradition. As a result the specificity of the place becomes redundant. In terms of tourism no one would want to look at a housing estate no matter what happened there. In contrast to this is the old racetrack above the town. This is a flat piece of land where horses were raced in the last century.

While racing no longer occurs there it is easy to visualise it happening and tourists do enjoy going up there. While many go for the view they are made aware of the historical connexion by local people. A third example of different conceptions of value is the site of Cakabau's Supreme Court. It is now the site of the European cenotaph and is not mentioned to tourists as a historic site whereas Nasova House is because it is still standing.

The western perception of landscape has been described as an "ego-centred landscape, a perspectival landscape, a landscape of views and vistas. In other times and other places the visual may not be the most significant aspect, and the conception of land may not be ego-centred" (Bender 1993 p1). Barthes (1973) made a similar observation concerning guidebook descriptions of landscape. Landscape is to be looked at and not considered a part of activity. Urry (1990) called this the 'tourist gaze' though he referred to everything that tourists looked at including the landscape.

The problem for tourism is that a tourist cannot be expected to understand the cultural whole of the hosts' cosmology because the visit is usually brief. At the same time tourists "contribute through their imaginings ... to the production of their own cultural ... tourism product" (Prentice 1997 p209). However, while the hosts should not have to change their worldview in order to pander to the tourists, without an understanding of tourist demand there is the possibility that they will destroy what the tourists seek. Similarly, tourism entrepreneurs, particularly if they are of the same cultural group as the tourists, may destroy what is important to local people in the cultural landscape. (They may also destroy what is important for many people of their own cultural group as well. Some parts of the Mediterranean Coast are examples of this.) Some anthropologists would argue that it is difficult for both hosts and guests to understand only those parts of the culture with which they come into contact because cultures can only be understood in their entirety (Benedict 1935/1961). Nevertheless a meaning can be given by tourists to aspects of a different culture they encounter even if this meaning is different to that of the host population. Some historians take this argument even further. Munro (1994), in reviewing the insider/outsider dichotomy, shows that some Pacific historians believe

that Pacific history should only be written by people of the Pacific as they are the only ones who can fully understand the cultural nuances of the subject. However, as a town such as Levuka illustrates, European and Pacific history became entwined at the start of the nineteenth century. Should Fijians be expected to understand European history in order to understand Levuka?

Heritage and tourism

'Heritage' is important as an attractor of tourists. Though, again, the aspect of heritage that is doing the attracting is dependent on the destination and the marketing of that destination (Ballantyne, Packer and Beckmann 1998). The marketing will also dictate what is considered of value for tourists and, therefore, the sort of visitor that is attracted. Sometimes the aspect of heritage marketed is totally created. Jorvick, in York, UK is an example. It is unlikely that many people from York were specifically aware of their Viking heritage (as opposed to the ecclesiastical heritage of the city, say) before the Jorvick Centre was set up. However, the creation of this aspect of heritage tapped into a general English awareness of Viking heritage. Obviously in many cases more than one aspect of heritage can be marketed at the same time to increase the number of potential visitors and keep them at the destination longer. Another example of created heritage is Akaroa, New Zealand where a French heritage has been developed since the 1960s as part of place promotion (Fountain 1998). While French settlers did arrive in 1840 there has been no continuity of French culture in Akaroa.

One question that is absent from the tourism literature is whether heritage holds the same meaning for the host community as it does for visitors. This question is most obviously valid when heritage is placed in a cross-cultural context (Kirby 1996) but also needs to be considered when values differ for other reasons such as religion. The example of the Alamo given earlier illustrates this. In a telling passage Hall, Hamon and McArthur (1996 p250) state that "cultural heritage management in Australia and New Zealand has traditionally been dominated by a European, if not a middle-class British, view of what heritage should be kept and how it should be interpreted". This leads to the essential question of whose heritage is to be

preserved. Tunbridge and Ashworth's (1996) second reason for heritage, the preservation of community memory, does not consider this problem as it assumes that the memory is the same for all members of the community. In recent years many indigenous people have made the point that this is not the case. An example of this was the visit to Australia and New Zealand of a replica of Captain Cook's *Endeavour*. The arrival of Cook is not something that many aboriginal Australians or Maori feel is worth celebrating.

It is writers outside the field of tourism who have pointed out what constitutes heritage varies both across cultures but that it also varies across time. Cultural values change with time thereby changing what is of value in terms of heritage (Bender 1993, Bann 1995, Kirby 1997). Thompson (1979) shows that this can occur within social sub-cultures in a society and uses the example of inner city housing. Yesterday's rubbish can also, for no apparent reason, suddenly attain the status of a heritage object. In addition heritage can also be created, either deliberately or accidentally (Hobsbawm 1983). Kirby (1996) argues that the meaning of landscape is different for different cultures and that bodies such as UNESCO have a fundamentally Eurocentric attitude towards heritage. Non European cultural groups have to bend their ideas to fit this framework. Lowenthal (1985 pxviii) puts this succinctly when he states that "the past plays very different roles in different cultures", though he only considers the differences between the USA and the UK. Olwig (1993) takes this a step further by arguing that different sub-groups within a culture treat landscape differently. A result of these "different roles" is that the 'landscape narratives' are constructed differently by different viewers (Potteiger and Purinton 1998) and have different aesthetics (Bourassa 1991). People identify with the pasts that are an integral part of their sense of identity (Lowenthal 1985). However, "(t)he past can only be read in the land if you know the language" (Kirby 1997 p21) and the language is in a continual state of flux. What is considered of value from the past is directly linked to what is of value in the present and these values are constantly re-evaluated (Jacobs 1992).

It is my contention that in Levuka there are at least two languages superimposed on each other. The first is that of the indigenous Fijians for whom buildings and

artefacts are of little consequence compared with the land – mere adjectives in a flowery piece of prose. The second is the language of the Europeans, both local and visitors, for whom buildings are the substance and structure of the writing without which the meaning becomes obscured. In addition there are also the cosmologies of the Indian and Chinese shopkeepers who come from different cultural backgrounds again and for whom the only route to power of any sort has been through commerce. To continue the analogy of landscape as a language, Kirby (1997) points out that the problems of translating language in these instances are heightened by the differences between oral and written traditions. She uses the example of New Zealand where “two cultures and two approaches to knowing the past are attempting to co-exist in the same physical space” (p19). She goes on to show that this problem is compounded by the view held by some writers of the western tradition that “orally transmitted cultures ... have no history” (p19). This view may be changing but was certainly the case in the past. For example, the opening sentence of a chapter on early Fijian history in a Fiji Government publication celebrating fifty years of British rule in Fiji states “Fijian history as recounted by native tradition may be said to have begun with the advent of the white race” (Government of Fiji 1925 p8).

The acceptance of different ways of conceptualising the past are acknowledged by anthropologists and some historians (Morphy 1993, Munro 1994). Modern western conceptions of the past are derived from Newtonian ideas of linearity of time. This is aided by the belief that the past can only exist objectively if there are written or physical records (Kirby 1997). Oral histories, which constitute the method of recording the past in many societies (and families), may not be viewed as having the same amount of objectivity as they can change over time (Finnegan 1995). In addition traditional European cultural views are based on a hierarchical structure with God at the top and the earth at the bottom. This is in marked contrast to many other cultures which are centred on nature (Pawson 1992). Subsequently how people interact with the natural environment varies considerably. An example on Ovalau is the village of Bureta which has maintained the integrity of the mangrove because traditionally the mangrove is the totemic plant of the Bureta people. Elsewhere on the island it has been uprooted (Nawadra 1995).

Heritage and culture

There is one other element that is relevant with regard to tourism and heritage. That is the role of written guides in interpreting heritage and landscape. For example, Barthes

analyses both the mythology surrounding travel and the claim of the travel guide to be a primary tool of landscape appreciation and an essential bourgeois educational aid to vision and cultural awareness. Instead, Barthes argues, the travel guide functions as 'an agent of blindness' that focuses the traveller's attention on a limited range of landscape features, thereby 'overpowering' or even 'masking' the 'real' spectacle of human life and history and simultaneously providing an illusion of cultural stability and continuity" (Duncan and Duncan 1992, p20).

To use Barthes's (1973 p81) own words, "The *Blue Guide (Le Guide Bleu)* hardly knows the existence of scenery except under the guise of the picturesque". Guidebooks are another form of marketing. They tell tourists what to see and what to value. Tourists are also influenced by the media, government promotions and tour operators in what is of value and what they should see, though attributing the amount of influence is impossible to quantify (Milne, Grekin, and Woodley 1998). Heritage objects and sites acquire new meanings through interpretation. "The representation of place is never a simple given but is rather a social construction" (Hughes 1998 p21). Papson (1981 p233) goes further and argues that efforts to attract tourists "redefine social realities. As definitions are imposed from without, the socio-cultural reality which arises out of everyday life becomes further consumed". Hall (1994b) is a little more cautious by inserting the word 'may' into the same argument. The images of a destination *may* cause the local people to adapt to the tourists' expectations.

If this is the case what needs to be addressed is the level of adaptation and at what point it occurs. Do local people start valuing what tourists value or do they change their behaviour solely to increase their revenue from them? To use the terminology of the general literature review, is there a structural change in what local people believe or is it a frictional change allowing them to make money from what they think tourists believe?

Summary of literature review

In conclusion one place may be interpreted in a number of different ways because of cultural and experiential differences amongst the viewers. Kirby calls this 'paradoxical space'. "Within the same objectively defined space-time path ... there are potentially many versions of heritage" (Kirby 1997 p46). If this is the case then there are four possible extensions of it. Firstly, that the viewers are not aware that other views can exist. This I would call a mono cultural view. Secondly, that while it is accepted that other views exist they can only be understood from within the culture that creates them. This I would call a separated cultural view. Thirdly, that viewers can observe from more than one cultural perspective. This I would call the multi-cultural view. Fourthly that viewers can synthesise different perspectives. This I would call an integrated view. There are variations to all but the first of these. It is possible that the acknowledgement of other ways of viewing may change the way the initial viewer observes (van den Berghe 1994). This new view may be accepted as being different, may be the same, or may be incorrectly thought of as being the same as other viewers. It is the tensions created by the different meanings of place and objects within that place and the consequences of these tensions that will be explored later in this thesis. These include empowerment and economic values. As stated earlier Butler's (1980) destination lifecycle model shows that at a certain point control moves away from the local inhabitants of an area to people from outside. In the context of this chapter that is the point at which the worldview of the local people is superseded by that of the tourists.

Heritage Conservation in Levuka

As the heritage literature review suggested, there is more than one cultural definition of heritage in Levuka. In the following section these will be explored along with an analysis of the motivation for the preservation of the Town. The indigenous Fijian understanding of conservation and meaning of place are very different to that of the Europeans and Indians. History and heritage, for Fijians, is closely linked with the concept of *vanua*. For Europeans it is more closely linked with objects which include buildings. The differences in the concepts of what constitutes heritage are

directly relevant to this thesis. The value that tourists place on the built heritage, and therefore the tourism product may change the value that the host community place on structures. If local people come to see the buildings as a way to attract tourists then it is possible that a new meaning is placed on the buildings. This meaning may not, of course, be the same meaning that the tourists place on the buildings. In the terminology of the demonstration effect an inexact imitation would have taken place in order for local people to increase their income.

The built heritage of Levuka

Attitudes towards heritage conservation in Levuka have changed in recent years. Most of the buildings in Beach Street and many of the residences in Levuka Town proper (i.e. not the settlements such as Baba) are at least ninety years old. The fact that few new buildings have been erected in this period has been due to an uncertain economic future for the town, and a lack of space. The buildings have been maintained to a fashion but not updated to any great extent, more due to inertia than anything else (described by Design Aid Architects as “benign neglect”). This attitude is changing in some quarters. Levuka has been ‘discovered’ by sections of the tourist industry and a move from functional maintenance to conservational maintenance is being encouraged. The former is concerned with maintaining a building so that it can be used to carry out the activity required of it in the most cost efficient way. Any maintenance is not concerned with the historical integrity of the building. This is in contrast to conservational maintenance, which is wholly concerned with preserving the building in a particular form.

As was explained in the chapter on the history of the town, following the transfer of the capital to Suva, Levuka moved from being the hub of south Pacific activity to a Fijian backwater. In 1945 Tudor described Levuka as “Zombieville – a Zombie being a corpse that won’t give in and admit it” (Tudor 1946 p 146). She made no mention of the buildings. In her view the most attractive part of the town was the old

fresh-water swimming pool at the back of the town¹³. Other European descriptions of the town cited earlier were more concerned with the setting and scenic beauty of Ovalau than with the architecture.

Building preservation

The first documented indications of a desire to preserve the *architecture* of the town was the Belt Collins report of 1973:

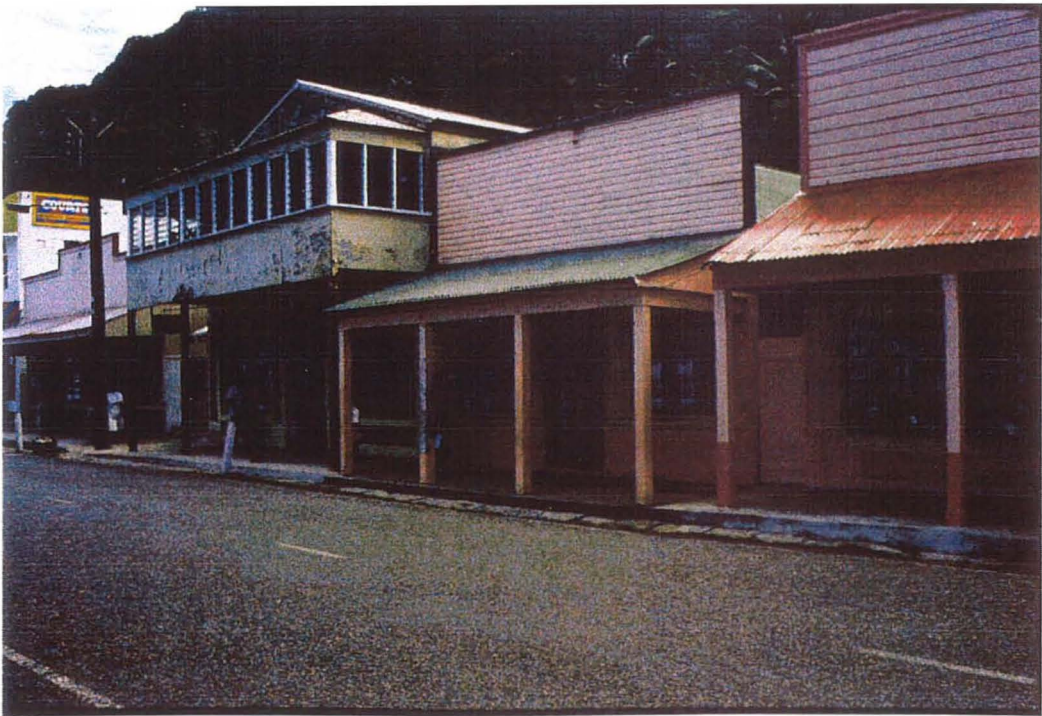
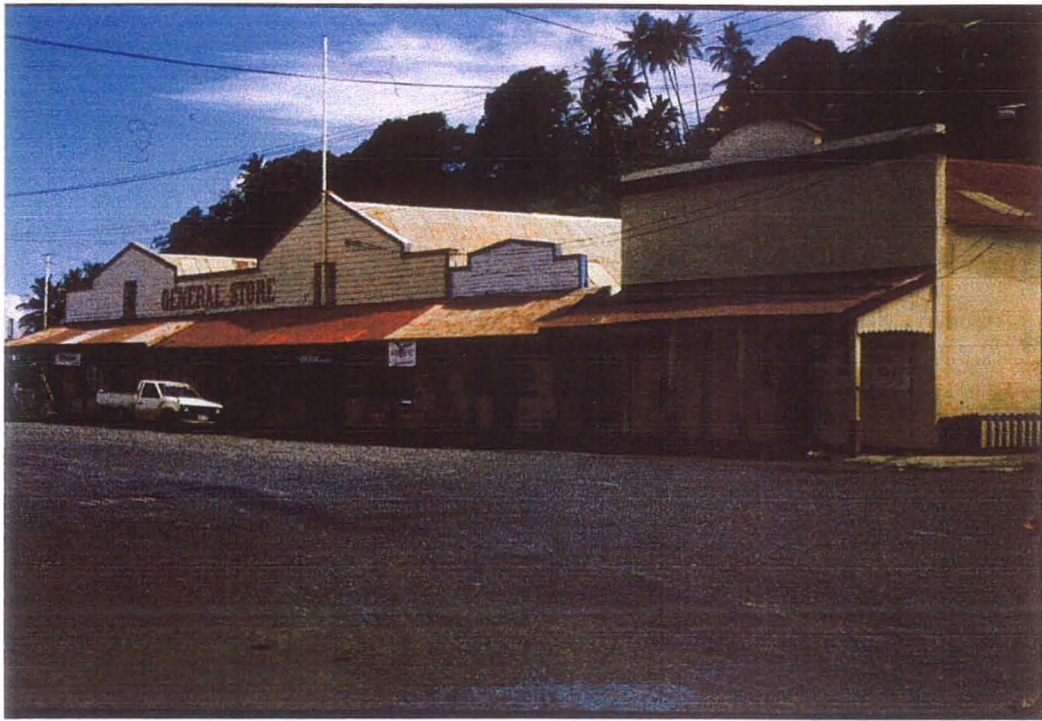
In contrast to the other Accommodation Regions, which are based primarily on attractions of the natural environment, the town of Levuka also offers attractions of great historical interest as reflected in the unspoiled nineteenth century building styles. Levuka, with its history as a lively mid-nineteenth century port and whaling centre, the former capital of Fiji, and location of the Deed of Cession to England (sic), combined with its charming hundred year old store fronts and hillside houses, accessible only by pedestrian paths overlooking the harbour, can become a major point of interest in the form of day trips from Suva as well as overnight visits. The keys to achieving this are historical preservation of the town and improved transportation from Suva.

p70

(See plates 3-6).

Two local organisations have been formed to promote the preservation and restoration of Levuka. The first was known as the Friends of Old Levuka and chaired by Ken Wendt, who had been on the Pacific Area Travel Association (PATA) task force. Dating this organisation is not easy as no local people seem to have any recollection of it but the listings of accommodation that accompany the promotional material suggest that it was running in 1985, though how old the organisation was at that stage is impossible to say. The name of the organisation suggests a link with the Back to Old Levuka festivals held from 1980 to 1983 though founder members of the Levuka Historical and Cultural Society (LHCS) claim to have been involved in that. There is some if not a total overlap with the LHCS, which was founded in 1977. Nevertheless a flyer issued states that the "*Friends of Old Levuka* believes that with financial support and careful development, Levuka

¹³The Royal Engineers constructed this pool in 1888. It is still in existence but unsuitable for use though there are plans to renovate it (pers.com. David Kirton, heritage advisor 1999).



Plates 4 & 5. Views of beach Street. Geoffrey Bawa argues that the totality of the townscape "captures the eye and would delight any visitor."

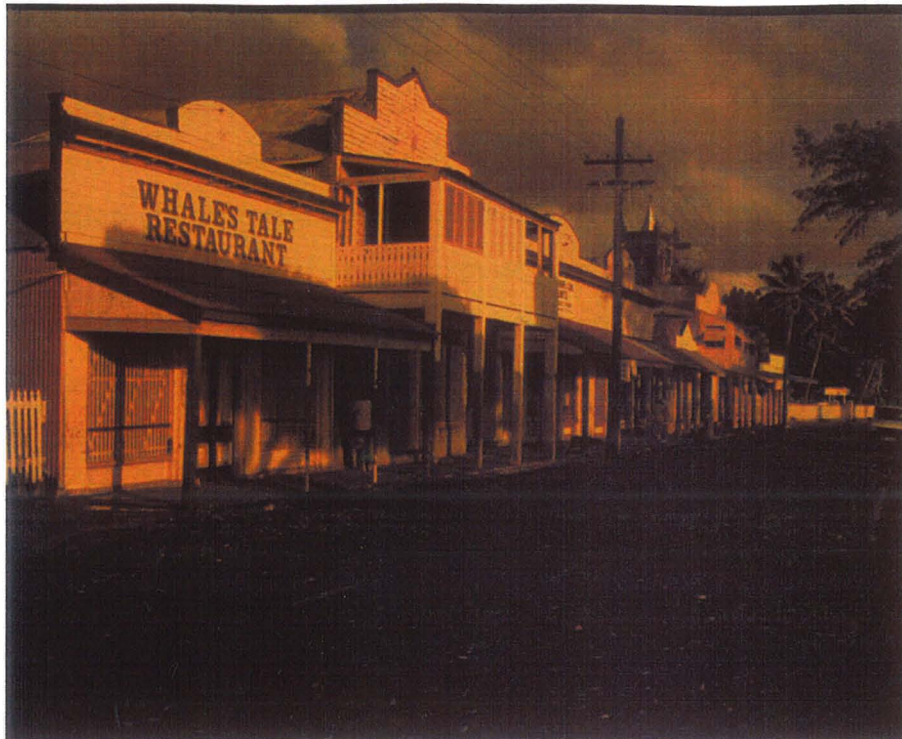


Plate 6 Beach Street after a cyclone had passed through the western Fiji Islands.

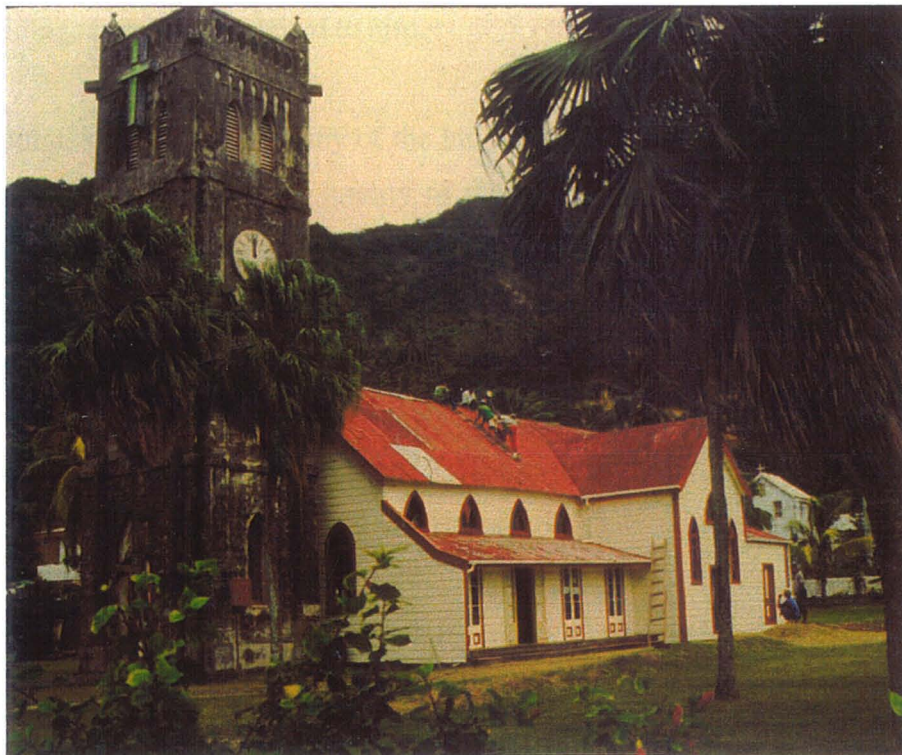


Plate 7. The neon cross on the Catholic Church in Beach Street is a harbour light. This illustrates Fijian concepts of functionality in buildings.

could become a very special tourist destination for more visitors to Fiji". They also state that they are "a group dedicated to the preservation and restoration of Levuka".

In the same year as the founding of the LHCS a report based on the findings of the Belt, Collins report was issued by the Fiji Visitors' Bureau. This stated that work on the preservation and restoration of Levuka should follow three stages: First aid; preservation; and restoration. This document considers the practical problems of preservation and the role of the government and public sector. It also comments favourably on the preservation of Lahaina¹⁴, the old capital of Hawaii stating that "much of Lahaina's charm and historical interest has been retained" (FVB 1977) and that Lahaina is now a leading tourist destination in Hawaii.

The (PATA) Task Force carried out the first detailed analysis of heritage buildings in Levuka. Geoffrey Bawa of Sri Lanka, who received the PATA 'Heritage Award of Recognition' for his work on the Sri Lankan Parliamentary Complex, organised this part of the report. He "has had extensive experience in the design of international tourist resorts and hotels" (PATA 1985). The section of the report on the heritage of the buildings is solely attributed to him.

Bawa points out that while many of the buildings, both old and new, are of no great interest individually "it is the totality of the place, the continuity of new and old, which captures the eye and would delight any visitor" (PATA 1985 p39). The effect of this totality is that "unharmonious (sic) changes in the face of any single building constitute a danger to, if not destruction of, the value of the whole long beach-front elevation" (PATA p39). Bawa cannot understand why there had been no conservation and tourism development in the period following the Belt Collins report and the visit of the PATA task force. He makes it very clear what his feelings are towards Levuka.

It is widely recognised that Levuka is lovely: it evokes love at first sight.

Its history is well known, the setting is stunning, the visual elements are inspiring, the tourism potential is obvious, the planning solutions are

¹⁴ Levuka is twinned with Lahaina.

simple, the government participation is justifiable, the people are warm, the Council is willing, and the need for action is compelling!

(p43)

He sees an obvious link between the town's future economic prosperity and the development of tourism through the preservation of the town's heritage. Though he too states that Levuka is "the seat of Fiji's history" (p43) and that it:

represents an important stage in the history of the Pacific in its manifestation of nineteenth century western architecture. It holds great historic associations for the people of Fiji and demonstrates visually a phase of development of the nation.

(p39)

However no evidence is provided to support the view that that is how the people of Fiji view the town. I would argue that he is imposing a western interpretation. Levuka is not considered particularly important in the history of Fiji by Fijian islanders other than those of European descent (pers. comm. a Fijian journalist visiting Levuka).

In 1990 the Government of Fiji designated Levuka a Heritage Town and in 1994 PATA financed the appointment of a heritage advisor for the Town (though one member of the Task Force claims that he paid the salary as PATA do not have the funds to do this).

Also in 1994 the Department of Town and Country Planning and PATA commissioned a report by HJM Consultants Pty Ltd and Timothy Hubbard Pty Ltd (known as the Hubbard Report). The methodology for the study was based on the 1990 New South Wales Conservation Plan. The Hubbard report stated that in Levuka and the surrounding areas on Ovalau over 120 places had been identified as being historically significant. A number of recommendations were made that the government had moral and political difficulty in accepting (pers. comm. John Bennett, heritage advisor 1997). These included the confiscation of all land for which rates had not been paid for a number of years. There is a chronic low incidence of rates payments in Levuka. In 1997/98 no rates were received from any household in the suburb of Baba nor have they been for a number of years. It is now

being suggested that the town boundaries are reduced so that Baba is no longer included within them (pers. comm. David Kirtin 1999). This is direct opposition to the reports later recommendations that the town boundaries be extended. However their rationale is to put all historic buildings and sites, such as St John's Church and the Draiba cemetery under Council jurisdiction. There is nothing of historic significance in Baba, which is a peri-urban site without proper sanitation or electricity supply. It has grown on land controlled by both Tui Levuka and Lovoni. The Hubbard report goes on to say that following confiscation "the Council would lease these properties for appropriate new buildings and uses which would encourage additional business to the town such as tourism" (p4).

Further recommendations are:

that the power to make Regulations under the Town and Country Planning Act be amended by the addition of a new paragraph (h) to provide for the following penalties in Levuka namely :

- i) Fines of up to \$50,000.00
- ii) Loss of Development Rights for up to 10 years
- iii) Powers for the Minister to require re-instatement (of altered buildings)
- iv) Powers for the Council to compulsorily acquire the site at the Valuer-General's valuation less the cost of restoration of a place to its previous state

(pp4-5)

The extension of the town boundaries would be a prelude to putting control of the protected areas of Levuka and Ovalau under one authority and preventing the uncontrolled spread of both development and jurisdiction of heritage. At a much later point in the report it is acknowledged that there may be some problems with implementing this recommendation as land would have to be taken from the Native Land Trust Board (NLTB). There would also have to be a "re-examination of the extent of coastal controls" (Hubbard Report p 40). The NLTB controls the land set aside by the British Colonial administration as land that can only be owned by

Fijians. It would be extremely unlikely that any government would alter this fundamental structure of land ownership anywhere in the country. It has been argued that one of the reasons for the 1986 coup was the fear that the new government would do this (Ravuvu 1991).

The final point made was that in 1991 Fiji became a signatory to the World Heritage convention. If the Fijian Government were to nominate any places for the World Heritage List "it would have to show that it has legislative measures in place to properly protect such places" (Hubbard Report p60). In the opinion of the writers of the report Fiji did not have any heritage protection legislation nor did it have good wildlife protection. By 1997 heritage protection in Fiji was still inadequate and there was little chance of the town boundaries being extended (pers. comm. John Bennett 1997).

Heritage Activity

Up until 1997 two heritage advisors had been funded by PATA. The first took up a two-year post in 1994 and wrote a number of reports while setting up the management systems necessary to promote heritage preservation in Levuka. He provided a more reasoned approach than the emotive descriptions that had gone before:

Levuka is not 'unique' to the world outside Fiji. There are many other historical towns throughout the world, many better known and financially equipped to restore and maintain an authentic historical presence
(Takano 1995a p14).

Throughout these reports he pursued two main themes. The first was the link between heritage preservation and tourism. The second was the need for local involvement in preservation schemes. "A critical concern is the dependence on outside volunteerism as a means to accomplish tasks that should be done by town residents. This further lengthens the town's interests in self-sustainability" (Takano 1995b p5). In order to counter this he suggested that local families provide

accommodation for international volunteers. By this means locals could discover that Levuka is considered important elsewhere and be persuaded that conservation would be of benefit. Local people would have an economic benefit of building conservation demonstrated to them directly by obtaining an income from hosting volunteers. This idea is similar to that of the local tour operator who wishes to spread the financial benefits of tourism by developing homestays (pers. comm. 1996). There are potential problems with the development of homestays however. A very small number of tourists did stay in villages and non-commercial accommodation. However these tourists regularly spoke of being asked to provide money for various projects occurring locally including, in one case, money for the host's business, in addition to what they had agreed upon for lodging and any food. This is not an uncommon occurrence in Pacific cultures with high levels of reciprocity (Berno 1995, 1999).

The first heritage advisor also argued that "(c)ontrolled visitation based on a 'realistic' view of Levuka as a historic town is achievable as an alternative economic resource" (Takano 1995b p5). In order to achieve this he requested that the Fiji Visitors' Bureau should increase publicity for Levuka to tourists. In the period 1996-97 I visited the visitors' bureau five times to ask for information on Levuka. Twice I was told not to go there and given alternative suggestions and on three occasions I was told that there was no information even though one piece of promotional literature was in their racks. I did this in response to tourists giving me similar reports. This can only be accepted as anecdotal evidence because I made no attempt to find out how the workers in the visitors' bureau marketed other destinations in Fiji however it does suggest that by early 1997 Takano's suggestions had not been acted upon, for whatever reason.

Other recommendations were more concerned with the structural fabric of the town and practical means to promote heritage conservation. A revolving fund was established in 1995 to finance the renovation of privately owned buildings. However many of the owners of heritage buildings stated that this was no use to them because they still had to pay the money back. The problem was not so much a will to renovate or even the availability of loan funds (though I only had the shop owners'

word for this) but the ability to repay the loans. The interest rate in early 1997 was six percent, which was below the rate available in banks.

Other plans included a landscaped cornice type development from the European cenotaph to the power station along the waterfront. To help with this beautification a Garden Club was created by interested citizens. “Beach Street shops are a prime attraction and first impression for visitors to Levuka. It is the core of the town, the very essence of Levuka activity and bustle” (Takano 1995a p10). However the streetscape is unkempt partly due to a lack of maintenance by the Council. Members of the garden club began planting flowers and shrubs along Beach Street in 1996 as part of the beautification of Levuka. One restaurant owner stated that she would like to put tables outside by the sea wall for her patrons but that this is impossible because it would be considered culturally inappropriate to move local people who sat at them but were not purchasing food or drink from the restaurant. To my knowledge there are no street cafés in Fiji with chairs and tables outside other than in enclosed areas away from the general public.

Other problems of beautification concerned PAFCO. The canning factory dominates the entrance to the town from both the airstrip and the ferry. Initially it was proposed that PAFCO be encouraged “to fund a landscaping scheme” (Takano 1995a p10) however, a later heritage advisor described PAFCO as a very poor corporate citizen that took no interest in what was happening in the town (pers. comm. 1996).

In order to facilitate the conservation and restoration of Levuka it was suggested that a heritage training centre be set up in Nasova House, the residence of the first governor-general. This would make Levuka the focus of conservation training for all of Fiji and encourage greater public awareness of the economic and social benefits of conservation (Samudio 1996). It would also “provide opportunities for Levuka residents to participate in the town’s renewal” (Takano 1995a). However the only groups that have been brought to Levuka for conservation training have been from overseas – students from the University of Southern California and various European volunteers who have stumbled upon the town. This is probably due to the inability of those involved in the restoration project to find funding for the creation of the

training centre. Nasova House remains the residence of the incumbent heritage advisor.

Current and potential activities within Levuka related to the heritage of the town were listed. "With creative, enterprising individuals in Levuka, numerous activities can be developed. This would be beneficial for a lasting impression by visitors and choices for residents" (Takano June 1995 p14).

Existing activities.

- Guided tour of the town
- Treks to Lovoni and elsewhere
- Museum and library
- Restaurants and small cafés
- Shopping
- Church services
- Biking, some snorkelling and diving

Proposed

- Interpretive tours of the town
- Visits to nearby villages
- Instruction in native crafts, Fijian and Indian language lessons
- Video room and theatre use
- Upgraded gym and squash courts
- New accommodation for visitor diversification
- Better access to ocean activities and shoreline
- Small stands for food and soft drinks
- Seating and viewing areas

Of these, all that has changed since the report was written is the loss of the bicycle hire firm.

The first heritage advisor gained the support and help of Design Aid Architects Ltd, a Californian company that is concerned with the architecture of heritage restoration.

They founded a subsidiary company, The Center for Preservation, Education & Planning, which made a number of submissions to aid agencies around the world on behalf of the town. In 1996 Levuka was nominated as a site on the list of World Monuments Watch 100 most endangered sites. In the application presented by Design Aid architects the Town was described as including:

foundings sites of religious missions and social and civic undertakings. Significant structures include bungalow, Victorian, gothic, western false-front façade commercial buildings, and vernacular structures. The diversity of architectural style reflect Levuka's role in world history as a hub of nineteenth century settlement with the most diverse population in the region (Samudio 1996 p8).

In the same application the threats to the town were listed in two sections. Natural factors were ground water intrusion, earthquake, micro-organism attack and cyclones. Man-made factors were neglect, lack of development planning and inadequate maintenance. All these factors would equally apply to non-heritage buildings, of course, but buildings of heritage value would make it easier for the town to gain help in combating them. Design Aid are not quite so explicit in their analysis though they do say that “(t)he measure of success in Levuka will come from an improved economic environment that recognizes and appreciates the contributions of the historic buildings and natural setting which help to define this unique community” (Samudio 1996 p3).

Of the non-commercial groups to be concerned with the architectural heritage of Levuka probably the most important, and certainly the most active, is the Levuka Historical and Cultural Society (LHCS). In its mission statement its goals are to “enhance the beauty and attractions of Levuka and to retain its historical associations and assets” (LHCS Management Plan/Review 1977 p4). The 1997 committee of the society was made up of a number of local residents and town officials. It included:

- four Europeans, one of whom has taken Fijian citizenship and two of whom have made Levuka their permanent places of residence;
- three people from old European and part-European local families;

- two Indians one of whom is a local headmaster and the other a local businessman;
- and finally two local Pacific Islanders one of whom is Rotuman and the other who is of Tongan/European ancestry.

Ex-officio members include the directors of the Fiji Museum, the Library Services and the National Trust and also two Australian founding members who were heavily involved in the setting up of the society when they owned a home in the town.

The major success of the society was to raise F\$65,000 for the renovation of the Morris Hedstrom building in the town which has become the Community Centre housing a museum, library, squash court and weight training area. The building was presented to the National Trust when the lease held by WR Carpenter Ltd was terminated. The National Trust presented the building to LHCS rent free. However the running of this facility was to be funded by rent obtained from another building – the customs bond store. There is currently a major dispute between the LHCS and the National Trust of Fiji as to who actually owns the Bond Store and who is to be the recipient of the rent from the building (Daya Fiji Times 19/2/97 p6, Kanhai Fiji Times 21/2/97 p6). One of the members of the LHCS who was involved in the purchase of the Store has stated that a “gentleman’s agreement” was made and nothing was put in writing. “We thought we could trust the National Trust” (pers. comm. LHSC member 1997). The LHCS took a loan for the balance of funds from the National Trust in order to purchase the building, which they later repaid. However the ownership of the building was not changed. The rent from the commercial user of the store is \$700 a month which currently goes to the National Trust. The National Trust then paid the wages of the workers at the community centre which amounted to about \$500 a month. However central Government cut the amount it gives to the National Trust by 23 percent in the 1996/97 budget so the Trust stopped paying any monies to the LHCS. As a result the workers did not get paid until an individual member of the LHCS board provided the funds out of his own pocket. The biggest source of income – about \$3000 a year – is from the sale of postcards. In the past tours of the town were organised but this has not been financially viable since a travel agency was set up in town which started its own tours (pers. comm. P Leake 1997).

Links between the LHCS and other organisations seem limited. The heritage advisor attends meetings as an observer and expert but is not a member of the committee. Money is raised specifically from tourists through the sale of postcards which are produced by a member. Other monies raised from tourists are in the form of donations and through services that are primarily provided for local people such as library membership. It is common for tourists not to reclaim their deposits from the library.

The other societies in which Europeans are heavily involved, to the extent that they probably would not have been created without European input, are the Garden club and the Levuka Society for the Disabled. These two organisations while not being closely linked with heritage are connected. The Gardening Society was set up at the instigation of the first heritage advisor. Its primary aim is to beautify the town and to this extent members have carried out this task by installing containers full of flowers and plants along Beach Street. The only problem that has occurred with this project has been the use of the containers as rubbish bins until the plants became established. Now they are used as ashtrays. "The plants don't like nicotine," stated the president of the club. Unfortunately at about the same time the tubs were installed the government introduced anti-litter legislation which provided for a \$40 fine for people who infringed it. The president of and main motivator in the Gardening Society is a European. Most of the members are women who are also members of other clubs in the town such as the sewing society. The clubs are part of their social activities. However very few Fijians join these societies. I would hypothesise that this is because village life provides all the social interaction that Fijians require and have time for.

The School for the disabled was created as a result of the efforts of one woman, an expatriate Canadian. The building used for the school is the former button factory, which was in operation in the 1950s, and is subject to heritage legislation. She objected to the fact that she was expected to renovate the building in the style of the button factory rather than the private residence it was before that because this made alterations for the disabled difficult to put in place. In addition to this there is a

clause in the agreement that the building cannot be turned into tourism accommodation. An anonymous person told the overseas family of the deceased previous owner that the school for the disabled was a cover for a tourism project (pers. comm. Levuka School for the Disabled committee member).

It should be noted here that while some people believe that the heritage legislation is inadequate some members of the local community adhere to the spirit of the heritage legislation while others do what they can to get around it or blatantly ignore it. No one has been prosecuted for infringement of the rules.

Other heritage activities have been instigated by individuals or companies. The restoration of the Bishops' Tomb, for example, has been paid for by the travel agency in town with receipts from their island tour. It is, of course, in their interest to maintain the fabric of the historic sites as they believe that it is those that attract the tourists. However in some cases they are prevented from doing this because of disputes and factionalism in the town. They have been banned from taking tourists to the old Methodist Church in Levuka Vakiviti where Cakobau used to worship and where J.B. Williams the US Consul is buried because of a disagreement over another issue.

A calendar was also produced by the same people, but separate from the agency, to provide funds for the restoration of Father's wharf. This received mixed support partly because the instigator of this project is not well liked and some people in the town claimed that he owned the printing firm and was therefore making money from the project. (This was not the case on either point according to the individual concerned). The scheme was not successful though it has led to some people demanding that the wharf be restored. However, there is debate about how old and how integral to the community was the original wharf. One respondent suggested that the wharf was a useful political weapon for some of the factions in the town. The current heritage advisor believes that funds would be better spent elsewhere.

In addition there is a heritage society which has European members but also representatives of the National Trust of Fiji and the Department of Town and

Country Planning. The residents of Levuka on the committee believe that the Suva based members feel that there should be no local input. They also believe that the Suva based members work together to thwart the wishes of the Levukan members (pers. comm. 1998). This may be partly due to residual feeling over the Bond Store dispute. Some of the members of the Heritage committee are also board members of the LHCS and those that are not certainly know about the issue.

Local Attitudes towards Heritage

The understanding of local attitudes to heritage are necessary if any conclusion is to be reached on how tourists and tourism affect the economic value that local people place on the buildings of the town. The economics of tourism in Levuka is far more than just the money that the tourists spend. All aspects of the Town are part of the tourism product. Tourists have to have a reason to visit in order to spend their money in the Town.

The jurisdiction of Tui Levuka only extends as far as Fijians of the Levuka Tikina. The Town of Levuka is run by the Town Council. Fijian electoral law prevents any non-Fijian national from taking elected office either at national or local level. This prevents all but one of the European residents from standing for office on the local Council. However the one eligible European has done this. It is unusual to have elections in Levuka. If more people put themselves forward as prospective candidates than are seats it is most common for someone to stand down before the election is held. Unlike other parts of Fiji there are no parties in Levukan local politics. (A number of years ago some candidates stood under the banner of one national political party and, in the words of the Mayor, "got badly beaten"). Nevertheless local factions prevent the Council from developing a tourism policy in the town. Of the eight members of Council two are involved with tourism. One is an hotelier from one of the old European families and another is the owner of the travel agency. They have very different visions for the town and some observers of Council meetings have reported that if these two get onto the topic of tourism in Council meetings the meetings stop while they shout at each other. One respondent

stated that as a result the Council tries to keep away from the topic so that they can carry out other business.

There is a tourism committee, which has been set up in collaboration with the Lomaiviti Provincial Council. However this committee meets very infrequently and usually only to co-ordinate activities if a cruise ship is due to arrive in the town. This did not occur while I was there. The Mayor would like to see this committee become more active and more involved in the development of all forms of tourism in the town, however it was only in 1997 that the first 'corporate plan' was written in an attempt to set goals to be achieved in the next five years. In the past there has been no long term planning (pers. comm. 1997).

There are now moves to bring together the various disparate groups and committees involved with tourism in the Town. In a visit in 1997 the Minister of Tourism said that he could not advocate governmental help for tourism in the Town while so many groups expected to be consulted. The Council is now attempting to act as an umbrella organisation and provide 'one voice' to outside organisations including the government. "Our tourism people are not working together. They've all got their little interests" (pers. comm. 1997. Council member). Even so as the mayor acknowledges, when villages provide entertainment for guests there is no consistency in quality. They get bored with providing the service. "I think it's the lackadaisical type of life they lead" (pers. comm. 1997 Council member).

Some residents of Levuka Vakaviti have stated that they will no longer get involved in preparing activities for cruise ship tourists because the tourist businesses in town monopolise the tourists. These people believe that the commercial businesses are not prepared to share the revenues that could be accrued from tourism. However when I questioned them on their marketing (put in terms such as "how do you let the tourists know what you have on offer?") it would appear that they leave this to other people. There is a very limited understanding of the business of tourism or what tourists want.

Local attitudes towards heritage conservation are mixed. There are distinct variations between races but conservation and the need for it should not necessarily be viewed as a racial construct, as other factors are also involved. For example most Europeans in the Town support conservation issues. However, most of the Europeans are people who have chosen to live in Levuka because of its ambience and the buildings, in their view, help create this ambience. Of other local people there doesn't appear to be any correlation between race, education, occupation, gender or age, and the conservation of the buildings. One resident referred to those who have doubts about heritage as being members of the "mercantile class" but this observation is not supported by the data. The Indian and Chinese shopkeepers appear to be divided in their attitude towards conservation. However this may be due to the amount of custom their respective shops receive from tourists. Those that attract tourists are more interested in preserving the buildings because they believe that the buildings attract the tourists. Those that run establishments that are not of interest to tourists are more concerned with owning or working from a low maintenance building designed with efficiency in mind. If that coincides with the heritage ideals, then they will go along with the heritage requirement but otherwise they will not.

However, in contrast to the built environment, the preservation of the reef is generally seen as being important. This is possibly because it is an integral part of the lifestyle and sense of place of many people in Levuka. It is for this reason that I included a question on reef preservation when talking to local people. Not only does this juxtapose attitudes to the built environment with the natural environment, it also shows that the *idea* of preservation is not an alien concept in the Fijian cosmology.

Results of surveys

Fifty-three local people were formally surveyed with a questionnaire on their attitudes to the preservation of the environment. They were then asked to explain the reasons for their answers.

The data on the desire for the preservation of the historic buildings in Levuka shows that over half the sample population (30 respondents; 57 percent) are in favour of conservation (Table 4.1).

Table 4-1. Do you think that the buildings and monuments in Levuka should be preserved?

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	30	56.6
No	17	32.1
Don't know/ no response	6	11.3
Total	53	100

However, when the reasons for this desire are considered a different picture emerges (Table 4.2). After being asked the question illustrated by Table 4.1 respondents were asked to give reasons for their answer. This was an open question without suggestions being made by the interviewer.

If the response was that the buildings should be saved for tourists a further question was asked – “If no tourists visit should the buildings still be preserved?”

Table 4-2 Why should the buildings be saved?

	Frequency	Percent
a) Yes for tourists and history	9	17
b) Yes for history	8	15.1
c) Yes for tourists, no for residents	11	20.8
d) Yes – non-specific	2	3.8
No	17	32.1
Don't know/ no response	6	11.3
Total	53	100

No respondents gave any reason for the preservation of the buildings except for tourists or historical reasons apart from two who gave no reason. As a result it is possible to break down the reasons given for the preservation into four categories:

- a) those who believe that the buildings should be saved because of their historic value and because they attract tourists (9 respondents; 17%);
- b) those who believe the buildings should be saved because of their historical value (8 respondents; 15.1%);
- c) those who believe that they should only be saved in order to attract tourists but replaced with modern buildings if they fail to do this (11 respondents; 20.8%);
- and d) those who gave no reason (2 respondents; 3.8%).

Here it can be seen that the prime reason given that the buildings should be preserved is because of tourism. Twenty-nine per cent of respondents believed that the buildings should only be preserved if doing so will bring more tourists. If tourists do not come as a result of saving the buildings then there is no reason to preserve them. In this scenario the majority of respondents would be against preservation. Only 35.9 percent of the respondents believe that the buildings should be preserved irrespective of tourist response.

These figures should be contrasted with the results of a similar question “Do you think that the reef around Ovalau should be preserved? (Table 4.3). The reef is a natural phenomenon rather than one created by people.

Table 4.3. Reef preservation.

	Frequency	Percent
Yes	37	69.8
No	0	0
Don't know/ no response	16	30.2
Total	53	0

Not surprisingly there were no negative responses to this question (though one respondent was indifferent to preservation and others felt that they couldn't answer the question), however, the responses to the question of why the reef should be preserved were very mixed. It should be noted that 1997 was declared the International Year of the Reef. This received much publicity in Fiji including full page features in all the English language newspapers, essay competitions for schools and a number of pronouncements by the Prime Minister which were reported in the press and on the radio. This may have made the respondents more aware of the dangers of reef degradation and affected the responses. Alternatively, the belief in the need for reef preservation could support the hypothesis that the Fijian cosmology is more closely linked to the natural environment, which is seen as an integral part of *vanua* and therefore has a much greater meaning and importance than the built environment.

A number of respondents made comments that were directly related to Levuka. PAFCO was blamed for dumping waste matter which was killing the coral. One respondent stated that this waste was attracting sharks which made fishing dangerous. PAFCO were persuaded to extend their waste pipes beyond the reef to the open sea but some influential local people believe they only did the absolute minimum. Other respondents blamed local people for dumping rubbish in the lagoon. The dive master regularly collected bags of rubbish from the water whenever he went out. Nevertheless scuba diving was also blamed for the destruction of marine life. Broadly speaking the major reason given for reef destruction was pollution of one sort or another. One major cause, however, was not mentioned at all. This is the spread of the crown-of-thorns starfish which is becoming a major threat to coral in the south Pacific (pers. comm. Ed Lovell, marine biologist 1996). This starfish is to be found in the reef surrounding Ovalau.

Only four respondents said that the reef should be preserved for tourists while as many believed that diving was one of the causes of the problem. The reef off Levuka and to the north appears to be in reasonably good condition. However to the south it is dead in many places. Anecdotal evidence suggests that the major cause of the destruction is fish poisoning. A poison is made from the leaves of an indigenous

plant and placed on the reef at low tide. The fish that come in with the tide eat the plant, which stuns them, then they are collected by the fishermen. However a side effect of this procedure is to kill the coral. The Tui Levuka and a number of his tributary chiefs to the north of the Levuka have banned this practice. Another method of reef destruction that has been evident in Fiji is the use of dynamite for fishing. Some respondents mentioned this but there was no evidence of it around Ovalau. It would seem that news of dynamiting originating from an outside source has been passed around the community and some people now believe that it is happening locally. These sorts of stories are not unusual.

There are three observations that can be made about attitudes to the reef. The first is that there may be a link with the publicity generated by the International Year of the Reef. While no conclusive support for this can be offered because no data was collected before the publicity began many of the concerns raised by the respondents mirrored the news reports. The second is that the reef is seen as an integral part of the environs of Levuka. It is a part of the landscape. It is an irreplaceable and functional part of the natural environment, a part of the *vanua*, unlike the built environment, which can be replaced. The third is for its economic importance as the lagoon within the reef is a provider of food. In times of shortage people will return to fishing as a means of obtaining protein for their families.

Meanings of buildings and preservation

The desire to preserve a built heritage is closely linked to the meaning that the buildings hold for those who wish to preserve them. However, as the earlier data has shown, there is no reason why this meaning should be the same amongst all the people who desire preservation. The question then arises as to why the meanings are different.

Fijian meanings in buildings

The Fijian attitude to heritage conservation is complex. Some people see no point in it at all and think that preserving the buildings detracts from the town to such an

extent that it discourages potential businesses and tourists from visiting. Others believe that the buildings attract tourists and more will come bringing income and providing employment, if the buildings are preserved. However this group would not maintain the buildings if tourists do not visit. Their concern for preservation is entirely dependent on the income it can generate. Some believe that the buildings are preserved for tourists but that this is a good thing because it keeps an aspect of Fijian history alive. Finally, a minority argue that the buildings should be kept for their own sake; that preservation is not and should not be dependent on tourists.

The reasons for these differing views introduces the complexity of local thought but the underlying basis appears to be that of functionality. Many people believed that the buildings should be knocked down because modern buildings are more functional. Very few considered the buildings to be representative of Fijian history. There are two reasons for this. The first is related to the Fijian conceptualisation of history and the second is concerned with what Fijians feel are the important moments in their history.

The best example of the first point came from a female respondent. In answer to question 23, “why do you think that tourists come to Levuka” she replied because of the history. For question 25 –“ Do you think the old buildings and monuments in Levuka should be preserved?” – she said that they should be pulled down and replaced with new ones. She had also said that she wanted more tourists to visit Levuka. Sensing a contradiction here I reminded her of this. She looked at me with a markedly surprised expression and said, “The history is still here!” She explicitly stated what many other respondents assumed that I understood; that history is not to be found in the buildings but in the land, location and *vanua*. Later I asked other Fijian respondents where the history was to be found and their answers echoed this woman’s. One said that while they attach importance to where buildings are they also attach importance to where they used to be. A sense of *mana* is passed from an institution that uses a building, such as a priest or chief’s bure, but it is the institution and not the building that has that *mana*. Once the building has gone the place where it was maintains the *mana* even if an alternative building has been built elsewhere. From a western tourist’s point of view this can sometimes be confusing.

The second point that is necessary in order to understand the Fijian attitude towards the built environment of Levuka is the conceptualisation of the history that created the town in the first place. Levuka Town (as opposed to Levuka Vakaviti) was created by Europeans and is still seen as a European town. It is not Fijian. As was noted earlier arguments put forward for the preservation of the town included the belief that the town is the birthplace of the nation. While this may be true in the sense of the modern nation state Fijians look beyond that. One respondent said that this is not of much concern to most Fijians. They see their origins in the legends of their ancestors' arrival in Fiji and, more importantly, in the area in which their *yavusa* originated. These stories are still told on Ovalau. The people of Lovoni trace themselves back to the first arrival on the island who swam there to escape persecution on Viti Levu.

Another respondent put the problem of the preservation of the town very succinctly from a Fijian point of view. She did not understand why Fijians should have to pay to preserve a European town in a European way for Europeans (i.e. the tourists).

Building owners and heritage building maintenance

In unstructured interviews and social gatherings among those who owned houses there was a general complaint that the cost of preservation was too high and frustration at not being able to do to their homes what they would really like. One respondent, a Fijian, stated that European houses were built for Europeans. As a result they conform to European social structures. He pointed out that Fijian social structures are different. The front part of his house was the wrong shape for large gatherings of people. It is a narrow oblong and if many people visited they could not sit in a circle easily (see plate 9 for an example of this). He wanted to build out to provide more space but was prevented from doing so. Even the changes that he was allowed to carry out were delayed for over a year because all the plans had to be checked by the heritage advisor and the Town and Country Planning Department of the Central Government.

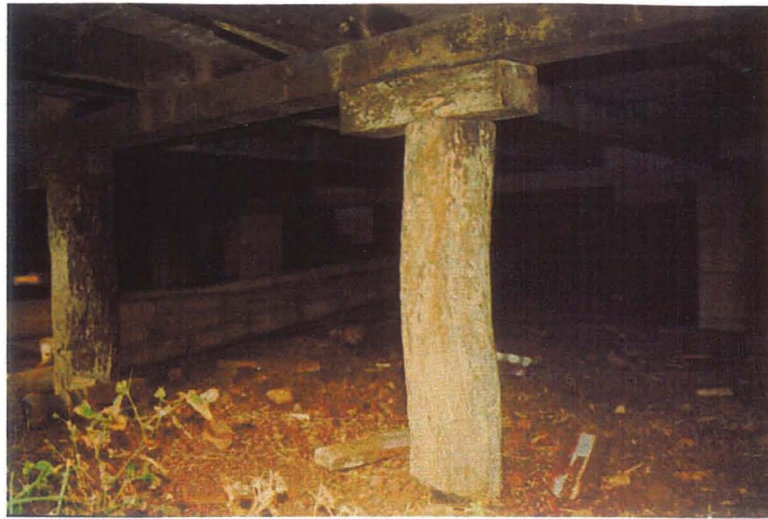


Plate 8. Heritage legislation requires that piles are not replaced with concrete



Plate 9. Some retail chains ignore the colour schemes required by heritage legislation. No action is taken against them.



Plate 10. The interior of a European house. The shape of this room is not suited to Fijian social gatherings as people are unable to sit in a circle.



Plate 11. A listed late-nineteenth century house built by a German settler.

Another respondent, a part European, had strong opinions about the added cost of renovation. He wanted to build a new house in the colonial style to replace the existing building, built by his grandfather, which was getting too old to maintain at a reasonable cost. He also had difficulty in understanding the reasons for some of the rules. The building has been changed a number of times already but now it seems to have been fixed in its current design by legislation. The veranda, for example, had been covered and given walls in order to make it part of the house. Originally a tarpaulin would have been pulled down from the house to provide shade. The original hooks are still in position. He doubted if he would be allowed to change it back if he wanted to. He had been told that he couldn't change the latticework that had been put on the side of the old veranda even though it let the rain in during strong winds (See plate 10). Latticework seems to have been designated 'colonial'. In the first example an extension to the back of the house could only be made if it was included.

Problems of conflicting legislation became evident as renovations needed to take place. This respondent had to change the wooden piles for the house. It had become standard practice for these to be replaced with concrete blocks however he had not been allowed to do this. He had been told that he had to use the original wood, ironwood or nokonoko (*Casuarina equisetifolia*) (see plate 7). However, this tree is now a protected species. Normally, when a replacement part is needed for a house listed as having heritage value, house owners will firstly try to use second hand examples usually salvaged from demolished buildings. However for piles this generally proves to be impossible. The compromise suggested was that pine could be used provided that it was treated and stained to be the same colour as nokonoko. This, the respondent believed, was ridiculous. The wood would not be authentic, which is what seemed to be the goal, it would also be more expensive and last for a much shorter period than concrete. He also pointed out that the only people who had actually crawled under his house to look at the piles apart from him had been one of the heritage advisors and me. Nevertheless, he was not totally against heritage preservation. He preferred the look of the old buildings and the feel they gave to the town. The main problem for him was finance. While the funds were supposed to be available he had never been able to access them. He had applied for funds two years

previously but his application was still being processed. He complained that he had used all his savings in the upkeep of the house and it still needed a lot of work doing to it.

One heritage advisor suggested that in some cases the legislation was counter productive. One particular house is in great need of basic repairs however the owner wants to demolish the building and build a new one. At present he is not allowed to do this but if he continues to refrain from any maintenance the building will have to be demolished because it will become unsafe. Currently (1997) only half the house can be used because of holes in the floor. There is no legislation to prevent *inaction* by the owner.

Yet another respondent complained that he had spent \$40,000 on the renovation of his home. He felt that he could have had a much nicer house for that amount of money if it weren't for the heritage requirements. He also suggested that institutions such as schools would be able to spend money more effectively if they did not have to abide by heritage legislation. Another respondent, who complained that the Levuka Public School was prevented from erecting a three-story building because of the heritage legislation, echoed this point.

Even on a smaller scale of alteration problems can occur. One householder in a back street wanted to erect a fence to stop his young children from wandering away from the garden. He was told that this would have to be a picket fence which, he claimed, would cost three times that of a wire one. He put up a wire one anyway as he believed, probably rightly, that there would be no action taken against him.

Even among hoteliers, there are some misgivings about maintaining buildings in their original format. One said that her property could not be returned to the way it was because the basic structure of the building had been changed. This was especially the case as the public bar had been removed and it would be unlikely that they would get a licence back to run one even if they wanted to, which they don't. Another hotelier thinks that the whole idea is "stupid". She believes that tourists want modern things and activities.

One of the heritage advisors has pointed out that many of the regulations that have to be followed are general planning rules that are not related to heritage legislation. For example, no building in Levuka is allowed to be within six metres of a creek. This rule was enacted in order to allow access to the water for everyone. However, one respondent blamed the heritage rules when his application to extend his house outward was rejected. Similarly, a school roof was strengthened for cyclone protection. While the heritage advisor was involved in order to make sure that the alterations were done in accordance with the heritage rules some residents felt that money was being diverted from the school's core role of providing education because of the heritage rules.

The views of people who do not live in heritage houses are not so forceful. These views vary from those who think that Levuka needs modernising if it is to develop; through those who believe that buildings should be saved as development is possible from tourism; to those who feel that Levuka has a place in Fijian history and therefore should be preserved as it is. One respondent, a professional Fijian seconded to Levuka from elsewhere in Fiji simply stated that he thought that they should be saved because, "I like them." He felt that they gave Levuka an ambience that did not exist anywhere else in Fiji.

One prominent and influential Fijian resident stated that he was not interested in conservation of the Levukan architecture as neither he, his family nor any people in his village gained any benefit from it. He is a member of one of the conservation committees though he never attends their meetings. However, he is keen on reef preservation as this keeps fish in the area. This source of food is especially important when PAFCO is closed.

There are a number of misconceptions amongst many members of the local population. Some people believed that the Town Council paid for the repair and maintenance of the buildings in the town while others thought that PATA were going to spend money promoting Levuka thereby providing an income to pay for the renovations. Some of the Public Works Department (a central government department) workers from Suva felt that tourism is forcing the town Council to

improve the Town. However, they also believed that the heritage rules made it more expensive to maintain buildings and prevented new buildings from being constructed as these had more stringent requirements regarding design and building materials than elsewhere in the country.

The misgivings of local people about the heritage legislation should be noted more fully by those who wish to preserve the Townscape. It is evident that there are a number of misconceptions. In some cases an inability to gain planning consent is blamed on heritage legislation when, in fact, it is a result of other planning legislation. If this problem is not addressed those who occupy heritage-listed building may begin to see them as a liability. This could be an unforeseen change in the meaning of buildings and certainly not conducive to the western idea of heritage preservation.

The European residents

The European residents of Levuka come from a variety of backgrounds but most of them feel that it is their duty to give back something to the Town. Heritage is one aspect of this but it is also relevant to other areas of voluntary work. There are eight permanent new European residents in Levuka and its environs. Again I am using the Fijian definition of European but, in this case only considering those that have chosen to move to the town from another country rather than being brought up there. Of these eight, three are from Canada, though one has taken Fijian citizenship; three are from the United States of which one is a Hispanic American and another is not European by any real definition as she is a full blooded native American; and two are from the United Kingdom. For the purposes of this thesis permanent is taken to mean people who have their first home in Levuka, are not on a fixed working contract and have no plans to leave¹⁵ In addition three Australians work in the town but live on the other side of the island. There are also three European women married to Fijians who live elsewhere on Ovalau but seldom visit the town. Another

¹⁵ Nevertheless of these eight, four have since left – two to move overseas and two to Suva, though these two still own a business in Levuka and are frequent visitors.

Australian owns a home in Levuka and visits for a number of months a year. Of the European residents all but one either do not work or work in the tourist sector. The one exception is a farmer though he helps his wife and daughter in their restaurant.

Most of the European residents are involved with community projects and organisations such as the LHCS and the creation of a school for the disabled. As one stated "I became soon well aware of my obligations in regard to a bit of energy expended but there was obvious need and a lot of interest in being active within the community and I was able to give time to the Levuka Historical Society" (pers. comm. 1997). Nevertheless, this same respondent also stated that if no benefits are accrued to the community centre from his efforts due to inefficiency, inertia or political infighting of the committee "we'll do it for some other charity". He is on the board of the Levuka Society for the Disabled. Another of the European residents states that he is willing to provide his services but "(o)ne thing I deplore and absolutely detest is going round asking people for money. I'd rather do it myself and do voluntary things and do things for nothing rather than go and ask for people to pay me to do it or ask for money from people."

Some of the heritage activities carried out by Europeans are directly related to their work. The local divemaster discovered a number of wrecks in the harbour and, with the help of the heritage advisor attempted to discover the stories behind them. In total there are 12 wrecks, all from the nineteenth century, five of which have now been tentatively identified. A group of marine archaeologists from Australia are to conduct a more rigorous examination of the site. Some things are known to have been taken by local people but these are only objects for which they can find a use. Examples are various anchors and attempts are being made to recover those. While there is an obvious commercial advantage for the dive operator to be able to offer wrecks (and the prospect of finding new ones) to prospective divers this aspect of his operation has yet to be marketed. He feels that he should wait until the marine archaeologists have examined the site. The Tui Levuka claims control and ownership of all objects in the sea that lies between coastal areas under his jurisdiction and the reef. The dive shop owner suggests that there is a need for a preservation order on the harbour but this has yet to be achieved.

Another example is the owners of the tour operation in the town who provide money from the sale of their tours to go towards the restoration of specific buildings on Ovalau.

Most of the Europeans are involved in some form of voluntary work concerning the heritage and history of the town. The exceptions are the women married to Fijians. They tend not to get involved with the activities of Levuka. This may be because they live in villages outside and are not actually part of the Levukan community. One other woman also declined to get involved with any of the activities in the town, however she wanted to leave Levuka and felt no affinity with the town.

The driving forces behind the creation of the Levuka Historical and Cultural Society are generally considered to be an Australian couple, Beth and Victor Carell after whom the main meeting hall in the Community Centre has been named. They first visited Levuka as part of the Pacific Festival of Arts in 1970 then visited a few times before buying land and building a home in the town. They then lived for six months of the year in Levuka until 1983 when ill health forced them to sell. They still visit regularly and while they are not as heavily involved in the work of the LHCS they do attempt to contribute if they can. Another Australian, who bought their house, carried on their work. He has produced the post cards and local telephone number 'quick find', the proceeds of which have gone to the community centre. This seems to be fairly consistent behaviour with the other European newcomers in the town.

Typical of the new European residents' responses to questions on the validity of heritage preservation in the town are:

Well it's... history, it's the historical landmark of the origins of the... Town. You take away the landmarks of the town you take away the heritage, the culture from the town and they (people generally) have no specific thing to look at. Nothing material there to see.

Another European resident stated that while she liked the idea of preservation she did not like tourists. Levuka attracted her because of its ambience. This was created by the architecture of the town. However, that would disappear if the buildings went or if too many people came to see them. As another European resident stated, "It seems

that there is a mixture of visions for Levuka. The towns people seem to be letting the outsiders fight it out”.

Shopkeepers

The final group of people that I will consider are the shopkeepers. They are at the forefront of any demands made by the heritage legislation as their shops in Beach Street provide the vista that is to be preserved. While other buildings are considered important in themselves, as Bawa pointed out, Beach Street must be considered as a whole. It provides the first impression for any visitor to the town whether they arrive by sea or road. I spoke in some depth with all the shopkeepers bar two who were not prepared to talk to me. Neither did I speak to the managers of the two banks in town. The total number of respondents was twenty-one. Of these, nine were born in Levuka and sixteen consider Levuka to be home. The respondents gave their ethnicities as follows: nine Indians (one of whom pointed out that he was Gujarati), three Chinese, two Europeans, one Fijian, one Fijian/Indian mix and four ‘others’, though one of the ‘others’ said that he was American, which in Fijian terminology is European, and two ‘others’ are from part European ‘old’ families.

Again it is impossible to tell whether the differences in attitude towards heritage and tourism is due to employment or racial group as only two businesses could be described as being Fijian. Even in one of these the manager of the business is officially classed as ‘Other’ because her father is not Fijian. Among some of the Indian shopkeepers there is still a feeling of uncertainty in living in Fiji as a result of the coups and racial attitudes towards them. One respondent had already arranged to migrate and others stated that they were considering their options. This may have affected their attitude towards heritage preservation as they did not feel able to give a long-term commitment to the town. However there are also Indian shopkeepers who are members of the LHCR.

The views on heritage followed similar lines to those of the owners of heritage homes. One respondent was concerned that the shopkeepers have to cover the costs of preserving the heritage while it is only the tourist businesses that make the money.

Tourists bought very little in this respondent's shop. He also complained that the heritage rules did not allow for sensible alterations. In his particular case the building has wooden decoration on the balcony. He is quite happy to keep this but because of its design it lets in rainwater which rots the wooden foundation of the balcony. He wanted to change this base to concrete to preserve it longer but was told that he could not. He did anyway and told the authorities to take him to court. He felt that the Council could not take criticism. This was echoed by another shopkeeper who did not believe that the Council was interested in helping shopkeepers. This may be because the only people on the Council who had a stake in Beach Street both work in the tourism sector. Another respondent felt that historic preservation was geared against Indian shopkeepers. This was an extreme view of the feeling of some shopkeepers that outsiders controlled heritage conservation. One stated that rules were regularly broken and no action was taken. He inferred that if alterations were done quietly no one minded however this prevented major alterations. One story that was repeated on a number of occasions concerned a resident who was told that he could not install louvre windows. He was told that he had to put in windows of a traditional design. However these cost a lot more. Eventually a compromise was reached where he was able to use louvre windows made of wood. Nevertheless the whole process took over a year before agreement was reached.

Three shopkeepers said that they wanted to build extensions onto their properties to accommodate more of their family members but had been refused permission. One explained that providing work and a home for family members was part of Indian culture. The building within which the enterprise takes place is only a component of the business and not the reason for it. Most respondents were happy to preserve the façade of the buildings but wanted to be able to change other parts of them so that they could function more efficiently as the site of the business. The buildings are not objects in their own right but integral parts of the business. To have one without the other is meaningless.

Apart from the two banks there are two chain stores in Levuka. Both of these have corporate colours, neither of which conform to the legislated heritage colours. The

company that controls one of these shops agreed to maintain the original colour scheme, repainted the building in the company colours and then claimed that there had been a misunderstanding with the decorators. They did not repaint their building in heritage colours, however (pers.com. 1997). The manager of the other shop, which is painted in particularly bright colours, stated that the colour scheme was necessary so that anyone driving by could spot the building immediately (see plate 8). He said that the colours had been toned down because of the heritage requirements and other preferred alterations, such as putting in aluminium framed windows, were not carried out. Wood, he argued, does not last as long as aluminium, especially as the building faces the sea. However the company was aware of the special requirements in Levuka.

All but one of the businesses that catered primarily for tourists were in favour of the heritage legislation. The owner of the exception ran his business from one of the few non-heritage buildings but owned other buildings that he let and therefore had to maintain. One respondent had been fairly indifferent to heritage concerns until a cyclone damaged her shop. She then got free advice and plans from the heritage advisor. She also preferred the aesthetics of the repair work suggested by the heritage advisor though she accepts that it will require more maintenance. Others were fairly neutral in their response to the requirements. One pointed out that his customers didn't care what the building looked like. He said that there are plans by Patersons' Shipping to build a new collection of shops by the ferry landing on the other side of Ovalau. (I was not able to confirm the truth of this statement). If this were to happen people from villages away from Levuka would shop there instead. They would prefer modern buildings. Data collected from local people suggests that price is the overriding concern though some respondents indicated that they liked the modern attributes of one particular shop which was generally perceived as being more expensive.

Conclusion

While there may be some debate about whether tourism has been the motivating factor regarding the conservation of Levuka what is clear is that once the idea of conservation was floated, tourism was soon seen as the justification for the move. Every consultancy firm that has been engaged to look at the conservation of the town has done so with a consideration for the tourism potential.

The desire to encourage more tourism is the result of a number of factors coming together at the same time; namely: the need for an alternative to the tuna canning factory as a means of employment; the government of Fiji's signing of the UNESCO Heritage Declaration in 1990; and the relatively recent arrival of new European outsiders in Levuka.

Nevertheless, there is a lack of mutual understanding of the terms that have been used in promoting Levuka. A variety of meanings are given to terms such as heritage, tourism and tourists by various members of the community without a realisation that other groups interpret the words differently. The only unifying factor is the hope that tourism will increase income in the Town. What most local Fijians would like is a regular source of income. It is becoming increasingly difficult for them to maintain a subsistence lifestyle as they are subject to continuous demands for cash from the Tikina, churches and schools. Income from working at PAFCO is not guaranteed. This affects not only the PAFCO workers and their families but also the shopkeepers.

Of the new Europeans residents in the town all but three partners originally visited either as tourists or because of involvement in a tourist enterprise. It is these people who have been the driving force for the historical preservation of the Town. As will be shown in the next section many local people consider these people to be tourists even though they may be resident in Levuka. Two of the Europeans involved in the heritage of the Town accept fully that the preservation of the built heritage is something that has been demanded by outsiders. They justify this by saying that the motto for local people is "you take the lead". These two were adamant that where they led was where the local people want to go.

From the point of view of many local people, both Indian and Fijian, it appears that the town has been picked out by travel agents as a good place to 'market'. This idea has been taken up by other outsiders who have attempted to enforce their own beliefs in conservation. However, there is disgruntlement because it is not the outsiders who are expected to pay the financial costs of the heritage preservation but the local owners of the properties. Nevertheless there is a body of opinion that believes that tourists can provide an income. The problem here is that people tend to have differing ideas about what tourism entails, and about who is a tourist. An understanding of tourism, in many cases, comes from newspapers and stories about the tourist resorts in the west of Viti Levu – in other words, beach resort based tourism. One local person who has set up a cultural village on Ovalau stated that he had to overcome this concept of tourism in order to gain permission to set up his community based project (Fisher forthcoming). There are also a number of people that are sceptical about the benefits that will accrue to them from increased tourism especially in areas away from Levuka Town. People in Levuka Vakaviti told me that they believed that those involved in tourism in the Town wanted to keep all the money to themselves and not spread it around the greater community. This view was also commented on in a governmental report on tourism in Ovalau (Nawadra 1995).

The most important aspect of local attitude towards conservation is that many people believe that it will attract tourists. The demand for tourists is a derived demand. While many local people say they enjoy contact with tourists, they want the income that they think that tourism will provide. A consequence of this is that the desire for the preservation of the Town is also derived. There is no cultural understanding of why tourists want to see old buildings (though some think that the tourists want to see their own cultural heritage). However if they do and provide work and income then many local people are happy to keep the buildings. Others tend to view what tourists want from their own perspective. They want to show Fiji as a modern, progressive country and feel that this is what tourists want. "Tourists want modern things," said one respondent. Another respondent, who has received higher education, claimed that many Fijians are ashamed of their own culture and want to appear modern and progressive to the outside world. For them the idea of preserving

the old is incomprehensible and to preserve Levuka is to tell the world (i.e. tourists) that Fiji hasn't developed in the past hundred years.

Is tourism changing the way local people value and construct the meaning of heritage? The answer to this is not straightforward. This because it is possible to behave in a particular way but for different reasons. The majority of local residents are in favour of preservation *if* it encourages tourism. By that definition tourism has changed attitudes or beliefs. However this change only occurs if there is tourism. Should tourism not increase as a result of building preservation then there is no point in preserving the buildings. There has been a frictional change but not a structural one. The fact that tourists value the old buildings for their own intrinsic quality has not resulted in many local people valuing them in the same way. Their value is derived financially. More importantly there is very little evidence in a change in behaviour. Very few local people are involved in the physical conservation of the town unless they own a historic building and then it tends to be grudging involvement.

In the terminology of the demonstration effect what is observable among many local people is social learning. What they desire may be achieved by learning to view the built structures of the Town in a new way. They are not copying behaviour or attitudes towards buildings that tourists demonstrate.

What is clear is that Fijians still do not see history in 'things' to the same extent as Europeans. Some objects *do* carry meanings beyond what a non-Fijian would consider, such as the tabua, but these are exceptions. I would hypothesise that one possible reason for this is due to the fact that much of Fijian history is still oral. It is generally the European history in Fiji that is written. This may affect the way people 'read' artificial structures and townscapes. It has been suggested that people in the west are unable to 'read' fully the landscapes of their own cultures (Thayer, 1998) let alone read them in the same way as people of other cultures. I would suggest that of all the cultures in Fiji only the Europeans read 'townscapes' in a way that encourages preservation for its own sake. The question that is pertinent to this thesis is whether a change in the visualization of their world by people in Levuka is due to tourism or

to globalization. I would argue that tourism is a very small part of that change if the change has started to occur. The concept of conservation of the reef, for example, is much more readily understood by people in Levuka because on its survival rests many traditional activities. In contrast activities are not dependent on *particular* buildings though they may be dependent on buildings.

In addition, at a culturally deep level is the concept of *vanua*. Land and the physical environment have far greater meaning to Fijians than to Europeans. Conceptually *vanua* encompasses spiritual values that include the past and many aspects of heritage. For Europeans it is the buildings that explain the past which is why Levuka is promoted as a tourist destination by local Europeans. There may be signs that Fijians with higher levels of education who come from outside Levuka appreciate the 'European' values of preserving the built environment but there is not adequate evidence to make a definitive statement. They may be supporting a more sophisticated version of the argument that building preservation will provide more tourist income for the economy though a greater differentiation of the tourist market.

What is clearly apparent is that there are a number of different worldviews in existence at the same time. If people who hold a particular worldview do not acknowledge that other people may have a different conceptualisation of the world, or that these conceptualisations are valid, then misunderstandings and hostility are likely to occur. Buildings are being preserved in Levuka for the following reasons: they look nice, they are historical, the owners cannot afford to change them, owners believe that they are not allowed to change them, they bring in tourists and therefore money, the government says they must be preserved, foreigners say they must be preserved. However, there is little appreciation of the differences in meaning that are attached to buildings.

Nevertheless, there only appears to be limited evidence to support Thompson's (1979) assertion that people's world views become entwined and while one may not accept the aesthetic values of another, say, they will accommodate them as a price for maintaining stability and interaction between the two peoples. This dynamic, according to Thompson (ibid. p87) "relates tolerance, intolerance and the

contradiction...depicting the universe of objects, to the stability and instability of social systems". In the case of Levuka the entwinement of worldviews is one way. It is local people who are having to accommodate the worldview of outsiders. While this does not require them to give up their own worldviews they have to see the preservation of the town in terms of income generation in order to support it. Outsiders have just assumed that they are 'correct' in preserving the Town and the local people will come round to their way of thinking some time in the future. There appears to be no attempt to accommodate the worldviews of local people or even to consider the possibility that different ones exist. Local people are expected to understand that tourists place a value on the buildings which create much of the place product of Levuka as a tourist destination. They are then expected to change their values accordingly. In other words local people are expected behave according to the demonstration effect hypothesis. The evidence suggests that this is only happening to a limited extent.

Chapter five

The tourists

Tourist Data Analysis

If, as the literature suggests, tourists affect the behaviour of local people and different types of tourists behave differently then it is necessary to discover the type of tourist that visits the destination in question to understand the changes they cause. The method chosen to achieve an understanding of tourist types to Levuka was to collect basic demographic data. This included age, nationality, duration of stay and length of holiday. Where possible this was compared with national figures provided by the Fiji Visitors' Bureau. I have compared data for the same periods when it has been available. However figures for the ages of tourists and the length of stay are only available up to and including 1995. I also collected data that gives some indication of the travel experience of the visitors to Levuka which I hoped would provide a distinction between psychocentric and allocentric tourists. The assumption here is that the more experienced the tourist and the longer the duration of the trip the less likely it is that the tourist could be classed as a mass tourist.

Tourist data gathering

The primary data presented here was collected from 130 tourists formally interviewed using a questionnaire (see appendix A). The data were analysed using SPSS version 8 software. These tourists were asked semi-structured questions based on their answers in the questionnaires. In addition interviews were held with other tourists as part of the fieldwork participant observation. Figures for the total number of visitors were gathered from accommodation registers in the town.

Some caution must be exercised with the data gathered from tourists. The sample is biased in favour of tourists who stayed in Levuka for longer periods. This is because I had little opportunity in questioning tourists who only stayed for one night. Similarly, most tourists that were interviewed were either travelling alone or in small

groups of two or three. During the fieldwork period there were three large groups. Of these I was not able to gain entry to two – a church group and a group of students from the United States. These groups tended to be insular and did not appear to want contact with other visitors to the town including me. The one group with which I was able to talk, though not administer the formal questionnaire, were on a sailing charter holiday. I was able to do this by waiting on them at one of the restaurants. There is also the possibility of bias regarding Japanese tourists. All the tourists that I encountered spoke English except two young Japanese women. From observations of tourists it would appear that very few non-English speakers visit Levuka.

While the figures for the total number of overseas visitors to the Town are as accurate as possible there were differences in the collation of the data in different hotels. Only one included accurate figures for duration of stay. The other main hotel had a blackboard system, which indicated the number of days for which each guest still owed payment. Once payment was received the figure was wiped. As far as general reliability of the figures it is possible that not all guests were registered though this would only account for a small proportion of the whole. One hotel asked for nationality of the guests while another asked for country of residence. Generally this can be assumed to be the same but there were examples of people giving their country of residence as, say Japan, but having European names. Similarly there were other examples of people travelling on passports of countries where they no longer resided. It was also difficult to distinguish ex-patriot Europeans who lived in Suva from overseas visitors where only nationality was asked. European names are also common among Fijian citizens so the name could not be considered an accurate sign of residence, nationality or even ethnic origin. No hotels provided information on the gender of their guests and I felt that guessing based on first names would not be reliable or valid given the number of foreign names for which I had no idea about gender, and non-gender specific names.

Visitor numbers and duration of stay

The total number of tourists who registered in Levuka accommodation for the period July 1996 to June 1997 was 2326. Of these all but 47 stayed at the Royal Hotel and

the Mavida Guesthouse. I was only able to obtain the numbers of tourists who stayed at the Old Capital Inn II and the Colonial Inn, as they did not record duration of stay or country of origin. The following figures do not include these two places of accommodation. As a result the percentages are based on a total of 2279 people registered at the Royal Hotel and the Mavida Guesthouse.

Figures on seasonality are distorted by the occurrence of cyclone Gavin following which the number of tourists dropped in April when they were expected to rise. This was probably due to international news that suggested that the whole of Fiji had suffered badly which was not the case. The only major effect on tourism in Levuka was a lack of transport to and from the island for a period of three days caused mainly by aircraft and shipping being in the wrong place as a result of bad weather elsewhere. Popular local belief states that January, February and March constitute the low season. However in 1997 January was a relatively good month and April was poor.

Table 5.1 shows, firstly, the number of visitors to Levuka registered in commercial accommodation, and, secondly, the percentage of visitors in any one month over the survey period for both Levuka and Fiji.

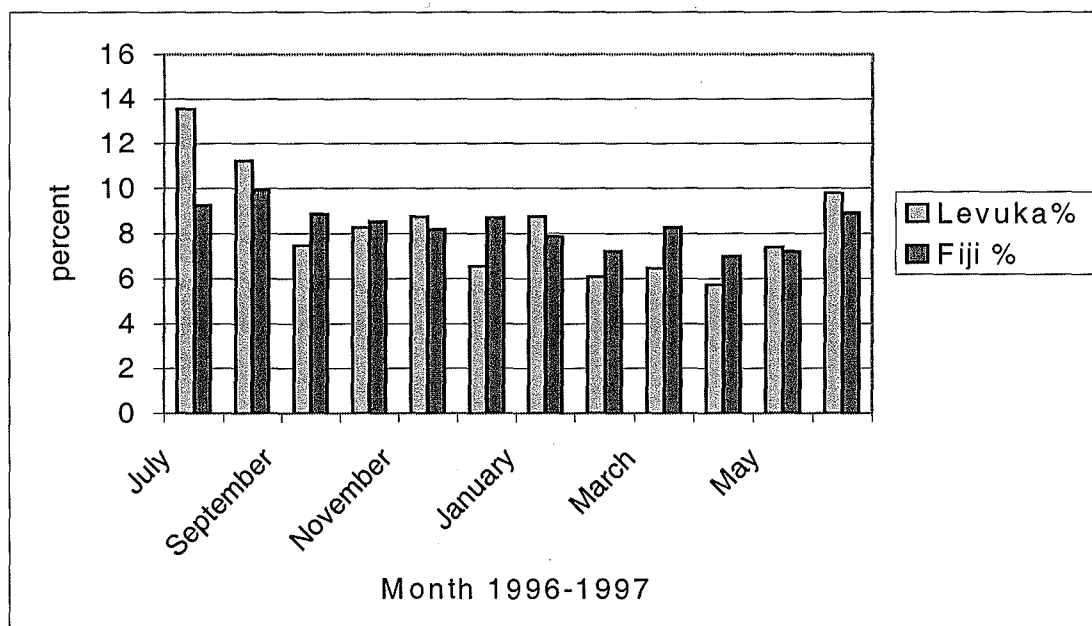
In 1996-7 there was a seasonal variation in visitors to Levuka which is more pronounced than for Fiji as a whole. Anecdotal evidence from tourism operators in Levuka suggest that the period surveyed was not unusual. What would be the low season is helped by boosts in numbers due to the Christmas and Easter holidays. The more pronounced seasonal variations for tourists to Levuka may be due to the comparatively high numbers of tourists from Europe. Airfares to Australasia are cheaper during the Southern Hemisphere winter. It is fortuitous that this coincides with the better weather in Fiji.

Table 5-1 Visitors to Levuka and Fiji each month as a percentage of the annual total.

Month	No of Visitors to Levuka	Levuka %	Fiji %
1996 July	310	13.54	9.26
August	257	11.23	9.92
September	171	7.47	8.87
October	189	8.26	8.54
November	200	8.74	8.21
December	150	6.56	8.7
1997 January	200	8.74	7.88
February	139	6.08	7.22
March	148	6.47	8.28
April	131	5.73	7
May	169	7.39	7.2
June	224	9.79	8.92

Figures for Fiji are sourced from the Bureau of Statistics 1998

Figure 5-1 Visitors to Levuka and Fiji each month as a percentage of the annual total.

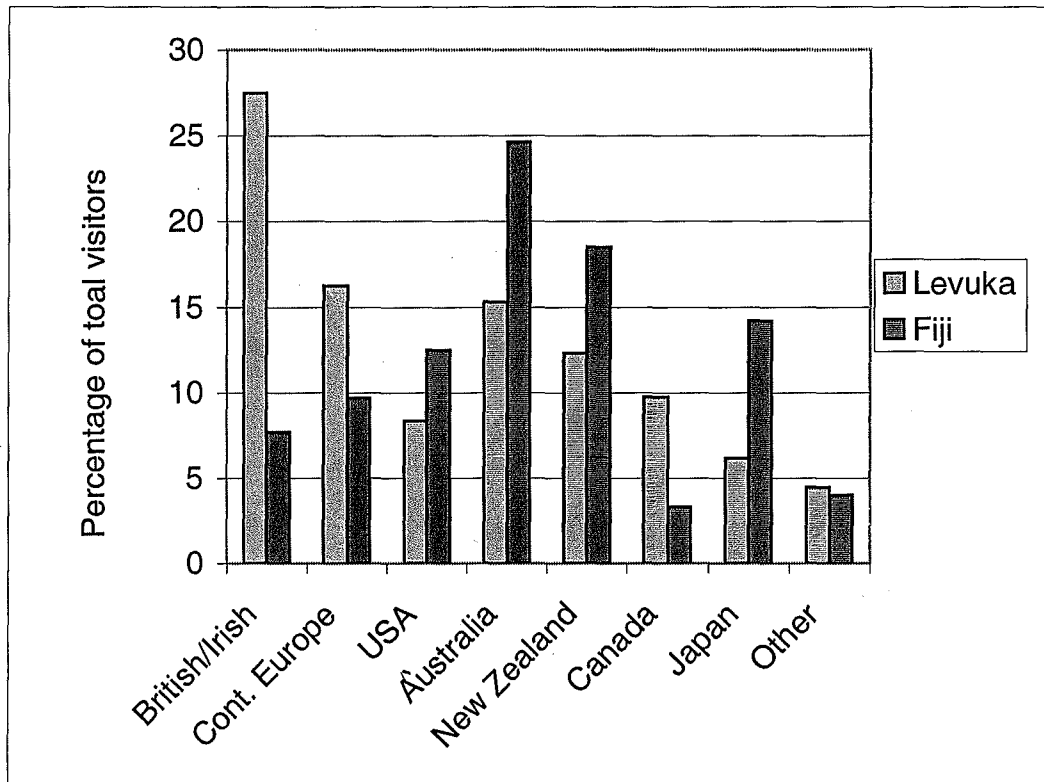


Source for Fiji figures from Bureau of Statistics 1998

Nationality of visitors

Fig. 5.2 shows a comparison of visitors to Levuka and Fiji by nationality. Here large differences are observable.

Figure 5-2 Visitors to Levuka and Fiji by nationality



Source for Fiji figures from Bureau of Statistics 1998.

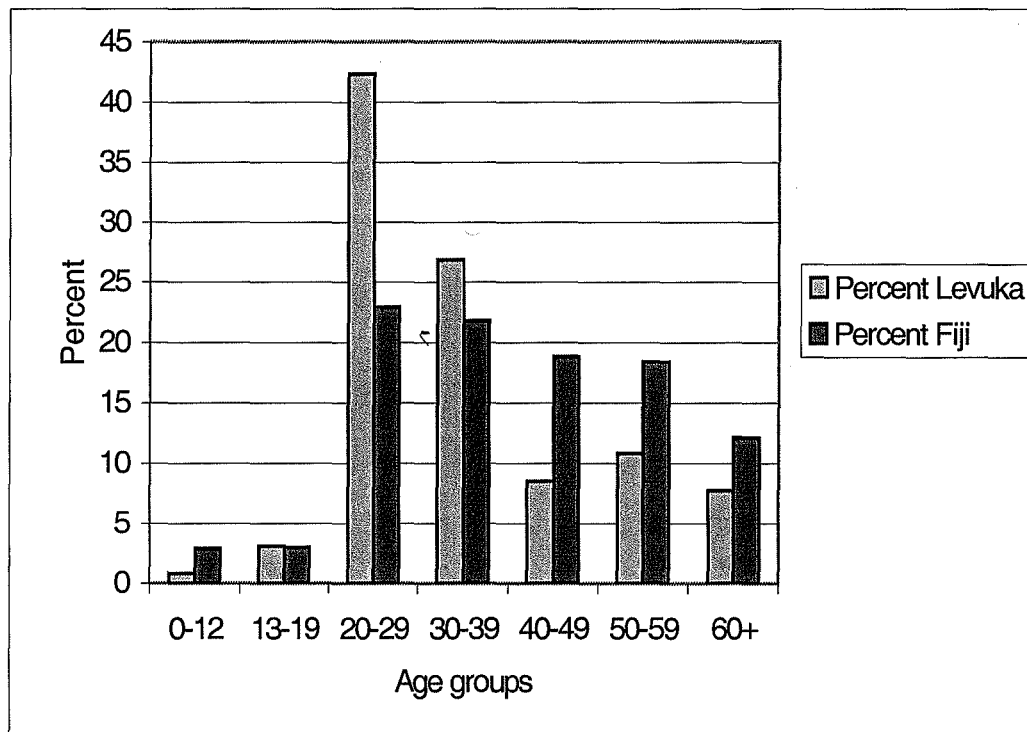
This comparison shows that while Fiji generally receives more tourists from neighbouring countries, such as Australia and New Zealand, Levuka experiences the opposite. The greatest share of visitors come from countries furthest away from Fiji. Over 43 percent come from Europe. This may be due to the types of tourists who visit Levuka, the length of their time away from home and the length of their stay in Fiji. Fiji may also be considered a short haul, mass tourist destination for visitors from Australia and New Zealand. Again, it should be noted that the figures on the nationality of visitors to Levuka may be biased. It may be that shorter term visitors, that is those that I did not have the opportunity to interview, came from different countries.

Age of visitors

Fig. 5.3 compares the percentage of people in each age group visiting Fiji and Levuka. It is possible that the under thirteens are under represented in the Levuka sample. Families did visit Levuka but I only interviewed one child though I interviewed the parents of other children.

The Fiji Visitors' Bureau has not published figures on the ages of visitors to Fiji for 1996 and 1997. The last year this was done was in 1995. These are the figures shown here.

Figure 5-3 Age groups of visitors to Levuka and Fiji by percentage



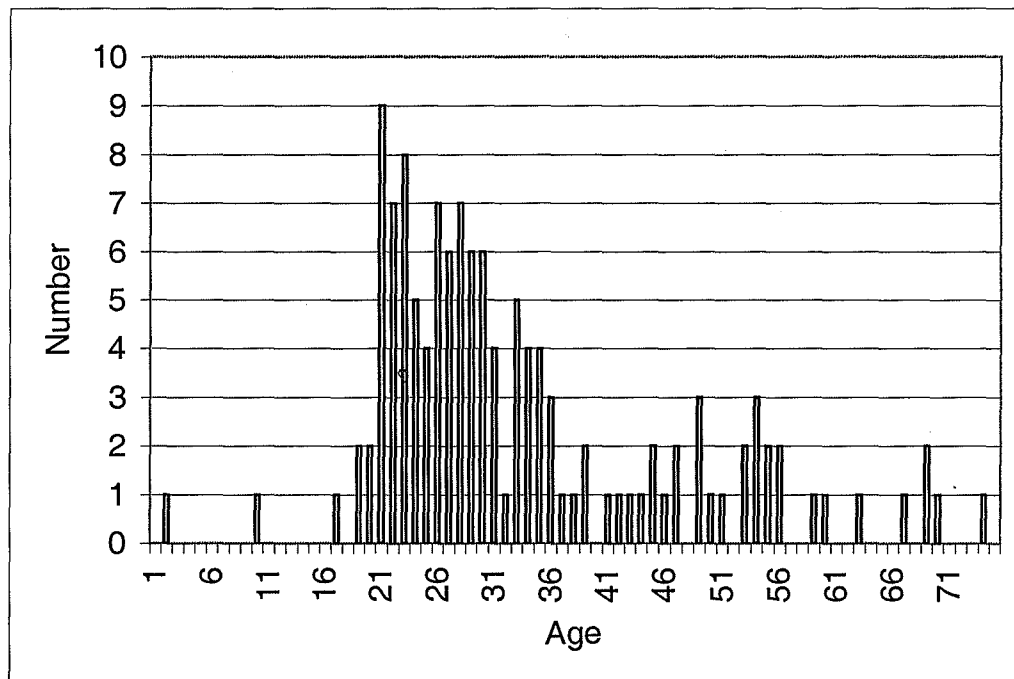
Source of Fiji figures from Fiji Visitors' Bureau 1996

Levuka is visited by a younger group of people than Fiji as a whole. This may be related to the length of time they are away from home. While the official statistics do not break down the ages of teenage visitors I would think it likely that the figures for Fiji as a whole include a higher proportion of younger teens than is evident in Levuka. This is because many resorts advertise family accommodation. The teens surveyed in Levuka had left school. Again the caveat needs to be made regarding

visitors to Levuka that my sample is biased in favour of longer stay visitors. However, from observations of tourists arriving in Levuka this bias is not obvious. There did not appear to be a major difference in the ages of short stay and long stay visitors in Levuka.

Fig 5.3a plots the ages of all the surveyed visitors in Levuka. Most visitors are in their early twenties. The numbers decrease throughout the late twenties and early thirties with a small increase of people when they reach their fifties.

Figure 5-3a Ages of sampled visitors to Levuka

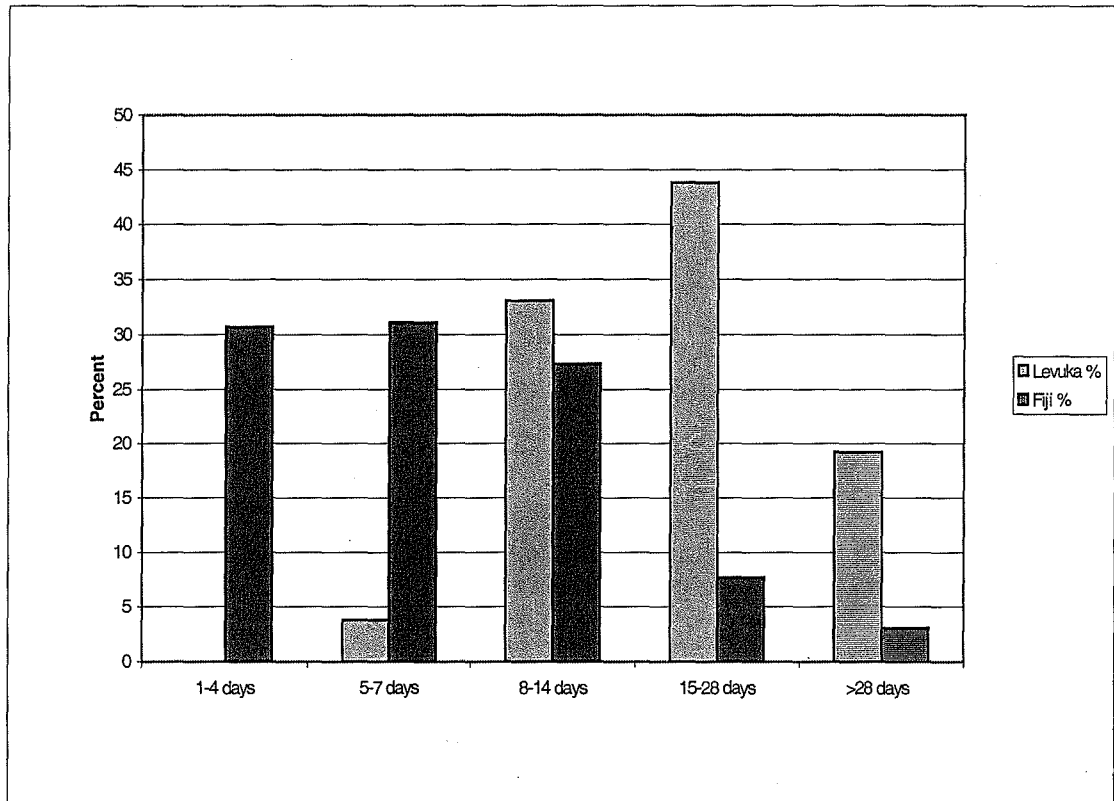


(N=130).

Duration of stay

Fig. 5.4 compare the length of stay in Fiji of visitors to Fiji from Fiji Visitors' Bureau figures (1995) and those visitors who stay in Levuka from my data. In 1995 the average length of stay in Fiji of all visitors to Fiji was 8.6 days with the most common length of stay being between five and seven days (31.1% of visitors) followed by eight to fourteen days (27.3% of visitors). From my sample the most common length of stay in Fiji for visitors to Levuka was 14 days with the next most common being 20 days.

Figure 5-4. Comparison of length of stay in Fiji of Levuka visitors and non-visitors.

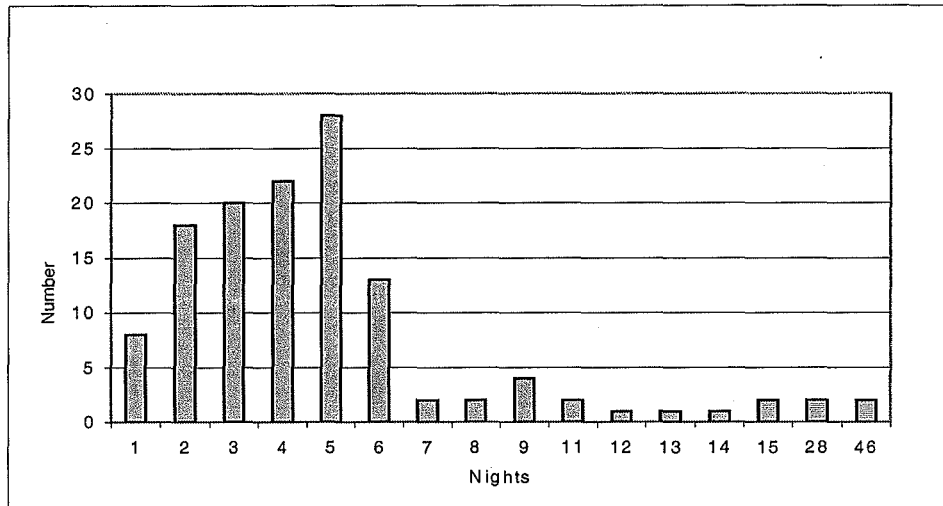


The results here are very different. There are no visitors to Levuka who stay in Fiji less than five days. Only one visitor to Levuka stayed in Fiji for five days. The probable reason for the differences in duration of stay is the length of time that it takes to get to Levuka from Nadi. Most tourists to Levuka travelled by bus to Suva then caught a ferry to Ovalau. There is no direct flight from Nadi. Even those who fly have to stop in Suva and most tourists to Levuka had come to see Fiji rather than specifically Levuka. An exception was the visitor who was only in Fiji for five days. In addition most tourists to Levuka were able to change their date of departure from Fiji as they generally had round the world tickets or flexible one way tickets with a stop over in Fiji. This contrasts with those tourists who have booked a package to Fiji from Australia or New Zealand who have fixed date fares.

The duration of stay in Levuka is difficult to ascertain with any certainty. Only one hotel kept figures (that I was privy to, at least) on the length of stay at their

establishment. Some tourists used more than one hotel. Fig 5.5 shows the length of stay of tourists who were sampled.

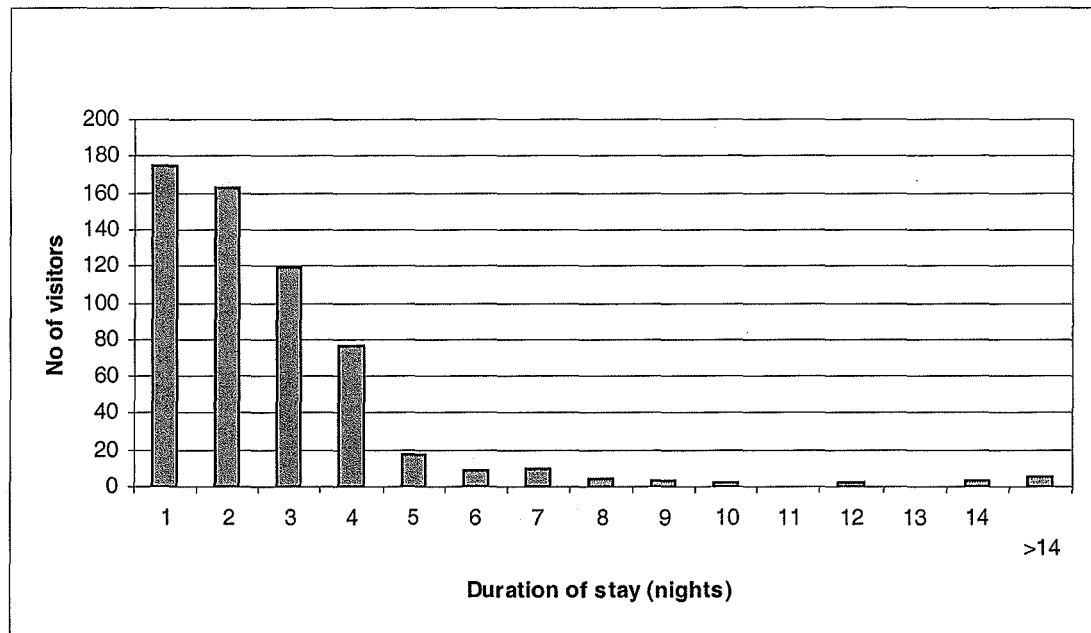
Figure 5-5 Duration of stay in Levuka of sample.



(N=130)

It was only possible to obtain figures for the length of stay in Levuka from the Mavida Guesthouse (fig 5.6). However there is no reason to believe that these are not a fair representation of the length of stay of other places of accommodation in Levuka except the Colonial Inn where the owner stated that only one foreign visitor stayed more than one night. The average was stay at the Mavida was 2.9 nights. This compares with 5.6 nights for the sample group. The most common duration of stay in Levuka was one night. While my sample of tourists is biased in favour of people who stayed longer because of the reduced opportunity to interview people only staying one night, from conversations with hoteliers it is reasonable to assume that one night visitors tended to be people who were making their way to the resort islands of Caqelai and Leleuvia. Two points should be noted here. The first is that the bus from the ferry arrived in Levuka at about six in the evening and departed the next day at five o'clock in the morning. It is unlikely that anyone came to the town for just one night if travelling on the ferry. The second point is that the driver of the

Figure 5-6 Duration of stay at Mavida Guesthouse over the year.



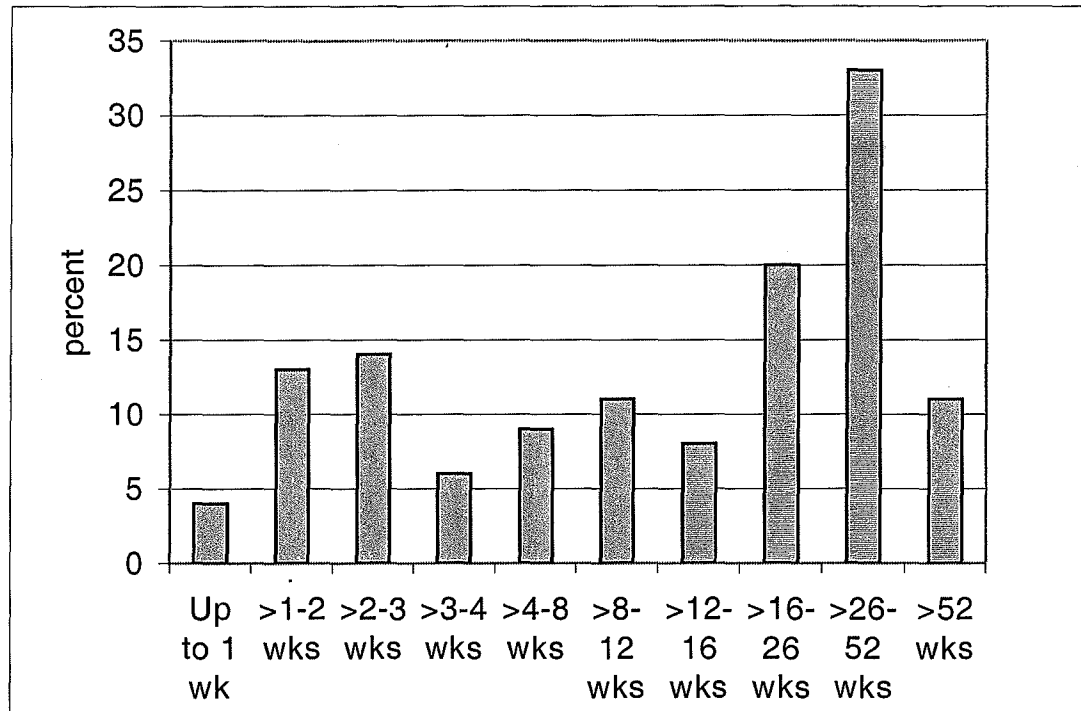
bus from the ferry recommended the Mavida Guesthouse to tourists who had not booked accommodation. These tourists may have changed their accommodation once they had had a chance to check the alternatives.

Length of trip

The Government statistics only record length of stay in Fiji. They do not record the total duration of the tourists' trips, making comparison impossible. Most visitors to Levuka were travelling for several months (fig 5.7).

Very nearly 50 percent of the surveyed visitors to Levuka are away from home for over sixteen weeks. The figures in the table do not show this clearly but only four tourists sampled were away for less than the average length of stay for visitors to Fiji. Those in the two week bracket stayed a minimum of ten days. The most common length of time away was between 6 months and 12 months.

Figure 5-7 Period away from home for visitors to Levuka.

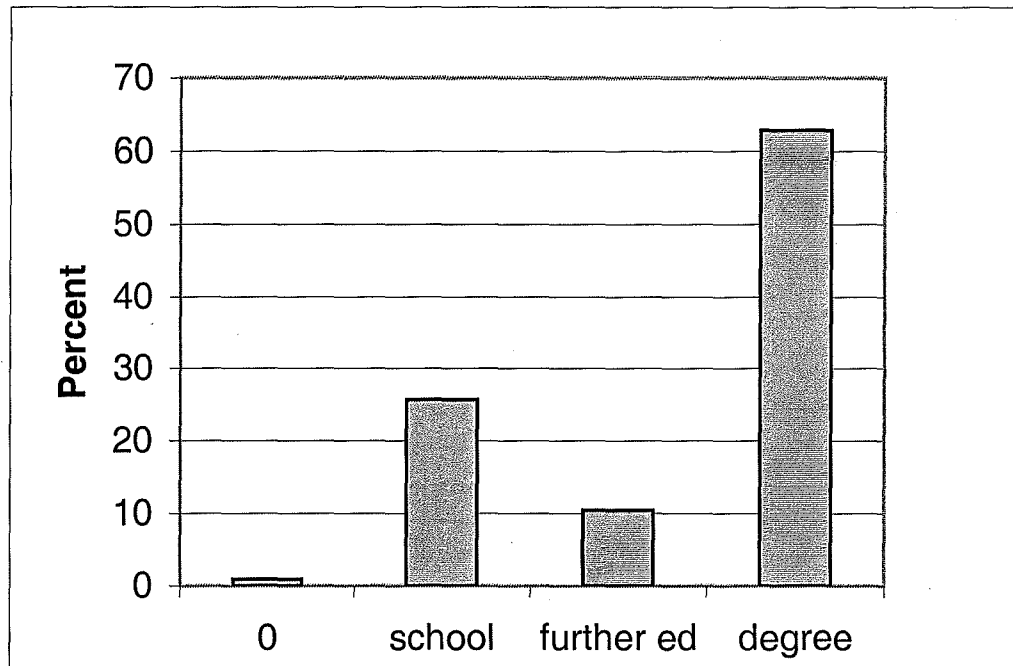


(N=130).

Education

The Fiji Government tourist surveys ask for the respondent to state his or her occupation (Fiji Visitor's Bureau 1996, 1997). For my study there seemed to be little point in using the same category as many of the visitors to Levuka are formally unemployed because they are travelling for such a long time. Many have just completed higher education so they would not be able to use a meaningful previous job. Instead of collecting data on employment I asked the respondents about their highest level of education. Fig 5.8 shows the level of education of visitors to Levuka.

Figure 5-8 Level of education of visitors to Levuka.

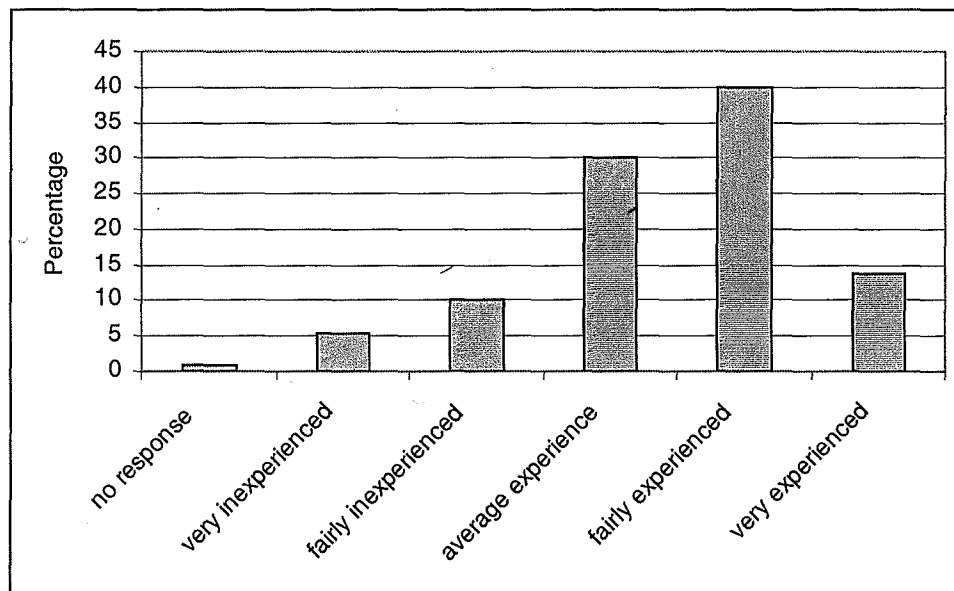


Respondents were asked at what level their education finished (or if they had not completed at what level they were currently studying). Nearly 65 percent of visitors have at least one degree. It was only some time into the study that I realised that quite a number of these people have higher degrees but at that stage it was too late to change the classification. 'Further ed.' was defined as post-high school but sub degree qualifications and diplomas. It was impossible to be more specific given the number of nationalities and different educational systems from which the respondents had come. Similarly, I did not ask for details on when respondents left high school. Nevertheless, even with limited data the results are of interest. The Fiji Government and Visitors' Bureau do not keep statistics on visitor education. Given the age profile of visitors to Levuka there is a strong possibility that these tourists are conducting a major trip following the completion of their education and the commencement of a career.

Travel Experience

Data were also collected on the travel experience of visitors to Levuka. The tourists were asked to state how experienced they felt that they were and were also asked whether they had ever visited any of a list of pre-defined areas of the world. Fig. 5.9 shows the tourists' self evaluations of their experiences.

Figure 5-9 Travel experience of visitors to Levuka.



(N=130).

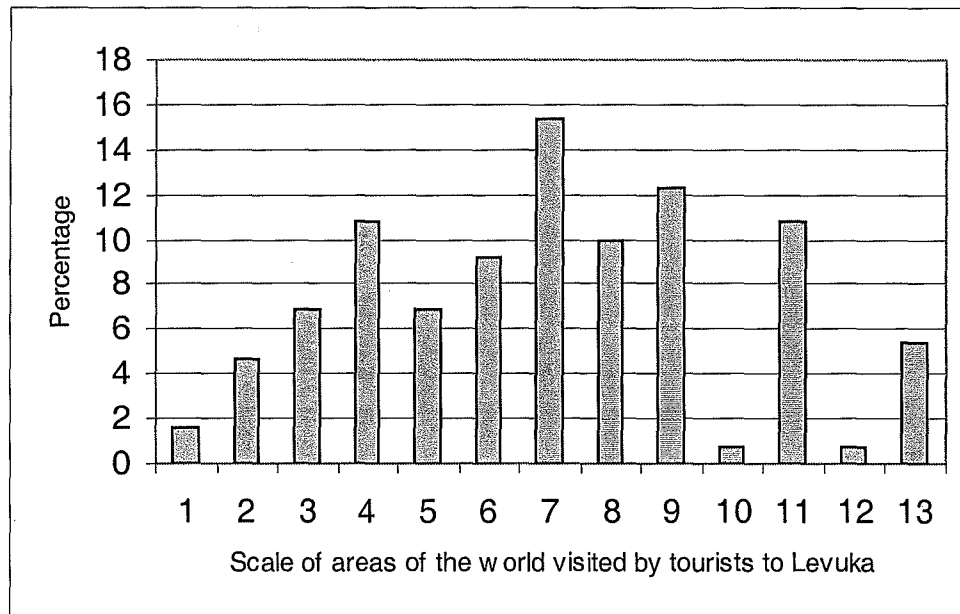
While this datum was a self evaluation it does indicate that most of the to Levuka visitors (40 percent) believed that they were experienced travellers. As they tended to consider their own travel experience in relation to people that they met travelling who were also experienced travellers the likelihood is that these figures would be considered conservative by other types of tourist. In the circumstances that the visitors to Levuka found themselves it was very easy to find someone who had done more travelling.

In an attempt to validate the self perceptions of the visitors they were asked to list where they had been in the world. Respondents were asked whether they had been to the following areas (excluding their country of residence): Western Europe; eastern

Europe (defined as the old Communist Bloc); North America (Canada and the USA); South and Central America (including the Caribbean); Africa; Asia; what Stanley (1984) refers to as 'Anglonesia' – Australia, New Zealand and Hawaii; and Oceania.

In order to quantify this one point was given to visits to 'western/developed' parts of the world – these being defined as North America, Western Europe and Anglonesia – and two points for visits to all other areas. Therefore, a tourist who scores one point has only been to one 'western' area. One who scores two points has been to either two 'western' areas and no 'non-western' or to one 'non-western' and no 'western'. There were no examples of the latter. A tourist who has three points has either been to all three 'western' areas and no 'non-western' (making Fiji the first developing country they had visited) or one 'western' area and one 'non-western'. Anyone with more than three points will have been to both 'western' and 'non-western' areas. The findings are illustrated in fig.5.10. The very low results for 10 and 12 points is

Figure 5-10 Travel experience of visitors to Levuka.



N=124

because it is unusual to find a tourist who has not been to all three 'western' destinations but who has been to many of the 'non-western' ones. Any even number is obtained by a tourist who has not been to all three 'western' destinations.

While this is a very crude measure, it does give some sense of an objective indication of the travel experience of the respondents. I did not include the number of times people had been to each area because when the survey was piloted it was found to be too difficult a question for most experienced travellers. However that would have given the results a little more validity. Nevertheless the results do show that a typical tourist to Levuka has been to a variety of destinations in the world and supports their personal view that they are fairly experienced travellers. If fig. 5.10 had skewed to the left some doubt would have been placed on their self-evaluations.

Table 5.2 shows the percentage of respondents who have visited each area in the world before they began their current trip, that is, the one that brought them to Levuka on this visit (N=124; six tourists did not respond to this question).

I would argue that these figures show that the visitors to Levuka are well travelled. Based on Smith's (1977) tourist typologies it would be surprising if similar high incidences of visitation to each of these areas of the world would be found in a survey of all visitors to Fiji given that most visitors are 'mass tourists' on package tours.

Table 5-2 Areas of the world previously visited by tourists to Levuka

Area	Visited %	Not Visited %
Western Europe	90.3	9.7
Eastern Europe	46	54
North America	66.1	33.9
South America	36.3	63.7
Africa	40.3	59.7
Asia	49.2	50.8
Anglonesia	51.6	48.4
Oceania	25	75

Reasons for visit

Given that the tourists that visit Levuka are generally well travelled the question that needs to be asked is why they decided firstly to visit Fiji and secondly Levuka. Each of the 130 respondents was allowed to give as many reasons as were appropriate in their particular case. The most common reason given by 39 respondents was that Fiji was offered as a stopover on their airline ticket. Fourteen said that they had been before and wanted to return (four said that they hadn't been before which was why they wanted to visit) while another 24 said that Fiji had been recommended to them. The only other reason given that reached double figures (eleven respondents) was visiting friends and relations. Smaller numbers stated culture (seven), wanting to see Pacific islands that were a: 'real' as opposed to Hawaii (two) and b): easy and cheap to visit (four), wanting somewhere cheap to visit (eight), closeness to home (six), because the respondents partner wanted to see Fiji (five), and because of the image of Fiji (five). Two visitors had no intention of coming to Fiji but one had his flight changed by the airline which allowed for a stopover and another signed up to crew a yacht which then came to Fiji.

The responses to the question of why they chose Levuka were less varied. The most common reason given was that Levuka had been recommended to them (57 respondents). Forty-two said that their choice had been influenced by guidebooks. Of this group thirty stated the Lonely Planet guide, nine the Fiji Islands or Pacific Islands handbooks with three using other guide books. Seventeen said that they had heard about the history of Levuka. Among these were five who wanted a contrast from the resort/beach type stay. Five respondents had been before. Only three said that they heard about Levuka from the Fiji Visitors' Bureau. Two respondents said that they came to Fiji because they wanted to visit Levuka after seeing a British television programme about the Town.

One must assume that people for whom both Fiji and Levuka were recommended were given some details about the destinations so it is possible that some decisions such as the appeal of the history or culture are hidden. Nevertheless there does appear to be a high proportion of people who came to Fiji because it was on the way

to somewhere else and then decided where to go within Fiji at a later date. This is supported by a number of comments made by tourists in general conversation.

In addition the use of guidebooks was high (see table 5.3) with over 75 percent of respondents carrying at least one guidebook (N=130). For the purposes of the table the Lonely Planet guide to Fiji included both the 1993 and 1997 editions. Moon Publications included both the Fiji Islands Handbook and the South Pacific Handbook.

All these guidebooks, except Fiji Magic give descriptions of Levuka beyond a listing of accommodation.

Table 5-3 Travel guides used by tourists to Levuka

	Number of tourists	Percentage
Lonely Planet	48	37
Moon publications	28	22
Fiji Magic	8	6
Other	3	2
Lonely Planet & Moon publications	11	8
No guidebook	29	22
No response	3	2
Total	130	

Reponses to Levuka

Visitors were asked to give both their positive and negative feelings towards Levuka. Positive comments indicated that visitors enjoyed the relaxed atmosphere, the 'authenticity' of the Town and the heritage that was evident. It was not uncommon to hear tourists say that they would have liked to have spent more time in Levuka if that had been possible. The visitors' books in various restaurants and places of accommodation testify to this. The overall feeling that came from the tourists was

one of being at ease in the Town. Many stated that they found it relaxing and that the shopkeepers did not try to make them buy things, unlike Nadi and Suva. The comfortable ambience and friendliness of the people was commented upon though two tourists complained that they could get no privacy and one woman was wary of the adolescent males in the town. The charm, architecture, history and scenery were also noted. Some tourists made a point of commenting on the fact that Levuka is a real working town. To give just two examples: "This is the way the people live"; and "One of the nice things about it is that it's the way it is". The heritage of the town also enhanced the enjoyment for tourists. One said that he liked the history "whether it's imaginary or not" while another said that Levuka is "exactly how I imagined an early European township to be". This quotation illustrates the fact that many of the visitors were aware that Levuka is a European construction. This was particularly true of those tourists who visited Lovoni and Devokula. Lovoni was seen as how Fijian villagers live today while Devokula as an example of how they used to live.

Most of the negative comments related to practical problems. Only two said that they did not like the Town. One of these was a young woman who wanted a backpacker style beach resort, which Levuka did not offer. Another was a middle-aged man who expected and demanded a much higher quality of accommodation and better quality goods in the shops. He also didn't like the shopkeepers saying, "East Indians make my flesh crawl." Another tourist expected better quality accommodation but she said that she liked "roughing it". She also said that she would recommend Levuka but only to those of her friends that would be able to cope with the low quality of what was provided.

The three most common complaints were about PAFCO, the electricity generating plant and litter. At certain times there is a distinct smell of fish from PAFCO that pervades the town. It is something that goes unnoticed after a while (like the smell of sulphur at Rotorua) but can be unpleasant for a new arrival. The electricity generating plant is old and diesel driven. It is also at one end of the town in Beach Street so that the noise can be heard in most of the places tourists visit. These generators are due to be replaced soon. Many tourists also disliked the amount of

litter in the town. Specific note was made of the rubbish in creeks and by the sea wall. One went as far as to say “the fact that Levuka is not clean shows that the locals don’t want tourism.” An older resident of the town made the point that the amount of litter has got worse in the last 20 years. He put it down to the increase in packaging for things.

Other areas that tourists wanted improved were better tourist information particularly with regard to boat and carrier times. One commented that they seemed totally disorganised. This complaint was particularly apparent at the time of Cyclone Gavin. No information was given by the ferry company or the airline on when links with Viti Levu would be in operation again. This was particularly annoying to those tourists who had flights out of the country to catch. On another occasion the bus to the ferry had completed three-quarters of its journey when it turned round and returned to Levuka. Only then were tourists given the news that the boat was not going but with no explanation. Some tourists also said that they wanted somewhere to swim. The Royal Hotel has plans to build a swimming pool. Some tourists from Europe also complained about the travel agency. One said that much better information was available from other tourists and the restaurants. Another said that the agency owner tried to sell him an excursion “as if I was an American”. What he meant was that a more aggressive American sales technique was used.

Excursions and activities

There are two main excursions offered in Levuka. These are a walk along forest paths to the village of Lovoni in the centre of Ovalau and a trip to the cultural village of Devokula. The other excursions are provided by the travel agency and geared more for their day trip clients from Viti Levu. These include a town walk guided by an elderly Indian man who has lived all his life in Levuka and ‘Tea and Talanoa’ – afternoon tea with a resident of the town. The percentages of tourists who take these excursions are shown in table 5.4.

By far the most popular excursion was the walk to Lovoni. The cost of this is \$15 and included a guided walk to the centre of Ovalau through the bush. The guide

provides a commentary on the various uses of plants that are found along the route. A stop is usually made for a swim in a river and in Lovoni lunch is provided at the guide's home. The full Devokula performance required a minimum of ten tourists for it to run (though this number was relaxed at times) and cost \$22.50. A staff member

Table 5-4 Excursions taken by tourists.

Excursion	Number of tourists	Percentage
None	57	45
Lovoni	48	38
Devokula	9	7
Other	4	3
Both Devokula and Lovoni	9	7
Total	127	100

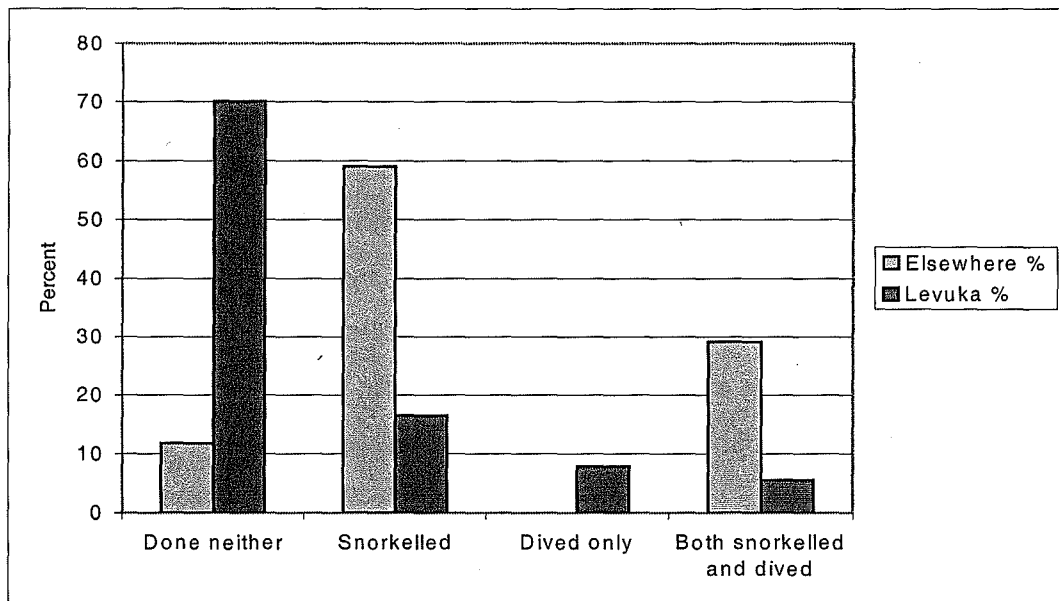
of the Fiji Visitors' Bureau described the Devokula show as the most authentic performance of Fijian dance and ceremony he had seen anywhere. Traditional foods were also provided and demonstrations given in various Fijian arts and crafts (for a more detailed description see Fisher, forthcoming). The Lovoni walk was available on most days except Sunday whereas the Devokula show was only performed when sufficient numbers of tourists signed up for it. The major difference between the two excursions is that one is active – *walking* to Lovoni, while the other is passive – *watching* a cultural show.

Some tourists took advantage of rides at a fair that was set up during the Back to Levuka week and one tourist hired a bicycle. One local man also offered himself as a guide for paths through the bush at the back of Levuka. He was unlicensed and took few tourists. None of the sampled set went with him.

The only commercial activities, other than the excursions, that were undertaken by tourists and were available throughout the fieldwork period were snorkelling and scuba diving. An attempt was made to gather information on tourists who took PADI diving courses. However this amounted to only seven people in the period

from November 1996 to July 1997. Many tourists said that they were not aware that there was a diving operation in Levuka. The owners of the dive school were hoping for increased participation with the publication of the new Lonely Planet guide in 1997. In order to compare tourists' participation in diving in Levuka with the diving they have undertaken elsewhere in the world I asked tourists where they had snorkelled or scuba dived in the world (see fig 5.11). Twenty-five percent of visitors had taken a dive course at some time in their life. These usually take four or five days and are advertised by dive schools elsewhere in Fiji in the region of F\$300-F\$400. A two tank dive including the hire of all equipment cost \$85 in Levuka and, from personal experience, up to \$120 elsewhere in Fiji.

Figure 5-11 Incidence of diving and snorkelling amongst tourists to Levuka.



(N=127)

Few visitors snorkelled or dived in Levuka. One possible reason for the low level of snorkelling, in particular, may have been the difficulty in accessing the water in Levuka harbour. Some tourists went four kilometres north of Levuka to an area with a beach of sorts while others paid to be taken by boat with the dive master of the dive school. The charge for this was \$15 the same as the cost of the Lovoni tour. Nevertheless it would appear that an opportunity was lost on the part of the dive shop to promote snorkling trips.

The diving around Levuka has a lot of potential as there are at least six wrecks of nineteenth century ships in shallow water – unique to Fiji – and the reef to the north of Levuka Harbour is in good condition. Unfortunately the owners of the dive shop did not feel able to capitalise on the wrecks until they had been surveyed by marine archaeologists. An Australian organisation was due to examine the area but they have postponed their visit on a number of occasions and by the end of the field work period still had not carried out their survey¹⁶

Conclusion

Tourist Types in Levuka

As was stated in the literature review theorists have divided tourists into different 'types' but no method has yet been designed to categorise individual tourists into this typology. One of the reasons given for this is that tourists are now "post-modern" and can move between different types, that is, a tourist can be a mass tourist one day and a more intrepid tourist the next day. The typology is based on what the tourist is doing on any particular occasion. The general view of tourists in Levuka is that they are "backpackers". This is partly because most of them arrive with backpacks. On most evenings I went to meet the buses that brought tourists from the airstrip and the ferry and few tourists I observed arrived with suitcases. Even older tourists seemed to avoid the conventional suitcase in favour of baggage that could be more easily carried. Within Levuka 'backpackers' are equated with 'cheap' tourists by many of the local people I spoke to, particularly the business owners. These are, of course, subjective descriptions.

¹⁶ The owners of the dive shop returned to the USA at the end of 1998 however another dive operation, linked to the travel agency, has taken its place. The Australian Marine Archaeologists had not visited by January 1999.

Tourist profiles

If a typical tourist to Levuka exists then the following description, based on the data I collected, would apply. Interview data indicated that a typical visitor could be described as a well-travelled graduate, in their early twenties, from Europe who is travelling for between 16 and 26 weeks and spending two or three weeks in Fiji. This description is very different from one for a typical tourist to Fiji who is more likely to come from Australia or New Zealand, staying in a resort on the west coast of Viti Levu within two hours of Nadi and leaving Fiji within a week (Fiji Visitor's Bureau 1996, 1997).

The main differences between tourists to Levuka and to Fiji generally can be seen in a comparison of a 'typical' composite tourist. The most common tourist generating area for tourists to Levuka is Europe. For Fiji it is Australia and New Zealand. The most common age group for Levuka is the early twenties. For Fiji it is the twenties and thirties. The most common length of stay in Fiji for tourists that visit Levuka is fifteen to twenty-eight days whereas for tourists to Fiji as a whole it is five to seven days. These are the only comparisons possible given the limited governmental data. Nevertheless they do show that Levuka attracts a different sort of tourist to the majority that come to Fiji.

The data also show that the majority of tourists to Levuka are travelling for long periods of time. They are not only visiting Fiji. This gives them a distinct advantage over short term tourists in where they spend their money. They have a far greater choice. For example, many of the tourists to Levuka have dived and snorkelled before, however they chose not to do these activities in Levuka. Many of them realise that they will be able to dive and snorkel in other places with better reputations. The number of people who visited Levuka and Fiji because of recommendations suggests that they talk to other travellers about where they intend to go. As the data also show, many read guidebooks which suggests a degree of planning even if that planning only takes place while they are travelling. The combination of these factors suggest that tourists to Levuka have a much greater opportunity to discriminate between destinations and what they do at those

destinations. They may choose not to do something at one particular destination because they are due to go to or have recently been to, somewhere where that activity is better. The marketing lesson that should be learnt from this is that the uniqueness of a destination and the activities available there should be emphasised.

The standard of accommodation they chose was usually the same as that which is available in Levuka. There were two groups who were exceptions to this. One group was made up of people who had come in a hire car. The other group was made up of four people who had come to Fiji for three weeks on a Canadian charter flight. There are probably two reasons why accommodation is not highly valued. Firstly, it is a simple way to reduce one's spending, thus extending the length of the trip or having funds to be able to partake in paid activities. Secondly, as the data show, many of the tourists to Levuka gain information from other tourists. They will therefore gravitate to those places where they believe that they are more likely to meet people travelling in a similar way.

Nevertheless, it is clear that there is a willingness on the part of many tourists to Levuka to spend more money. The next chapter considers what tourists *do* spend their money on, what local shopkeepers believe that tourists would like to buy and what other local people observe tourists buying.

Chapter Six

Spending patterns in Levuka

Introduction

The previous chapter described the type of tourists that visit Levuka. This chapter considers the spending patterns of those tourists and local people. In order to discover whether there is evidence of anything that could be related to the demonstration effect in Levuka I have considered three variables. The first has been the purchases that tourists made in Levuka. In an attempt to confirm these purchases I asked the shopkeepers to tell me the sort of goods that tourists bought from their shops. This is not a list of what was *actually* bought by tourists but rather the shopkeepers' belief of what sells best to tourists. This was based on the assumption that shopkeepers know what they sell and to whom they sell it. To have obtained actual data would have been too difficult for me to do on my own and is unlikely to have been acceptable by the shopkeepers. I considered spending time in various shops observing tourist purchases but given the relatively low number of tourists the number of observed purchases would have been very low. I also asked local people what they last bought, to which goods or services they aspire, and what they think that tourists buy. This was in an attempt to eliminate coincidences of both local people and tourists purchasing the same good without either influencing the other. For example, both groups may buy noodles, say, but if the local people are not aware that tourists buy noodles then tourists can hardly be said to be influencing them. This, however, should not be seen to preclude other foreign influences in the choice of purchases.

Who is a tourist – the local view

One of the problems of ethnographic research is making sure that both the respondent and researcher give the same meaning to the terms that are being used. In the case of tourism there can be a misunderstanding about the definition of a tourist (Berno 1999). As a result whenever I interviewed a local person I always asked

them to define a tourist to me. In order to help with this definition I named three European residents in the town and asked them if they were tourists. These three were me, the owner of the dive operation who had been working in the town for two years, and Norah Fraser the Canadian founder of the disabled school who had been living in Levuka and Ovalau for twenty years. I also asked if a Fijian visiting Levuka from another part of Fiji was a tourist.

The results are based on a sample of 53. All respondents said that overseas visitors were tourists. Twenty-eight (52.8%) classed me as a tourist. Two were unsure because they had seen me in the town for some time. One stated that I was not a tourist because "I've seen you often" while another said that I was because "I haven't seen you before". Ten (18.9%) said that the dive master was a tourist. Two said that he used to be but he wasn't any more and two were unsure. Five (9.4%) respondents felt that Norah Fraser was a tourist. Fifteen people (28.3%) believed that Fijians could be tourists but some stated that this could only be the case if they had no connexion with Levuka.

The question of local tourists often caused much laughter. Some people thought that it was a silly idea. People couldn't be tourists in their own country while two said that they had never thought of local tourists but on reflexion believed that they were possible. This question resulted in one respondent defining a tourist as someone who visited Levuka but was not a Fijian citizen. Another said that a Fijian could be a visitor but not a tourist. I asked two of the hoteliers the same question. One said that she considered all the people who stayed at her hotel as guests or visitors and never thought of people as tourists. The other found the concept of a Fijian visitor being a tourist far too difficult a concept to grasp. It was also a concept that troubled her as she came back to me a few days after the initial conversation to ask me about it again.

As with most of the questions asked of local people this question lead to a short discussion and people amplified their views. Four stated that all *kai valagi*, that is foreigners, are tourists. Others said that anyone that they did not recognise was a tourist. Some said that tourists were holiday makers, that is people who were not

working. One said that the divemaster was on a working holiday. Another said that tourists were foreigners who were not going to stay in Levuka.

As a result of questioning local people it seemed that, for many of the respondents, the definition of a tourist depended very much on whether they felt that a foreigner felt that they 'belonged' to Levuka; that Levuka was their home and that their links with somewhere else were minimal. This was also true of some of the Indians that I interviewed. If people were only temporary visitors to Levuka they were classed as tourists. The definition of temporary, I suspect, is anyone who doesn't move away. Someone who stays for thirty years and then leaves becomes a tourist.

Tourism spending

Tourists were asked to state how much they were budgeting on spending while in Fiji and how much they were actually spending in Levuka (excluding transport costs to and from Ovalau which cost a minimum of \$40). The budgeted amount was asked in order to test the popular local belief that tourists who visit Levuka have no money to spend. In addition, by comparing budgeted amounts and actual spending, it was believed that some understanding of whether tourists felt that there were goods and services worth purchasing would be gleaned. Of the 130 surveyed 94 had a budget in mind while they were in Fiji. Their mean budget was F\$46.76 (n=94). The mean amount spent by these 94 respondents was F\$33.98. The mean amount spent by all respondents who could tell me how much they had spent was F\$33.41 (n=121). Of the 94 who had a budget 49 spent less than their budget in Levuka while 18 spent more than the amount that they had budgeted. Twenty-seven spent what they had budgeted. The missing numbers were due to some tourists not having a budget, that is they spent what was needed to do the things they wanted, and those who did not know how much they had spent.

In comparative terms with resort tourists the daily spending of tourists to Levuka is low. The mean daily spending in Levuka excluding transport to and from Ovalau is \$33.40. However all this is spent in locally owned businesses. All the businesses in

Levuka are owned by residents of Ovalau except the banks, the two electrical goods shops and PAFCO.

Possibly the main reason for the difference between the general tourist to Fiji and the tourist to Levuka is what they do at home and how much time they have available. Travelling becomes almost a lifestyle in itself, it is a break with everyday, 'normal' life. A week's holiday is part of a lifestyle – a lifestyle that involves work and family. While holidaymakers spend less money than the travellers, they spend it in a more concentrated period which gives the impression that they spend more.

The spending figures for tourists to Levuka show that they are not poor. However, it is probable that they spend their money very differently to the majority of visitors to Fiji. They have different wants and needs. Firstly, they pay for transport and accommodation while they are in Fiji and secondly, as they are visiting many destinations they have more flexibility in choosing where they carry out particular activities or buy particular goods.

Is there evidence to support the widely held view in Levuka that tourists to Levuka are at the bottom end of the market? Undoubtedly some are. There were instances of tourists who were concerned about the price of everything. One tourist interviewed seemed to gain an enormous amount of personal satisfaction from going to as many places as possible for the least amount of money. However other tourists show through their purchase of dive courses, for example, that they are prepared to spend money while away. What became clear from talking to tourists was that they expected value for money and some things were not valued particularly highly. The Lovoni tour, for example, was rated highly by many tourists. Some tourists who went on it said that it was not the sort of thing that they normally spent money on but had been encouraged to go by other tourists to whom they had spoken. Examples of services that were not considered important included accommodation. I did not gather data on what they spent their money in other parts of Fiji but I did attempt to find out where they had been in Fiji before they arrived at Levuka and where they intended to go afterwards. This included listing the accommodation that they used.

To extrapolate from the figures presented in this section; a tourist travelling for the mean period of 24.69 weeks and travelling on the mean budget would spend \$8042 excluding transport. The average daily expenditure for tourists in Fiji in 1996 was estimated to be \$148. If this number is multiplied by the estimated mean length of stay in Fiji of 7.3 nights (FVB 1996 Fiji International Visitors Survey) total spending comes to \$1080.40. Visitors to Levuka stay in Fiji for a mean of 24.06 days (n=127). If they spend their budgeted amounts their total spending is \$1125.

Tourist Purchases

Table 6.1 shows the percentage of tourists sampled who bought the following goods. Each group of goods will be analysed separately with explanations and, where applicable, will be compared to local consumption.

Table 6.1. Groups of goods bought by tourists in Levuka

Product	Bought %	Not bought %
Restaurant Meals	100	0
Snack food	72.1	27.9
Food to prepare	29.9	70.1
Alcohol	84.9	15.1
Cigarettes	20.5	79.5
Travel goods	34.9	65.1
Souvenirs	64.6	35.4
Activity goods	9.4	90.6
Clothes	17.3	82.7
Kava	32	68
Bottled water	49.6	50.4
Soft Drinks	78	22
Transport	46.5	53.5
Other	45.7	54.3

N=130

In addition to these goods I also asked the respondents whether there were any goods that they had tried to purchase but were unable to find. Fifty-one percent said that they had, though this was from a smaller valid sample of 100. (It should be noted that some of these attempted purchases were available in Levuka but that the particular tourist had not found them). Tourists were not asked how much they spent on each item because I was attempting to build up a picture of *what* tourists were buying in order to compare this with *what* local people bought.

Restaurant meals

There were six restaurants open throughout the fieldwork period. Of these, four were more used to catering for tourists. In addition three of the places of accommodation provided food for at least some of the field work period. There are four restaurants that consider that they cater for tourists. Of these the Whale's Tale is primarily a tourist restaurant in that the majority of the clientele are tourists. This is described as the "current favorite for its real home cooking" (Stanley 1996 p202) and providing western type food (Kay 1997). The owners say that many Fijians feel uncomfortable in the restaurant because the atmosphere is more sedate than the places they prefer especially if they are celebrating. In addition the food is not the kind that they are used to eating¹⁷. People from Suva eat at the restaurant because they are more used to the style of dining that is provided. In addition the owners say that they rigidly enforce the alcohol licensing laws which do not allow for the consumption of alcohol without a meal. They believe that the other restaurants are not so strict. Nevertheless, there may be signs of change in local eating habits. One restaurateur stated:

We've had young couples from Levuka who've come out together to eat here. But they've obviously seen the benefit of coming out for a quiet evening where they won't be disturbed by friends pestering them to buy them beer or whatever.

¹⁷ At a private function celebrating the wedding anniversary of an American/Rotuman couple the Fijians present were not comfortable with the 'western' food provided (pers.comm. 1997).

Local people and tourists appear to frequent restaurants at different times of the day. According to the restaurateurs few tourists eat meals in the middle of the day whilst this is the most popular time for local people to eat. The exception to this is when local people are celebrating in which case they will invariably make a booking for a large number of people in the Kuum Pak Loong restaurant. It is unusual to observe local people eat in the evening in small groups. During the day this is common.

Again, according to the owners, the restaurants without liquor licences receive most of their trade during the day. These restaurants receive very little trade from tourists. During the fieldwork period I only observed three groups of tourists eating in these restaurants in the evening. They serve standard Fiji Indian food. A typical guide book description for these restaurants is “cheap but basic and not very inviting” (Stanley 1996 p202). Given the percentage of tourists that consume alcohol (nearly 85 percent). It would seem that tourists are less likely to frequent unlicensed premises and Fijian law does not allow for ‘BYO’ (bring your own alcohol). One owner of an unlicensed restaurant wanted to gain a licence in order to encourage tourists to come to his establishment but he claimed he was facing hostility from the licensing authorities. The District Officer, who issues these, is a teetotaler and Another respondent believes that tourists would not be attracted to the currently concerned that alcohol is too readily available to local people (pers. comm. 1997). Another respondent believes that tourists would not be attracted to the currently unlicensed restaurants were they to gain licences because the ambience within them is not appealing to tourists.

Of the local people surveyed 62.7 percent said that they ate out at some time. Eighty-four percent of these ate at Kuum Pak Loong. This is by far the restaurant of choice of local people. The owner of this restaurant says that one of the main differences between the local clientele and the tourists is that local people want much faster service. This, he argues, is because most local people come to his restaurant during their lunch breaks and need speedy service because they have to get back to work.

There is one other major difference between tourist usage of restaurants and those of local people and that concerns breakfast. Apart from the hotels two restaurants provide 'western' breakfasts which include bacon, eggs, cereal and similar produce. These, according to the owners, are on the menu for tourists. Local people do not order them. During the morning locals are more likely to order buns or scones. However, the market for breakfasts is not strong. Many tourists purchase food in order to prepare their own breakfasts in hotel gardens only buying prepared tea and coffee.

Restaurants and the demonstration effect

There are still major differences between tourist and local habits in restaurants. To many local people there are three main reasons for eating out. The first is convenience. This is illustrated by the popularity of restaurants at lunchtime. The second is for celebrations. The third is in order to drink alcohol. For this third reason if it is possible to avoid purchasing food then this will be done. There does not appear to be a culture of eating out as entertainment other than in large groups on special occasions. One local respondent told me that he would be insulting his wife if he suggested going out for a meal. Similarly there does not appear to have been a shift in the sort of food that local people eat when out as a result of tourist restaurants setting up in town. However, people will eat food of other cultures provided that those cultures are established in Fiji. Fijians will eat Indian and Chinese food and Fijian women will cook roti for their families (see plate 11). While there are distinct ethnic foods there has been a cross fertilisation of cooking techniques and styles between the Indians, Chinese and Fijians. Of Europeans foods only pre-prepared goods are readily used such as bread, biscuits and sweet foods. Though the raw materials used in western food such as non-native vegetables are now an integral part of Fijian lifestyle they have been adapted to local tastes and cuisine.

This, of course, raises the question as to why 'European' food has not become an acculturated part of the local lifestyle given the length of European presence in Fiji in general and Levuka in particular. A menu created for the Polynesian Hotel in Levuka and dated 23/10/05 is as follows: Spanish olives, anchovy eggs; fish patties, giblet pie; roasts of turkey, duck, beef, fowl; ox tongue, ham; lettuce, potato and tomato salads; trifle, jelly, fruit salad, pastry, grenadilla custard and cream,

meringue; and cheese (Stephenson 1997). While this is likely to have been a special menu it does indicate a preference for 'European' food – a preference that has not been copied by local people. It also indicates that there had been a move away from local food by Europeans. "The dinner (at Manson's Hotel, Levuka 1870) consisted of pork, fowls, salt beef, sardines, yam and taro; and this menu seldom underwent any change" Forbes 1875 p 28). While this seemed boring to the visitor the prospect of such a repast was one of the luxuries of Levuka before cession and unavailable on plantations (ibid.).

Even when the food is taken out of the restaurant setting it does not seem to gain popularity among other groups. One example of this is wholemeal bread. The Whale's Tale restaurant requested wholemeal bread from a local baker who now sells any excess in his shop. He states that no local people ever buy it apart from one Indian professional and some of the European residents of Levuka. One reason for this, of course, may be that it is a little more expensive than white bread. When questioned on their purchases in Levuka some tourists stated that they would have bought wholemeal bread had they known that it was available but no effort is made to market it.

It should be noted that there are very few "Fijian" restaurants in Fiji. In the same way that most of the shops are Indian and Chinese so are most of the restaurants. In Levuka the only restaurant to offer Fijian food is the Chinese owned Kuum Pak Loong and then only on as part of the Sunday buffet. Tourists are able to sample Fijian food on two excursions to villages outside Levuka. The owners of the Whale's Tale said that they included Fijian food at one time but removed it from the menu because the demand was low and the preparation is very time consuming. The food also has to be eaten on the day of preparation – it cannot be stored - which prevents it from being a suitable for restaurant to offer at reasonable prices as the chances of waste are high and it cannot be prepared in advance in bulk.

Snack Foods

These are defined as non-meal type foods and range from potato or maize based pre-packaged snacks to fruit and Indian sweets. Of non-local foods sweet biscuits,

crackers, chocolate, potato crisps (chips) and *Bongos* (a maize based savoury snack) were bought by tourists. Local people regularly bought all these except possibly chocolate though chocolate was not often available. One shop owner only stocked chocolate at certain times of the year when he expected people from parts of Fiji other than Levuka to be visiting the town. An example was when the Hicks Lomaiviti Rugby Sevens tournament was being played (pers. comm. with shopkeeper 1996). Given the level of advertising these snack foods receive in the newspapers it is extremely unlikely that such foods are stocked or were originally stocked for tourists. What is more likely is that tourists buy things that they recognise which are already bought by local people. Tourists occasionally buy Indian sweets but these are made locally for the local market.

Food to prepare

Until early 1997 there was nowhere in Levuka for tourists to prepare their own meals after which time the staff of the Mavida Guesthouse allowed tourists to use their kitchen when they were not using it. As a result most of the food bought in this category was for cold meals such as breakfast and for sandwiches. Some tourists also bought food to take with them to neighbouring islands such as Leleuvia and yachties sometimes replenished supplies in Levuka. Again tourists bought what was available. Some goods bought by tourists that appeared to be 'western' were also bought by locals. For example, at least one tourist bought a can of baked beans. However, the only time I saw local people eat these was at a daytime function held at the town hall where they were served cold in sandwiches. This, to me at least, is not a standard western way of eating baked beans. Canned goods are generally more expensive than other foods. While there is some demand Europeans living in the town as well as Fijians buy them in small quantities. Anecdotally there seemed to be a greater demand just after a cyclone warning when the shops were full of people buying emergency supplies. One of the shopkeepers said that he stocked canned goods because they were popular with the yachties. It may be that their mere cost is enough to make them a prestigious good. However if this were the case it would not necessarily be caused by tourism. Very few tourists bought canned goods. Some canned goods, such as coconut milk, appeared to be stocked solely for local use.

The local European population often complained that they could not get what they wanted and if one of them was visiting Suva they were usually given a list of things to bring back by others. Some foodstuffs have been requested by European residents. One example is pasta. This is available most of the time in one of the shops though it is much more expensive than in Suva. One local Fijian woman who works in one of the hotels said that she buys it because her children like it. However, she is having to learn to eat it before it goes cold, unlike noodles which she is happy to eat cold. Her background is not usual for Fijians. At one time she worked as a housegirl for the Japanese management at PAFCO where she had to learn to cook Japanese food and present it in the way that they expected. She has also worked in various tourist venues for a number of years. She also lives in Levuka town and only has a garden, rather than access to fields, for the growing of crops.

Alcohol

Nearly 85 percent of tourists bought alcohol while they were in Levuka. The most common drink was beer – generally Fiji Bitter – though wine was available and consumed at the Whale's Tale and spirits were bought at the Ovalau Club and the Royal Hotel. Turner and Ash (1975) state that tourists' alcoholic preferences encourage local people to copy them. This is not the case in Levuka. The only people I witnessed buying foreign beer were two Fijians from Suva. Only one tourist told me that he bought Australian beer and that was to take to an off-shore island. The barman at the Royal Hotel said that the Australian beer they sold tended to be bought by older foreign male guests. Generally most visitors bought either Fiji Bitter or Fiji Gold. The manager of a liquor store said that yachties tended to buy Australian beer because it came in cans, which they preferred to bottles. This may have changed now because towards the end of my fieldwork period Carlton Breweries (Fiji) Ltd introduced a canned beer, Fiji Export. Fiji Export was marketed as the beer for the overseas market that was also available in Fiji – in other words beer that foreigners would drink. This marketing is only tangentially associated with tourism.

Wine was a drink that seemed only to be consumed with meals and was only available at one restaurant and one bottle store. One tourist complained that it was

not available at the Royal Hotel. I was not aware of any local people who bought it and only saw one local couple – two part-Europeans – drink wine. They had been given the bottle by relatives visiting from overseas. One possible reason for this is that wine is an expensive drink in Fiji.

Cigarettes

Cigarettes are heavily advertised and consumed in Fiji and are generally sold individually or in packets of ten. Eighty-eight percent of rural indigenous Fijian men are smokers (Stanley 1993). Observing Fijians with cigarettes suggested that to buy them in larger quantities would result in them having to give more away. It is common to hear someone asking to *kerekere* or be given a cigarette. The only people I observed with packets larger than ten were foreigners, either visiting or living in Levuka. I would suggest that the *kerekere* system is too strong to allow local people to copy tourists in their purchasing habits in this case. There is also a local tobacco, which is sold in twists. Apparently this is very strong. Long thin cigarettes are hand made by rolling the tobacco in a sheet of newspaper. I only ever observed men doing this. Local women seem to smoke branded cigarettes. Some tourists tried it and some tourists rolled their own cigarettes using packet tobacco, which they brought with them. Packet tobacco was not available in Levuka so it would have been impossible for local people to copy them. Apparently pipe tobacco is available elsewhere in Fiji and this is used for rolling cigarettes (pers. comm. tourist 1996).

It would be unlikely that a local person would start smoking as a result of seeing tourists though I have no evidence to support this statement. As the number of brands available is very restricted there does not appear to be a premium brand that tourists could encourage local people to consume. Again, those tourists that purchase cigarettes have to accept what is available in Levuka.

Travel goods

These were defined to respondents as goods that they bought because they were travelling. They ranged from batteries to sun protection lotion. They tended to be goods that were needed at the time. Some tourists complained that prices were higher in Levuka than on Viti Levu. Again the goods that were bought were not stocked especially for tourists apart from sun lotion (though two complained that they were unable to get the level of protection that they required). Three tourists surveyed bought film and though local people do occasionally buy film it is stocked mainly for tourists. In addition one tourist bought a disposable camera. Most of these had been in the shop window for so long that the packaging was fading which suggested that there is not a high demand for them. For most local people the price of developing film precluded buying these. Those local people who mixed with tourists tended to rely on the tourists to send them photographs. There is also a photographer in town who sells individual photographs taken at local events so local people are able to purchase one photograph instead of a film of twenty-four.

Souvenirs

Roughly two-thirds of tourists bought souvenirs of one sort or another. However, the most common form of souvenir were postcards. Of the 82 people who bought souvenirs 50 bought postcards and 31 only bought postcards. Excluding the postcard- only buyers gives a figure of 40.2 percent of tourists buying souvenirs. The other souvenirs are various. The most common was *sulus* (sarong type wrap-around skirts worn by both men and women). Eight of these were bought, none of which had slogans printed on them such as 'Levuka' or 'Fiji'. Seven T-shirts were bought. These were generally printed with Fiji or Levuka on them. If these figures are a correct reflection of the total quantities bought by tourists then only about 140 T-shirts are likely to be sold in Levuka to tourists in a year. These would be spread amongst the seven or eight shops that sell them. Many more are sold to local people. It is far from uncommon to see local people wearing Levuka T-shirts and *sulus*. Other souvenirs were only sold to one or two surveyed tourists. A common response I received from tourists in answer to the question of souvenir purchases was that there is nothing to buy in Levuka.

These figures are supported by the concerns of some of the shopkeepers. I was asked by a number of them why tourists did not buy the souvenirs that they stocked. One had gone as far as getting a display cabinet for his stock of souvenirs which included a number of displays of the coins of Fiji set in wood. He had sold none of these in ten years. The shopkeepers also wondered why they did not sell more printed souvenir T-shirts and sulus. Tourists said that the same designs could be found all over Fiji with just the name of the town printed on them being different. Few tourists bought things specifically created to remind them of Levuka. Generally they made their decision of whether to purchase or not based on whether they like the product. The Whale's Tale restaurant stocked a number of items made from, or which included, tapa. These included bookmarks, notebooks with tapa covers and place mats. They had the added advantage of being light and easy to carry. While the tapa is authentic what it was being used for in these souvenirs was not. This did not seem to concern the purchasers.

One tourist also bought a mask for \$180. Masks are not a cultural artefact of Fiji, in fact guidebooks warn tourists not to buy masks (Stanley 1996, Kay 1997). This particular mask came from the Solomon Islands. On being questioned about this choice of purchase the tourist said that she collected masks. She was aware that this particular mask was from the Solomons as she could tell by the design. The mask would be a souvenir of her time in the South Pacific rather than of Fiji. To her the place where she bought it was not relevant. What was relevant was the cost, which was about half that of the other masks that she had she had bought at home in the UK.

Very few souvenirs sold in Levuka are produced locally. There appear to be two main reasons for this. The first is a lack of quality control and the second is a lack of understanding of the market. The owner of the Whale's Tale says that she has tried to encourage local workers to produce goods for her to sell but that she has yet to receive a consistent quality. Not only does the quality vary but the producers seem unable to understand why this is a problem. One woman who tried to sell baskets to the restaurant wanted to be paid the same amount she had received before even though the previous baskets had been of a much better quality and larger in size. To

her they were just baskets. When baskets she has made for herself are no longer functional she will make a new one. How long they last is not relevant.

There is also a lack of awareness about the sort of souvenirs that are practical for tourists to transport. Tourists are unlikely to buy fragile goods. Heavy goods may have limited appeal for people who are prepared to ship them home rather than carry them with them.

Similarly there is a lack of understanding about mark-up of products. The owner of the Whale's Tale has had producers complain to her that she was charging more than the price at which the goods were sold to her. I interviewed a wood carver who was prepared to sell his small carvings to tourists at two dollars each but was not prepared to sell them to the Whale's Tale for four dollars as they were to go on sale for nine dollars. He told me that he did not trust the people in the Whale's Tale and would find somewhere else to sell his goods. This he did not do and he stopped making souvenirs for tourists.

The Whale's Tale tried to encourage another carver but he only produced the same design of turtle in different sizes – all of poor quality, in the opinion of the restaurateur. She suggested a better finish would help but this carver said that if she wanted that she would have to buy him a set of expensive carving tools.

As a result of these problems with local supply the owners of the Whale's Tale purchase most of the souvenirs they stock in Suva or make their own tapa based artefacts. They also buy the tapa in Suva. There is only one place on Ovalau that produces it and that is of Lauan design rather than *vatulele* which they prefer. This is a personal choice of the owner.

Some souvenirs are sold at the Royal Hotel. Only one respondent bought anything there – a pair of earrings. The owners of the Royal said that only tourists who were going home from Levuka bought their souvenirs. Towards the end of the fieldwork period the travel agency also started selling carved artefacts which were bought from

Suva. These tended to be bought by day-trippers from Viti Levu who were on a travel agency organised tour.

Souvenirs and the demonstration effect

Articles, such as T-shirts, which are ostensibly created for the tourist market, are more popular with local people. All sorts of T-shirt design are worn by local residents. For example, I questioned one local person who was wearing a T-shirt advertising Idaho potatoes. A relative of his had bought it for him in Lautoka. Clothes are also likely to be borrowed by other people. The idea of attachment to a particular design is pointless, as the nominal owner may not have the opportunity to wear it often. There is no indication that local people wish to copy what they think that tourists want but rather an indication of choice for other reasons.

The production of souvenirs is often cited as a means by which the income that tourism generates can be spread (Long and Wall 1995, Brown 1998). This is not happening in Levuka and, according to Stephenson (1997) has not happened in the past. The inability to provide goods for tourists to Levuka shows that the local people either do not know what tourists want or are not interested in providing it.

Activity goods

These were defined as goods bought or hired in order to carry out an activity. Two activities were available to tourists – diving and cycling.

All but one tourist hired the equipment that they needed. The only exception was someone who bought some dive booties/shoes. One of the reasons for this may have been because the dive master told his clients that the quality of the masks on sale in the shops was very poor. He said that they were the cheapest available and could shatter with the water pressure when scuba diving. However many local people use masks and snorkels for free diving. While scuba diving I have seen local free divers go down to depths of sixteen metres.

While there is no data it would appear that scuba diving has grown in popularity among Fijians with the growth of scuba diving for tourists. Certainly there are a lot more dive centres where tanks can be filled. The dive master had trained two local people to scuba dive by mid 1997. He said that the main problem was to get them to do the theoretical part of the course and to take note of the safety requirements while diving. The difficulty with the theory is that it is in English and Fijians had to learn the technical language as well as the subject matter. Other local people started lessons but gave up very soon.

However, according to the Dive Master in Levuka there is no interest in the safety aspects of diving. He believed that Fijians just want to know how to get down. In 1996 six Fijian divers died from decompression sickness (the bends) (Fiji Times 1997) because they did not follow international tables on depth and time safety. They were diving for *beche de mer*. The dive master in Levuka claimed that some local divers told him that they stay on the bottom till their air runs out. This is extremely dangerous. He refused to fill the tanks of any diver who could not show him PADI or similar certification. Notwithstanding his caution his Fijian worker suffered serious injury because he attacked a ray while night diving, contrary to all his training.

The only other activity in Levuka that required equipment was a bike hire company. During the field work period the French owner of this operation returned to close it down. It would not be fair to say that it was an option for tourists while I was there. Only one tourist surveyed actually hired a bike.

Clothes

These were defined to tourists as non-souvenir clothes though they may have attained souvenir status in the tourist's mind. As most of the tourists to Levuka are travelling for long periods they replace their clothing as they go. Even so only small quantities of clothes were bought in Levuka as they tend to be more expensive and with less variety than in Suva. Three shirts, two T-shirts, a pair of jeans and material to make a dress and a shirt were bought by those who were surveyed. Other goods included sandals and shoes. One man had to buy a complete replacement wardrobe

from a second hand shop because his bag disappeared between Suva and Levuka. These tourists bought what was available from goods stocked for local people. Obviously the shopkeepers have no objection to selling them to non-locals but they make up only a very small part of their custom.

Kava

The only kava bought by tourists was for presentation at villages they were visiting. There are two forms in which kava can be offered. Those tourists that go on a guided walk to Lovoni are expected to provide a dollar bag of ground kava. For a more formal presentation about a kilogram of kava roots bound together in a proscribed way has to be provided. Tourists buy ground kava from the Whale's Tale Restaurant. The husband and father of the owners of the restaurant has his own kava plantation. He sells two styles of kava, *lewena* which is of a lighter colour, is milder and comes from the stem of the plant, and *waka* which is darker, stronger and from the root. To generalise Indians and tourists prefer *lewena* while Fijians prefer *waka*. The producer himself, who is an Austrian born Australian, drinks *lewena* during the day and *waka* in the evening. However he has introduced the concept of quality control. His regular customers say that his kava is of a consistent quality. This is because he blends his mixes to achieve that result while other producers just grind a particular plant. Other producers do not appear to be concerned with how the quality compares to the previous plant ground. Tourists are not aware of this and many tourists do not know what a kava plant looks like.

One tourist who went to stay in Lovoni village took kava roots with him as a *sevusevu* in the proscribed manner. He commented that the chief of the village would have preferred him to have bought the roots from the village shop rather than bring them with him. In that way the village would have had the kava and the money for it too. It is unlikely that they would expect that of a Fijian visitor. At the cultural village of Devokula the tour leader takes some bound kava roots to present when the tourists visiting for a cultural show are challenged at the village entrance. However, at the end of the show the roots are returned to the tour leader so that she can present them at the next show.

Kava consumption and production are changing in Levuka but this is not attributable to tourism. In 1997 the price started to rise because western pharmaceutical and health food supplement companies began to purchase it. In Levuka in 1996 a kilogram of roots cost \$15 in the shops. At the end of 1998 the farmers were receiving \$40 a kilogram. Prices have stabilised a little since then but they are still about 150% higher than they were in 1996 (pers. comm. kava farmer 1999). Increasing prices have changed local consumption patterns. It used to be common to hear villagers pounding their own kava however this advertises the fact that it is going to be drunk and so many people visit the house where the pounding has taken place. Cultural practices make it impossible to refuse a visitor hospitality. Now it is becoming more common for people to sell their plants to a commercial distributor who will grind it mechanically. The farmers then buy back the kava in powder form. In this way the users do not automatically let everyone know that they are preparing it (pers. comm. 1997).

The only indirect effect of tourism on kava production and consumption is that it was as a tourist that the Austrian kava farmer first came to Ovalau. His input may have improved the quality of the product on offer in Ovalau. This assertion is impossible to quantify. The local people all maintain that Ovalau kava is the best available in Fiji with the possible exception of that from Kadavu.

Bottled water

This is bought by nearly 50 percent of the tourists. They buy it for two reasons. Firstly many feel that it is safer than tap water especially after heavy rains when the tap water turns brown. Secondly, it comes in bottles, which provide a means of transporting it if they undertake any activity away from taps and shops. Shopkeepers state that bottled water is a product that is only bought by tourists or Europeans. There is no local demand. However, it should be noted that in late 1996 a spring water bottling plant started operating in Fiji which received much publicity and which now advertises in the newspapers. If local people start buying bottled water this advertising may be the cause rather than imitative behaviour of tourists.

Soft drinks

Many more tourists consumed soft drinks than water. This may be because in addition to buying them in shops they also bought them in restaurants. There are some forms of soft drinks, such as milk shakes and freshly squeezed fruit juices, that are not available in the shops. Local people consume bottled carbonated soft drinks however there does appear to be less demand for cartons of fruit juice. This may be because of the price differential. Carbonated soft drinks are also heavily advertised. Tourists appear to have no effect in the consumption patterns of these drinks among local people.

In addition one of the restaurateurs states that no local people drink real coffee made from ground coffee. This is exclusively demanded by tourists and the local European population. It is also more expensive than instant coffee. Ground coffee is not available in the shops. It has to be bought in Suva, where it is now becoming available in cafés. A future change in demand by local people may be due to contact with people from the capital.

One restaurateur also made the observation that tourists are more concerned with the strength of instant coffee. Fijians would rather have a large mug than a cup even though the same amount of powder is used. Tourists prefer the cup or more powder in the mug. While this is only anecdotal evidence, if true, it suggests that the reasons behind the decision to purchase may be different between tourists and local people. Local people are not purchasing the product in the same way in which the tourists do. If a demonstration effect exists here it is not that of copying tourists.

Transport

For this question I made it clear to the respondents that I was not including commercial transport that they used in their journey to and from Levuka. I was only concerned with what they used while in Levuka.

There are two forms of public transport in Levuka. The cheapest and most commonly used are 'carriers'. These are trucks with wooden seating in the back.

They go around the island and to Lovoni at set times though they can be hired for other times. The other form of transport is by taxi. All taxis on Ovalau are based in Levuka. Just under 50 percent of tourists used one or other of these means of transportation at least once. However it should be noted that most tourists shared a taxi with other tourists. There is not enough trade from tourists to support even one taxi driver. There are roughly eight taxis in Levuka at any one time. The number varies. Forty-one respondents took taxis while in Levuka. If an average capacity of two tourists per taxi ride is assumed and tourists got a taxi in both directions then 41 taxi rides were taken by the sample group. Extrapolating that for all tourists to Levuka about 800 taxi rides are taken by tourists a year. Very roughly this is around 15 a week. I would argue that this is not enough to suggest to the local population that most tourists travel in taxis.

In addition to commercial operators some tourists obtained rides in boats to take them to neighbouring islands. They did this if they had missed the usual boat that made the trip or they wanted to visit the islands on a day that the usual boat did not travel. Only two groups of tourists surveyed did this. One other group arranged to do so but became concerned at the level of intoxication of the boat owner and so declined the offer.

Other goods

A wide range of goods came under this category. Most were bought by only one tourist and so would be unlikely to influence local people to buy that good. The fact that the good was available suggests that it was something that was demanded locally anyway.

The most common good bought in this category after stamps were telephone cards. All the public telephones in Levuka require these. There are no coin operated telephones. Other more popular goods were batteries and toiletries such as shampoo, toothpaste and soap. Again most of the goods bought in this category were things that the tourist needed at the time. The longer that they stayed in Levuka the more likely they were to buy the goods. Of all the articles bought only two were unique to Levuka. These were membership of the library, taken by people who were staying

longer than average, and, by one tourist only, a case of cut-price canned tuna from PAFCO.

I included one other category in the list of goods bought. I asked the respondents whether there was anything that they had tried to buy but found unobtainable. When the question was formulated I felt that this would give an indication of goods that could be described as solely a result of tourist demand. This turned out not to be the case. One reason for this is the intermittent supply of some goods in Levuka. When a tourist could not find something, two examples given were cheese and chocolate, it was because the shops had sold out and were waiting for the next shipment. Other goods were available but not of a kind that the particular tourist liked. Examples of these sorts of goods were T-shirts and postcards of a favourable design. Some tourists were disappointed with the quality of particular goods on offer. Examples of these ranged from batteries to suntan lotion. Most tourists preferred a higher factor of protection in suntan lotion than was available in the Levukan shops.

However some of the goods requested are probably not available in many towns of similar size in Western countries. These were generally along pharmaceutical lines such as contact lens solution, ulcer drugs and vitamin tablets, but also included cigars, vegetables out of season and ice.

Shopkeepers are aware of what will sell to local people. They will admit that they do not understand the tourist market especially as, in their view, the Levukan tourist market does not appear to behave in the same way as tourists who stay in large hotel complexes. This is generally put down to the belief that the sort of tourists that come to Levuka are poor - a belief that is fostered by the travel agency.

Illegal activities

In addition to legitimate trade are illegal activities that tourism is reported to encourage. By their very nature this is an area that is subject to much misinformation. The three most common of these are illegal drug sales, prostitution and begging. Prostitution is very visible in Suva. In certain areas of the city both male and female streetwalkers ply their trade at night. There are also motels which

cater for 'hourly' trade (Stanley 1996). A respondent informed me that there is one part-time prostitute in Levuka. According to another respondent who is a member of the police she is 'an amateur' who uses prostitution as a way of supplementing her income when a fishing vessel is in port. One informant said that if a number of vessels came in at the same time women would be brought over from Suva. I was not aware of this happening during my fieldwork period. There was absolutely no evidence that prostitutes catered for tourists in Levuka.

The use of marijuana is becoming a concern in some quarters in Fiji. It is grown on Ovalau. In February 1997 a number of plants were seized by the police. The *Fiji Times* (13/2/97 p4) reported that twenty-two plants with a value of \$50 000 dollars were found while the *Fiji Post* stated that that the figures were 290 plants with a value of \$1m. It can be assumed, then, that marijuana is available in Levuka. I did not feel that I would get meaningful responses from tourists if I asked them if they had bought any while in Levuka so I asked them if they had been offered any. Ninety-four percent responded negatively. However many of them said that they had been offered the drug in other parts of Fiji. Only two respondents said that they were regularly offered it and they were both staying in the area of Baba without electricity well away from the commercial accommodation and the usual places tourists go. One tourist said that he had been offered some by some locals he had met who were smoking the drug but had not been offered any to buy. There did not appear to be any serious attempt to sell drugs to tourists. One respondent who was in a position to know about the trade (and wished to remain unidentified) said that there are three main dealers on Ovalau and about 200 regular users. The dealers are not interested in tourists because they worry about their lack of discretion. The only time they would consider selling to tourists is when their usual markets dry up for some reason. However, this did not occur during my field work period.

Begging is very rare in Levuka. On only one occasion was I approached by a child for money. This was on a Sunday and judging by his clothing he had come to Levuka to go to church. Often children are allowed to wander out of the church while the service is on. Two tourists said that some children had asked for money after they had had their photographs taken but that it was not a serious attempt. The

children were reported to have laughed good-naturedly when the tourists scolded them.

It could be argued, however, that more sophisticated forms of begging are employed based on *kerekere*. Some long term visitors reported that they were asked by local friends to lend or give money for various projects. If the tourists gave they did not expect to be repaid.

There is one other activity that tourism is supposed to encourage and that is crime against tourists. During the fieldwork period no tourist suffered from criminal activity and none was reported to the police. One couple lost a bag on the bus/ferry from Suva to Levuka. Sometime in the past a tourist is supposed to have had something stolen while in the fresh water pools above the town but no one could put a date on the incident. It was before the current policemen worked in Levuka so must have been at least four years earlier. Nevertheless, most tourists were warned not to take valuables with them when they went bathing. There is crime in Levuka. During the fieldwork period the owners of one shop were attacked, bound and gagged and had a substantial amount of money stolen (the rumoured amount was over \$30 000 dollars that the family had saved for when they hoped to emigrate late in 1997.) The owners of the dive shop also had an outboard motor stolen. However crime has yet to affect tourists.

What tourists buy – the shopkeepers' views

The shops in Levuka consist mainly of general stores, which have a speciality commodity. For example, many shops sell clothing of some sort, though the primary business may be the sale of fruit and vegetables or video hire.

In each shop I asked what tourists bought and what tourists did not buy. I also asked what local people did not buy. In this way I was able to compare tourist demand from the shopkeepers point of view with that of data gathered from tourists and I was also able to find out those goods that were stocked just for tourists.

Not surprisingly apart from those businesses set up for tourists all the shopkeepers claimed that tourists do not buy most of the goods on offer. In the shops that sold food all respondents stated that tourists bought soft drinks, fruit, biscuits and other snack foods. Occasionally, they would buy things such as pens or notebooks, which are stocked in all the shops. A greengrocer that also sold some clothing stated that they sold T-shirts and sulus to tourists occasionally. His estimate was about three every two months. The photography shop stopped stocking T-shirts because they didn't sell sufficiently well. The owner stated that there are too few tourists to Levuka to make it worth while stocking goods just for them. Nevertheless he had designs for glass engravings that he thought would appeal to tourists.

Another shopkeeper could not understand why few tourists bought T-shirts with 'Levuka' or 'Fiji' printed on them. If they bought clothing at all it tended to be without writing. This was contrary to what his distributor told him. A different shopkeeper stated that the most common goods for tourists to buy with slogans or writing on them were playing cards and cloth badges. These were things that local people never bought. This contrasted with the T-shirts. Locals were more likely to buy these with slogans than were tourists.

One supermarket in Levuka is modelled on supermarkets in Suva which are themselves closer to western style supermarkets. The owner makes a point of stocking goods that he thinks will appeal to yachties. These include canned goods such as soup and some pre-cooked food. Local people do not buy these. They also do not buy vitamins and some of the toiletries. Canned goods appear to be gaining more acceptability, though. This shop stocked canned coconut milk, which was bought by locals who didn't want to scrape their own coconuts. Neither tourists nor yachties bought this product. PAFCO may be an influence in this. The tuna is tinned. Some local people will sell fish that they catch and then buy canned tuna with the proceeds. The reason for this is that canned tuna lasts longer than fresh fish which makes it a store of wealth. However, the most common goods for tourists to buy in the supermarkets are soft drinks and chocolates.

In the shops designed for the tourist market few local people bought anything. In the travel agency sometimes there were requests to use the fax machine. Airline tickets were bought by locals only “once in a blue moon” (pers. comm. travel agent 1997). Most locals buy their tickets from the Fiji Air office.

The original interior design of the travel agency was geared to encourage a demonstration effect (pers. comm. owner 1996). It was made to look modern with three computers and air conditioning. The owner wanted to show that Levuka could have these things, too, and that they were not the preserve of Suva. It was part of his campaign to update the town and encourage prosperity. However, many local people felt that all the owner was trying to do was show how rich he was. They did not see the office as an example to follow. Instead, he discovered that the style of the office put tourists off. They did not want to go into a modern office. Some European tourists also complained of what they called the American style ‘hard sell’ that they received from the staff. The design of the office was later changed to one that tourists in Levuka found more comfortable and business increased.

The dive shop stopped hiring masks and fins to local people because they didn’t bring the equipment back. “A week later it’s on the other side of the island but eventually it will be borrowed back around to this side and they might bring it in.” (This is not a problem restricted to Tourism ventures. Seventy percent of library books on loan from the community centre are overdue (pers. comm. librarian 1997)).

The two shops with the smallest incidence of tourism custom are the electrical stores. One manager claimed that in eight years he had only had one customer who was a tourist. The other shop stocked some articles that tourists occasionally bought such as fishing equipment (though I was not aware of anyone doing so during my field work period) and mosquito repellents. They also sold a plastic washing machine to two yachties while I was conducting my research. However the number of tourists who even went into the shop was very small.

Local people and their perceptions of tourist spending

I asked local people three questions about tourist spending and their own purchases. The first was what they thought that tourists spent their money on in Levuka. The second was whether they bought any of these things and the third was designed to find out what their personal material desires are. The purpose of these questions was to see if they knew what tourists spend their money on and then to see if this related to what they bought or would like to have. The questions were open-ended and respondents could give as many replies as they wished.

Thirty-one percent of respondents stated that tourists buy T-shirts or sulus with slogans (N=50). Another six percent thought that tourists bought clothes. It should not be assumed that there is necessarily a contradiction between the number of local people who believe this and the relatively low number of tourists who buy 'sloganned' clothes. These goods may be more obviously visible and the respondents were not asked to rank in order of economic importance what tourists buy. All but two of the respondents said that they also buy these garments. One stated that s/he bought cheaper clothes than the sort tourists buy. Nearly 50 percent of local people believe that tourists buy souvenirs of some sort but some of the respondents qualified their statements with comments such as observations on the lack of quality and choice for tourists. "They don't buy things – they can get better elsewhere". They buy food but there is "nothing else to buy." Only one respondent stated that Levuka was a good place to buy souvenirs (though this was not a question that was asked). One respondent stated that tourists buy "anything that can satisfy them". She did not buy anything that tourists buy.

Food and accommodation were the only other goods that local people believe that tourists buy that received more than one or two mentions. These responses go some way towards explaining why a number of people in the town believe that only the tourist businesses will benefit from tourism.

The only response that was surprising came from two respondents who said that tourists bought shells. These are not commercially available in Levuka. It is possible that someone sold some shells that they had found to tourists. In the past

boys would catch birds to sell to Korean fishermen until the trade was stopped by local authorities (pers. comm. 1996). One of the respondents who mentioned shells said that she also bought these, however, no causal relationship was established regarding the purchases.

Material desires of local people

The material desires of local people were very varied. The most common response (from four people) was 'none'. Examples of goods desired were televisions and videos, a brushcutter, a better home, a home in Suva, a car, a boat and outboard, further education, and household goods. Two people stated that they wanted to travel and one wanted a living room with western furniture. Away from formal surveying the one thing that was uppermost in many people's minds was PAFCO and the state of the local economy if it did close permanently. While only two respondents said that they wanted jobs when answering the questionnaire many people who had jobs at PAFCO were worried that they would lose theirs.

The only desire that could be related to the influence of tourists was the desire to travel which three people stated that they had. However this may also have been a result of other members of their families travelling. All three of these respondents had relatives living in either Australia or New Zealand.

Other tourism factors and the demonstration effect

The proponents of the demonstration effect argue that local people observe tourists and start behaving in a similar way. Whilst this thesis is concerned with socio-economic behaviour and not social behaviour the two overlap where the social behaviour results in changes to spending, consumption and conceptualisations of economic value. In order to understand this it is necessary to attempt to find out how much contact local people have with tourists and where this contact takes place (table 6.2). These responses should be considered in conjunction with answers to the question of whom a tourist is and how they are recognised. It should also be noted

Table 6.2. Where do local people come into contact with tourists?

Location	Yes (%)	No (%)
At work	15.4	84.6
In the shops	9.6	90.4
In the street	86.5	13.5
Ovalau Club	7.7	92.3
Levuka Club	1.9	98.1
By the sea	1.9	98.1
In the resorts	3.8	96.2
In restaurants	11.5	88.5
At home	15.4	84.6
At someone else's home	3.8	96.2
In village	3.8	96.2
Other	19.2	80.8

N=53

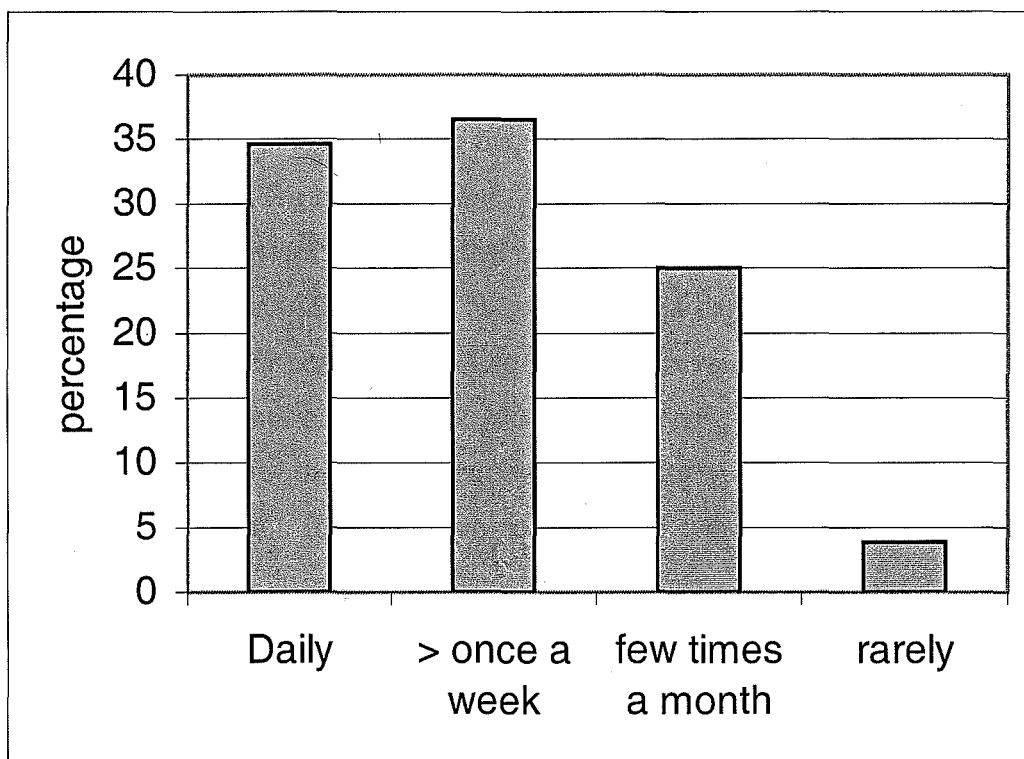
that no time frame was given to the respondents. This was partly because in general conversation important and significant events were spoken of as if they had happened recently when this was not the case. I was not confident that data within a time frame would be reliable.

By far the most common place to meet tourists is in the street. Often this amounted to no more than saying "hello" or directing tourists to places of interest. In more open-ended conversations with people it became apparent that few local people spent any significant time with tourists. Very occasionally they may get talking enough to invite them into their homes. The most likely people to do this are people who work with tourists. Of those who said that tourists come to their homes 50 percent worked or had a spouse working with tourists or in close contact with tourists. Many respondents stated that they wanted to get to know tourists and generally said it was so that they could make foreign friends and learn about their countries. A local schoolteacher who introduced me to a number of respondents told me that many

people wanted to have contact with tourists in the hope of finding a spouse or at least having money and gifts sent to them. Anecdotal evidence suggests that this happens. One tourist with whom I have maintained contact has sent money to a hotel worker. In one of the restaurants two of the waitresses have married tourists and moved overseas.

Fig. 6.1 shows how often tourists are observed by local people (N=53). The vast majority of respondents see tourists several times a week (71 percent). This is not surprising given the size of Levuka and the main routes that tourists take in moving around the town. Tourists are obviously visible to local people though on many of these occasions their definition of a tourist may be different to that of the person whom they are calling a tourist. For many of the respondents my interview would have been classed as contact with a tourist. Many respondents said that they often saw tourists making their way to the fresh water pools above Levuka. Again this is

Figure 6.1. Occurrence of contact with tourists by local people



only likely to happen during the rainy season when there is sufficient water in the pools to allow bathing to take place. It would be difficult not to see a tourist if one spent an hour in Beach Street.

Tourists are sometimes noticed because they do not always behave in a culturally appropriate way. The Tui Levuka complained about two tourists walking along the road passed Levuka Vakaviti wearing only bikini tops on the upper part of the body. It was impossible to elicit a time frame for this but I suspect that it had occurred more than twelve months previously. Nevertheless, it had made a significant impact. In the Royal Hotel a letter in the guest book from the District Officer for the Lomiaviti Islands requested that tourists stayed away from the rock pools in Waitovu village on a Sunday because the sight of partly clad people recreating in them on the Sabbath was offensive. This did not appear to be a problem in the pools above Levuka Town.

The maintenance of the Sabbath is a political issue in Fiji. Right wing elements allied to the Methodist Church want a total ban on all commercial and recreational activities on Sunday as was the case immediately following the coups. These individuals and the political parties they make up also tend to be against the new constitution of Fiji (*Tagatao te Moana*, National Radio 25/4/99, *The Press* 7/5/99). While they may not receive a great deal of electoral support anyone who opposes the teachings of the Methodist church in some villages can expect strong opposition. During my field work period five young men were severely assaulted and had limbs broken on the neighbouring island of Moturiki for evangelising for another Christian sect. A spokesman for the village in question said that Moturiki is a Methodist island (*Fiji Times* 8/10/96). Similarly two tourists who were invited to the village of Waitovu for Sunday lunch were asked to leave when they stated that their beliefs were closer to Buddhism than to Christianity.

There appears to be a large gulf, particularly with regard to Sunday observance, between Fijian villagers and tourists. This gulf is probably too great to result in changes in behaviour and many tourists do go to Sunday services to hear the singing.

The idea of a non-belief in some form of god seems to be beyond most Fijian's comprehension even if they believe the god(s), such as those worshipped by Indians, to be false. At the same time no employer seemed to have any problem with workers not prepared to work on a Sunday in Levuka. This may, of course, be because only those workers who are prepared to work on Sundays are employed or apply for jobs where such requirements are made.

Efforts are made to protect the Christian heritage of Fijians. This is not felt to be necessary because of tourism (resorts were exempt from the Sunday trading ban after the coups) but because of the other religions practised in Fiji. As stated earlier religion is, in many ways, a political statement.

Other behavioural changes that were considered were work related or regarding the maintenance of equipment. In these cases tourism is only the vehicle by which behavioural changes can be transmitted. It is not tourism *per se* that encourages local people to change their behavioural patterns but the people who run the tourism businesses, most of whom are not Fijian.

Fijians have a poor reputation among members of the other races with regard to looking after things. The owners of the dive shop complained that they had regularly told Fijian friends to whom they had given masks how to take care of them so that they lasted longer:

I had for six months tried to explain to Dan living on Lost Island, if when you come out of the water you rinse your gear, you keep it out of the sunlight it will last a long time. I never ever saw him do that. I would always rinse mine and put it away, properly. His would be laying up in the yard in the sun until the next time he wanted to go diving. And he would go and get it, oh never mind if it was coming apart a little bit, it'll still work. I have personally given Dan three masks...

As professional divers they would expect a mask to last about five years.

The owner of the bicycle hire business encountered the same problem:

I left and went to France for about two months. I left the business with one of my friends, a Fijian friend and he just didn't look after it properly. Like, you know, he didn't fix the bikes or whatever. He took the money and left a little bit on the side for me for when I came back. And it wasn't even as far as the charge. So I had to leave and left to make some money to buy some more bikes and get some more bikes and bring them here.

The friend worked in the business before the owner went to France:

This friend who kept the business when I was away. He was doing a wonderful job with me every day or every couple of days. We would fix the bikes or just use grease, you know, and have fun doing it but as soon as, I've noticed, the reason if you are not behind their back to push them a little bit they will not really put any effort into anything. They just sit and wait for something to happen

A Fijian, who had been given a chainsaw by a tourist, in order to cut wood to build bures for tourists had to lend it to a fellow villager as a result of *kerekere*. It was dropped and broken and the owner could not afford to fix it. He said that the person who broke it did not see it as his problem. The owner of the chainsaw accepted the situation as part of Fijian life.

Whilst these tourist businesses have attempted to train their Fijian workers in maintenance they report total failure. There is no culture, they say, of looking after things. Similar anecdotal stories were told about the fishing vessels the government had bought from the Japanese for inshore fishing. A stevedore I interviewed said that only two of the eight boats were still seaworthy and other informants stated that that was because no maintenance had been carried out on them.

The pace of life is slower in Fiji than it is in western countries according to Europeans who live in the town. Employers say that it is difficult to train workers to do things quickly or to consider the customer may not have such a relaxed attitude to life. One of the restaurateurs said that it takes two years to get a Fijian up to speed in the restaurant. Another says that he tries to send his prospective workers to Suva to work in a restaurant there so that they can understand what is required of them. However, a different restaurateur stated that it is the local customers that demand fast

service and not the tourists. This is particularly true of the lunchtime trade when workers have to be back at their place of work at a given time.

There is not a strong waged-based work ethic in Levuka. The mayor of the town, George Gibson, is quoted as saying, "We have a situation where a village worker is not obliged to go to work if he does not want to in the sense that he does not have rent, electricity to pay" (Keith-Reid, Robert *Fiji Islands Business* Nov 96 p15). The chief executive of PAFCO complains of high rates of absenteeism and poor attitudes to work. However the chairman of the chamber of commerce puts the workers' attitudes down to a lack of education and that with education things can change. "(W)e have a good class of people" (ibid.). In all these cases those complaining of Fijian attitudes to work only consider paid work. They do not concern themselves with the Fijian attitudes to work in the fields or the village. It may be that obligations towards kin and *māteqali* are more important than obligations to an employer.

Non tourism factors and the demonstration effect

Local residents were also asked about acculturating influences other than tourism. These included having relatives who live overseas, television and video viewing, radio preferences, and newspaper, magazine and book reading. Also important is contact with Suva which is much more 'Westernised' than Levuka in that it has amenities that are found in most western cities. As one seventeen year old respondent commented, "Levuka is boring. Suva is much better. There are night clubs and McDonalds in Suva." (The Fijian Football League is sponsored by McDonalds and the Levuka team wears the McDonalds' logo on its shirts).

Television

Fifty-three percent of local respondents watch television. Although the quality of reception is generally not good in Levuka town because of the hills, it is still viewed in the Town. Away from Levuka the reception improves. Even in villages which do

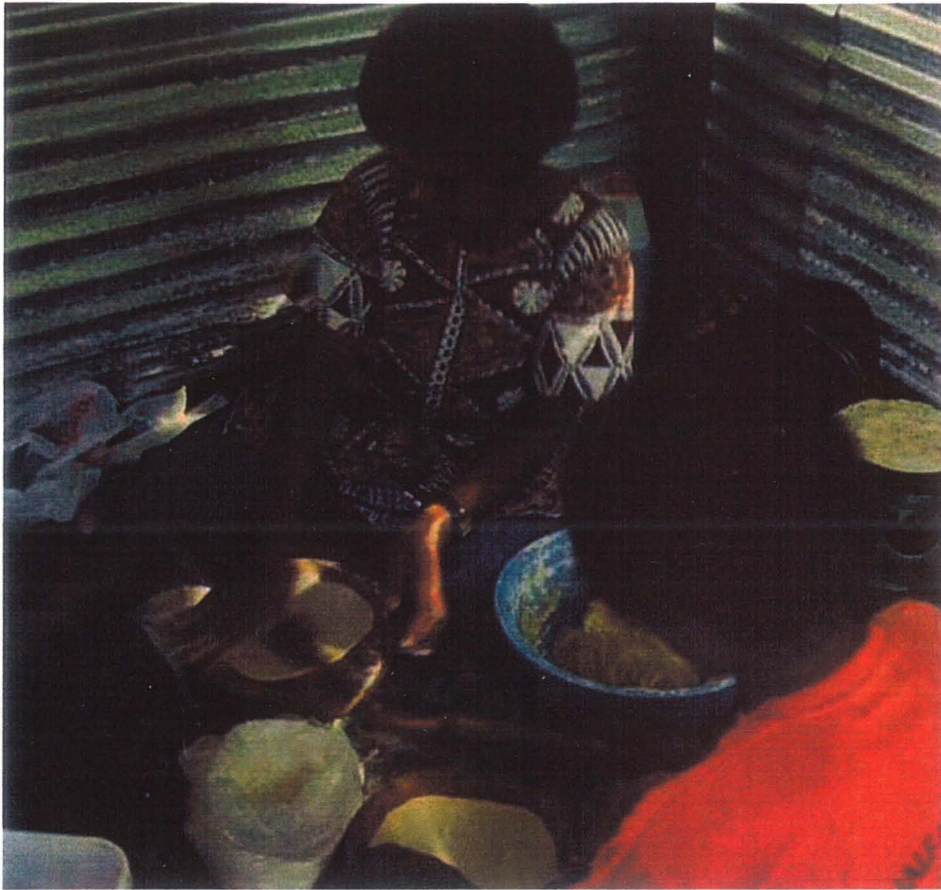
not have mains electricity, such as Lovoni, generators provide power to allow for television viewing. People will visit a neighbour's house if they do not have a television of their own. While television is government run in Fiji there are advertisements shown and most of the programmes come from overseas. This influence can be observed in rugby shirts. Many of the men wear the rugby shirts of teams in Australia and New Zealand. They also wear rugby league shirts. Rugby league is not a game that is played seriously in Fiji or at all in Levuka. One respondent explained that it is only since the advent of television that anyone has taken note of League. The shirts are those of the previous season which are dumped on the Fiji market when the new strip goes on sale in Australia. This may be an indication of the power television has in influencing culture or it may be that the shirts are good value for money and that the wearers have no particular affiliation or interest in any club. In any event the majority of tourists come from places where rugby league is not played. I did not see any tourists wearing rugby shirts of any description though one did say that he wanted to buy a Fijian National shirt before he left Fiji as a souvenir. (Similarly I only saw Fijians wearing rugby shirts. It is not a game that is played by Indians). Television is probably more significant in changing purchasing patterns because of the advertising that occurs between the programmes.

Videos

Videos were also a popular form of entertainment. Apart from videos of the Hong Kong Rugby Sevens and tourist promotions there were no locally produced videos available in Levuka. Most videos watched were feature films that would be found in any video store in a western country. Some Fijian families occasionally watched Hindi videos even though they did not understand the language. They said that the stories were easy to follow and that they only cost \$1.50 to hire as opposed to \$2.50 for those in English. Only Chinese respondents watched Chinese videos.

Given the problems that the dive shop and the library had in getting back the articles they lent the video hire shops have membership schemes which require a deposit to be paid. One owner of a video shop said that if someone were very late in returning a video they would not be allowed to rent another one. This arrangement was

Examples of acculturation not due to tourism.



Plates 12 & 13. Fijian women making roti, an Indian food, and cheerleaders at a rugby tournament

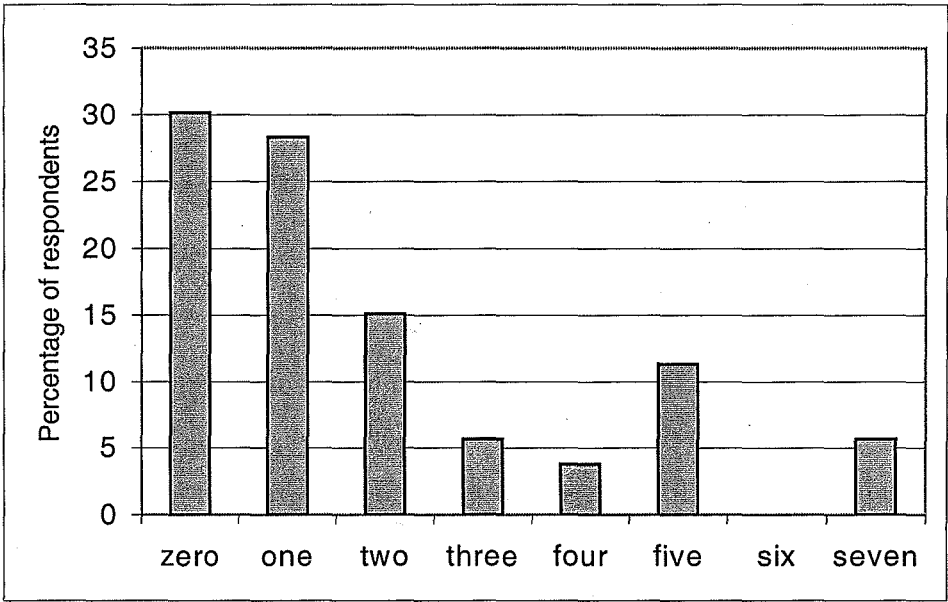


probably considered acceptable because the shops are run by Chinese and Indian shopkeepers.

The Royal hotel showed a video each evening and two on Sunday. These were hired from rental shops in Levuka of which there were three.

All respondents were asked how many videos they watched each week. The results are summarised in fig 6.2 (N=53).

Figure 6.2. Number of videos watched each week



The views that both video and television give of the western world is arguably more powerful than observing tourists because the exposure to western culture is more concentrated. This is supported by some letters to the newspapers showed concern about the values in *Shortland Street*, a New Zealand soap opera, and their effect on young people in Fiji.

Radio

More than ninety percent of respondents listened to the radio. 57.7 percent of them listened to Radio Gold, an English language popular music station sponsored by the Carlton Breweries beer Fiji Gold. Again there was occasional concern voiced in the newspapers about some of the moral values portrayed in the songs. (On a subsequent visit to Fiji in 1999 there was much debate about whether a song called *Sex on the Beach* should be banned.) 67.3 percent of respondents listened to Radio Fiji 1, which is a Fijian language station. This station provides live rugby match commentary, which is very popular with most Fijians. It was not a station listened to by the Indian community. There are stations that broadcast in Hindi but given the small size of the Indian community in Levuka this did not figure highly in the statistics. All Fijian radio stations carry advertisements which, presumably, encourage people to buy goods. One Rotuman, who said that he was migrating to Australia within the next few months, said that he listened to the foreign radio station on the short wave – primarily New Zealand and Australian radio.

Newspapers

All respondents said that they read the English language newspapers. The majority, 94.3 percent, read the *Fiji Times*. 28.3 percent read the *Fiji Post*. 3.8 percent read the Fijian language paper. (The total is greater than 100 percent because many people, 26.4 percent, read more than one paper). The frequency of newspaper readership was as follows: 56.6 percent read a newspaper every day; 7.5 percent read one most days and 35.8 percent read them sometimes.

As has been stated earlier it would appear that newspapers are very important in helping people to develop an opinion on events. The level of awareness regarding reef preservation appeared to be high and that received much publicity in the press. I would also suggest that many opinions on tourism also came from the newspapers, as many people appeared to consider tourism (as opposed to tourists) in terms of resorts. Again, newspapers carry advertisements for a variety of products.

As stated in Chapter One in the methodology section, whilst there may be a bias in the sample favouring English language newspapers because all the respondents spoke English, in Levuka it is very uncommon to find a Fijian of high school age or older who does not speak English.

Overseas contacts

The final non-tourism acculturation effect to be considered is personal and familial contact with other countries.

Seventy-three percent of respondents had never been out of Fiji. Of the remainder, 19 percent had lived overseas. Usually this was for short-term work contracts of around twelve months. (The longest was ten years, the shortest four months). For two respondents this had been in the Lebanon on UN peacekeeping duties while they were in the army. Only three respondents (5.7 percent) had been overseas solely for holidays though one of these had been representing Fiji at sport.

However, 81 percent of respondents said that they had family members living overseas. Of these a third received money from their family members. While there may be culturally different views on who is a relative I attempted to ascertain the closeness of the relationship. Considering only children, parents, grandparents, and parents siblings and their children but excluding second cousins, great aunts and uncles, the following results were accrued:

Country of abode of relatives (the numbers in brackets show the number of relatives in each country):

Australia (26)

New Zealand (11)

USA (8)

United Kingdom (4)

Vanuatu (3)

Canada (2)

Hong Kong/China (2)

Dubai, United Arab Emirates, Solomon Islands (1 each).

In addition other respondents had had relatives living overseas who had returned. Again these were people working on short-term contracts. According to one respondent it was common in the 1970s and 1980s for Fijians to work on fruit farms in New Zealand.

Other factors and acculturation

It should also be noted that one of the main factors in causing change in purchasing patterns is the move to a cash economy. If people do not have an income they cannot buy things from shops. The family of a subsistence farmer will eat traditional foods because those are all that are available to them. If a family member gets a job locally then what is on offer in the local shops is available to them. If a family member gets a job in a city then what is on offer in the city is available. However paid employment also brings obligations. A full-time job will usually require 40 hours a week of the employee's time. This becomes time that cannot be spent at home so traditional foods that take time to prepare are forgone in favour of quick and easily prepared meals. These sorts of foods generally come from the shops. For example, there is no traditional food in Fiji, apart from fruit, that can be cooked in two minutes as noodles can. Bread from the baker takes no time to prepare. Thus full-time employment is adding to the loss of traditional cooking skills. Women who have paid employment do not have the time or the energy to teach their children how to make traditional foods that take hours of preparation. One of the aims of the Devokula cultural village is to preserve these skills so that people still know how to prepare kaiviti (Fiji bread), for example (Fisher forthcoming).

It was clearly observable when PAFCO was shut down how many of the women went fishing. Similarly the only fish traps I saw erected were when PAFCO was closed. This is not a new phenomenon related to tourism or globalisation. During the Second World War, when many Fijians were serving in the army, families had cash incomes to spend for the first time which they received from the soldiers. This resulted in less fishing, because the cash could be used to buy fish, and a subsequent shortage of fish for sale (Tudor 1946).

Cash has become necessary in the lives of the Fijian people. Anecdotal evidence from yachties who moored in Levuka suggests that money is of no consequence in subsistence economies elsewhere in the Pacific. One sailor told me that he stocked up on T-shirts if he planned to visit some of the outer islands in the Solomons because it was much easier for him to trade for supplies with these. However, within subsistence-based economies in Fijian villages there is still a need for money. During my fieldwork period churches demanded up to \$100 dollars a month from each family (pers.comm.1997). I was shown but not allowed to copy the accounts book for one of the churches. In addition Tui Levuka demanded money and mats from every village in his *mataqali* for the wedding of his daughter. Finally the schools require payment for books and equipment. It is up to each family to decide how to raise the funds. If they do not give what is requested of them their names are read out in a public place – the church or school, for example. With the acquisition of money, and more importantly the means to acquire it, comes the ability to purchase goods in the shops. In addition an improved rural infrastructure aids this development. I questioned a villager from Lovoni about fishing and asked whether they fished or traded with the villages on the coast for sea fish.

Villager - We used to fish until the road was built.

Me (with puzzled voice) - How did the road stop you from fishing?

Villager – Now it is easier to fish in the shops.

The easier access to the Town allows people to buy food that can be stored. Canned fish, for example, lasts much longer than fresh fish. The advent of a cash economy is not only requiring people to find means of obtaining cash it is also enabling them to purchase goods, and the attributes that come with those goods.

Conclusion

The demonstration effect as perceived by Smith and Hume is illustrated in Fijian history by the purchase of schooners by Cakobau and Ma'afu. Here were two men who, while poorer economically, considered themselves socially above the Europeans with whom they came into contact. Consumption was dictated by position. In addition trade occurred because of the undoubted superiority of European goods. While this is generally not considered to be an example of the demonstration effect it could be argued that the same *process* occurs in the mind of the purchaser – “I want that because it is better/ gives me more prestige than what I have at the moment.”

I would argue that many studies conducted on the tourism demonstration effect approach the problem from the wrong direction. Any study should look at what people buy and desire, and then attempt to trace the motivation for the ownership of those goods. It is wrong to automatically argue that if both tourists and local people spend their money on a particular good, which before tourism was not available, then tourists must be influencing locals. There may be no link or at least only a tenuous one. It is quite feasible that local demand made the good available and tourists bought it because it was there which is the case in Levuka. Also relevant may be the way that money and goods are injected into the local economy. In Levuka there is a low rate of involvement of indigenous Fijians in tourism businesses. It may be that the demonstration effect is more apparent where there are greater links between local people and the tourist industry.

This study shows that while there may appear to be a lot of contact between tourists and local people this contact generally amounts to being in the same place. There is very little ‘real’ contact in the sense of a closeness developing between tourists and local people. The number of tourists in Levuka is too small to dominate the town. They are still very much a minority albeit a visible one. However there is a high incidence of contact with western society and values through other means. While it is difficult to quantitatively distinguish one from the other it would appear that tourists have little effect on the economic behaviour of local people. The underlying and rarely vocalised feeling that many local people seem to have towards tourists is

that they offer a potential source of income, preferably donated, or a means to go overseas. Two respondents, both Fijians in 'professional' occupations, stated that this is the case for many people (though not themselves). Marriages to foreigners were visible and commented upon favourably as a means of escaping Levuka and Fiji. One marriage took place between a local woman and a former tourist while I was living in Levuka. The woman was a former waitress and met her husband while working in that capacity. They moved to the United States once the marriage had taken place.

A lack of understanding of tourists and tourism, and business is evident in many of the responses gathered. The general view of tourists is that they do not spend much money and what they did spend was not distributed around the town. One respondent claimed that tourists bought all the things that they want on the mainland and not in Levuka. The only people to make money out of tourism were the tourist businesses. This view may not be completely correct. The owners of one shop stated that they did not make any money from tourists but this shop supplied two of the restaurants with locally produce fresh fruit and vegetables. One restaurateur said that she spent \$300 a week on produce from this shop. This shop also bought vegetables from local farmers. Similarly one of the restaurateurs bought vegetables at the local market. However these vegetables tend to be 'Fijian' such as taro and cassava rather than 'western' vegetables.

There was also a lack of understanding about what tourists want and the mark-up put on locally produced souvenirs by shop owners. Some people within the local community were aware of the limitations of knowledge on tourism generally evident in Levuka. Before I left the idea of training workshops for local people was being discussed so that they could learn how to exploit the potential for income generation that tourists offer. If these workshops occur then the effects of tourism on local people may become more apparent.

Chapter Seven

Discussion

Introduction

This thesis was designed to discover if tourism has changed economic behaviour and values in Levuka. However, in order to achieve this it was necessary to consider what other changes have occurred in the past and are occurring now, that are not attributable to tourism. The theoretical basis on which the investigation was based is that people learn by experience and that modes of behaviour are passed down from generation to generation. Over time new experiences are incorporated into the worldview of a particular culture. New generations observe how their elders behave in a particular circumstance and they learn to behave in the same way.

However, circumstances may change or an individual may try to find a better way of doing something. As a result new modes of behaviour are created and the cultural template may alter if the change in question fits within the psychological comfort zone of those instigating it. If the circumstantial change is small then it is likely that the resulting cultural change is small, however, a large circumstantial change can have wide cultural reverberations. The introduction of firearms and (separately) Christianity are two Fijian examples of the latter. Nevertheless, the response to even large changes occurs as a result of the cultural worldview existing at the time of the introduction of that event. Over time further modifications and refinements are made to the initial response in attempt to achieve a better outcome for the respondees. These modifications are a result of increased knowledge and an awareness of the results of earlier modifications.

Choi (1993) refers to this process of change as 'paradigm building'. Blumer (1990) argues that meanings change through increased experience, and actions are based on meanings. Therefore increased experience will result in different behaviour. Behavioural economists, following Kelly's Personal Construct Theory, suggest that people experiment with responses to novel situations until they achieve an outcome that is satisfactory. A satisfactory outcome is one with which the individual feels

psychologically, as well as materially, comfortable. In all these models action is dictated by knowledge gained from previous events, whether these events occurred to the individual, were observed occurring to someone else or were reported as occurring to someone else. In essence these arguments are very similar to the evolutionary biological view of imitation and are applicable to the concept of the 'demonstration effect' in the study of tourism. People will imitate others that they believe have greater knowledge than they do, either exactly or inexactly, or they will teach themselves how to achieve the results that they observe others achieving.

Change in Levuka

Fiji and Levuka have undergone a series of paradigmatic shifts since the eighteenth century. These have been in response to social, political, and technological changes that have been initiated externally. As the history of Fiji in chapter three illustrated, the underlying template for this has been the hierarchical nature of Fijian society. Christianity took root in Fiji because the chiefs, and in particular Cakobau, converted. The conversion may not have been for spiritual reasons but the consequences were profound.

Levuka, by accident of geography, became the hub from which many of the nineteenth century changes radiated resulting in a town that is of interest to western tourists today. Again, the growth, development and decline in Levuka can be seen as the result of reactions to changes in technology and the political economy of Fiji. More importantly, Levuka is an example of a foreign cultural order that has been imposed on Fiji which has differentiated it from other towns in Fiji. It is this obvious uniqueness that has resulted in it being a place of interest for tourists almost since its founding.

Tourism

Tourism is the specific agent of change that has been analysed in this thesis. Because tourism is only one agent of change it has to be viewed in the context of all the others that have occurred and are occurring within a society. The reactions to

tourism and tourists are a result of previous reactions to tourism, outsiders and social conditioning or worldviews. Tourists and tourism are just one more changing circumstance that is occurring to the host population in Levuka. It is only by acknowledging the influences of other factors that a balanced understanding of the significance of the effects of tourism and tourists is attained.

The preceding chapters have considered various dimensions of change in Levuka. These chapters were constructed in chronological order. The historical review began with the creation of the Town then introduced a history of tourism in Levuka. The legacy of the built environment, in turn led to the more recent conceptualisation of heritage as an attractor. Finally, an analysis was made of tourists who visit the Town today, and how they interact with local people.

However, any analysis of tourism in Levuka today must acknowledge the fact that Levuka has been a tourist destination for some time. The Town does not fit easily into Butler's (1980) area destination lifecycle model if tourists types are analysed. This is because there are two distinct phases in tourism in Levuka. The first is the tourism of the mid nineteenth century to cession when the facilities provided for foreign visitors developed from those catering to adventurers to those for psychocentric nineteenth century Europeans living in various parts of the Pacific. Levuka became a tourism destination catered for large numbers of tourists. The reckless, drunken tourist behaviour declined with the arrival of a recognised civil authority and the shifting of the capital to Suva.

In recent years the number of visitors to Levuka has begun to grow again. It is now a destination that appeals to free, independent travellers who state that they do not want the facilities provided for resort-based tourists elsewhere on Fiji. However any effects that these tourists have on the behaviour of local people have to be viewed in the context of Levuka, not only as a European, colonial town, but also with regard to the cultural template (behavioural paradigm) that has been created by local people. This template is a result of past experience of foreign visitors and the adaptation of all races to the political economy of Fiji, with technological change, including informational and entertainment technologies.

The demonstration effect

The introduction of new methods and ideas and the way they are used by the local population is the basis for the demonstration effect. Despite the theoretical problems that are associated with measuring the demonstration effect there remains an intuitive belief in the literatures of tourism, economics and psychology that it exists. However, in the study of tourism there appears to be little attempt to consider how such effects occur in non-tourist situations. If the concept of the demonstration effect can be observed in other forms of contact with outsiders then it may be possible to better understand how it manifests itself in a tourism situation. It may also be that, as Bryden (1973) has pointed out, that it has not been sufficiently well defined. In this thesis it has been suggested that there are three forms by which imitation from a demonstrated example can occur, namely:

- 1) exact imitation;
- 2) inexact imitation;
- 3) social learning.

Each of these concepts will be evaluated along with an attempt to consider the possibility of them happening in non-tourist contact with outsiders.

The demonstration effect in Levuka from a thematic perspective

Levuka is a town that has been a victim of circumstances beyond its control, and its geography. Its growth and decline has mirrored the changing political and macroeconomic climate of Fiji. Many of these changes have been the result of individuals attempting to use new methods to realise pre-existing goals and, consequently, to set new goals. Cakobau's rise could only have occurred to the extent that it did through contact with a superior material culture. However, that culture was western and resulted in changes that he had probably not envisaged. The two most important of these were the introduction of Christianity and the creation of a monetary economy. Both required a change to the Fijian cultural world view. The spiritual side could be accommodated into the Fijian religious cosmology but one of the motivating factors for this was the desire for material goods. In the terms of the demonstration effect material goods provided and encouraged social learning.

In many ways the history of Levuka is European. The early settlers were concerned with making money. The means to do this changed with technological development and global political change. Today tourism is the latest means in which to do this. However the growth of tourism is also a result of technological development. Tourism worldwide has been growing at just under 5% a year (WTO 1998). This is partly due to technological advances in transport technology (just as tourism to Levuka increased in the nineteenth century for the same reasons). In Levuka the introduction of a monetary economy and the increasing importance for local people to earn a monetary income as a result of indigenous pressures from the *tikina*, church and schools requires a means with which to do this. Again the history of Levuka illustrates the ebb and flow of various industries which have grown then declined due to outside influences. Today fears about the viability of PAFCO have resulted in increased interest in the development of tourism. Tourism is seen as a growing industry which has been primarily restricted to the west coast of Viti Levu. There is a belief that the Town has a product that is of interest to tourist. The demand for tourists is partly derived in that local people want tourists for the income they bring. However, there is also the cultural aspect of hospitality which is important to Fijians. At the same time there appears to be an inability to combine these two aspects of the cultural template. Four questions have to be asked: What do tourists want? How do we provide it? How do we obtain an income from providing it? How do we maintain our traditional standards of hospitality?

It is within this context that the demonstration effect operates and it is because of this context that the demonstration effect *must* be broken down into different forms. Each form of demonstration will be now be examined. The form of demonstration will be examined in historical terms and then as a consequence of modern tourism to Levuka.

Exact imitation

Exact imitation is copying what someone else does. Exact copying has existed in Fiji in the past. The most noticeable was Cakobau's desire for a schooner. What is pertinent to this example, though, is that Cakobau wanted a schooner because the kings of Hawaii and Tonga had one and he viewed it as a symbol of power. The

meaning of a schooner changed from being a suitable vehicle for the transportation of goods and people to one of a display of equality with Pacific Island monarchs, particularly as Cakobau's claim to be the King of Fiji was dubious, or at least, open to dispute. He was exactly imitating Pacific island monarchs and *not* Europeans. Objects as symbols were not new to Fijian culture. The most revered symbol was, and probably still is, the whale's tooth, or *tabua*. The distinction that must be emphasised is that Cakobau's desire for a schooner was not a result of wanting to copy Europeans but of wanting to copy other Pacific Island monarchs. This example may also illustrate the concept of 'informational cascades'. Cakobau only wanted a schooner after he had heard that other Pacific Island monarchs had obtained this symbol of prestige. In this case he identified more closely with Pacific leaders than he did with Europeans.

Other examples include the acceptance of Christianity. If a chief converted then so did the common people. They copied the chief. It is only later that they were able to argue doctrinally for the new religion. Again, the concept of 'informational cascades' is illustrated. In a hierarchical society people look to those socially above them for an indication of how to behave or change behaviour on major issues. To use Douglas's (1982) ideas, the group controls behaviour.

Cultural bias theory would suggest that only people within the group can precipitate exact imitation in a hierarchical society. Therefore, one would not expect to find examples of exact imitation amongst Fijians in Levuka. This appears to be the case. There does not appear to be any evidence of exact imitation as a result of tourism in Levuka. Local people do not buy goods, nor aspire to goods that they observe tourists purchasing or owning. Neither do local people desire the goods that are carried by tourists. Of course, local people may believe that the goods that they aspire to, such as a television, are owned by tourists. In Levuka, it is the contrary that may hold - tourists copy the local people in many of their purchases. Because a comparatively low number of tourists visit Levuka it is not worthwhile for shopkeepers to stock goods specifically for the tourist markets. As a result tourists have to buy what is stocked for the local market. The only exceptions to this are certain forms of souvenirs. Some shopkeepers have stocked tourist souvenirs based

on the types of goods that are sold to tourists who stay in the large resorts. They have copied shopkeepers who sell to tourists. Unfortunately, they have done this without an awareness of the differences between the resort-based tourists and the type of tourists that visit Levuka. The result has been a low level of sales.

There also appears to be little behavioural copying from tourists by local people. What appears to be more common is tourists copying local people. Examples of this include the consumption of kava and attempts by some tourists to behave in a culturally appropriate manner when in Fijian villages. This 'reversed' demonstration effect may be due to the types of tourists that visit. It may not occur with other tourists. Again, this would support Cultural Bias theory in that free independent travellers are more likely to be influenced by a wider group of people than just those within their social group.

More recent examples of changing purchasing decisions can be seen in the sorts of goods stocked in the shops. Many western goods are advertised on the television and in newspapers. These goods are being incorporated into the Fijian lifestyle. However there is no evidence that the demand for these goods is fuelled by tourism. The only good, apart from souvenirs, that was stocked solely for tourists in Levuka was bottled water. Again there appeared to be little imitation of this choice of good by the local people. However, now that Fiji has just begun to produce its own bottled spring water which has been heavily advertised it would be worth monitoring the introduction and acceptance of this product to see if this situation changes.

Inexact imitation

Inexact copying is a difficult process to measure because, by definition, the end result is different from the original example. An attempt is made to deliberately copy someone else but due to a lack of complete information of what is being copied an inexact copy is made. The other aspect of inexact imitation is that deliberate inexact copying may be a case of social learning – how to use new tools in the Fijian situation, for example.

Traditionally inexact copying may have occurred regarding designs on *tapa* cloth. It is not possible to say why designs are different from the first designs that came from Tonga but now various styles are evident throughout Fiji. The inexact imitation may have been deliberate attempt at experimentation or to emphasise cultural differences, or it may have been accidental. In either case *tapa* designs are now different to those in Tonga. More deliberate forms of inexact copying can be seen in the way traditional houses are built. With the introduction of chain saws it is much more efficient to use cut timber for purlins rather than the traditional whole log. Improvements in technology have changed the exact way some things are done but not what could be described as the essence of what is being done. Other examples of this are methods of cooking or the ingredients used. Fijian women may have copied Indian women in order to produce roti but once the roti is made it is used in a different way.

The only obvious example in Levuka of inexact imitation resulting from tourism is the demand for inexact copies because of heritage legislation. When a particular aspect of a building cannot be replaced with an exact copy, such as the piles for heritage buildings, an inexact copy is made that gives the impression of being like the original. It is too early to say whether inexact copies in these instances will become an accepted method of producing the articles required or whether other methods will be chosen in the future. However, the precedence of wooden louver windows does appear to have become accepted when it has proved impossible to replace windows in their original form.

Tourists, on the other hand, may purchase inexact copies of souvenirs because of a lack of knowledge about the original. While this was not evident in Levuka it does appear to be the case elsewhere in Fiji particularly with regard to the sale of swords and masks by street vendors. The only mask sold in Levuka during the fieldwork period was bought by someone who was knowledgeable about masks in the South Pacific. Generally the souvenirs bought by tourists had some link with Levuka but in many cases they were not 'traditional' in the sense that local people produced those goods anyway. The most common souvenir were postcards which are a British invention though adapted for use in Levuka by showing pictures of the Town.

Similarly, clothing purchased by tourists tended to be of a western style (except sulus) even though the designs on the material reflected Fiji and the South Pacific. The supposedly tourist designed clothing are more popular with local people. The reason given for this is that they are cheaper. No local person appeared to wear them because they thought that tourists wore them.

Social learning

Social learning may combine some aspects of exact copying but then alter the context in which the copy is made by adapting it to cultural needs. The previously mentioned example of roti is an example of this. Fijian women make roti but it is eaten in conjunction with more traditional Fijian cuisine. Similarly, non-Fijian crops are grown and consumed but they have been integrated into a Fijian diet. More recently, various convenience foods have been adapted to local tastes. From these further adaptations take place through learning. One example of this given in the text was the Fijian woman who was happy to eat noodles cold but discovered that she found pasta unpleasant when cold.

The example of food also fits with the idea of social hierarchy. Changing one's diet may not be a threat to someone else's social position if the food in question has not been restricted to a few people within the society. This, in combination with the increasing number of women who work in factories, or in PAFCO at Levuka, enables the women to alter the diets of their family to one that requires less preparation. They can work for a monetary income *and* continue to do the jobs for the family that are traditionally required of them. This adaptation has had to be learnt.

In a tourism context attitudes towards heritage in Levuka are the best example of social learning. As demonstrated in the heritage chapter attitudes towards the built environment are changing. Traditionally Fijians have had no need to preserve buildings because buildings are not seen as an expression of culture or history. However, there is evidence of a desire to preserve the townscape of Levuka by some Fijians. This is not as a result of a change in the way Fijians view their culture but because of a belief that the preservation of the buildings will result in an increase in personal income. Buildings are still viewed as having a purely functional basis but

the function has been expanded to include the generation of personal income for people who do not own the buildings. Of course, there is an evident contradiction in this belief with the belief that the local shopkeepers and tourism operators are attempting to keep to themselves all the benefits accrued from tourism. However the results of the surveys suggest that if local people who are not involved in commerce find that they are not benefiting from tourism then the desire to preserve the built environment will disappear. In other words, the new understanding that has evolved from tourism regarding the meaning of buildings is weak. This is because the desire for preservation is derived from a much more pressing need to increase income.

Another example of social learning is the desire to cultivate friendships with tourists. While this has a basis in traditional hospitality there is evidence to suggest that it can also act as a form of income generation or, in some cases, a means to live in a western country. This is not to suggest that the only reason that local people become friendly with tourists is to extract money from them. In most cases the friendships are probably very genuine. However, within the Fijian cosmology, there is a high level of reciprocity. If a Fijian offers hospitality to a visitor the repayment of that hospitality can be called upon at a later date. Berno (1995, 1999) gives similar examples of this in the Cook Islands. While it is unlikely that many of the hosts will have the opportunity to receive that payment in a similar way the tradition can and has been adapted to expect tourists to send gifts to their hosts once they have returned home.

There are also negative examples of social learning in that sometimes a combination of cultural templates result in no action. Souvenir production is limited because of an inability of the producers of souvenirs to understand both the concepts of western business methods and the market. Either the souvenir produced is not of a physical or aesthetic quality required by tourists or an acceptance of retail mark-ups is not evident. One producer of carvings expected the retailer to provide the wood carving tools because he believed that as he was producing for the retailer it was the retailer's responsibility to enable him to do this to the best effect. Similarly without an understanding of quality control producers do not understand why some of their goods are accepted by retailers while others are not. In these instances the social

learning has reached a level of believing that income can be accrued by producing goods for tourists without learning what it is that the market demands. This often results in disenchantment and a cessation of souvenir production.

Social learning is a result of adapting what one knows and expects to new situations or as a result of the availability of new tools. However, any change that takes place can only do so within existing cultural constraints. In Scitovsky's (1976) terms the boundary is where pleasure turns to unpleasantness. In Douglas's terminology people living within a hierarchical society cannot behave in such a way that places them outside the particular cultural constraints. Nevertheless, it is through a variety of adaptations that a society changes and the boundaries move.

Frictional change and the demonstration effect

The concepts of frictional and structural change are also relevant to the demonstration effect. A new product can easily be assimilated within existing social structures provided that they replace something already used. The new product will only do this if it is better than the 'traditional' one in some way. Chainsaws, for example, are more efficient at felling trees than axes but the fundamental reason for the action remains. Similarly, bread or noodles require less work and less cooking knowledge than many traditional foods when providing a meal. In the same way changes in attitudes towards the preservation of buildings may exhibit frictional change. The purpose of a building is to provide shelter, and in the case of the shops, to provide a venue for the prosecution of a business. If maintaining a building results in increased income because of its design then the addition to the attributes of the building is an example of frictional change. However if the reasons behind the desire for the maintenance of the building changes, such as the desire to preserve them for their own sake or for their historical value, an example of structural change is evident. In Levuka, there is no evidence of the latter among most groups other than European immigrants. In the case of the Europeans there has been no structural change because their cultural template provides meaning in buildings beyond the functional.

However there have been examples of structural change in the past and these have sometimes been a result of frictional change. The political landscape of Fiji was altered by the introduction of firearms though the firearms were initially introduced because they were more efficient than clubs and spears. Because of the greater efficiency of guns when fighting neighbours it became expedient to develop new and larger political organisations. Other examples of structural change have been introduced with Christianity and colonialism. The way society is organised was changed as a result of both these factors.

Again tourism to Levuka has provided little in the way of structural change at present, though this does not mean that it won't happen in the future. Regulations for heritage conservation, particularly if World Heritage status is attained could have far reaching effects on who opens businesses in the Town and what people can do with their own homes. There could also be an influx of more people buying holiday homes in the Town, for example, especially if people believe that property is a good long-term investment.

The promotion of the Town as a heritage site leads on to another factor that has been evident in the development of Levuka since its founding – the influence of newcomers.

Foreign residents

Tourism and tourists appear to have little direct effect on changing the economic behaviour of local people in Levuka. The changes that have occurred appear to be indirect and as a result of the physical presence of the foreign residents. Most of the current foreign residents first visited Levuka as tourists. They then decided to live in the Town because they liked it as they found it. Most of them then felt that they ought to give something back to their adopted home. They do this by attempting to enhance what attracted them there in the first place. As a result they became involved in heritage conservation and beautification. To them the buildings are very important. The buildings are what give Levuka the ambience that appeals to them. They see the structure and form of the Town in terms of the buildings. This is

because they come from cultural backgrounds where heritage is visualised through built structures. In this respect their interpretation of their surroundings is completely different to that of Fijians or Indians. However, it is similar to that of the tourists that visit Levuka. By attempting to preserve the Town (particularly the façade of Beach Street and the structures of the various places of accommodation) the Town has become an attraction that offers an alternative to the general view of Fiji as a beach resort destination.

Of the foreign residents there are two distinct groups. The first includes the retired people – people who do not need to generate an income from the town. The second are the people who need to earn a living in order to be able to remain there. It is the second group that wishes to attract more tourists because all of them have set up businesses that are based on tourism. They arrived to discover a small market (indeed a market of which they were a part) and felt that there was room to expand that market.

It is at this point that the link between tourism and heritage becomes apparent. To keep the Town as they want it costs money. Tourism is a means by which they can obtain that money. The two agenda of maintaining the historic nature of the town and obtaining an income become inseparable. This link is strengthened by the fact that many local people, both Fijian and Indian, are not interested in the built structures *per se* because built structures do not have the same meaning. If a change is occurring in the local construction of meaning in buildings it is because of the realisation that the buildings can help generate a source of income. As has been stated earlier, Fijians are increasingly being required to find money in order to maintain their place within their own culture and tourism is seen as a means by which this can be achieved. Added to this is governmental pressure to find an alternative form of employment to the main employer in the Town, PAFCO. The people of Levuka experienced the consequences of the main means of employment leaving the Town when the copra trade ended. There is no desire to repeat the experience.

At present the level of conflict in these different interpretations of the meaning of buildings is low. One reason for this is the lack of money in the Town. The reason the buildings still exist is because there have been few funds to rebuild in the form that many people, including the owners, appear to prefer. If tourism provides those funds and people are able to afford those changes, but are not allowed to carry them out, the level of conflict could increase. Many of the European settlers in the Town appear to have no conception of the differences in interpretation of the buildings or the meaning of Levuka to Fijians. If the meaning of building for Fijians and Indians were to change to one that is closer to the cosmology of the Europeans then it could be argued that tourism is the cause. The Fijian cosmology would have adapted again as a result of outside influences.

It should not be assumed that there is no conflict in the Town regarding tourism. However this conflict is deeply entwined in other factors. The factions that have developed are extensions of old conflicts and the 'new settler syndrome'. The old European families have controlled Levuka since the founding of the Town. There is a distinct threat to their pre-eminence as a result of newcomers who are trying to dictate the direction of policy. Similarly, some people oppose others because of ancient animosities. There is still a certain amount of distrust of Lauans by some people, which dates back to the Tongan incursions of the nineteenth century and Lauan alliances with the traditional Bauan enemy Rewa. The belief by villagers outside Levuka that the people of the Town want to control tourism and keep the rewards to themselves may have its roots in the old geo-politics of Fiji. Indians are not seen as being sympathetic to the needs of Fijians and commercial operations are geared to making profits for themselves rather than spreading the benefits, as is the Fijian custom.

There is one important factor about Levuka, which makes it unusual in a Fijian context. It is a European town created by Europeans which is now a part of an independent Fiji. It is not a town that developed out of Fijian traditions. As a result it holds more importance in its current form to Europeans than it does for Fijians. It is partly for this reason that it is Europeans who are at the forefront of the campaign to preserve it. Tourists visit because of what is there now. The small minority of

tourists who returned to live in the Town because they liked it have a considerably larger effect on the development of the Town than those who just pass through and stay a few days. The effects of tourists who return to live in a destination is an area of research that requires a much more detailed analysis than it has so far received. The evidence shows that ex-tourists have been instrumental in demanding the preservation of the Town. Whether there would have been any desire to preserve the Town or the subsequent application for World Heritage status were it not for the returned tourists is an area for speculation. What is clear is that many local people do not understand the importance of the built structures for tourists.

However, changes in understanding and meaning of the Town have changed in the past because of events that are not related to tourism. These have generally been caused by European activity. The early settlement was created as a result of the personal friendship and the mutually financial benefits accrued to Tui Levuka and David Whippy in addition to the natural harbour and the political stability in the area at the time. The wild, frontier days that followed gave way, in turn, to first a sedate capital and later a small town backwater. Levuka has evolved and changed due to many factors outside the control of its inhabitants. Tourism is just one more factor in this evolution and one that has yet to have as far reaching effects as some of those that have preceded it.

In the same way the influence of individuals can also be seen in the development of the Town. These individuals have been instrumental in presenting the possibility of certain changes. However, only the successful individuals tend to be remembered. It is too early to tell whether the effects of those people who are attempting to transform Levuka into a heritage tourism resort will be included among the list of significant residents. In the past it has been those that have embraced the aspirations of local leaders that have achieved their goals. Because Fijian social structure is hierarchical it has always been important for foreign residents to obtain the support of local chiefs in order to achieve their goals. Once the chief has promoted a particular view then the people have followed. David Whippy was successful because he used these tactics. In the same way so too were the Christian missionaries and those Europeans who supported Cakobau. The tendency of some of the modern European

residents to either ignore or antagonise the current Tui Levuka does not bode well for their endeavours given the historical precedents. However, other factors are now evident. The most notable of these is the desire of central government to provide employment in the outer islands. In the case of tourism it may be that the political structures that have developed since independence will over-rule local structures. Nevertheless, if local people do not agree with or understand what is being designed for the Town then difficulties in the implementation of heritage management could ensue. Evidence of this is apparent already. Two examples are firstly, the colours chosen for shops in Beach Street and, secondly, the refusal to maintain a heritage building by one resident so that it will be condemned as an unsafe structure thereby allowing him to build a new structure. In any event an understanding must be made of local cosmologies or the belief amongst local people that they are being dictated to by European outsiders will grow.

Adaptation of meaning

There has been a long history of the adaptation of meaning in things in the Fijian cosmology. These have included structural changes. For example, with conversion to Christianity some of the functions of the traditional religions were adapted. However, it was the imposition of colonialism that best illustrates structural adaptation. Fiji was ceded to Queen Victoria and not the United Kingdom. Thomson (1999) argues that this arrangement more readily suited Fijian political structures. Fijian hierarchy lacked a real titular head. Prior to cession there were three confederacies. "The pyramid shape was therefore not complete until cession, when the British monarch was placed at its apex" (Thompson 1999 p155). For this reason the current queen is still held in high esteem by Fijians (and is still pictured on the bank notes although Fiji has been a republic since 1987). The monarch then appointed representatives just as Fijian chiefs do. Other adaptations include *kerekere* and to whom it applies. This changed because of the Christian edict that all believers were brothers or sisters in Christ.

Adaptation of meaning of tourists and tourism has yet to occur to a significant extent. There is a view of tourists to Fiji which overrides a different view of tourists to

Levuka. Tourists to Levuka are just seen as 'poorer' versions of those who visit the resorts in other parts of Fiji. There has been no realisation that 'our tourists are different'. Without this change of meaning there is little chance that the income from tourists will increase. Some of the tourism operators in the town believe that the answer to maximising income is to encourage richer tourists to visit rather than provide those they do visit with more opportunity to spend their money in Levuka. Again the evidence suggests that tourists do not spend their budgeted amounts in Levuka because the goods and services that they would buy are not available. There is potential for local entrepreneurs to close the gap between tourists' potential spending and their actual spending.

As was stated earlier there appears to be an adaptation in the meaning and means of reciprocation of hospitality towards tourists. Other areas of adaptation with regard to tourism is the presentation of a *sevusevu* on entry to a village. No Fijian visitor to Lovoni, for example, would be asked to buy their kava roots in the village shop so that the village could have the kava *and* the money for it. In addition, there are occasions when tourist behaviour is such that disillusionment with tourism results. The best example of this is the lack of interest in providing for cruise ship tourists by the people of Levuka Vakaviti after their last efforts were believed to be ignored. Whether this is the case is a moot point but, nevertheless, the belief is a significant impediment for future activities.

Conclusion

The answer to the question of whether tourists and or tourism change local economic behaviour is not straightforward. Firstly, the processes of change have been evident since before the arrival of Europeans. These processes have been observable throughout the period following contact. The local culture has adapted and changed as new situations and opportunities have presented themselves but always within the Fijian cultural template.

Secondly, there is the question of the means by which the processes occur. There is no strong evidence in Levuka that the tourists that visit the town act as models of

behaviour that the local people copy. However there is evidence of increasing westernisation amongst local people. What seems much more likely is that there is a trickle down or 'cascade' effect. People are more likely to copy or take note of those people or institutions that they respect and those that they feel they are socially able to emulate. The structure of Fijian society is such that notice will be taken of a chief or urbanised kin. In a modern context notice may also be taken of various forms of media. Apart from minor examples, such as some food preparation few examples of imitation is likely to be taken of a Fiji Indian because the Indians are more culturally distant. Similarly, Fijians may find some tourist behaviour acceptable for tourists but not for Fijians. The cultural distance between local people and foreign tourists acts as a filter that provides permission for behaviour that would be impermissible for local people.

Thirdly, contact with tourists is generally limited and superficial. However, when the tourist returns to live in the Town this situation changes. These tourists return and make demands on the process and direction of change. In Levuka this can be seen in the composition of the committees involved in the preservation of the townscape. It is here that the possibility of changes to local economic behaviour may be evident. However, again no simple process is involved. The views of the resident 'ex-tourists' are noted and then adapted to the local cosmologies. A change is occurring but not necessarily for the reasons that the Europeans believe. This is because the underlying meaning of the Town and the buildings has not changed. Levuka does not mean the same thing to Fijians as it does to Indians who, in turn, see it differently to Europeans. There is a strong belief in the importance of Levuka to the history of Fiji amongst Europeans. To Fijians and Indians Levuka is not viewed in the same way. Fijians trace their history much further into the past than the advent of European arrival. Similarly, most Indians are descended from people who arrived in Fiji after the capital moved to Suva.

People make decisions based on what they know and what they expect. In Levuka the decisions made by people of different cultural groups are based on different assumptions and understandings. Without an appreciation of this it is impossible to understand the varying forces that affect tourism development. Decisions are

activated by information that is also differently sourced. Similarly, people from different backgrounds will react differently in the same situation.

In order to understand the effects of tourism at a destination it is necessary to understand the worldviews of the various groups at the destination. These are unlikely to be the same. Tourists choose a destination because of what they need in their lives at that particular moment. They make their decision based on their personal experience of what a tourist destination can provide them and what they hear and read about a particular destination. Their background and their lifestyle must be understood. In this respect knowledge of their travel experience is vitally important. What they find of value in a destination is also a result of what they have learnt to value as a result of their past and the culture in which they live.

Once tourists arrive at a destination what they consider of importance may not be the same as that of the local people. Just as the tourist has constructed a set of values by which they make sense of the environment in which they find themselves, so too have the host population. Conflicts occur if these values are the antithesis of each other. The question of which set of values is dominant is dependent on which group has the greatest amount of power. I would argue that tourists tend to be 'environment takers', that is, they choose a destination on how it is (or think it is) rather than on how they would like it to be. It is the tourism entrepreneurs who attempt to dictate how a destination is perceived. However they may be aided and abetted either intentionally or unwittingly by groups within the host population. In the case of Levuka these are the people who want to preserve the Town as it is.

In some cases it may be that the values of the hosts and guests differ but that conflict does not occur because the values of the hosts change. This is not necessarily a negative impact. The change may just be an adaptation of a less important cultural value. In the case of Levuka a change in attitude towards the built environment of the Town may help preserve core values of the Fijian lifestyle because an income is provided in order to maintain those core values. On the other hand if outsiders take control and show little interest or awareness of the values of the host population then hostility and a feeling of alienation may occur. However, none of this can be

understood without an appreciation of how values are constructed and why decisions are made.

The converse of this is if local people maintain control of Levuka but do not understand the values of the tourists that they attempt to attract. It is feasible that those aspects that attract tourists are destroyed because they have no meaning to the local people. Even if the Town is maintained, the result of a lack of understanding of tourists may be that local people do not increase their levels of income as much as they could because they do not understand what the visitors require. In Levuka few souvenirs are sold because the shopkeepers do not know what the type of tourists that visit the Town would like. To provide a differently patterned T-shirt is not going to affect the local culture but it could increase the amount tourists spend.

Of course, increased income may affect the local culture but if this were the case tourism is probably the means rather than the cause. An increase in income could be achieved by other means, some of which may be even more damaging to the local culture. A Levukan example of this is the over exploitation of fish stocks within the reef. These fish are taken for bait by tuna fishing boats. In the process they reduce the traditional reliance on fishing as a source of food. The need for income cannot be understood fully without knowledge of the reasons for the demand for money.

From a theoretical point of view it is necessary to understand the local culture(s) in order to understand the forces that operate in a tourism setting. It is far too simplistic to state that tourism causes change, and that tourists demonstrate culturally invalid forms of behaviour without a thorough consideration of how the culture(s) have changed and developed in the past due to non-tourism factors. While it may be true that tourism causes change, how that change manifests itself is dependent on the cultural template of the host society and on how that society has adapted to change in the past.

Similarly, an analysis must be made of the types of tourists that visit the destination and their motivation for being there. Tourist behaviour and spending is not only dependent on the destination it is also dependent on where else they will be visiting.

If a particular tourist is only visiting one destination then all touristic activities will take place at that destination. It is important that every need is catered for in that one place. However if a tourist is travelling it is possible to visit areas where a much smaller number of activities are available because opportunities to partake in other activities may be available later. The demands and expectations of tourists that are visiting more than one destination are likely to be lower than single destination tourists.

Tourism remains just one contemporary agent of change but in a setting such as Levuka it currently cannot be interpreted as significant when set against the backdrop of past events such as the imposition of colonial power structures and the nature of Christian colonisation. Similarly, while tourism is noteworthy for its 'face to face' contact this contact is limited in comparison with modern media and return migration or familial contact in other parts of the world. These latter challenges to local norms may be more pervasive because contacts with tourists are relatively superficial and in public rather than in the private domain. The only possible exceptions are the activities of ex-tourists who take up residence in the destination because their contact with local people is likely to be of greater depth and duration.

Future research

For future research there are four factors that have been noted in this thesis that require further investigation. The first is the need to understand more fully the role of residents in the destination who first arrived as tourists. Their vision of the destination may well prove to be significant in its future development. The second is the role of social structure and cosmology has in dictating entrepreneurial activity. The third is the mechanisms of influence within the host community. There has been little evidence found in Levuka that foreign tourists affect local economic behaviour. However, behaviour may be affected by other people who are culturally closer to members of the host population. It may be that domestic tourists have a much greater effect on the host population. They may have obtained their idea of how to behave as a tourist from observing foreign tourists elsewhere. If this were the case then the effects of tourism may be less obvious than was originally thought. The fourth is how the destination affects a tourist's behaviour. Will one tourist behave

differently in different types of destination? By understanding this it may be possible to develop more accurate models on changes accrued from tourism in destinations.

Despite the protestations of some people tourism is unlikely to end in the near future. People will still travel to experience different cultures and activities and within the destinations some people will continue to attempt to make money from tourism. Some people will also attempt to use tourism as a means to further their goals in other areas. It is only by testing long held assumptions about the meaning of the world to both tourists and hosts that an evolutionary tourism product with an equitable distribution of the rewards accrued can be obtained. Cultural change evolves over generations and tourism is one more event that will be processed and incorporated into the cosmology of the hosts.

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Appendix A

Date

Location

Questionnaire for Visitors

Tourism as an agent of commodification: a Fijian case-study

NOTE: You are invited to participate in a project entitled *Tourism as an agent of commodification: a Fijian case study* by answering the following questions. Your answers are confidential, and you will not be identified as a respondent. You may withdraw your participation, including withdrawal of any information you have provided you have provided at any time before analysis has begun. If you answer the questions, however, it will be understood that you have consented to participate in the project and consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that confidentiality will be preserved.

Foundation questions

How many people are you travelling with?

Did you begin this trip with them?

Will you finish this trip with them?

Did you begin this trip with anyone you are no longer travelling?

1) Date of Birth

Age Sex Education

2) Nationality

3) Country in which you are living?

4) Date of arrival in Fiji

5) Planned duration of stay in Fiji

6) Planned duration of stay in the Pacific islands (except Australia, New Zealand and Hawaii).

7) Total duration of trip?

Travel Experience

8) How experienced a traveller do you consider yourself?

- [Very experienced] -
- [fairly experienced] -
- [average experience] -
- [fairly inexperienced] -
- [very inexperienced] -

9) Which of the following areas have you visited

	a)before this trip	b)on this trip	c)later
Western Europe	-	-	-
Eastern Europe	-	-	-
North America	-	-	-
South and Central America	-	-	-
Africa	-	-	-
Asia	-	-	-
Australia, New Zealand, Hawaii	-	-	-
Oceania	-	-	-

10) Have you visited Fiji before this trip?

11) Why did you decide to visit Fiji? eg for the diving, cultural interests, because it is offered as a stopover.

12) Tell me about your travels in Fiji.

Location Accommodation Board Duration Cost Recommendation

13) Where else do you intend to visit?

Location Accommodation Board Duration Cost Recommendation

c) food in order to prepare your own meals (whether to eat here or elsewhere)

Y/N

d) alcohol

Y/N

e) cigarettes

Y/N

f) goods necessary for your travelling

Y/N

What?

g) souvenirs

Y/N

What?

h) goods necessary to carry out some activity such as snorkelling (including hire)

Y/N

What?

i) clothes other than as souvenirs (eg a T shirt without a slogan for Fiji)

Y/N

What?

j) kava (in root, powder or prepared forms)

Y/N Form?

k) bottled water

Y/N

l) soft drinks

Y/N

m) been offered illegal drugs?

Y/N

n) transport: details

Y/N

o) other

p) Was there any product you wanted to buy but could not find in Levuka?

17) What is your daily budget while staying here (inc accom)?

18) How much are you spending here?

more/ same/ less

The next questions relate to diving and snorkelling. Please indicate which when answering.

Have you ever done either?

- 19) Have you done either while at this location? Sn/dive/no
- 20) Have you done either elsewhere in Fiji? Sn/dive/no
- 21) Have you done either elsewhere on this trip? Sn/dive/no
- 22) Have you taken a diving course
 - a) Where?
 - b) When?

The next questions relate to other activities in this area

- 23) Which paid excursions have you been on from this location?
- 24) Which paid activities have you undertaken?
- 25) Which villages have you visited independently?
 - a) On Ovalau
 - b) On Moturiki
- 26) From your own, personal, point of view

a) do you feel that there is too much/about the right amount/ not enough tourism in this area ?

b) do you think that more tourism in this area will make it more attractive or enjoyable/make no difference/less attractive or enjoyable?

c) do you think that less tourism in this area will make it more attractive or enjoyable/make no difference/less attractive or enjoyable?

27) How economically dependent do you feel that this area is on tourism?

totally very reasonably slightly not at all
1-----2-----3-----4-----5

28) Do you think that tourism will increase/decrease/stay the same in this location?

a) in the next 12 months

b) in the next five years

Appendix B

Date

Place

Questionnaire for Local People

Tourism as an agent of commodification: a Fijian case-study

NOTE: You are invited to participate in a project entitled *Tourism as an agent of commodification: a Fijian case study* by answering the following questions. Your answers are confidential, and you will not be identified as a respondent. You may withdraw your participation, including withdrawal of any information you have provided at any time before analysis has begun. If you answer the questions, however, it will be understood that you have consented to participate in the project and consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that confidentiality will be preserved.

QUESTIONS FOR LOCAL PEOPLE

1) Name

2) Age 3) M/F

4) Where were you born?

Do you consider yourself to be

Fijian/Indian/Chinese/European/other?

5) Where did you go to school?

How old were you when you left school?

6) Where do you consider is your home village/town?

7) Do you think you will be living in Levuka in:
12 months?

5 years?

8) What is your job?

Is your job dependent on tourism?

9) Do you receive money for this job?

10) What language do you speak at home?

11) What language(s) do you speak at work?

To whom do you speak these languages?

12) Do you attend church/mosque/temple regularly?

Which one?

If not, why not?

13) How often do you go to Suva?

Do you visit other places in Fiji?

If so where?

Have you travelled to or lived in another country?

Which ones?

How long were you there?

Do you plan to live in Fiji permanently?

Do you have any family who live overseas?

If so, what relation are they?

Where do they live?

Do they send you money?

14) Do you watch TV when you can?

How many hours a day do you watch TV?

How many videos do you watch each week?

How many hours a day do you listen to the radio?

Which station do you prefer?

How often do you read a newspaper in a week?

- a) every day
- b) most days
- c) sometimes
- d) never

Which newspaper do you prefer?

Do you read books or magazines?

What sort?

15) Who do you define as a tourist?

16) How often do you come into contact with tourists?

- a) daily
- b) several times a week
- c) a few times a month
- d) rarely
- e) never

17) In which of the following situations would you expect to meet tourists?

- at work
- in the shops
- in the street
- in the Ovalau Club
- in the Levuka Club
- by the sea
- at the resorts
- in restaurants
- in your home
- in other people's homes
- in your village

other

18) Do you choose to talk with the tourists when you are not working?

Do you choose to spend time with tourists outside work?

How much do you like spending time with tourists?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5

like a lot like neither like/dislike dislike really dislike

19) Would you like to have the same, less or more contact with tourists? Why?

Would you like to have more, less, or no change to the number of tourists who visit here?

Do you think that tourism will increase/decrease/stay the same in this location?

a) in the next 12 months

b) in the next five years

Do you think that you, personally, will benefit /suffer financially as a result of the changes you expect ?

a) 12 months

b) 5 years

Do you think that this location will benefit/suffer as a result of the changes you expect?

a) 12 months

b) 5 years

19) What do you like about tourists?

What do you dislike about tourists?

20) How can you tell where a tourist is from?

21) How often do you go to the shops?

- a) every day
- b) several times a week
- c) once a week
- d) once a fortnight
- e) once a month
- f) less often

Where do you go?

Which shops do you prefer in Levuka?

Why?

Does anyone else do your shopping for you?

Where do they go?

What did you buy for yourself the last time you went to the shops?

What was the last thing(s) that you asked someone else to buy for you from the shops?

22) Do you eat in the restaurants in town?

Which ones?

When (time and days of the week)?

If not why not or why not the others?

23) Why do you think that tourists come to Levuka?

24) How do you feel about the number of businesses for tourists in Levuka?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5
need a could be about right a bit too far too
lot more more many many

25) Do you think that the buildings and monuments in Levuka should be preserved?

Why?

Is your home on the list of buildings to be preserved?

26) Do you think that the reef around Ovalau should be preserved?

Why?

27) What do you think tourists like to buy in Levuks?

Do you ever buy these things?

28) What do you think tourists dislike about Levuka?

Appendix C

Date

Tourism as an agent of commodification: a Fijian case-study

NOTE: You are invited to participate in a project entitled *Tourism as an agent of commodification: a Fijian case study* by answering the following questions. Your answers are confidential, and you will not be identified as a respondent. You may withdraw your participation, including withdrawal of any information you have provided at any time before analysis has begun. If you answer the questions, however, it will be understood that you have consented to participate in the project and consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that confidentiality will be preserved.

QUESTIONS FOR SHOPKEEPERS

- 1) What is your name?
- 2) What is your age?
- 3) M/F
- 4) Where were you born?
- 5) What is your nationality?
- 6) Do you consider yourself to be
Fijian/Indian/Chinese/European/other?
- 7) Where do you consider your home town to be?
- 8) Do you own this shop?
- 9) Do you own this business?
- 10) What sort of business is this?
- 11) How long have you worked here?
- 12) How many people work here?

How many of them come from Fiji?

How many of them are local people?

13) How many of your customers are tourists?

- a) all
- b) most
- c) about half
- d) some
- e) none

14) Is there anything in your shop that local people do not buy?

Is there anything in your shop that local people hardly ever buy?

What sort of things do tourists mostly buy?

What sort of things do tourists occasionally buy?

What sort of things do tourists never buy?

15) How do you feel about the number of businesses for tourists in Levuka?

1-----2-----3-----4-----5
not nearly enough could be more about right a bit too many far too many

16) Do you think that tourism will increase/decrease/stay the same in this location?

- a) in the next 12 months
- b) in the next five years

Do you think that you, personally, will benefit /suffer financially as a result of the changes you expect?

- a) 12 months
- b) 5 years

Do you think that this location will benefit/suffer as a result of the changes you expect?

- a) 12 months
- b) 5 years

Do you think that you will still be working in this shop in

- a) 12 months?
- b) 5 years?

Appendix D

A short history of Levuka

The founding of European Levuka

David Whippy was the fifth son of a Nantucket sea captain. As expected he followed the traditional family route to the sea and following a series of adventures prompted by his family's unwillingness to show any favouritism with one of their own, he joined a ship looking for trade in the "Feejees". He was left on Ovalau in 1822 to trade for, and cure, *bêche de mer* (*Holothuria*). In doing so he created good relations with Tui Levuka which was fortunate as the ship that had left him there failed to return. He was also fortunate in that Ovalau was politically stable and, unlike castaways in other parts of Fiji, he did not get involved in local wars. Tui Levuka was the paramount chief of the Levuka people in the Lomaiviti group of islands but subject to Bau. This was to prove significant later.

Whippy was able to act as an intermediary between Tui Levuka and visiting western ships' captains. This proved advantageous to both sides especially as Whippy gained a reputation for honesty. The people of Levuka obtained goods that were not substandard and the ships were able to obtain cargo quickly and thus reduce the risks of staying in hostile waters longer than was necessary. The sandalwood trade had resulted in Fiji gaining a justifiable reputation of unfriendliness and the ships used in the *bêche de mer* trade were considerably smaller. In the 1830s the *bêche de mer* trade became the main reason for contact between western ships and Fiji. This trade is not so important today but it is still of significance in Fiji especially as the growth of tourist diving has enabled Fijians to use scuba diving equipment thereby making the task of collection easier. Tui Levuka made Whippy *Mata ki Bau* - Royal Messenger to Bau - and adopted him into the Levuka people. By 1840 the relative calm of Levuka and the patronage of Tui Levuka had resulted in the settlement growing to about forty European residents. Tui Levuka became known as *tama ni kaivavalagi* - father of the Europeans (Levuka Town Council 1997).

Whippy's reputation grew and when Commander Wilkes of the United States Exploring Expedition called in on Levuka in 1843 he stated that he had "long heard" of him (Brown 1973). Wilkes used Whippy as an interpreter as, by this time, he was fluent in Fijian and on the return of Wilkes to the United States Whippy was made vice-consul for that country to Fiji.

A photograph of Whippy is in a prominent position in the display of historical artefacts in the Levuka Community Centre illustrating the local understanding of his importance in the creation of the European town.

The rise of Cakobau

Meanwhile, the paramount chief of Bau, Cakobau, had been consolidating his power base, but he still had a serious problem with Rewa, his neighbouring *Yavusa*. Full scale war between these two groups broke out in 1843. A European, Charlie Pickering, had been aiding the Rewans militarily for some time. While he was sailing in the Lau group his ship was wrecked off Cicia. Cakobau sent canoes to capture him but they arrived after he had been rescued by some of the Levukan Europeans. Up until this point Cakobau had left Whippy and his co-settlers alone because they had not involved themselves in internal politics but with this action they were given three days to leave Levuka. Tui Levuka was powerless to help. The Europeans were away from Levuka for a period of five years during which time the Lovoni tribesmen had burnt their houses to the ground and killed the Tui Levuka. These raids had been occurring for a number of years. Wallis (1851/1983) mentions in passing that she saw a "mountaineer" as she called the people of Lovoni, being taken to Bau for eating after one particular raid. Derrick (1950), Routledge (1985) and Scarr (1984) give no reasons for these raids other than implying avarice on the part of the Lovoni people. Brown (1973) states that the Europeans living in the settlement at the time claimed that the raid in 1840, which resulted in the destruction of most European property, was carried out at the behest of Cakobau. However, as has been stated, it was the Levukan people who had close links with Bau and not the Lovoni people

which casts some doubt on this belief. The Lovoni have never accepted Bauan suzerainty. Today the people of Lovoni claim that the reason for the raids was that the land Tui Levuka had given to the Europeans for their settlement was, in fact, Lovoni land. While there have been no claims presented to the land tribunals for the reinstatement of Levuka Town, which is recognised to be freehold land, the Lovoni people are still attempting to gain control of land on Ovalau that they say was taken away from them by Cakobau and his subordinates. These disputes still have relevance with regard to tourism and trekking in the hills of Ovalau.

In 1849 all those who had been expelled from Levuka were asked by Cakobau to return. In all thirteen Europeans did so, including Whippy, some of the others having died from disease in their place of exile, Solevu Bay. Cakobau's request, while being readily accepted for health reasons, "had given the whites some understanding of their value to the chiefs, contributing to a greater independence of action in the future" (Routledge 1985 p 69).

Christianity

The other major external influence to affect Fiji in the nineteenth century was the introduction of Christianity. This was to have a profound effect and is still a major factor in race relations today. As with all European activities the missionaries became heavily entangled in the local politics even if only by association. The first missionaries were Wesleyan - William Cross and David Cargill - and came from Tonga. They set up their mission in Lakeba in the Lau group in 1835. This led to the association of Christianity with Ma'afu, a Tongan of chiefly rank, who had also settled there. Ma'afu had been given responsibility for the governance of Tongans in Fiji by the king of Tonga, partly to keep him out of Tonga for political reasons. As a result Ma'afu was able to consolidate Tongan power in the Lau region.

The major achievement of the missionaries was to create dictionaries, grammars and translations of some parts of the Bible into some dialects of Fiji. A printing press

arrived in 1838 and was used initially on Lakeba then moved to Rewa to be nearer centres of population. "The use of literacy as a necessary agency in the extension and consolidation of Christianity had been appreciated by those responsible for the official policy of the functioning of missions in the field" (Clammer 1976 p 22). The problem of dialects resulted in the *de facto* selection of Bauan as the *lingua franca* of Fiji because that was the only one for which a full grammar had been produced (by David Hazelwood in 1850). This text was still in use in 1941.

The missionaries demonstrated more secular change too. A house built in Rewa was made from coral which was the first stone house seen in Fiji and a source of great interest to the local population. However conversions did not come easily. By far the most successful were the Tongan missionaries but the clinching factor was the superiority of western technology. Fijians converted for non-religious purposes - for medicines and education. Cakobau renounced his pagan ways in 1854 in the hope of gaining an ally in the King of Tonga to help in the war against Rewa and rebellious Bauans. This changed the nature of the war. "It ceased to be a struggle between Bau and Rewa; all that was forgotten. It was now a conflict of the rebels of Bau against a few loyalists, the old ways of life against the new, of heathenism against Christianity, of savagery against civilisation" (Derrick 1950 p 113). It ended in with the battle of Kaba which Tongan troops took aided by some Fijians. While Cakobau was nominally the winner both sides were totally exhausted and a stalemate had been reached. However, Derrick (1950) marks this battle as the turning point at which Fiji had been won for Christianity.

The missionaries had realised early on that they could only hope for the conversion of the populace in general if the chief were converted. In a hierarchical society the people follow the leader. While minor skirmishes occurred particularly in the interior of Viti Levu there were no more major wars in Fiji. Tui Levuka was still following pagan practices and allied himself with other pagan chiefs who attempted to withdraw from Bauan control but in time the religion of the paramount chief became the religion of the people. (It should be noted that this was the son of the Tui Levuka who had been so friendly to David Whippy. The son was not so accommodating.)

The belief in the old gods had ultimately been destroyed by the firepower of Christian forces and, with conversion, nineteenth century protestant non-conformist Christian morals began to dominate. Warriors cut their hair, and started to wear sulus made of bark and cloth rather than the traditional loin cloths; women covered their upper bodies and were encouraged to wear 'Mother Hubbard' dresses; and traditional methods of dealing with problems were abandoned.¹⁸ Routledge (1985), however, does make the point that the "Traditional system for the aggregation of chiefly power...had (only) developed in the eighteenth century" (p87). Christianity also changed the meaning of some traditional means of the political economy. *Kerekere*, or borrowing without asking, was originally only possible within the kinship group. The missionaries introduced, through Christian teachings, that all men were brothers and thereby globalised the scope of the system. The Methodist Mission monthly newspaper, *Ai Tukutuku Vakalotu*, of January 1907 pointed out that:

This is called a Fijian custom, but it is not. This custom has been born in recent times and it is a half-caste. It is neither Fijian nor European.

(quoted in France 1969 p156).

Missionaries also introduced the Christian concept of the division of labour between men and women. Women, according to the missionaries, belonged in the home (Samson 1995).

Cakobau, Ma'afu and foreign policy

The next step in these changes was nationhood which, by implication, would require a leader for the whole of Fiji. Cakobau wanted to be that leader - King of Fiji. He had already started to use his position to attain what he saw as the trappings of power. He was impressed with European ships and on hearing that the kings of Tonga and Hawaii owned schooners he demanded tribute of *bêche de mer* from his

¹⁸ Posters and postcards showing the elaborate hairstyles and dress of pagan Fijians are now sold as tourist souvenirs.

subjects to pay for one of his own. This was within his rights but not popular, however he did finally manage to obtain the *Cakobau*. Ma'afu also built a schooner to symbolise his own growing power.¹⁹

Contact with the European powers was developing during this period. An increasing number of both military and commercial vessels were visiting Fijian waters, the commercial vessels for trade, and the military ships to protect their respective subjects as well as watching what the other European nations were doing in the area. "The outside world by then was crowding in, seeking a focal point of Fijian sovereignty for its own ends and finding it in Cakobau, then realising that his power was not equal to the new demands" (Scarr 1984 p27). From an inward and violent political policy Cakobau and Ma'afu began to use outsiders to draw up new battle lines. Ma'afu allied himself with the missionaries (which secured support from his Tongan roots) while Cakobau courted the settlers, who were generally suspicious of missionary sentiment towards their trading, and naval captains that visited the area. However Cakobau also attempted to help missionaries in order to reduce Ma'afu's power base. Clear divisions had been created. Cakobau had created a greater Bauan confederation which included Rewa while Ma'afu had control of Eastern Fiji and parts of Vanua Levu.

The development of Levuka

In Levuka the European community had begun to grow again but this time with a realisation of its own power. The beachcombers and marooned sailors of the past had attempted to ingratiate themselves with local Fijians and above all to be of some use as their lives depended on it but the more established traders were beginning to create their own lifestyles. A mission school had been set up in Levuka to which Whippy sent all his children. The Europeans were also beginning to realise that they

¹⁹ The most revered Fijian of modern times, Ratu Sukuna, is a descendant of both Cakobau and Ma'afu. His name is the Fijian transliteration of the word 'schooner'.

could demand the protection of their respective governments who were becoming increasingly involved in local politics. The best known example of this was John Williams the US Consul whose property was burnt down following a firework display on 4th July. The local Fijians took this as an opportunity to loot. Williams demanded reparations from Cakobau with the full backing of the US government and navy. That claim rose from \$5000 to \$44000 as his greed and claims of others were added to it. Levuka had been sacked again by the Lovoni people in 1855 and a US ship the *Tim Pickering* which had run aground on the reef outside Levuka had been plundered by the Levukan people who, on Cakobau's orders, had passed the goods on to him²⁰.

In 1858 William Thomas Pritchard was made British Consul and based in Levuka. John Williams' US consulate was in Laucala. The settlements at that time were of about the same size but Levuka possessed a more protected harbour which became of much greater value when shipping technology advanced allowing access through the reef in most wind conditions. As a result during the 1860s Levuka grew much more rapidly. The boom period for Levuka coincided with the era of the schooner as the most advanced form of shipping. With the introduction of steam the limitations of Levuka harbour became more apparent and growth in the town itself was severely restricted by its topography (Young 1993). It was to Pritchard that Cakobau made his first offer of cession of Fiji to the United Kingdom. Cakobau knew that he could not pay the American reparations demanded by Williams and he also knew that the British government was wary of US expansionism in the Pacific. As part of the deal Cakobau demanded that he should be recognised as Tui Viti and that he should be in charge of native affairs. This had the added advantage of dealing with Ma'afu's claims. The offer of cession was eventually turned down but before that decision was taken Pritchard, who delivered the request in person to London, was ordered back to Fiji in order to be on the spot when the American reparations fell due. On his return he discovered Cakobau and Ma'afu in a struggle for political supremacy which, while not directly involving the European residents, was limiting their trading

²⁰ The *Tim Pickering* is one of three identified wrecks from eight that have been discovered off the eastern coast of Ovalau since 1995 and a site to which divers were taken while a diving company was operating in Levuka.

or missionary activities in all areas other than in the sale of arms to both sides. Ma'afu knew that cession would end his ambitions of control of Fiji. Cakobau believed that a Ma'afu controlled Fiji were only a prelude to the annexation of Fiji by Tonga which would destroy his position of power. Sporadic warfare had already broken out, with Ma'afu taking control of more of Vanua Levu, and Pritchard was unsure of which side to support realising that a neutral position would result in total warfare. By way of compromise he arranged for all the important chiefs to take part in a general meeting at the consulate in Levuka. This was the first time that such a meeting had occurred and was a prelude to the British organisation of native affairs once Fiji became a colony, and the continuing constitutional position of the chiefs after independence and the coups of 1987. The result of this meeting was for Ma'afu to renounce all claims to Fiji.

However, it was not until 1869 that the King of Tonga finally renounced his claims on Fiji. After the British had refused to annex Fiji he had "broadly hinted to Cakobau that Tonga had a perfect moral right to rule Fiji if France controlled Tahiti and New Caledonia, and Britain ruled New Zealand" (Scarr 1984 p34), especially as his aid to Cakobau in the Kaba campaign was worth \$12000 by his estimate. Derrick (1959 p 149) quotes Pritchard as writing that he organised the agreement "The more effectively to check Ma'afu and the Tongan intrigues, as well as the more successfully develop the great resources of the country." He had been actively involved in that side of his duties when he visited London taking with him samples of cotton grown in Fiji which had received favourable reports from the cotton manufacturers. The only problem for prospective cotton growers was the prohibitive cost of transport. However, the civil war in United States and the blockade of the southern states pushed up the price of cotton to a level that made Fijian cotton viable.

Cotton wasn't the only crop that was being exported. Coconut oil exports were by far the largest averaging between five and six hundred tons out of Levuka in the early 1860s (Consular Reports quoted in Derrick 1950 p156) until 1866 when cotton took over as the biggest cash crop. A cyclone hit Ovalau in 1867 which further damaged returns on coconut oil.

On a private level Pritchard was involved in land speculation. At first this was in partnership with John Binner, a Wesleyan mission school teacher in Levuka "who convinced himself he conferred great moral benefit on Fijians by introducing them to the dignity of making coconut oil for the market" (Scarr 1984 p30).

Levuka, meanwhile, was developing into a wild frontier town. An oft told story claims that ships' captains could find their way through the reef by the empty gin (or rum) bottles floating out (Derrick 1950, Gravelle 1979, Kay 1993, Scarr 1984,). By 1866 about 400 Europeans lived in Fiji but many more visited. The success of cotton allowed for a direct trade route to be established in 1868 and a fast schooner could reach Levuka from Auckland in five days - about half the time of earlier vessels. However there was no real government or law over the Europeans other than the "capricious and tyrannical rule of the chiefs" (Derrick 1950 p 158).

An attempt at a Fijian Confederacy was made in 1865 when the seven paramount chiefs who claimed to control the whole of Fiji constituted a general assembly and voted Cakobau as their president. It appeared that the acceptance of some form of constitutional government was beginning to gain momentum amongst the Fijians but the confederacy collapsed because Ma'afu could not hold his ambition in check and the Fijian chiefs trusted the Tongan even less than they did Cakobau. Eventually two confederations were created, one by Ma'afu which included the Lau group and Vanua Levu with Cakobau controlling Viti Levu and the Lomaiviti Group. However Cakobau's confederacy was not recognised by anybody other than his European advisors who soon deserted him as a result. The settlers had been warned that they would lose the protection of the British government if they recognised the confederacy and Cakobau seemed to accept that he could have no direct control over European activities. Instead he attempted to gain control over tribes which had never been under Bauan jurisdiction in order to offer these subjugated people as labour to European plantation and their land to European farmers. The scheme came to nothing as the British government warned its subjects not to get involved though two

years later he did sell the Lovoni people into slavery in order to rid himself of the problems their independent and often violent activities created on Ovalau.

As more Europeans arrived attempts were made by the newcomers to purchase lands but the concepts of Fijian land tenure were not understood by most of them. Boundaries were indefinite and the uncertain ownership led to violence and robbery against settlers. Cakobau did not even have the authority to protect them in his own territories. Ma'afu, on the other hand, showed more control in the areas that he ruled and was far more sympathetic to the needs of the European traders. Rather than sell land he leased it; a compromise that seemed to encourage stability. Nonetheless all Europeans felt that they were at the mercy of local chiefs because there was no central authority or systematic legal system. Pritchard's *de facto* magistracy had disappeared with his removal from office, and subsequent consuls were nervous about overstepping their legitimate powers by too great an extent. Both Cakobau and Ma'afu used the services of European advisors but "it was in Lau that the Fijians first saw constitutional government working smoothly and for their benefit" (Derrick 1950 p 163). Nevertheless it was Levuka that was growing fastest and wildest.

There *were* men of reputable character in Levuka but because the town had become the *de facto* capital and because it was where most ships came to load and unload cargo as well as having no recognisable government, it became an anarchic place. Sailors and visiting planters from elsewhere in Fiji got drunk, argued about politics, fought and set up quasi-military organisations (Forbes 1875). The *Fiji Times*, which had begun publication in 1869 commented on the fact that it was the Europeans who needed government and not the "natives" (cited in Derrick 1950 p196) and pointed out the need for the protection of homes and families.

Nearly every house in Levuka was a store of some kind, and public houses were the most frequent of all. Between many of these houses there were large gaps of unoccupied land, the ownership of which was very frequently in dispute. Some of the stores were built of galvanized iron, but by far the greater number were of wood, and were very roughly put together.
(Forbes 1875 p 23)

While the US debt was still hanging over Cakobau some settlers took the opportunity to arrange advantageous land deals in the part of the country under his control, often aided and abetted by unscrupulous missionaries (Routledge 1985). Following the end of the Australian gold rush more settlers began to arrive, an event fuelled by the over exaggerated prospects offered by organisations such as the Polynesian Company, which was founded in 1868. In 1870 158 ships arrived in Levuka contributing to a net gain in European settlers of 716. The following year the increase was 706 bringing the total in Fiji to 2760 (Young 1970). These settlers were generally those who had been unsuccessful in Australia and New Zealand and were being financed by credit secured with uncleared land for which the title was as dubious as the honesty of the borrowers. No proper currency was in use. Instead bills of exchange and IOUs were widely accepted in lieu of regular coinage. The whole system collapsed because of two external factors affecting both the supply of and demand for cotton. Firstly the economies of the southern United States recovered sufficiently to produce cotton again following the civil war and, secondly, the onset of the Franco-Prussian war destroyed much of the European market for cotton.

The new settlers were critical of the old settlers' attempts at compromise and understanding of the Fijians. Scarr (1984) cites the Melbourne Argus predicting that Fijians would wither away and the islands would become a European domain. Race relations began to deteriorate. An annual regatta held in Levuka that was once multi-racial became the preserve of Europeans (Young 1970). Whereas in earlier days settlers had lived in Fijian style housing they now demanded clapboard buildings that they were more familiar with. Levuka began to resemble a European town rather than a Fijian village with Europeans living in it. This is particularly significant to Levuka today though while most of the buildings today are of a later date the style has remained.

Two major themes were beginning to become apparent in Fiji at the end of the 1860s - the use and ownership of land, and the labour to work that land. These themes were to remain relevant to the present day in all aspects of Fijian commercial activity including tourism. The chiefs had accepted that Europeans had come to stay and

were prepared to sell their enemies' land to anyone who would buy it. The European concept of land ownership, however, was totally alien to the Fijians. "Accustomed to descend to the coast to exchange *yaqona* roots for products of the sea with their lowland neighbours and to fish in the rivers for fresh water shellfish, (hill people) found plantations blocking free passage down the valleys and planters trying to prevent their fishing of the rivers" (Routledge 1985 p122). The Europeans also needed labour as well as land and Fijian workers often ran away if they were initially prepared to work at all. They had no need for money or European goods other than guns for local wars. In 1864 the importation of labourers, more commonly known as 'blackbirding', began in Fiji. This was a practice that had been started by landowners in Peru and then copied by sugar plantation owners in Queensland (Oliver 1989). Blackbirding was slavery in all but name and men from the New Hebrides and the Solomon Islands were shipped in to work the plantations²¹.

By 1870 the political and economic situation was becoming increasingly confused. It was becoming apparent that some sort of compromise between Cakobau, Ma'afu and the settlers would have to be reached. The chiefs were losing the ability to dictate local politics and the planters and traders were in desperate need of capital which they could only obtain if there were a central government.

The European community was invited to elect delegates for a constitutional conference in Levuka in August of that year. The collapse of the market for cotton was to have a major effect with regard to the outcome. Many of the plantation owners were facing ruin and very few travelled to Levuka for the conference. As a result the balance of power among Europeans shifted from agrarian landowners, many of whom were educated ex-naval or military officers with their capital invested in their plantations, to the urban petit-bourgeoisie bar and shop owners who had little real contact with the local population. Some prominent Fijians also wanted to

²¹ The descendants of these people are still in Fiji today and because they were men their descendants are still not regarded as Fijian even though they married Fijian women. This alienation from their country of birth may be a factor in some of their attitudes and practices today.

discourage contact between ordinary Fijians and Europeans in the Town. In the first edition of the *Fiji Times* (Oct 2nd 1869) a letter was published from Ratu Melikisateki, chief judge of Ovalau, "if you allow him (the Fijian) to walk about in your store and look at everything, he will first covet your goods, and then will spring up the desire to steal them."

Nevertheless many European residents of the Town believed that before the rest of Fiji was organised along proper constitutional lines Levuka had to get itself in order. They set up a committee which requested legal advice from the Governor of New South Wales. They were told that not only were there no legal means by which by-laws could be enforced but also that if by-laws were enforced the town council would open itself to the charges of illegal imprisonment. Given that external governments had done little to enforce their laws on their own citizens in Fiji this advice was ignored and measures were taken to provide public security. This was not only to control the unruly elements within the town such as convicts or criminals escaping European justice but also from Lovoni tribesmen who, while they could no longer destroy the town because of its growth, did steal cattle and raid houses.

In addition to law and order some Europeans realised that Fiji held a strategic position in the South Pacific. In the United States the trans-continental railway was near completion which would improve the transportation of people and goods across the continental United States. It was believed that ships to and from San Francisco would probably avoid Fiji if there were no proper port facilities or government in place and thus greatly reduce the opportunities of reaching markets. The council therefore organised the surveying of the port. Meanwhile the lack of protection from the Imperial authorities led to the Australian colonies pressing for annexation. This again was refused. At this time the next big industry of Fiji and Levuka was just beginning to be developed by Hamburg merchants, copra. This was to have significance on two levels. The first was to provide Levuka with a major source of employment and income for the next eighty years. The second was the introduction of a German community into the town, the legacy of which is that many of the still existing European buildings in the town are of German design and creation.

While the Europeans were trying to organise themselves Cakobau was still trying to create a state based on a monetary system. To do this he instituted a poll tax among the Fijian population. This tax was completely ignored by the Lovoni people. Open hostilities were close to flaring and despite tentative friendly approaches on both sides the chief of Aravudi, whose allegiance was to Tui Levuka and therefore Cakobau, was hacked to pieces and eaten. Cakobau prepared for war. He also realised that he could use the confrontation to further his more general political ends by showing that he did have authority and could control unruly elements. He told the missionaries to leave Lovoni, which was a signal to the Lovoni people that war was coming, and then besieged the village. He then declared his political masterstroke.

Constitutional government in Levuka

On June 5 1871 Cakobau tried once more to set up a government of the islands using the same constitution as that created for his Bauan Confederacy. The *Fiji Times*, following the sentiments of the Europeans poured scorn on the idea asking what right these people had to unilaterally declare themselves the government but then softened its line realising that it was better to argue about its composition after it had been set up. "We want a government" (quoted in Routledge 1985 p126) the paper declared on July 21. One of the major problems for the Europeans was the influx of many "undesirable elements" into the European population. "In 1871 the numbers of this semi-criminal class in the islands had increased to such an extent that the very name of Fiji was looked on in Sydney and Melbourne with loathing and contempt" (Forbes 1875 p277). The new immigrants were despised by the old settlers for destroying the character of the islands²².

The new government realised that nothing could be done until the problem of Lovoni was solved. The Lovoni people had never been conquered in battle and beseiging the village had always proved ineffective. As a result missionaries were asked to arrange an honourable peace. The whole Lovoni tribe was invited to submit to the

²² This phenomenon is still evident today. The European settlers who have been in Levuka for a number of years object to the changes that the more recent European settlers are trying to instigate.

authority of Cakobau by showing regret for what they had done. They accepted and marched into Levuka Vakaviti (the Fijian village at the northern end of the European town) carrying baskets of earth as a symbol of their penance. This was in line with custom. What happened next was not. The majority of the tribe was captured and sold into slavery. Derrick (1950) claims that the whole tribe was captured but this is denied by the current Lovoni people who are still proud of the fact that their village has never been captured in open warfare. From a financial point of view the money gained from the captives was a much needed boost to the exchequer of the new government.

The new government was generally accepted. Ma'afu relinquished his claims on Fiji in exchange for becoming Viceroy of Lau with a payment of £1000 which probably came from the sale of Lovoni land and which the Lovoni people have never recognised (Scarr 1984)²³. As a result all the other major chiefs accepted Cakobau as king. The government was made up of a mix of Europeans assisted by a primarily European civil service particularly in the higher ranks. The European citizenry were divided though they did vote in the elections. In Levuka three members were returned, two (both of whom had efficiently organised Ma'afu's confederacy) were for the government and one against. The planters were generally pleased that the prospects of a proper legal system seemed to be closer to fruition and the taxation system introduced, which included a pole tax for Fijians and land taxes for planters, was sufficiently in the Europeans' favour to keep them happy.

In Levuka, however there was action against the government. The British Consul, March, refused to recognise the new government which many of the residents of the town took as an instruction not to pay taxes. March was a firm supporter of the malcontents among the Levukan European population and Gravelle (1979) goes as far as saying that he organised the local branch of the Ku Klux Klan. This group of about 120 men did everything it could to hinder the setting up of a legal system.

²³ The alleged illegal confiscation of Lovoni land are still being judged by land tribunals today.

They attempted to free their colleagues who had been imprisoned or were being repatriated to face trial for crimes committed in Australia and they finally provoked conflict with the government. In May of 1872 J B Thurston had been appointed to the government and he, as well as the majority of residents of Levuka knew that the Ku Klux Klan had to be dealt with if the government was ever to gain any respectability. Two weeks after his arrival in Levuka two members of the Ku Klux Klan committed an assault. On their arrest the rest of the group assembled with arms. Thurston assembled 200 men from the police and civil service made up of both Europeans and Fijians, and positioned them to protect Parliament House and the gaol. The Klan retired to their stronghold of Keyse's Hotel. It seemed that there would be no alternative to a major fight. Shops shut and ordinary residents of the town, most of whom did not support the Klan, took shelter. While preparations were being made to storm the hotel by the government forces Captain Douglas of HMS *Cossack*, which was in port at the time, arranged a parley which prevented bloodshed. Cakobau's government had passed the test. The next day the 'neutral' citizens of the town demonstrated against the Klan and blamed March for the disturbed state of Levuka while the Klan complained to Captain Douglas that they, as British citizens were being subject to intimidation by armed Fijians. Douglas told them that British subjects living in a foreign country were subject to the laws of that country. As a result of these actions March was removed from his post and the Ku Klux Klan faded away. The days of Levuka being a safe haven for runaways and criminals were over and Cakobau's government was much closer to being recognised by Her Britannic Majesty's Government.

Paralysis of Cakobau's Government

The British were wary of annexation, though, despite calls for this from the Australian colonies and some settlers in Fiji, because of their experience in New Zealand. Other settlers were worried that some of their less desirable practices such as blackbirding and unscrupulous land deals would be investigated but Cakobau's government was becoming increasingly indebted. A number of the die-hard settlers who were always opposed to Cakobau's government attempted a coup after some of

the still non-Christian Fijians had attacked planters' homes. The ringleaders were captured by Captain Chapman of HMS Dido and deported to Sydney. This action spurred Cakobau into dealing with the hill people of Viti Levu but British intervention prevented him from selling them into slavery as he had done with the Lovoni people. Nevertheless the infighting and factionalism amongst the white residents was paralysing the parliament. An election was called and a section of the European community was totally opposed to Fijian men having the vote though this was in the constitution. The King and Ma'afu were getting sick of the problems the settlers were causing and Ma'afu suggested that the members of the parliament should be turned out of the building and it should be locked up. He was only prevented from seceding by the pressure put on him by his old advisor, the German trader Hennings. This did not stop Cakobau from stripping Ma'afu of the governorship of Lau. The only European minister left was Thurston who attempted to put together a rescue package for the government but still it had not been formally recognised by any of the European powers, which seemed content to wait and see what developed. Thurston firmly believed that a modern nation state run by local people was possible. He felt that the chiefs were beginning to understand European style government while acknowledging that the ordinary people were indifferent to what happened. Finally, on 21 March 1874 another request was made to the British government to take control of the governance (though not the land) of the Islands. Disraeli's Conservatives had taken over from Gladstone's Liberals in Britain and they viewed annexation with a little more enthusiasm. Sir Hercules Robinson, the Governor of New South Wales was sent to Levuka to oversee the process, which resulted in Cession taking place in Levuka on 10 October 1874 outside Nasova House, the Government House. However, it should be noted that technically Fiji was ceded to Queen Victoria and not the British government. This arrangement was closer to Fijian understanding of sovereignty and resulted in Cakobau sending Queen Victoria his favourite war club and a symbol of the power he was ceding to her. (The club was returned to Fiji on independence).

British rule

Following cession one of Cakobau's last acts was to bring back measles after a visit to Sydney. This resulted in the deaths of between 30,000 (Scarr 1984) and 40,000 (Gravelle 1979 quoting the Governor Sir Arthur Gordon) people - perhaps one-fifth of the population. 450 of Ovalau's population of about 1500 died. Elsewhere within Fiji even higher death rates were recorded. The population of Taveuni, for example, dropped from 20,000 to 4,000. Fijians opposed to cession spread rumours stating that Cakobau had been infected deliberately in Sydney because the Europeans wanted Fijian land. As a result many Fijians refused hospital treatment or even the advice of Europeans on how to treat the disease. The European attitude at the time was that the Fijian race was dying out or "rapidly melting away" (Allen 1907/1984 p 26). It took "nearly a century for the Fijians to reach their former numbers" (Greville 1979 p138). However, a steady increase in numbers was prevented when five percent of the population died in the influenza pandemic of 1918 (Scarr 1984), and the period from 1939-45 when many young Fijian men (though not Indian) were overseas in the army.

Once Fiji became a Crown Colony the British government began to make serious efforts to discover what it had incorporated into the Empire. Less than a year after cession a company of Royal engineers under the command of Major F. E. Pratt was stationed at Levuka. Levuka, at this stage, had expanded to its geographical limits. It was hemmed in by mountains and the reef prevented the larger steam ships from entering the harbour. The technological advances in shipbuilding that had allowed Levuka to become a suitable port had advanced once more resulting in the harbour becoming unsuitable again. If a capital city in the western mould were to be created it would have to be elsewhere.

Galoa on Kadavu was considered because it was the stop over for the trans-Pacific mail steamers but much to the amazement of the local European population Suva was chosen. The British government had sent an expert, Colonel Smythe, to survey possible locations and, according to local legend "(s)omehow, the good Colonel had

managed to visit the site on a sunny day" (Gravelle 1979 p158). Pratt was given the task of transforming the swamp that was Suva into a capital city. In 1880 the first sale of land in Suva took place but only about six lots were sold. Levuka still seemed a better investment. Meanwhile the engineers were also improving the infrastructure of Levuka. The sea wall that still exists along the beach was built in 1875 and the Totoga Creek was diverted to the sea past the Royal Hotel. They also built the road around the island, created a bathing hole at the beach and another one up the hill towards Baba (Maidment 1993)²⁴. This is still in existence today but unusable due to a huge boulder that has fallen into it, general neglect and the effluence from clothes washing that takes place higher up the creek by villagers from Baba. The soldiers were barracked at Vagadace in *bure* style accommodation and various huts of a European style. Vagadace later became the site the Levukan Cricket ground but now contains government houses for teachers and civil servants.

Indentured labour from India

It is generally accepted that the most far-reaching event that took place in Fiji in this period was the introduction of indentured labour by the Governor of the colony, Sir Arthur Gordon. The Colonial Office had made it clear that Fiji was to pay for itself as soon as was feasibly possible. Gordon believed that the only way this could be achieved was through plantation agriculture. Sugar production had been tried on Wakaya Island by Whippy and a partner in 1860. The first mill had been set up at Suva by Leicester Smith, a planter from Barbados, in 1872 and by 1874 tens tons of sugar was exported as a trial for the viability of the industry (Derrick 1950). Copra had just started to be produced for export and attempts were also made to grow coffee until disease and competition from Brazil made it uneconomic (Oliver 1961)²⁵.

²⁴ This article was sent to Mr George Gibson, the Mayor of Levuka, following a visit to Levuka by the author. Mr Gibson kindly gave me a copy.

²⁵ A little coffee is still grown in Taveuni for local use.

However, the problem of obtaining reliable labour remained. The Fijians were not interested in providing themselves as long term plantation labourers. Gordon had made Thurston the Colonial Secretary and together they attempted to devise a plan that would not disadvantage the Fijians by forcing them to work on plantations. Gordon also wanted no alienation of the land from Fijians as had happened to the New Zealand Maori and Thurston pointed out "that no Fijian will go from home to be worked from morning to night, upon paltry pay, indifferent fare, and anything but mild treatment" (quoted in Gravelle 1989 p147). Gordon, following his experiences in the West Indies and Mauritius, agreed with Thurston's comment that "(w)ith all our 'highfalutin' to the contrary, the wrongs we have committed in the name of Christianity, civilisation, progress are manifold" (quoted in Scarr 1984 p83). The Great Council of Chiefs, a body set up by the Colonial administration, also objected to Fijians becoming plantation labourers as it broke up communities and interfered with planting.

The two policies appeared to be contradictory. If Fiji were to be self-sufficient, as dictated by London, it would need labour and land on which the labour to work on. However, the Colonial Government refused to alienate the land from Fijians nor force Fijians to work when they did not want to, for fear of breaking their social traditions. The solution arrived at was to import labour. The first 'coolies' as Thurston called them, arrived at Levuka in 1879 from India. The question of why neither Thurston's nor Gordon's compassion extended to Indians is vexing and the legacy of their policy to protect Fijians is a major source of conflict now and was instrumental in causing the coups of 1987.

Recruiting labour was not as simple as was hoped. While legal safeguards were put in place by the Indian authorities recruiting officers had to resort to exaggeration about the benefits, lies as to where Fiji was and playing on the ignorance of the Indian peasants. One problem was that Hindus lost caste by crossing the sea, which would make returning to India difficult and 85 percent of the labourers were Hindu (Mayer 1973). Nevertheless between 1879 and 1916, when the indenture system

ended, 60537 Indians arrived in Fiji²⁶ of which 24655 were repatriated under the contract that provided for free transport back to India after ten years of work. (After five years they were allowed to return but had to pay their own passage.) In addition 'free' Indians primarily from Gujarat and Punjab started arriving in numbers after the First World War. (Mayer (1973) states that the first of these arrived from South Africa in 1906). No figures were kept of these arrivals though in Fiji they are differentiated from the descendants of indentured labourers and today they account for no more than ten percent of the Indian population (Kelly 1992). They are quick, however, to inform anyone who is interested that they are not descendants from the indentured labourers.

At one stage it had been suggested that Chinese coolies be indentured but this suggestion was not acceptable to the Australian colonies. This did not stop the arrival of the Chinese, though. Some had been involved in the *bêche de mer* trade but the first settlers arrived in 1872. By the end of the British administration, in 1970, there were about 5000 full blooded Chinese living in Fiji, or one percent of the total population, and an unknown number of part-Chinese (Greif 1977). These numbers declined following independence and the setting up of village co-operatives on the outer islands, which took trade away from Chinese shops.

The earliest labourers worked on small copra plantations as well as for the big sugar corporations but when copra prices fell in 1884 many of these settlers went out of business and from then on most Indians worked on the sugar estates. Even the small sugar producers were being taken over by the Colonial Sugar Refining Company (CSR) which Thurston described as the "most selfish company in the Australasias" (Scarr 1984 p82). Thurston had asked them to come into Fiji in order to crush cane grown by Fijians on land that had been made inalienable by statute in 1880. The problem, as ever, was that the Fijians would not produce surpluses with which to trade. CSR virtually became a monopoly accounting for 65 percent of Fiji's export

²⁶ Among the indentured labourers were 398 people from Nepal. The descendants of these people still maintain aspects of Nepalese culture (Griffin 1987).

earnings from its mills which produced 87.5 percent of unrefined sugar in the country (Scarr 1984).

The end of the period of indenture left many Indians in Fiji and as early as the 1890s some Fijian hostility towards them was becoming evident. Freed Indians were already becoming moderately successful in business and were buying or leasing land. The collapse of the Hindu caste system helped in this process. The loss of caste enabled them to take any job. Fijians were producing sugar themselves at the end of the century but by 1910 this had stopped. They preferred other crops such as copra, which is not as labour intensive. "Apart from tax obligation, no Fijian in the nineteenth century grew cane for the market. By contrast, £43000 of the £100000 Fijians earned from copra in 1901 was reckoned to come from non-tax copra" (Scarr 1984 p108). The Lomaiviti Group was one of the main copra producing areas and Levuka became an important port for the export of the product. Even today the remnants of the tracks for the copra trains can be seen at the entrance to the port and two old wagons have been collected by a past heritage advisor, John Bennett, and are awaiting renovation as part of a heritage display.

The decline of Levuka

In 1882 the capital was moved from Levuka to Suva and Levuka was soon relegated to being the second port of the country as well as the second town. However it still maintained a prominent place in Fijian commerce and as an education centre. While many companies moved to Suva along with all the paraphernalia of national government there was still little room for any more buildings in Levuka by 1907. Its rumbustuous days had come to an end though and it had been called a "singularly attractive spot" (Miss Gordon Cumming cited by Allen (1907/1984 p262). It was now "a perfect gem" and "(e)very visitor to Levuka is charmed with its delightful surroundings" (Allen (1907/1984 p263). The main industry, until 1956, was the collection and distribution of copra. Levuka was also a trading centre for many of the islands though local shipping suffered from the duopolistic competition of the Union Steamship Company of Auckland and the Australasian United Steam

Navigation Company from Australia which conspired to put most of the local shipping companies out of business. Most of the prominent buildings of Levuka were completed at the beginning of this century. These were the Town Hall, the Masonic Lodge and the Ovalau Club. Since then a couple of concrete buildings were erected in Beach Street in the 1950s including what is now a disused cinema. The tuna canning factory was built in the 1960s and a Methodist church hall in the 1990s. The churches, schools, hospital and most of the houses were built after the cyclone of 1879. The only remaining hotel from the early days is the Royal, which was renovated in 1884 and again in 1964. The Mavida Guest House is also a survivor from the nineteenth century.

Levuka has had little impact on the history of Fiji in the twentieth century. It became increasingly marginalised in its importance and only appears in what Wordsworth described as 'spots of time' when something of interest happened to occur. One such incident was the capture of Count Felix von Luckner the captain of the *Seeadler* which was sinking allied shipping in the South Pacific during World War One. The letter von Luckner wrote and left with some money for provisions taken from a European home on an island in the Lomaiviti Group is available for inspection in the Ovalau Club today. The letter was signed Max Pemberton the *nom de plume* of a British detective writer of the period²⁷. The British-European and Fijian men of the period joined up with the Imperial forces during the war though the Fijians were not allowed to fight. Both groups are remembered on separate war memorials in the town²⁸. The German community of Levuka was interned in Australia in 1917 for being enemy aliens though some had been born in the town, but first they suffered from the jingoism of the period. For example, in early 1916 all men of German ancestry were asked to resign their membership of the Ovalau Club including past

²⁷ Max Pemberton was a fiction writer born in 1863 and noted for being "a bit of a dandy" [Greene 1970 p11]. One of his better known books of the period was *The Iron Pirate*, published in 1893, which had a sequel *Captain Black*, published in 1911. While there appears to be no evidence to suggest that von Luckner displayed teutonic humour in his choice of pseudonym I would suggest that it is likely. Interestingly Pemberton and von Luckner died in the same year, 1950.

²⁸ Neither of these cenotaphs are well maintained today. This may be due to the Fijian attitude towards the built environment and concepts of history.

presidents. When they refused to do so they were expelled. Copies of the letters still kept by the Ovalau Club show overt self-righteousness and contempt for these past members rather than sadness. Very few of the Germans returned after the war.

Between the World Wars the copra industry, and therefore Levuka, suffered badly as a result of the Great Depression but the basic structure of the Fijian economy created before the First World War remained. Oliver (1961) describes the economic situation in Fiji at the start of the Second World War as follows:

By 1939 there were, then, four Fijis. There was the Fiji of sugar: large highly rationalized plantations and mills, producing wealth for its white owners and managers and subsistence for its Indian workers, and leaving in its train the basic conflict between Fijian and Indian which dominated political activity in the two main islands. There was the Fiji of copra: dependent for its continuation upon price factors completely outside local control. Third, there was the Fiji of gold: highly profitable to its owners and rich in revenue for the government, but limited in area, in longevity, and in influence upon the course of local events. Last, there was the Fiji of the Lau islanders: "Tonganized," and tamed somewhat by Christianity, but far enough away from the big islands to escape all but the faintest repercussions of the caste warfare which went on there

(p294).

This situation had not changed significantly by the early 1960s (Mellor and Anthony 1968).

At the end of the war the ethnic make-up of Levuka was "a community of about a dozen Europeans, a few Indians, many Euronsians and even more Fijians" (Tudor 1946 p146).

Following the Second World War the copra trade in Levuka once more suffered the effects of events outside its control. An infestation of rhinoceros beetle in other Pacific islands severely restricted shipping and therefore the entrepot trade in the town. As prices began to pick up market conditions demanded that the copra be

processed and a processing plant was built in Suva. As a result Levuka lost its position as a trans-shipment centre. The copra trade in the town finally ended in 1956. With this many of the businesses relocated or closed down. There was no alternative industry though attempts were made to bring industry to the Town. For example a button factory was set up. However, it was not in existence for long.²⁹ After the collapse of the copra trade Levuka only existed as an administration centre for the Lomaviti group and a schooling centre. Levuka boasted three schools all of which had originated in the nineteenth century. In addition to the government public school there are also Catholic and Methodist denominational schools all of which take boarders. Older residents of the town state that during this period empty shops existed along Beach Street, the main thoroughfare, for the first time since the 1870s and that Levuka became a ghost town (*Fiji Times* 21/6/97). Many of the European residents left the town. The school roles testify to this with the number of European names listed decreasing dramatically by the end of the decade.³⁰

Tuna processing

It wasn't until 1963 that a large industrial employer returned to Levuka. In that year the Japanese built a freezing plant for tuna and this was expanded with the addition of a canning factory a few years later. This revitalised the town. The airstrip on the island was opened at the same time, which facilitated the possibility of people visiting Levuka from Suva for day trips. It is unclear whether these two events were linked but they both provided an economic lift for the town (Usher 1987). In 1987 PAFCO (Pacific Fisheries Company) was taken over by the government. The company has been in financial difficulty for some time and regularly needs government assistance to remain in operation. Graham Southwick, who operates a fishing fleet and is involved in fishery exports, has been quoted as saying:

²⁹ The site of the button factory had previously been a private home. It is now the building used by the Levuka School for the Handicapped. As will be documented later, there was much debate about the adaptations that could be made to the building for disabled students while still remaining within the heritage guidelines. There was also debate as to whether the building should appear as it did when it was a private residence or whether it should be preserved in its incarnation as a button factory.

³⁰ It should be noted here that many people with European names are in fact classified as part-Europeans and some have no European ancestry at all but whose family names were changed in order to get around the legislation preventing 'natives' from buying alcohol.

PAFCO lost its focus a long time ago. It has believed that it is some kind of social-welfare operation. And you can't be both a profitable operation and a social-welfare set up.

(Emberson-Bain 1997 p29)

The problems of PAFCO are more complex than that. It has also been used as a tool for carrying out various other government objectives. In 1997 it was given F\$5 million. The company wanted to use this money to upgrade plant but the government insisted that this money was used in debt repayment. One respondent (who wished to remain anonymous) stated that this was not to aid PAFCO but aid to the National Bank of Fiji, which had to be rescued following its near crash caused by allegedly fraudulent lending to government ministers. It had become politically uncomfortable for the government to be seen giving more aid to the bank so a 'back door' method was devised using PAFCO as the door. There have also been charges of nepotism made with regard to appointments within the company and there is little doubt that industrial relations have declined significantly since the government take-over. Not one local person told me that they preferred the current management to the Japanese. The management system has become rigidly hierarchical with little contact between the senior management and the workforce. There is little interaction between the company and the town. One informant told me that "PAFCO is a very poor corporate citizen" in contrast to the days of Japanese control. As an example of this there is an amusingly incongruent photograph in the Ovalau Club of the Levuka cricket team which includes a rather proud looking Japanese man, one of the company managers, who was the club president. The management structure also appears to be based on racial lines. The top management is made up of Fijians appointed by the government. They are assisted by some ex-patriots. Lower levels of management are generally Indians who, an overseas buyer of PAFCO's products told me, are of high calibre but who know that they will never obtain senior managerial positions. The unskilled workers are nearly all women who clean fish ready for canning. They number about 600 though this figure fluctuates depending on the supply of and demand for tuna.