Dosalsal, the floating ones: Exploring the socio-cultural impacts of cruise ship tourism on Port Vila, Vanuatu residents, and their coping strategies

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Tourism Management at Lincoln University by A. L. Niatu

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The purpose of this study was to explore the socio-cultural impacts of cruise ship tourism on Port Vila residents and their coping strategies.

The study was conducted in Port Vila over the months of June and July 2006. It employs the use of a qualitative research methodology, of participant observation, and semi-structured interviews with a range of tourism stakeholders, including the government, the church and chiefs, as well as a number of small businesses such as public transport operators, small indigenous tour operators and market vendors. These observations and interviews were conducted at the Mama’s Haus project, Centre Point Market Place, and the main wharf area.

This thesis was initially aimed at exploring the strategies that the residents of Port Vila used to cope with the impacts caused by cruise ship tourism. As the research progressed, it became apparent from primary data collected that market vendors have not just adapted to the impacts of cruise ship tourism, but that the consequences of their adaptation may be seen as empowering them. They are empowered not just economically, but also psychologically, socially and politically. However, it must be acknowledged that not all small tourist operators in this study felt positively about the impacts of cruise ship tourism; some may be seen as being disempowered. Furthermore, the empowerment of these market vendors is dependent on the continuous flow of cruise ship visits to Port Vila; something beyond their control. The cancellation of future trips or decrease in the number of cruise ship voyages will have significant consequences for the sustainability of this informal sector and the longevity of these micro-enterprises.

The study finding implies that coping strategies should not just address how residents and communities cope or respond to tourism, but should also go further by addressing the consequences of the coping strategies adopted.
Keywords: Vanuatu, cruise ship tourism, tourism, Pacific Islands, coping strategies, attitudes and perceptions, socio-cultural impacts, small island states, empowerment, disempowerment, dependency, neo-colonialism.
Dedication

For my mum and dad…. thank you for your love and prayers and for never stop believing in me. Thank you also for sacrificing the little you have to put me through school.
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List of Acronyms

ADB  Asian Development Bank
NTDO  National Tourism Development Office
NZAID New Zealand Development International Agency
P&O  P&O Cruises Australia
SPTO  South Pacific Tourism Council
TCSP  Tourism Council of the South Pacific (renamed to SPTO)
UMP  Union of Moderate Parties
UNDP  United Nations Development Programme
VNSO  Vanuatu National Statistics Office
VP  Vanua’aku Party
VTMP  Vanuatu Tourism Master Plan
VTO  Vanuatu Tourism Office
VTOA  Vanuatu Tour Operators Association
WTO  World Tourism Organisation

Glossary of Vanuatu Bislama words

Bislama (lingua franca)          English
Haus             House
Kastom            Traditional Vanuatu way of life,
Malvatumaumi   National Council of Chiefs
Naghol           Traditional bungee jump
Nasara           Traditional sacred site
Ni Vanuatu       Indigenous people (singular or plural)
Vatu             Vanuatu currency
Ples             Place
Chapter 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction
My working in the Vanuatu tourism industry for over 15 years, both in a semi-government body and the private sector, has motivated me to write this thesis. During those years, I had observed tourism developed from being restricted to only three major islands to later spreading to other islands as well. I also observed the important economic role that cruise ship tourism in Port Vila plays for local people dependent on this industry. In particular, I noticed the dedication that the small market vendors had towards their job, despite the lack of proper sheltering facility to operate from (makeshift tents) or the weather conditions. I was curious to know what their driving force was. On each cruise ship day, these vendors would take their crafts to town to sell and, hopefully, take much fewer back home in the evening. As a resident of Port Vila, I also experienced transportation problems during cruise ship days – demand for taxis and buses by cruise ship tourists and the working residents meant longer delays in finding transport. As years went by and cruise ship visits became more frequent, reports of brawls amongst taxi and bus drivers at the wharf were also heard. These observations, in addition to the continuing growth and expansion of this industry, are what motivated me to do this exploratory study on the impacts of cruise ship tourism on the Port Vila residents and how residents were coping with these impacts.

1.2 Why study cruise ship tourism?
Like the tourism industry, the cruise ship industry impacts positively and negatively on the socio-cultural and natural environment, and the economy of the country. These impacts may be disproportionately large compared to the small size of this niche (Dowling, 2006a). Globally, the cruise ship industry is one of the fastest growing sectors of the tourism industry, with an annual growth rate of 8% since 1980, and it is expected that the industry will see further growth into the future (Butler & De Lavalle, 2003; Dickinson & Vladimir, 1997; Dowling, 2006a; Toh et al., 2005; Wood, 2000). Many factors have influenced this strong growth, some of which include (1) more cruises becoming available to a wider market audience, (2) the rapid expansion of the product – both in frequency of vessel visits and passenger capacity of ships, (3) decline in fares, and (4) the opening up of new cruise destinations. Television has also played a huge part in promoting the sector. Television shows like the ‘Love Boat’ helped romanticise cruising and made it more popular to a wider range of markets (Dickinson & Vladimir, 1997; Douglas & Douglas, 2001; Weaver, 2005; Wood, 2004a).
The North American market is the dominant cruise market and accounts for two thirds of the total global cruise demand. In distant second place is the European market, while the rest of the world has only a very small share of the market (CLIA, 2004; Douglas & Douglas, 2004b). In 2002, the South Pacific accounts for 1.3% of the total capacity (CLIA, 2004). According to Douglas and Douglas (2004b), the success of this industry may be credited to four main cruise lines: Carnival, Royal Caribbean, P&O and Star Cruises. Recently, this was changed with P&O being bought over by Carnival Corporation. Commonly referred to as the three major cruise lines, these companies dominated the industry from the 1990s into the 21st century, where today they control 72% of the world’s supply of berths (CLIA, 2004; Dowling, 2006a).

Although many studies have been written on the socio-cultural impacts of tourism and some research done on tourism coping strategies, a literature search on cruise ship tourism coping strategies revealed nothing on this topic. Yet it is one of the largest and fastest growing sectors in the tourism industry globally (Wood, 2000). It has a potential for further future growth as new markets emerge (Butler & De Lavalle, 2003; CLIA, 2004; Dickinson & Vladimir, 1997; Toh et al., 2005; Wood, 2000). Furthermore, in recent years there has been a marked increase in cruise ship tourism, yet the specific impacts of this form of tourism has been neglected, with the assumption being that they would be similar to other forms of tourism. Of the few studies that have been carried out on cruise ship tourism, most were conducted on the economic impacts, from the marketing and business perspective. These studies focused mainly on the economic impacts of cruise ship passenger expenditure in port destinations. An exception is Dowling’s (2006b) recent book, Cruise Ship Tourism, which has a whole section on the impacts of this industry. However, there are very few studies on the socio-cultural impacts of this type of tourism, from the perspectives of the residents of a destination and how they cope with the impacts. Similarly, even less work has been conducted on cruise ships in the South Pacific, where the cultural variations is arguably greater than that in other major cruise ship areas, such as the Caribbean. In Vanuatu’s case, two economic impact studies have examined the contribution of the cruise ship passengers to the economy of Vanuatu, but there are no studies that looked at the social impacts of this tourism on the residents and what they feel, think or want from cruise ship tourism. An understanding of their perceptions and responses to cruise ship tourism impacts will assist those agents responsible for tourism planning to make appropriate policies for managing the impacts and development of this sector.
Therefore, the purpose of this thesis is to explore the socio-cultural impacts of cruise ship tourism on Port Vila residents and examine the coping strategies they use against Dogan’s (1989) and Ap and Crompton’s (1993) models of coping strategies. Although other models could have been chosen for this research topic, these two models were chosen purely to examine if the impacts of mass tourism are applicable to cruise ship tourism, which is another form of mass tourism. In order to do this, Port Vila, the capital of Vanuatu and the country’s major cruise ship tourist destination, has been chosen as the case study for this exploratory study.

1.3 Research objectives
The overall research questions guiding this thesis are:

- How do Port Vila residents perceive the socio-cultural impacts of cruise ship tourism?
- To what extend were they impacted?
- How do they cope with these impacts?

To achieve the main aim of this thesis, the key objectives that will be addressed are as follows:

1) Identify the positive and negative impacts of cruise ship tourism on residents in Port Vila, Vanuatu, as identified by them;
2) Identify the socio-cultural impacts as perceived by residents of Port Vila and to explore factors influencing their perceptions;
3) Explore the coping strategies that residents apply to the impacts of cruise ship tourism;
4) Assess the suitability of existing models of coping strategies to resident’s responses towards cruise ship tourism in Port Vila; and
5) Where appropriate, formulate suggestions for managing any long-term impacts of this type of tourism and also make suggestions for any future planning and policy regarding this.

1.4 Definition of words
For the purposes of this thesis, the term ‘cruise ship tourist’ will be defined using the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) definition, which refers to this type of tourists as international excursionists who are day visitors and who do not spend the night in any accommodation in the country they visit. In this study, this will refer mainly to visitors arriving on cruise ships or
passenger ships used commercially for pleasure cruises. This concept will be used interchangeably with cruise ship passengers throughout the entire thesis. ‘Resort tourists’ will refer to international visitors who come by air and spend over 24 hours in a destination in established tourist accommodations. In addition, the term ‘market vendors’ will be used interchangeably with ‘market stall holders’.

1.5 Statement of approach
This thesis is an exploratory study, so further empirical research may need to be carried out, both in Vanuatu and in other countries, to confirm these findings. The study utilised both primary and secondary data, of which the latter consists of a review of literature on both tourism and cruise ship tourism impacts on residents and their coping strategies. The literature was drawn from a variety of academic, tourism industry sources, and Vanuatu government reports. The primary data was collected using qualitative research method of interviews over a six-week period in Port Vila from June to July 2006.

1.6 Structure of the thesis
This thesis comprises seven chapters including this introductory chapter. Chapter 2 outlines the theoretical background and will form the basis for the analysis of this study. Chapter 3 introduces Port Vila (the study site), and describes the research methodology and the rationale for its usage. Chapter 4 presents a contextual background on Vanuatu, discusses relevant policies and plans for tourism in general, including a discussion on cruise ship tourism. Chapter 5 presents the results of the field work carried out over a six-week period in Port Vila. Chapter 6 discusses the coping strategies employed by residents of Port Vila against the two models of coping strategies and their applicability. Finally, in Chapter 7, results of the study are summarised, conclusions and implications of the study are drawn and recommendations made.
Chapter 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction
The aim of this chapter is to provide a theoretical basis and a framework for assessing the strategies used by Port Vila residents to cope with the impacts of cruise ship tourism. The chapter begins with a review of previous studies on cruise ship tourism impacts. Following this, a discussion of some of the theories on factors influencing resident attitudes, perceptions and reactions to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism. Next, Dogan’s (1989) and Ap and Crompton’s (1993) models of coping strategies to tourism development, the two models chosen for this study, are reviewed to establish a context for the findings of this study. Finally, a review of two of the potential consequences of coping with tourism impacts (empowerment and neo-colonialism).

2.2 Impact studies on cruise tourism
To understand how residents cope with cruise ship tourism impacts, it is necessary to review studies that have already been carried out on this topic. A literature and internet search on cruise ship tourism revealed that only a few studies have been carried out on cruise ship tourism in general. However, there is a growing literature on the broad topic of cruise ship tourism and its impacts. An example is Dowling’s (2006b) recently published book, with a whole section on the impacts of this type of tourism. Existing research tends to focus mainly on the American market. However, some research have also be carried out on the South and Central Pacific regions (SPTO, 2003a & b; TCSP, 1992). Where such studies existed, reports often include information on Australia, New Zealand and Asia as well. However, cruise ship tourism, like all forms of tourism, can bring both opportunities and challenges to the destination (Ringer, 2006).

2.2.1 Economic impacts
Of the previous economic impacts studies conducted, some have concentrated on the impacts of cruise ship passengers on the port communities and island economies visited. The benefits it brings to these ports has been considered in terms of the number of visitors, revenue generated, jobs created, contribution towards the country’s gross domestic product (GDP), and increasing or improving foreign exchange earnings (Braun et al., 2002; Bull, 1996; Chase, 2001; Chase & McKee, 2003; CLIA, 2004; Douglas & Douglas, 1996; 2004b; Dwyer & Forsyth, 1996b; Hentrone, 2000; Mescon & Vozikis, 1985).
There is limited data available on the economic impact of cruise ship passengers (Douglas & Douglas, 2004, 2005; TCSP, 1992) in the South Pacific. The studies were mostly visitor surveys focusing on the overall expenditure of cruise ship passengers rather than individual port of call and the business community. Most used quantitative research methods to determine the economic impacts of this sector on the local economy. There are not many studies that used qualitative research methods whereby residents are interviewed with regards to the impacts of cruise ship tourism on their lives, businesses, attitudes towards the industry, and how they deal with the impacts.

In spite of reported economic benefits of cruise ship tourism, studies have also noted some controversy over the real economic benefit towards the local economy due to the difficulty in obtaining accurate and reliable data in expenditure surveys (SPTO, 2003). It has been argued that expenditure figures may often be misleading and exaggerated as multi destinations are visited. Therefore, surveys often revealed the overall expenditure of cruise ship passengers that may not be specific to port community (Douglas & Douglas, 2004b; Seidl et al., 2006; SPTO, 2003). In addition, for some tourists, the cruise is not the whole purpose of the trip but just a part of a larger trip. This, therefore, makes it challenging to establish which portion of the expenditure is attributed to the cruise industry (Braun et al., 2002; Seidl et al., 2006).

There are also conflicting reports on purchasing patterns amongst cruise tourists (Hall & Braithwaithe, 1990; Henthorne, 2000). The former argues that the multiplier effects of cruise ship are greater than resort tourists, and the latter argues that cruise ship tourists spend less as they spend less time in port.

Recent tourism literatures on this topic have argued that the cruise ship tourism brings few financial benefits to the resident communities, compared to other forms of tourism (Seidl et al., 2006; Sorenson, 2006; Pulpsipher & Holderfield, 2006). They argued that the cruise tourist product offered on board for the shore attraction has provided tourists with an impoverished experience and leave communities disempowered and underpaid. Other studies have also noted that since the cruise ships are foreign-own, they are also not required to pay host taxes or adhere to labour regulations (Wood, 2000). Adding to this, many cruise companies are also investing in their own islands as playgrounds for their passengers as an extension of the cruise ship onboard services so that passengers can utilise without having to deal with customs and labour laws of the countries visited (Klein, 2006). Often employees in these playground areas are hired from other countries or from the ship’s crew members rather than locally, because the skills base is not available in the destination community (Momsen,
Such arrangements do not bring much economic benefit to the port communities. Additionally, the cruise ship provides an all-inclusive vacation package as an incentive to encourage passengers to spend more time onboard and less time onshore as everything has already been paid for (McKee 1988; McKee & Mamoozadeh, 1994). Increasingly, it has also been found that more and more passengers prefer to stay onboard during port stopover or return to the ship to eat, rather than taking a tour (Johnson, 2002; Momsen, 2005). The economic benefit for the destination community is very limited because the passengers are not paying for accommodation, meals and other services in the destination port (Dickinson & Vladimir, 1997; Douglas & Douglas, 2004a; Wood, 2004).

However, Dowling (2006b) argues that this system is changing from an ‘all-inclusive vacations’ to some ‘user-pay’ situations where cruise passengers are given a choice of onboard services, which may include shore tours and shopping programmes. This can have implication for port destinations too as tours are purchased onboard in currencies passengers are familiar with, but at a much higher price than shore price. This essentially means that onboard services sell all the shore products, including tours and attractions, by charging a commission. So a passenger will be paying a higher price, which will be shared by more than three different companies. This would normally result in a large percentage going to companies offshore, and leaving a small percentage to the port community – this is seen as an income leakage. Another leakage is seen from the playground areas mentioned above; these are manned and operated by the cruise ship and are user-pay facilities, so the income generated by this is again siphoned offshore instead of benefiting the country and the port community (Braun et al., 2002; Klein, 2006; Seidl et al., 2006).

So, the economic impacts of cruise ship tourism are often misleading, as it does not take into account the leakages (Klein, 2003; Wood, 2000). Some of these leakages are in the form of imports from overseas, causing major problems for many small developing countries dependent on tourism and relying on imported foods and goods to service the visitors. One study conducted in the Caribbean found that the average expenditure per cruise ship passenger disembarking was much less than some previous studies have estimated (Johnson, 2002). The study found that almost 30% of the cruise passenger’s estimated daily tour expenditures went back directly to the cruise ship in the form of commission. In addition, the majority of tourist spending is on duty-free goods that are imported from overseas, adding little to the local economy.
The purchasing power of cruise companies over where and what activities passengers spend their money on at a destination has also been identified as an economic impact. Klein (2003, 2006) argues that increasing purchasing power of cruise companies has a direct impact on suppliers and shore excursion providers. This creates unequal power relations between various stakeholders in the destination ports, often resulting in foreign-operated tours being the major beneficiaries and the residents providing only other minor services that the major tour companies cannot provide (Klein, 2003; Lester & Weeden, 2004). This also raises concerns over the control of the industry, which is in the hands of foreigners where communities and local businesses compete against a few multinational corporations on global economic conditions than local conditions (Fish & Gunther, 1994; McKee, 1988). More discussion on this will follow in the section on neo-colonialism. The cruise ship companies could easily choose alternative ports if they disagree with the conditions offered to them onshore. In some instances, they may threaten to pull out from that route, as found in the Caribbean when some ports decided to increase port charges on cruise passengers (Klein, 2003; 2006). Being a floating resort also makes this task easier for them as they can easily depart at anytime if things do not work out with a product, unlike resort tourism for which investment is on the ground and investors have a longer commitment to the destination. Other challenges posed by this industry are environmental impacts.

2.2.2 Environmental impacts
The rapid growth of the cruise ship industry means there are also costs associated with its expansion. Since it is mobile, it introduces factors that are different from other forms of tourism (Douglas & Douglas, 2004a). One of these is the environmental effects of these large vessels. Recent studies on the environmental impacts of cruise ships have drawn increasing attention to the concerns and the underlining problems brought about by cruise ships or by their passengers; these include waste generation and illegal discharge of waste (both treated and untreated), pollution problems (sea and air), damage to coastal marine and other fragile environments, issues of environmental carrying capacity, and other concerns (Burrowes et al., 2003; Davenport & Davenport, 2006; Dickinson & Vladimir, 1997; Herz, 2002; James, 2003; Johnson, 2002; Klein, 2002; Orams, 1998; Ringer, 2006). In addition to these concerns, most of the cruise ships are foreign registered in ‘flag of convenience’ of a nation but operated in another country. This allows them to adhere to the laws of the country they are registered in and avoid environmental and labour laws of the destination ports (Timothy, 2006). In the absence of national regulations, any environmental concerns are governed by the maritime law (Bluewater Network, 2005; Herz, 2002; Klein, 2003). However, Wood (2000) argues that
loopholes in the International Maritime Regulation makes dumping of waste into oceans practically legal. According to the International Maritime Regulation, it is legal to dump certain non-hazardous and non-toxic wastes into the ocean when the ship is outside a country’s 200-mile zone. This makes it difficult to prosecute offenders, as dumping is legally done, but it raises questions of who is responsible for the pollution caused when tides bring this waste ashore. For destinations dependent on the marine environment for their livelihood (such as diving and fishing), the pollution caused by cruise ship dumping can have huge implications for them, both economically and socially. While tourism on the whole presents environmental challenges, it could be argued that ships are a far greater threat than the resorts.

2.2.3 Social impacts
A few studies have discussed the social impacts with perceived costs and benefits associated with cruise tourism, but none has examined the residents’ coping strategies (Johnson, 2002; Klein, 2002; Liburd, 2001; Wood, 2000). The huge influx of passengers in a port for a limited number of hours creates crowding problems where a big volume of the passengers occupy the same spatial location during similar times of the day. In this situation, such interactions tend to be shallow, superficial and based on different expectations that hosts and guests have (Sharpley, 1994). Jaakson (2004), basing his work on Smith’s (1972) ‘tourist bubble,’ described the tendency for the majority of the cruise ship passengers to spend their time in familiar surroundings like tourist shops and restaurants, while rarely venturing out beyond the environmental tourist bubble. In some ports, the huge influx of cruise visitors often exceeds the number of residents; this, in turn, puts pressure on existing capacity and stress on available infrastructure – for example, stress on limited water resources, waste disposal systems, recreation and leisure facilities. This raises questions as to whether cruise passengers should be taxed for using these services (Cervency, 2005). This can create feelings of resentment by residents if the passengers are seen to be spending money in only a few locations. In some destinations, some residents have adapted to this situation by aggressive begging or other forms of aggression (Taylor, 1993, cited in Wood, 2004).

Although these studies are useful and increase our knowledge of cruise ship tourism, the social impacts of this type of tourism are not well understood and relatively neglected in the academic literature (Butler & De Lavalle, 2003; CLIA, 2004; De la Vina & Ford, 2001; Dickinson & Vladimir, 1997; Foster, 1986; Toh et al., 2005; Wood, 2000). Of the few social impact studies conducted, most focused on the northern hemisphere ports, especially on the Caribbean cruise destinations (CESD, 2006; Dowling, 2006; Pulsipher & Holderfield, 2006).
Previous research has noted the paucity of literature on this industry and the need for further studies to be carried out in this area (Wood, 2004). A preliminary literature search on impacts studies showed no literature on coping with the social impacts of cruise ship tourism. However, recent studies that have looked at the socio-cultural impacts of this type of tourism create negative socio-cultural impacts that may result in feelings of displacement (Ringer, 2006). Ringer’s study acknowledges that as tourist numbers increase, it creates congestion, which place strains on local residents and infrastructures with potential loss of social and cultural identity. As a result, growing conflicts emerge in relations to changing dynamics and behaviours of tourists, causing some residents to be displaced due to increased number of tourist causing utility prices to increase. Despite this, the residents still welcome tourists for economic and personal reasons.

Although recent studies have assisted in our understanding of the socio-cultural impacts of the industry, no studies have looked at how residents cope with these impacts. Therefore, this study aims to contribute to the academic understanding of the socio-cultural impacts of cruise ship tourism and extend the knowledge from existing literature on resident adjustment strategies to cruise ship tourism. This is because cruise ship tourism is different from other forms of tourism, and some of its impacts are unique to the industry.

The next section will review literature on attitudes and perceptions of residents to tourism, and how this influences how they respond to the socio-cultural impacts of tourism.

### 2.3 Factors influencing resident responses towards tourism

One of the major reasons why a number of studies have focused on local responses to tourism development in the community is because tourism has the potential for positive and negative outcomes at a local level (Lindberg & Johnson, 1997). Generally, people will respond to the impacts of tourism development in various ways. A substantial number of studies have revealed that residents of a tourist destination will react to tourism development depending on their attitudes and perceived benefits of the industry.

One of the earliest studies explaining residents’ attitudes towards tourism is Doxey’s (1975) Irritation Index (Irridex scale). This model suggests that as tourist numbers increase and resorts develop the attitudes of the tourist destination, residents also pass through a sequence of reactions, which become more negative as tourism develops in their area. This sequence begins with an attitude of euphoria, which shifts to apathy, then to annoyance or resignation,
and finally to antagonism at the extreme end. This framework suggests that the initial tourism development stages are accompanied by euphoria amongst residents. In the beginning, when visitor numbers are low, visitors are welcomed and embraced by residents because they are seen as a source of income. As tourism development grows and the number of visitors increases, there is increasing contact between the host population and the visitors. The hosts begin to take this for granted and their attitude is one of apathy. But as the destination becomes popular and attracts more tourists, the day-to-day life of the residents becomes disrupted, and some may express irritation because they feel that they are no longer in control of the situation. Therefore, their reaction shifts progressively from that of annoyance to the feelings of irritation and antagonism, when local people see tourism as an agent of negative changes, such as higher taxes, environmental degradations and immorality.

Other studies have inferred that the way the hosts react to tourism will depend on the number and type of tourists (Smith, 1989a) or the level of tourism development (Butler, 1980). Similar to Doxey’s (1975) model, Butler’s destination cycle model suggests that destinations evolve through six stages of tourism development, moving from exploration, involvement, development, consolidation, stagnation to either decline or rejuvenation, depending on attempts to improve the adverse impacts. This model suggests that the attitudes of host residents towards tourism changes as the destination moves through different stages of development, accompanied by changing types of visitors. These changes can create favourable to unfavourable perceptions of visitors. At the exploration stage, only a few tourists visit, therefore, there is not much impact and the residents’ attitude to tourism may be one of Doxey’s (1976) euphoria. At the involvement stage, more local people are involved in providing services for the tourists and the residents may embrace tourism because of the economic benefits gained. In the development stage, tourism is now developed and many of the small operations will have disappeared due to larger franchises coming in to control tourism. Reactions will still be positive but some negative feelings will have emerged as negative impacts of tourism arise with growing visitor numbers and locals begin to sense a lost of control over the industry. By the consolidation stage, the established franchises and chains have taken over the smaller businesses; the local people no longer have control over tourism development. The visitor numbers may also reach the environmental and social carrying capacities, thus creating negative impacts to arise. At this point, the final stage is either stagnation, where social and environmental capacities are exceeded and tourism declines, or the destination may decide to rejuvenate itself by a complete rebranding of itself.
Butler’s model suggests that residents go from ‘approval’ to ‘opposition’ as the destination grows and adverse impacts of tourism become more noticeable.

Both Butler’s (1980) and Doxey’s (1976) models assume that resident attitudes change over time in a predictable manner as tourism develops through the different stages due to a growing sense of lack of control and recognition of negative impacts. These two models also assume that everyone in a community reacts the same way, regardless of their relationship to tourists and tourist activities.

Other studies have tried to explain why residents react to the impact of tourism the way they do and why there may be various levels of support within the same community (Gursoy et al., 2002; Jurowski & Gursoy; 2004; Jurowski et al., 1997). Most authors agree that the degree to which residents embrace tourism development will depend on a number of socio-political, economic and environmental factors (Brougham & Butler, 1981; Dogan, 1989; Horn & Simmons, 2002; Mason & Cheyne, 2000; Mitchell & Reid, 2001; Saveriades, 2000; Sheldon & Var, 1984; Simmons & Fairweather, 2000; Um & Crompton, 1987; Williams & Lawson, 2001). To explain this difference in resident attitudes towards tourism, some studies have used the Social Exchange theory, which states that those benefiting from tourism are likely to perceive greater economic benefits and fewer social and environmental impacts than those who do not (Ap, 1990; 1992; Pizam, 1978).

A few researchers have also looked at the distance between a place of residence and tourism activities and the resident’s attachment to a place and length of residence that affects how they perceive potential impacts of a growing tourism industry. Other personal factors, such as knowledge of the industry, will also influence attitudes towards the industry and how they cope with the impacts (Allen, et al., 1993; Belisle & Hoi, 1980; Horn & Simmons, 2002; Mason & Cheyne, 2000; McCool & Martin, 1994; Perdue et al., 1990; Sheldon & Var, 1984; Shone, Simmons & Fairweather, 2003; Um & Crompton, 1987). For instance, residents who live closer to the tourism activity are more likely to feel the negative social impacts of tourism and respond accordingly than those who live further from the activity. Similarly, residents who have lived in a tourism destination area for a long period and have developed a sense of attachment to the place will tend to perceive the socio-cultural impacts of tourism more negatively than those who have only recently moved there (Allen, et al., 1988; Liu & Var, 1986).
The seasonal nature of the tourism can also create an impact on the residents and how they perceive or respond to it. During the peak tourist season, the social impacts may be more noticeable and stressful to residents than during low seasons. The influx of tourists to only certain areas of attractions can create negative impacts on the community, such as crowding, traffic congestion, littering and price increases, amongst other undesirable impacts. To cope with these changes, residents may adjust by employing various strategies, for instance, by scheduling their own holidays to avoid the tourist peak seasons (Faulkner & Tideswell, 1997). The above problems caused by the seasonal nature of tourism are similar to the short-term and narrow spatial distribution of cruise ship tourists.

An understanding of the local reactions and the factors that influence their attitudes is essential in assessing how they respond to the impacts of tourism. It is also vital in achieving the goal of favourable support for tourism development (Gursoy et al., 2002). This sentiment is shared by Simmons (1994), who argues that residents are part of the hospitality atmosphere and one of the key resources for sustaining the tourism product. Therefore, for planning purposes and sustainability of the industry, it is important that the views of the residents are heard.

This next section will look at how some of these factors may determine which coping strategies resident may choose in responding to the impacts.

2.4 Resident coping strategies

Although existing research has focused on how residents cope with tourism, no studies have focused on how they cope with cruise ship tourism. Previous studies have acknowledged that to deal with the socio-cultural impacts and consequences of tourism development, residents of a tourist destination may often develop different coping strategies. This thesis has chosen Dogan’s (1989) and Ap and Cromptons’ (1993) models to examine how residents cope with the impacts. As explained in the previous chapter that although there are various socio-cultural impact models developed to explain how residents cope with the impacts of tourism, the two models were chosen purely to examine their applicability to cruise ship tourism. In addition, since this is an exploratory study, both models were chosen so they can form the basis on any future research work.

In Dogan’s model, he found that tourism development has an effect on the socio-cultural characteristics of residents such as their habits, daily routines, social lives, beliefs, and values.
These factors may, in turn, lead to psychological tension that can have a variety of consequences, such as a decline in traditions, materialism and increase in crime rates, social conflicts, and crowding. Dogan’s model assumes not everyone will cope in the same way or react to these negative consequences in the same manner, and this depends on the socio-cultural characteristics of the host community and the level of change affected by tourism. There will be some groups of residents who share similar views about the impacts in their community and who may react in a similar way. As tourism develops, various responses will emerge, some in support and some in opposition. In the initial stages, responses to tourism will be homogenous, but as tourism develops, residents’ reactions will vary as they gain more understanding of tourism and are differentially affected by the industry.

To cope, residents may employ various strategies that may take the form of: resistance, retreatism, boundary maintenance, revitalisation or adoption. Typically, resistance, akin to Doxey’s (1976) antagonism, is an extreme form of coping strategy, whereby residents who are extremely dissatisfied with tourism development react by resisting all forms of tourism development. According to Dogan (1989), countries with a colonial past where residents have experienced the colonists’ disapproving and unfavourable behaviour in their relationships, local people are more likely to resent tourists as they identified them with their colonist. This has been evident in the Caribbean (De, Kadt, 1979; Dunn & Dunn, 2000). Residents may also resent tourists if they are not allowed to use tourist facilities or where tourism highlights differences in wealth and lifestyle between hosts and guests, leading to feelings of envy and resentment by residents. This may result in enmity and aggression towards tourists (De Kadt, 1979). Dogan argues that every region has a threshold level for touristic development, and when this threshold is exceeded, then negative feeling towards tourism and tourists become widespread among the local population. He also outlined some of the conditions that may lead to these feelings of resentment – for example, when there is a large number of tourists in a destination and residents have to share facilities and services. Other conditions leading to resentment are when the local population observe the material wealth and luxurious lifestyles of tourists, or see an increase in the number of facilities managed by foreigners. Resentment may also occur if there are conflicting norms of dress, speech, behaviour, or in situations where tourists are perceived to violate local norms (De Kadt, 1979).

The second coping strategy that residents may employ to deal with tourism impacts is retreatism. Retreatism occurs among residents who do not approve of the changes brought about by tourism development. It can be both physical and psychological, whereby residents
can retreat in on themselves or avoid contact with outsiders by engaging in their own traditions and reinforcing their ethnic values rather than participating in active resistance. This reaction is in association with places where tourism is seen as an important economic activity that cannot easily be given up. This leads to the community reviving some of their disappearing traditions.

The third coping strategy that may be adopted is *boundary maintenance*, where residents recognise that tourism has both positive and negative impacts. Like retreatism, boundary maintenance may also be physically and psychologically maintained. Physically, residents may react by erecting a well-defined boundary between the host culture and tourists by presenting their traditions to the tourist in a different context in order to minimize negative effects on the local cultures. They may also decide which cultural traditions to present to the tourist and which to keep private. Examples of this coping strategy have been cited in various studies. For example, in Bali, traditional dances are presented to tourists in a different context with a different meaning (Wood, 1980). Jordan’s (1980) study of a Vermont village in the USA found similar findings where a phony folk culture was created by native residents in order to preserve their culture. Other similar findings have been made in Spain (Boissenvain, 1996) and in Tonga (Connelly-Kirch, 1982).

In some instances, tourism may lead to a *revitalisation* of local cultures under threat of disappearing due to the impact of industrialisation and urbanisation. Here they gained a new meaning and thus become new tourist attractions. Some examples include the reinvigoration of crafts such as pottery, basketry, decoration, jewellery and leather goods in Cyprus and Tunisia (Andronicou, 1979). Tourists’ interest for these new traditions strengthens and leads to the local residents’ acceptance.

Finally, *adoption* may occur when some members of the local population adopt the culture of the tourists, typically defined as western culture. This is especially true amongst the younger and more educated people in the host population, who view tourism as a positive agent of change in the society and adopt the tourist values, symbolic of the western culture. An example of this adoption was seen in Cyprus where young Cypriots adopt tourist values about sex, dress and morality, which are quite different from their own traditional values (Andronicou, 1979).
According to Dogan (1989), no society is homogenous. Therefore, this implies that various combinations of the strategy may exist simultaneously or co-exist together because residents are not uniform in their exposure to tourism development benefits. There will be some residents benefiting from tourism that are more favourably inclined towards the industry than those who do not gain any benefits. This will also determine their coping strategies. The level of heterogeneity of the local population and power structure within a community may also determine the differentiation of responses to tourism and the forms of strategies adopted. For example, the young people are more curious and adventurous, so are more likely to come in contact with tourists and also adopt their values. Cultural differences within the local population may lead to favourable or unfavourable responses, depending on the similarities of lifestyles of the residents to those of the tourists. The more similar the lifestyle, the more adoptive the population will be towards tourism. Furthermore, since the cost and benefits are not equally distributed, it may also lead to power and internal conflicts, leading to hostilities between resident groups whose interests are differentiated.

Dogan (1989) noted that the strategies which the residents choose to cope with changes brought about by tourism will also depend on the socio-cultural characteristics of the host country and the level of change affected by tourism. If they perceived positive impacts, then their reaction will also take the form of acceptance. But if they perceived them as negative, then their reaction will be that of resistance.

Another contribution to the literature on resident responses to tourism development is that of the Ap and Crompton model (1993). The results of their qualitative study, based on a small community in Texas, suggest that residents employ four response strategies to cope with tourist numbers and behaviour, depending on their level of interaction with them. Similar to Dogan’s (1989) model, the Ap and Crompton model also observe that communities are not homogenous; therefore, residents may employ a range of strategies to respond to tourism impacts on a continuum: embracement, tolerance, adjustment and withdrawal. These four strategies are likely to be adopted concurrently and, over time, residents are likely to shift from one strategy to another in either direction on the continuum. Furthermore, the residents’ coping strategies do not always progress along the continuum in this order.

According to the Ap and Crompton model, in the initial development stages, residents embrace tourism. But as tourism develops, their coping mechanisms evolve to tolerance and adjustment to withdrawal. This model is similar to Doxey’s (1976) Irridex, discussed earlier.
in this chapter. In *embracement*, residents welcome and express desire for more tourists because they benefit economically or culturally. But as tourist numbers increase and more encounters occur between residents and tourist, their embracement is replaced by *tolerance*. Although there are some disruption to their daily lives, some residents do not resent the inconvenience tourism brings. Instead, they tolerate the occasional disruptions because they recognise the contribution tourism brings into their community. To avoid the negative impacts, some adopt *adjustment* strategies where they reschedule or relocate their activities to avoid areas where tourists frequent. This strategy is similar to Dogan’s (1989) boundary maintenance or retreatism strategy, where residents who tolerate tourism adopt passive acceptance of the industry by employing boundary maintenance strategies or retreat elsewhere to avoid negative impacts. Finally in Ap and Crompton’s model, some residents may *withdraw* – again, a similar but more extreme form of Dogan’s retreatism strategy, where residents temporarily remove themselves, physically or psychologically, from the area.

Both these two models have some similarities and differences as that of Doxey (1976) and Butler (1980). Both recognise that no community or population is homogeneous; therefore, this will contribute to how its residents respond to tourism impacts. In addition, some strategies may be simultaneously adopted or co-existing under different contexts. These models also acknowledge that as tourism development progresses, negative impacts such as social and environmental become more noticeable. The residents may perceive tourism differently and react accordingly, where some may adopt tourism because it leads to revitalisation of their cultures. Some will tolerate it because they depend on it for their livelihoods, but may adopt retreatism or withdrawal strategies to avoid negative impacts. Others may build boundaries, either physically or psychologically, to avoid the tourists.

While Dogan’s model looks specifically at the strategies that residents may employ to deal with the negative impacts, Ap and Crompton’s model looks at how residents cope with tourist numbers and behaviour, depending on the level of interaction they have with tourists. In the Ap and Crompton model, residents embrace tourism in the beginning when tourist number are low. But as tourist numbers increase and more negative behaviours are witnessed, residents may physically or psychologically withdraw from the area to avoid any negative social impacts. Dogan’s model, on the other hand, recognises that negative feelings may be felt at the earliest stage of tourist development when residents are impacted by the negative impacts of tourism. But while some residents may actively resist, other residents may adjust to this negative impact by revitalising their traditional cultures or maintaining boundaries.
While all these models have been useful to our understanding of how residents cope with tourism – even the Texas study – none of these models have looked at how residents cope with cruise ship tourism, which this thesis is aiming to explore. Furthermore, whether or not these models are suitable for a small island state like Vanuatu is yet to be examined. The nature and extent of impact may be different between cruise ship tourism and resort-based tourism, and the factors influencing perception and attitudes toward tourism may differ between developed and developing nations. Although the four models have increased our knowledge of residents’ attitudes and responses, none of them have looked at the consequences of the coping strategies that the residents use in the broader context of the empowerment of some residents participating in the industry. The residents are very much dependent on the industry for their livelihood, as much as being empowered by it. The next section will now discuss two of the consequences of coping with tourism.

2.5 Tourism and empowerment

Tourism literature acknowledges that tourism has potential for empowering individuals or the communities involve (Cole, 2006; Scheyvens, 2003; Sofield, 2003). Empowerment is the process where individuals and groups have the capacity to determine their own affairs (Scheyvens, 1999) and is about active participation in the development of their communities (Cole, 2006). Sofield (2003) argues that empowerment in tourism can be both a process and an outcome. As a process it means empowering individuals or groups to participate in tourism while the final outcome is when they feel empowered as a result of participating in the industry.

Empowerment can take different forms. According to Scheyven (2002), it has four dimensions: economic, social, psychological and political empowerment. According to this framework, one of the signs of economic empowerment is when tourism brings to the local community lasting economic gains. Social empowerment is when community cohesion is improved as individual and families work together to build a successful tourism venture. Psychological empowerment results when the self-esteem of many of the community members is enhanced because of outside recognition of their uniqueness and value of their culture, natural resources and their traditional knowledge. Finally, political empowerment is when the community’s political structure fairly represents the needs and interest of all community groups.
Tourism literature recognised that being empowered means the local residents or communities are able to participate in the tourism industry (Scheyven, 2002; Sofield, 2003). In participating, they are involved in decision makings that affect the industry and their businesses. It also means having control over the tourism businesses and deciding how it will be run. Participation in the industry also enables them to acquire management and skill development, which leads to empowerment of the local people.

In the long run, this empowerment leads to the sustainability of the tourism development, a sign that they have adapted to tourism (Horn & Simmons, 2002; Sofield, 2003), an outcome of participation in the industry. Yet Scheyven (2003) observes that active participation in tourism ventures may be hard to achieve because of lack of ownership, capital, skills, knowledge and resources that constraint the ability of residents/communities to participate fully. Therefore, participating in the tourism industry can be both empowering and disempowering for individuals or groups. While some small tourism ventures are empowered through their participation in cruise ship tourism, it can also be argued that it has also lead to their dependency on this industry, which is discussed further in Chapter 6.

2.6 Tourism dependency and neo-colonialism

Tourism is also said to bring dependency, where dependency and neo-colonial theorists argue that tourism is just another disguised form of imperialism, causing former colonies to further develop their own metropolitan economies at the expense of their former colonies (Milne, 1992, 1997; Nash, 1989; Sofield, 2003). According to this viewpoint, major economic powers use their economic and political power to exert control over developing countries; therefore leading to new dependencies. This is because the structures of development were established in colonial times, where colonialist transfer resources and wealth from their territory back to their metropolitan countries. Britton (1977, 1980 & 1982) argues that in this form of relationship, self-sufficiency was discouraged where mono economies or plantation economies were established instead of diversification, and products were produced mainly for the external markets. In addition, transport to world markets (for example, shipping) has always been externally controlled. Control takes two forms: property ownership and political power. Today, although most former colonies are politically independent, they are still dependent economically on the former colonial powers and their trading partners. Since the current economic structures of former colonies were established during the colonial era, it also means that a country’s economic control is often still dependent on its former colony. Tourism is said to demonstrate this economic control situation, where the industry is
controlled by foreigners, the peripheral economy provides the setting, and the metropolitan companies determine the shape of the industry (Britton, 1984). This leads to dependency on metropolitans as tourist-generating countries and tourism financiers. This form of relationship can also been seen in cruise ship tourism where the foundations were established during colonial times. Cruise ship companies control where the ship and passengers go and the activities they do at the destination ports. This makes it difficult for local people to have any say over what type of tourism they want and how it will be run. It creates feelings of marginalisation because the locals are economically dependent on the sector and cannot do much about it. Some evidence of this will be discussed further in Chapter 5 (Results).

2.7 Chapter summary

This chapter has reviewed existing literature on cruise ship tourism impacts, followed by a discussion on resident’s attitudes, perceptions and reactions towards the socio-cultural impacts of tourism. A review of some of the existing coping strategies is also presented to establish the context for the findings of this study to be considered.

This chapter has highlighted the lack of research on cruise ship tourism despite it being one of the fastest growing sectors in tourism. While this situation is beginning to change (Dowling, 2006), much of the earlier research have been done on market research and economic or environmental impacts studies, but very little socio-economic literature; hence the need for more studies to be conducted. The chapter also brings to the fore the importance of understanding resident attitudes and perception towards the impacts of tourism, which in turn determines or contributes to what strategies they use to deal with the impacts. Dogan’s (1989) and Ap and Crompton’s (1993) models of resident attitudes and coping strategies were also discussed to provide a context for assessing how residents cope with cruise ship tourism. Both models have some similarities and differences, and link with the earlier models of Doxey (1976) and Butler (1980). In addition, like resort tourism, cruise ship tourism impacts do not affect everyone equally. Therefore, not everyone employs the same strategies to deal with tourism. As residents cope with the impacts of cruise ship tourism, it can also creates consequences, such as empowerment and neo-colonialism.

The next chapter will discuss the research methodology and the rationale for using this method. It will also introduce the case study site and the limitations to the study.
Chapter 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction
The previous chapter examined the theoretical background to this research and presented a critical examination of earlier studies which explored residents’ coping strategies in the face of tourism. The aim of this chapter is to introduce the case study site and provide a detailed description and explanation of the specific research method and tools used in this study. Initially a description and rationale for the site selection is outlined. This is followed by a discussion on the methodological approach and justification of the research method for the present study. Then a description of the data collection process and justification for selecting these tools follows. The limitations and their effect on the present study are also included, followed by a brief discussion of how the data were analysed. Finally the chapter ends by summarising the research methods employed in the study.

3.2 Site selection
The field study was conducted in Port Vila, the capital of Vanuatu, between June and July 2006 where I spent six weeks collecting data. Port Vila was selected as the study site for various reasons. Firstly, cruise ship tourism and tourism in general plays a significant role in Vanuatu’s economy and being Ni Vanuatu (indigenous), I wanted to do research on a topic that will contribute both academically to the research on this form of tourism and also to provide resourceful information for my government. Secondly, the more obvious reasons is that Port Vila is familiar to me and allows for easy access to the research site and also acceptance into the setting. The knowledge of Bislama, Vanuatu pidgin and the lingua franca, allowed me to settle into the setting easily and ensures accessibility to relevant data. Being indigenous to Vanuatu also reduces any cultural differences or hierarchy that may exist between the researched and researcher. Thirdly, Vanuatu, especially Port Vila, has always been a popular cruise destination in the South Pacific when cruises were first introduced over a century ago. Today Port Vila accounts for over sixty percent of every cruise ship calls to Vanuatu and has the longest history of cruise ship visits. Fourthly, I chose Port Vila because I wanted a study site where there is a certainty of at least two or more cruise calls during the study period to enable me to observe activities taking place and the behaviour of residents and tourists during a cruise ship visit. Finally, time and resource constraints made it impossible to conduct this research on another port location in Vanuatu.
3.3 Data collection

Data was collected at two main sites: the area between the Mama’s Haus project (including the Centre Point Market Place) and the Port Vila Market House and at the Port Vila wharf during cruise ship visits (Figures 1 and 2). Initially, the plan was to collect data only at the market environs and wharf, but on arrival in Port Vila, I discovered the market vendors had been relocated to a new site, the Mama’s Haus Project. This is approximately six hundred metres away from the old site and right beside the seafront. Consequently I decided to gather data instead between the Port Vila Market House and the Mama’s Haus Project (Figure 3) as it gave me the opportunity to observe the public and tourists who visit these areas.


Figure 1: Map of Efate Island
Figure 2: Map of Port Vila
(Map of site area¹)

These two areas are still within the vicinity of the previous site chosen and are where cruise ship passengers are likely to come in contact with local residents. This area also accommodates major businesses providing services for tourists and has seats along the seafront to relax. Most of the cruise ship tourists’ traffic is concentrated around this area. The market is chosen as one of the sites because it is not only where local people come to sell or buy fresh local produce, but also serves as a meeting place for most people who come into town, either to shop, eat or just meet friends. The Mama’s Haus Project, on the other hand, is a market stall project built especially to accommodate local women selling their wares to tourists (Kiwanis, 2006). It was opened during the study period and built as part of the seafront park beautification programme with the assistance of the New Zealand Agency for International Development (NZAID), Kiwanis Club (a charitable organisation) and the Port Vila Municipal Council. Over fifty women and a few men are based in the Mama’ Haus Project and are charged a small fee of 400vatu (NZ$6) daily to sell their handicrafts.

Some data was also collected at the Centre Point Market Place (Figure 4), another handicraft centre where market vendors are located. This area too is still within the vicinity of the chosen study site. The third site where some data was collected was at the Port Vila wharf with taxi and bus drivers and vendors selling their wares during cruise ship call. Taxis and bus drivers picked up or dropped off cruise passengers here. Women from Ifira Island and nearby
Pango village also set up their tents and display their products at the wharf during cruise ship calls (Figure 5)

Figure 4: Centre Point Market Place

Figure 5: Hair braiding at the Wharf
During non cruise ship days, I alternated between making observations and interviews at the Mama’s Haus Market and the Centre Point Market Place vendors.

3.4 Research methodology

To address the research questions, I employed a qualitative research methodology using two main techniques to collect data: participant observation and interviews. Since this study is an exploratory study, a qualitative research method was felt the most appropriate method for collecting data and is particularly useful in a preliminary study such as this. Various scholars have noted the value of using a qualitative methodology for an exploratory study. According to Goodson and Phillimore (2004) a qualitative approach offers a great deal of potential in helping the researcher understand the human dimensions of society, and in tourism this includes its social and cultural implications. In addition this approach allows for direct and personal contact with people under study in their own language, environments and natural settings, interpreting happenings in terms of the meanings people bring to them, humanising problems and gaining an emic, or insider’s perspective (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Gillham, 2000; Patton, 2002; Riley, 1990). The flexible nature of a qualitative method also allows for the gathering of rich information and provides an opportunity to respond to open ended questions (Bouma, 1996; Creswell, 2003; Gillham, 2000; Jordan & Gibson, 2004). In addition it permits the collection of rich primary data in a semi-structured way that allows emergence of new information and provides opportunities for validating or clarifying issues raised in interviews (Creswell, 2003). This is important for an exploratory research like this thesis where the how and why research question are best addressed in a natural setting. In acknowledgment of this, Marshall and Rossman (1989) also recognise that human actions are influenced by the physical setting in which they occur therefore, the importance of studying those behaviours in their real life situations. This allows interaction with research subjects in their own language, and their own work place or premises they choose. It also captures the context, personal interpretation and experience of those studied.

By using qualitative methods through the use of interviews and informal conversations and participant observations, I was hoping to gain an in-depth understanding of the residents’ perceptions and attitudes towards cruise ship tourism and how they were coping with the impacts of the industry. According to Jorgensen (1989) participant observations is one of most appropriate methods when research is concerned with human values and interactions from insiders’ perspectives and little is known about the phenomenon. With this method, it is possible to describe what goes on, who or what is involved, when and where things happen,
how they occur, and why, from their viewpoints. It is also appropriate for generating theoretical interpretations. As no in-depth research existed on this topic in Vanuatu and since this is an exploratory study a qualitative approach was considered a more appropriate methodology to achieve the study aims and objectives. Findings for the study can also provide basis for a further research where quantitative methods can be used later to obtain specific details. In addition, this method also enabled me to capture the ‘local voice’ of the residents (Kneafsey; 2001, p.765) as I wanted to find out in their own words what cruise tourism meant to them and how they gave meanings to their experience of it. Furthermore, given that not much has been done on residents’ perceptions of cruise ship tourism impacts and their coping strategies, it was a good starting point for the exploratory study.

3.5 Participant observation

Firstly participation observation was carried out at the beginning of field work to understand what was happening in the research sites. This involved observing the interactions and behaviours of some of the stakeholders involved in cruise ship tourism: tourism business operators, taxi and bus drivers, market vendors, tour operators, local residents and cruise ship passengers. From these observations I was also able to interact and have conversations with some of them which gave me an in-depth understanding of their situation and context (Belsky, 2004; Gillham, 2000).

On some days I made observations at the Port Vila Market House and environs where the taxis are parked as they wait for their customers. During cruise visits I also visited the wharf to observe and conduct interviews. There were four cruise voyages to Port Vila during the six weeks of field research. On the first two visits I spent the first half of the morning at the wharf and spent the afternoon in town. During the other port calls, I spent the morning in town and switched to the wharf in the afternoon. I decided to do this mainly to observe the behaviour of public transport operators, market vendors and tourists to see there were any differences.

Observations were carried out to observe street and traffic behaviour on the main street and also to observe what was happening in the shops and businesses in the area. Some observation was also carried out between the market and Mama’s Haus Project along the seafront area to observe the level of activity, and the behaviours and actions of residents around the vicinity. I made observations during cruise ship calls and non cruise days, to compare the behaviour of people in the area and at different times of the day and different
days of the week. Sometimes I posed as a shopper to enable me to mingle amongst residents and observe them as they shopped or carried out their activities.

The aim of these observations was to find out the residents views on tourism and cruise ship tourism and what they perceive to be its impacts. Most of these informal discussions were tailored to the interviewee and had no fixed set of questions. Some of the conversations were held in small groups of two to four people. Where participants showed they had a lot of information or seemed keen to talk about the issues, they were usually invited back to participate in a semi-structured interview. Observations were recorded in two field note journals on a daily basis as soon as a quiet location was found.

3.6 Interviews
To achieve the research aims, the use of interviews was chosen as one of the most appropriate methods for gathering data for this exploratory study. Seidman (1991) states that, at the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience. In total thirty nine interviews were conducted representing a broad spectrum of residents: six tour operators, nine market vendors, seven taxi and bus drivers, three representing the government agencies, two representing chiefs, two representing churches, and ten representing the general public. Two types of interviews were conducted: intensive interviews with key informants and semi-structured interviews with residents and tourism stakeholders.

Eleven intensive interviews were conducted with key informants, selected from amongst the list provided by the Vanuatu Tourism Office (VTO) and from recommendation from the National Tourism Development Office (NTDO). These intensive interviews were conducted with the presidents of the two taxi association, tourism and other government officials, church and chief representatives. The intensive interviews were aimed at eliciting information from these decision makers on what their views are of the industry and how to manage impacts.

An introductory visit or telephone call was made with all key informants where they were given an introducing about the purpose of the research and invited to participate (Appendix 1). When agreed they were then asked to propose a time agreeable for interview later. During interviews brief introductions were made before interviews took place where I introduced myself, where I am from and where I have previously worked. I informed them about interviews being tape-recorded and the time required in completing the interviews.
Respondents were informed of the confidentiality of any information they provide and their rights to withdraw from the study at any time during the study. All respondents agreed to be interviewed.

The interviews were guided by an interview schedule (Appendix 2) which consisted of questions and various probes to elicit more detail on a particular topic. Questions used to guide interviews included:

- What a tourist means to respondents?
- How they feel about the role of tourism in Vanuatu?
- How they feel about the role of cruise ship tourism in Port Vila?
- What they think of the current levels of cruise ship tourism in Port Vila?
- What does cruise ship tourism mean to them?
- How does cruise ship tourism affect them personally?
- Should the government alter the way cruise ship tourism currently operates?
- What could be done to minimize negative cruise ship tourism impacts?
- What could be done to maximize the positive cruise ship tourism impacts?
- What they see as the future of the cruise ship industry?

Some of the people were interviewed more than once and often the initial interviews were not structured with more conversational meetings that promoted familiarity with the principle issues and participants (Spradley, 1979). The issues and concerns that were raised in the interviews served to focus discussions in succeeding rounds of interviewing.

All intensive interviews were conducted in Bislama (Vanuatu Pidgin) and held in premises agreed to by the respondents. In most instances these were held in public areas, either in their offices or in a café. The interviews lasted between thirty minutes and two hours. These interviews were then translated into English by the researcher and transcribed.

In addition to the eleven intensive interviews there were also twenty-nine semi-structured interviews conducted. Seven market vendors, five taxi and bus drivers, six small tour operators and ten representing the general public were included in this format. These interviews were focused on the overall attitudes of residents towards tourism and cruise ship tourism, what they perceive to be its benefits, costs and concerns, their coping strategies and what they thought should be done to manage the impacts of cruise ship tourism. Interviews lasted from fifteen minutes to one hour and were conducted at the Mama’s Haus Project,
Centre Point Market Place and the main wharf. Participants were recruited from a cross section of residents, in the age range of eighteen to seventy. Respondents were approached by the researcher in their workplace and invited them to participate. Where respondents showed willingness to participate, they were then interviewed as they continued with their normal activities.

Not all the interviews were tape recorded. There were two main reasons for non recording. Firstly, many of the interviews were conducted in public settings, seafront and café settings making recording difficult. Secondly, some of the participants were uncomfortable talking to a tape and did not want to be taped. For this reason, note taking was considered the best alternative for data collection.

3.7 Limitations

In any field research undertaken, not everything always goes as planned, during the process of data collection. As a result, there were some situations occurring that may limit the study. This research was conducted during the tourist high season in Vanuatu and some of the interviews were rushed. It was also the period when the World Cup Football (soccer) championships were taking place and the majority of Port Vila residents were following the world cup games alive on TV, with free coverage from TV France. This affected some of the in-depth interviews, which meant they had to be rescheduled. Some time was also wasted organising meetings which did not eventuate.

In addition those interviewed were mostly people who had knowledge of cruise ship tourism and who frequent the research site, therefore the findings will not be representative of all Port Vila residents.

The researcher’s familiarity with the industry and issues may also cause bias but in most cases every effort was made to interview a range of different stakeholders in the cruise ship industry. This included both stakeholders, previously known to the researcher and also stakeholders not known to her, to gain a wide range of options.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the study site and description and explanation of the specific research method and tools used in this study. A discussion on the theoretical approach and justification of the research method for the present study was also presented and description
of the data collection process and justification for selecting these tools outlined. The limitations of the study are also discussed.
Chapter 4: TOURISM IN VANUATU – THE CONTEXT

4.1 Introduction
The purpose of this chapter is to provide a contextual background of Vanuatu and its development of the tourism sector. The first section describes the historical background of the country while section two examines tourism development in Vanuatu and the government plans and policies on tourism. The third section discusses the development of cruise ship tourism in Port Vila.

4.2 Background
The Republic of Vanuatu is a ‘Y’ shaped group of 83 islands in the South West Pacific (Figure 6). Its closest neighbours are Fiji to the east, New Caledonia to the south, and the Solomon Islands to the north. Australia lies approximately 1,750 kilometres to the west. The archipelago is stretched out between latitude 13 and 23 degrees south and longitude 166 and 172 degrees east, over 450,000 square kilometres of ocean and a land mass of 12,336sq.km, approximately 1.4% of the total country area (Figure 1). These islands are volcanic in origin with the smaller ones consisting of coral and limestone. Only 12 of the islands can be considered significant and is where the population is spread across (Haywood, 2003). The country has two major urban centres: Port Vila, the capital, located on the island of Efate with a population almost 34,000, and Luganville located on the island of Santo (Espiritu Santo) and with a population of 10,738. Both towns have their own municipal councils. To enable rural service delivery and development, the country is further divided into six provincial regions: Torba, Sanma, Penama, Malampa, Shefa and Tafea, each name representing a group of islands in the local area (Figure 6).
Figure 6: Map of Vanuatu

4.3 History

Vanuatu is believed to have been settled by Lapita-ware\(^3\) people some 4000 years ago. These people arrived through New Guinea's Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomon Islands by canoes. Archaeological evidence supports the commonly held theory that peoples speaking Austronesian\(^4\) languages first inhabited the islands where pottery remains have been found dating back to 1300-1100 B.C (Strattern & Stewart, 2002; Wickman, 1991). In 1606, the first European to discover the islands was the Spanish explorer, Captain Pedro Ferdinand De Quiros. He named the islands “Tierra Australis del Espiritu Santo”, (the Southern Land of the Holy Spirit) believing he had discovered the great southern continent. Other Spanish, Portuguese and French explorers followed. In 1774, Captain James Cook sailed through the chain of islands and chartered many of the islands, giving many of them their present names. He also renamed the archipelago the New Hebrides after the islands off Scotland and this was the name by which the country was known until Independence in 1980 (Adams, 2006; MacClancy, 1980; Wickman, 1991; VTO, 2006).

After Cook’s voyage, traders and missionaries came; the former to harvest whales and sandalwood and the latter to save souls. The new Europeans introduced new diseases unknown to the local people: influenza, measles and venereal diseases, which almost wipe out the populations of some islands, mainly in the north. Adding to this was ‘blackbirding’, a form of slavery that saw thousands of Ni Vanuatu kidnapped to work on the sugar and cotton plantations of Queensland and Fiji, and many never returned (MacClancy, 1980; Miles, 1998).

Amongst the Europeans who came to the New Hebrides were French and British settlers looking for land to establish plantations. By 1895 both French and English subjects had settled in the New Hebrides and wanted control of the islands. To resolve the various claims to the islands the two colonial powers signed an agreement in October 1906 to jointly manage the islands, thus making the islands an Anglo French Condominium. The British-French Condominium was a unique form of government, with separate governmental systems that came together only in a joint court. This division continues even after independence, with

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\(^3\) So called because of a certain pottery ware that they bring with them where they settled and these can be found in other islands in the Pacific as well.

\(^4\) A group of related languages spoken in the islands of South East Asia and the Pacific, and a few spoken on continental Asia.
schools either teaching in one language or the other, and between different political parties (Miles, 1998; Wickman, 1991).

During the 1940s challenges to this form of government began when the indigenous people came in contact with American soldiers. WWII brought a massive arrival of US military personnel to Efate and Santo, which became crucial allied bases in the Pacific War. The country was flooded with American know-how and dollars, and many indigenous people were recruited to work alongside the Americans and earned real wages for the first time in their lives. More significantly, the islanders observed black Americans enjoying the material benefits and luxuries afforded the whites, and this was instrumental in the rise of nationalism in the islands (Wickman, 1991). Seeing how the soldiers interacted well together, not only amongst themselves but also with the indigenous people, was an eye opener for the local people in contrast to the hierarchies of the Condominium. Initial nationalist feelings were largely mobilised through Vanuatu cargo cult religions, for instance the Nagriamel and John Frum Movements, and later to Independence Movements like the New Hebrides National Party (later renamed Vanua’aku party). After WWII indigenous political activity grew as the indigenous people were increasingly concerned over land alienation and European dominance (Van Trease, 1987).

Independence did not come easy as the two colonial powers were not always in agreement. On one side Britain wanted to grant self government and on the other side France wanted permanent control. After considerable difficulty, a constitutional conference in 1979 finally agreed on an independence constitution. On July 1980 the country gained its political independence and with this the country acquired the new name, Vanuatu, meaning ‘our land’ (Bennett & Harewood, 2003; Lindstrom & Gwero, 1998; MacClancy, 1980).

4.4 Government
The government of Vanuatu today is based on the Westminster model of democracy. After independence there was stability in the government which lasted for a decade. However, dissatisfaction amongst the Vanua’aku Party (VP)-led government and its ranks resulted in the split of the major party into two parties. Weakened by this split, the mostly English speaking VP saw the Union of Moderate Parties (UMP), majority French speaking party, narrowly defeat them in the general elections. In 1994 the UMP came into power. But like VP, internal power struggles among UMP leaders also saw the party split into different smaller factions. Today there is no single party majority in the Vanuatu government. Instead it is made up of
coalitions of different political parties, leading to instabilities and frequent changes in government and resulting in not many of the government’s policies being implemented in full, as seen in tourism, where there is still a lack of a coherent national tourism plan.

4.5 Population

According to the Vanuatu government statistical indicators for 2005, the population of the country was estimated at 205,000. The Vanuatu population is increasing rapidly at a rate of 2.9% per annum and the country’s last census in 1999 puts sixty percent of the population under 25 years of age (Vanuatu National Statistics Office [VNSO], 1999). Ninety eight percent of the population are Melanesians, with the rest of the population made up of other small communities of Pacific Islanders, French, British, Australian, Vietnamese, Chinese and New Zealanders. With over 100 tribal languages spoken locally, Vanuatu has one of the highest densities of languages per capita in the world, with an average of about 2,000 speakers for each indigenous language (Lynch, 1994). In addition, French, English and Bislama are also spoken and are the official languages of the country. Bislama, Vanuatu’s Pidgin English, is the national language and is spoken by the vast majority of the population. The country is predominantly Christian. Eighty percent of the population reside in the rural areas and are dependent on agriculture, from subsistence farming to smallholder farming of coconuts and other cash crops, for their livelihoods. The rest of the population (20%) reside in the two urban centres of Port Vila and Luganville, which are also where the major economic activities and services are concentrated.

Port Vila has a very high urban growth rate with an estimated annual growth rate of 4.3% annually (VNSO, 1991). This has created challenges for the government as there are not enough jobs to cater for the rising population. Contributing partly to this growth is the movement of rural people into town to find employment due to limited opportunities to earn money in the rural areas, the social attractions of Port Vila and educational opportunities. The payment of school fees is one of the major expenses for rural families and in instances where the low productivity of agricultural crops is not able to meet this need, then sometimes a parent, mostly the father, has to move into town temporarily to find a job. In town, life can be tough for these rural migrants. They either live with relatives incurring financial burdens or in the shanty communities outside of Port Vila municipal boundaries where often there is poor housing and overcrowding. This is made worse in an urban centre which does not have the subsistence safety net of rural economies (Duncan, 2004). For those with very limited education and skills that could be useful in the formal employment sector, life can be difficult.
if they cannot find a job. However, if they have a driver’s license then they may be able to find employment as a taxi or bus driver, especially if they have relatives or friends who own a taxi business. This job does not require any formal qualifications and skills. Other employment opportunities are available in the informal sectors. Included in the informal sector are self employed businesses like handicraft manufacturers (market vendors included), bus and taxi operators, kava bar operators and small retailers.

4.6 Economy

Vanuatu is largely dependent upon the agricultural and services sector. Major agricultural products include coconut, coffee, cocoa, fruits, vegetables and fish. The service sector is another major economic sector and this covers the trade, tourism and commerce industry. The financial services is also included in this sector where Vanuatu’s status as a tax haven and an international financial centre has allowed some 2,000 international registered institutions to be established in the country. They offer a wide range of offshore banking, investment, legal, accounting, and insurance and trust company services. As there are no foreign exchange controls in Vanuatu, foreign companies are also free to repatriate profits and any income earned (Jayaraman, 2003). However in regard to tourism there is a 'Hotel and Licensed Premises Tax' of 10% of gross turnover in regard to hotels, motels and restaurants. There is also a Value Added Tax (VAT) of 12.5% imposed on any business with a gross turnover of US$30,400 or more (Haywood, 2003; Jayaraman, 2003).

4.6.1 Tourism in Vanuatu

Tourism is Vanuatu's fastest-growing sector. It is estimated to have contributed approximately 20% towards the country’s Gross Domestic Product (GDP) in 2005 and is the country’s major source of foreign exchange (Reserve Bank of Vanuatu (RBV), 2005; World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC), 2005). Although there are no official records, the South Pacific Tourism Organisation (SPTO) estimated that tourism generates over 4,000 jobs in Vanuatu, approximately 20% of the total labour force. It is estimated to have contributed USD$72.1 million towards the country’s GDP in 2006 (WTTC, 2006). For this reason tourism has been recognised by the Government as a key sector for development and it wants to maintain its focus and priorities on tourism, the financial sector, and manufacturing areas as important sectors conducive to increase Ni Vanuatu participation in employment and business development in the country (Kailes, 2006).
Tourism development in Vanuatu started slowly in 1929 when the first hotel, Hotel Rossi, was established. It was not until the early 1970s when major accommodation facilities were built that tourism really developed. Early visitors to Vanuatu were mainly visiting friends and relatives of foreign diplomats and other expatriates working for the Condominium. Tourism facilities remained very limited and tourism was concentrated mostly in Port Vila and in foreign hands. Even inbound tour operations were controlled by foreign companies (Douglas, 1996).

After independence in 1980, and faced with a limited resource base, small size and distance from major markets, like many of its South Pacific neighbours, the Vanuatu government embraced tourism for economic reasons (Berno, 1996; Low, 2002; Sofield, 2003; SPTO, 2004). The government also wanted to see maximum participation by the Ni Vanuatu, the indigenous people, in the economic development of the country. So in the country’s first National Development Plan of 1982 to 1986, the government outlined a series of guidelines for tourism development and established a Department of Tourism and a National Tourism Office of Vanuatu (NTO); the former to implement the tourism development and planning policies and the latter to do the same for tourism promotion and marketing policies (De Burlo, 1989). In 1982 the Department of Tourism was redundant and the NTO, a government statutory body, assumed its role. In the late 1990s some changes were made again which saw the NTO functions of planning and education and training being given to a new government tourism unit, the National Tourism Development Office (NTDO). The government also introduced legislation calling for indigenisation of transport and inbound tour operations (Douglas, 1996), banning foreigners from investing in these sectors.

In establishing these government tourism organisations, the government was aware that tourism could bring adverse social and environmental impacts on the cultures and lifestyles of the Vanuatu communities so their approach to tourism development was very cautious (VNSO, 1984). Since limited tourism had already been developed on the three islands of Efate, Santo and Tanna, and the local people there have had some experience of dealing with outsiders and had facilities to accommodate them, the government agreed to limit tourism development to these three islands initially. The island of Santo, (Tierra Australis del Espiritu Santo) is the biggest island in the archipelago and already had a few small tourist establishments. In addition, Luganville, Vanuatu’s second town and a former allied navy base during the Second World War, is also located on the island of Santo. Some tours were already being organised to Santo to dive the President Coolidge, sunk during the WW11, and Million
Dollar Point, the dumping site of American equipment when the war ended. The island of Tanna, on the other hand, offered tours to the Yasur Volcano, one of the world's most accessible volcanoes, and tours to some of the more traditional villages and cargo cult centres (John Frum) in Vanuatu. In addition there was already tourist accommodation established there. In Port Vila, tourism facilities were also limited with three major resorts being established at the time. There were also a few small to medium tourist available but mostly owned by foreigners.

To ensure the benefits of tourism were also spread out to other islands and to control the potential negative impacts of tourism the government would only encourage tourism outside the initial three islands provided the local people wanted its development. For many years tourism was concentrated mostly on Port Vila, where the majority of services are.

A change in the government in the early 1990s saw the Anglophone Vanua’aku party-led government being replaced by the francophone Union of Moderate Parties (UMP). This also saw a change in policy whereby the previous policy of limiting tourism development to three islands was relaxed and tourism development opened up to other islands in the group. The new government recognised that the only way to ensure increased local participation in the industry and for benefits to be spread to more Ni Vanuatu was to allow and encourage tourism development in the other islands. As with the previous government, the new UMP government was aware that opening tourism development into more areas could also have consequences on the local traditions, as there was a lack of a coherent national tourism development policy and master plan including an implementation program in place (Kitchener, 1996). Consequently the previous government (VP) sought the assistance of United Nations Development Program and World Tourism Organisation (UNDP/WTO) in the late 1980s to formulate a Vanuatu Tourism Development Master Plan (VTMP) for the country. In 1995 the first 10 year Tourism Development Master Plan (VTMP) was drawn up by the UNDP/WTO. The Vanuatu Tourism Development Master Plan divided the country into ‘tourism precincts’ with three international gateways: Port Vila, Luganville and Tanna, and opened up tourism development to all areas of Vanuatu. This resulted in some small simple village-based tourism accommodation being established in the rural areas. However, faced with a lack of indigenous capital and other constraints to tourism development the Vanuatu government, like other Pacific Island states, are often forced to rely on foreigner powers to provide capital for large-scale economic development (Berno, 1996; Britton, 1987; Harrison, 2003; Milne, 1992; Ryan, 2001).
The VTMP guided tourism development in Vanuatu until 2003, when an updated version of the plan was released. This updated Plan for the year 2004 to 2010 still guides tourism development in Vanuatu today.

4.6.2 Tourism policy
The main trust of the updated Plan is to achieve sustainable tourism growth and development with the main objectives to achieving them outlined in Table 1 below (VTMP, 2003, p. 4):

The plan recognises that there is a strong adhesion to local customs and traditions and that although there is no evidence of adverse socio-economic impacts resulting from tourism activities, planners should be careful to manage risk (VTMP, 2003). Although tourism is indicated as a priority area, the VTMP plan notes that this has not been reflected in the national policy. In addition there is lack of adequate human resources staff and funding at the two government bodies responsible for tourism (NTDO and VTO) which makes it difficult to implement their responsibilities adequately.

Table 1: Vanuatu tourism objectives and impacts to minimise

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tourism Objectives</th>
<th>Minimisation of Tourism Impacts</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Promote strong economic growth through sustainable tourism development.</td>
<td>1. Reduce the imbalances in regional tourism development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Generation of substantial foreign exchange earnings, local incomes and employment from tourism.</td>
<td>2. Minimise economic impacts: income leakages, inflation, foreign dominion, etc</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Promote balanced regional tourism development and income generation opportunities.</td>
<td>3. Minimise socio-cultural impacts: erosion of cultural values, exploitation of the local people, disruptions in way of life, relations peoples etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Promote greater participation of the local people in the tourism trades and employment.</td>
<td>4. Minimise the degradation of the physical and environment: congestion/overcrowding, loss of peace, quiet and privacy, crimes and social vices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Sustenance of local cultures and customary practices.</td>
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<tr>
<td>6. Promote greater community awareness of the benefits of tourism.</td>
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<tr>
<td>7. Promote national integration through tourism development.</td>
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The overall aim of the Vanuatu Government National policy is to create and foster economic growth with the primary focus on the concept of private-sector led development. This has been closely tied to the goal of attracting direct foreign investment, one of the recommendations of the Comprehensive Reform Programme (CRP) designed for Vanuatu by
the Asian Development Bank (Jowitt, 2001; VTMP, 2003). To create a favourable environment for private sector operations and facilitate foreign investment in the country, the government enacted the Foreign Investment Act in 1998 which provided for the establishment of the Vanuatu Investment Promotion Board (VIPA). VIPA was established to formulate a more transparent and open investment environment as well as faster processing of investment applications. The Government of Vanuatu has an ‘open regime’ policy, whereby foreigners should enjoy all the same rights and be subjected to the same obligations as a national would. Under the Government’s National Investment Policy (VIPA, 2005, p5) the current objectives for the tourism sector are:

- To promote the industry as a means of conserving Vanuatu’s unique cultural patterns, archaeological and historical sites, and the natural environment;
- To develop tourism so that it attracts the range and quality of tourists who appreciate the culture and the environment of the country;
- To expand and ensure an effective government organisation with adequate resources for tourism planning, development and marketing, essential for the continued development of the industry in Vanuatu; and
- To allow sufficient flexibility of foreign investment where large amounts of capital are needed or when specialised operations or skills are necessary in order to offer variety in tourism attractions that currently do not exist. Examples might include theme parks, dolphin parks, dolphin therapy (for health,) sea world, etc.

Most industries are open to foreign investment; however, there is a list of Reserved Investments that restricts certain business operations to Ni Vanuatu investors in the tourism sector (VIPA, 2005, p6). These include taxi and bus services and also the following:

- Local tour agent if the annual turnover is less than VT 20 million
- Local tour operator if the investment is less than VT 50 million
- Commercial cultural feasts (Melanesian, Polynesian etc…)
- Guest houses if the number of beds is less than 50 or less than 10 rooms or the annual turnover is less than VT 20 million
- Bungalows if the annual turnover is less than VT 30 million
- Hotels and motels if the total value of the investment is less than VT 10 million or the annual turnover is less than VT 20 million

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5 In June 2006, the exchange rate for NZ$1 was approximately Vatu (VT) 68.
These reserved investments are mainly to protect the interest of the local people whereby the government wants to see increased Ni Vanuatu participation and control of tourism development, one of the tourism policy objectives after independence (NPSO, 1984). However, not many Ni Vanuatu are aware of this and that the National Investment Policy also has these conditions to allow foreigners to invest in the Reserve Investment if investments are in a business of significant size. Some assume that the reserve investment means exclusively reserved for the Ni Vanuatu. Contributing to this is also the confusion over whether this reserved list is only for indigenous Ni Vanuatu people or whether it applies also to naturalised Vanuatu citizens, many of whom are currently the elite in Vanuatu (Slatter, 2006). The confusion has lead to small Ni Vanuatu tourism operators being frustrated by current foreign ownership. In the past their frustrations has spilt over into brawls between the major foreign-owned tour operator and shipping agency responsible for cruise shipping to Vanuatu.

As found elsewhere in small islands, despite the government’s policy of local participation, tourism has always and is still controlled by foreigners who own and operate all the largest tourist establishments in Vanuatu, the majority in Port Vila (Wilkinson, 1989). The government is dependent on them because they contribute a lot of taxes towards the county’s economic development, as discussed later in Chapter 6. Some Ni Vanuatu have ventured into the industry as small to medium tourism operators. However, construction and the operation costs of high quality tourist establishments is quite high in Vanuatu and lack of capital and finance means most Ni Vanuatu tourism operators can only afford small tourism businesses, such as guesthouses and village based accommodation, tour operation businesses, taxi and bus operations and market stalls.

In terms of cruise ship tourism, the government recognises this sector and plans to continue the upgrading and development of major infrastructure in Port Vila and the outer islands which will enable more air visitors and cruise ship tourist to visit (Vanuatu Daily Post, 2006). They recognise that one way of allowing the benefits of cruise ship tourism to spread out to the rural areas is by opening up more rural ports, especially to smaller cruise ships. This will enable rural people to participate in the industry and assist in reducing urban migration. Allowing more ships to the rural areas is beneficial too as there is not much leakage as the shipping agency pays a lump sum entry fee to the land owners or trust account for every isolated ports visited (Douglas & Douglas, 2004). Although there are still potentially negative impacts of which the government is aware.
A review of the Vanuatu tourism policies revealed no cruise ship tourism policy nor management plans in place to manage any negative impacts from this sector, yet as this thesis shows that there are specific problems created by this form of tourism. Further discussion on this will follow in the latter chapters. Instead the policies are aimed at tourism in general. The VTMP (2003) recognises the importance of managing the impacts of tourism and has made recommendations for agencies responsible to implement the management objectives and the activities that needed to be done. A review of previous government development plans and existing policies also revealed that most of these plans were targeted at the promotion of tourism but not specific to different forms of tourism. There are some other policies and regulations in place by different government departments but often a weak enforcement of these laws by the government bodies concerned means no action is taken (Slatter, 2006). In some instances the government responds to crisis as they occur as was seen in relations to problems amongst taxi drivers. The dependency on the industry by some residents also means that government is disempowered to make tough stands that may cause a cruise ship company to pull out of the country. This is because this type of tourism is controlled by foreign interests and the government does not have much say in its operations, an analysis outside the scope of this thesis. Despite this or possibly because of it small businesses, such as the taxis and small market vendors can develop as a result of global companies which empowers some of the local population. Further discussion on this will follow in Chapter 6. Furthermore, recent events in Vanuatu involving cruise ship tourism which almost resulted in an environmental disaster serves as an important lesson for a need for better management of this industry, which is a fact recognised by government officials (See Chapter 5).

4.7 International visitor arrivals trends

Total international tourist arrivals for Vanuatu have fluctuated annually over the last ten years (Graph 1). While cruise ship visitor arrivals have been highly volatile, air visitor arrivals have steadily increased over the period between 1994 and 2005. This is due mainly to the combined efforts of air service agreements between Australian and Vanuatu Airlines, where special airfares and increased flights were introduced. However, growing visitor numbers may also be a result of spill-over effects from the political crisis in Fiji (VTMP, 2003). The Vanuatu Tourism Office estimates that there will be further increases in future air visitor arrivals. This projected increase is attributed to the introduction of the low cost carrier (Pacific Blue) into Port Vila, increased investment in new boutique-style hotels, refurbishment of larger resorts, stronger interest in locally-owned bungalows and industry interest in the backpacker market (ADB, 2003; VNSO, 2005).
In contrast to air visitor arrivals, cruise ship arrivals have fluctuated over the years (Figure 7). From 1985 to 1991 there was a dramatic decline showing cruise ship visitors were more sensitive to effects of civil unrest and other adverse effects (VTMP, 2003). The passenger arrival figures for Vanuatu reflect the influence of weather on cruise ship visits. Vanuatu is prone to cyclones during the months of November to April, consequently the number of arrivals for some years is low compared to other years because of threats of cyclones passing through Vanuatu during that year. Political unrest and instability experienced by the country from the mid 1990s to early 2000 may also have contributed to the downturn in cruise visitor arrivals.

![Graph showing international visitor arrivals (1994 to 2005)](source)

Source: Vanuatu Statistics Office Tourism and Migration Annual Report

**Figure 7: International visitor arrivals (1994 to 2005)**

The cancellation of some cruises by P&O may also have been partly responsible for the drop in cruise visitor arrivals. During the 1990s, *TSS Fairstar*, the major P&O ship offering cruises to the Pacific, suffered a number of breakdowns and problems and eventually leading to its removal from the South Pacific route in January 21, 1997 (Ristuccia, 2006; Douglas & Douglas, 2004b). However, in 2005 there was a significant increase in the number of arrivals (63,554) due to the increase in cruise ship visits. This represented 1,472 more cruise visitors than visitors travelling by air (Graph 1) that year. The year 2006 was expected to see more visitor arrivals due to further increases in cruise ships calls.
4.7.1 Purpose of visit
Over 80% of the air visitor arrive in Vanuatu are for holiday purposes. Of these 80% booked their holidays through overseas wholesalers, thus resulting in a cosy relationship between the big resorts and wholesalers who reportedly rely on 80% of their booking from the wholesalers. In addition to the package deals they offer with the wholesalers, the major tourist accommodation establishments also dominate tourism promotion in Vanuatu, even though much of the cost of promotion is borne by the Vanuatu government (Slatter, 2006)

4.7.2 Tourist generating countries
Over 60% of air visitors are from Australia followed by New Zealand and New Caledonia. These are neighbouring countries with direct air services. According to the SPTO (2003), Vanuatu is the second most popular destination in the Pacific region for Australians, after Fiji. Not only is it within close proximity to Australia but has one to four flights a week operating out of Sydney, Brisbane, and Melbourne. The recent introduction of Pacific Blue with cheap flights has also made Vanuatu a popular destination amongst Australian tourists. The historical link between Vanuatu and its allies also makes Vanuatu a good destination. Unlike the other islands in the Melanesian group of islands, Vanuatu is considered a peaceful country and language is not a problem for the visitors, as most residents speak English and French in Port Vila.

The majority of international flights into Port Vila are handled by Air Vanuatu but there are also code-sharing arrangements with other carriers: (Qantas for flights between Australia and Vanuatu, Solomon Airlines for flights between Solomon and Vanuatu and Air Pacific and Solomon Airlines for flights between Vanuatu and Fiji. In addition the following carriers are also providing flights to Vanuatu: two flights a week by Virgin Blue from Brisbane, two flights a week from New Caledonia by Air Caledonie and a weekly flight by Air New Zealand from Auckland. Recently flights were introduced from Brisbane to Luganville, Santo by Solomon Airlines and by Air New Zealand flights from Auckland are hoping to see further increase in visitor’s arrival figures over coming months from both Australia and New Zealand.

In terms of cruise ship tourism the South Pacific Tourism Organisation survey of 1991 found that 96% of cruise passengers to Vanuatu were Australian residents, 3% from New Zealand and 1% from other countries. This is understandable as the majority of the cruises originate from Sydney and Brisbane.
4.7.3 Average length of stay

The average length of stay for air visitors to Vanuatu in 2000 was 7.6 days, with over 62% staying a week or less. Visitors from Australian and New Zealand tourists stay an average of a week. The majority of the air visitors stay in hotel accommodation (VSO, 2005; VTMP, 2003). In terms of cruise ships the majority arrive in the morning and depart again in the evening, with an average stay of 6 hours. This average length of stay between the two types of visitors affects their expenditure. Since air visitors stay longer, it also means they are able to do more activities, whereas, cruise passengers are restricted in the activities they do.

4.7.4 Seasonality

Tourist arrivals for Vanuatu are seasonal, based around major holidays, events, weather, and other factors in the major tourists generating markets. Air Visitor arrivals tend to be concentrated around the peak tourist period of June to August. These are the winter months of New Zealand and Australia, and also around school holidays. This pattern is typical of previous tourism statistics (VTMP, 2003).

Cruise visits to Vanuatu may also be considered as seasonal because of the short term nature of visits. These are not evenly distributed, with some months having more cruises than other months.

4.7.5 Major tourist attractions and activities

Since most of the comfortable tourist accommodation and a wider range of facilities are located in Port Vila, the major flow of tourists to Vanuatu remains in Port Vila. This may be partly a result of the high rate of holiday packages that are offered covering mostly accommodation and services in Port Vila. Spatial problems means not many tourists are able to move outside the capital due to the high cost of domestic travel and unreliable means of transportation. Most domestic services to the islands are operated by Vanair (recently merged with Air Vanuatu), using Twin Otter aircrafts, a deterrent for some travellers. Except for flights to Tanna and Santo, the majority of flights are not on a daily basis. It is also difficult to arrange from overseas except through a recognised inbound tour operator or as part of a package. Of the total number of visitors that visited Vanuatu only 20% of them visited the other islands, mostly Santo and Tanna (VTMP, 2003). There is no official inter-island passenger ferry service, with maritime transportation largely by inter-island cargo vessels, private yachts and speedboats (ADB, 2003). At the time of this study, a new boat had just
been established in Port Vila to offer inter-island hopping services to passengers visiting the islands. It is hoped that this will encourage visitors to travel beyond Port Vila.

Given that Vanuatu’s major tourist segment is the holiday market that is primarily motivated by ‘sun, sand & sea’, resort tourism is the main type of tourism for Vanuatu. This is based predominately on beach and water activities (swimming, snorkelling, kayaking, game fishing, sailing, windsurfing and water skiing), resulting in mostly foreigner’s operators with capital operating such activities. There are various tours available for cruise tourists in Port Vila. Tours around Port Vila and the island of Efate are also popular tourist activities. Cultural tours are available to witness village life and traditional dances. Some day tours are also organised from Port Vila to some of the other islands to witness custom ceremonies, like the Pentecost jump, the forerunner of the ‘bungy’. Cruise ship voyages are now scheduled around the two months of April and May when jumps are traditionally performed and some jumps are performed especially for the tourists in the some areas of South Pentecost more accessible to enable cruise tourists to witness than in their original sites. For the visitor who wants to venture out to the rural areas, some overnight packages may be organised from Port Vila. In addition to the holiday market, there is some business tourism and dive tourism but diving is largely focused on Santo.

A significant segment of the industry is also from cruise ship tourism, with the majority of calls to Port Vila. Cruise ships have been operating to Vanuatu from Australia since 1930s (Douglas, 1997; Douglas & Douglas, 2006). Operating initially as Royal Mail Steamers delivering mail and cargo, these Burns Philips (BP) steamers made the Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands and Vanuatu quite accessible for tourism. The popularity of the ships also grew amongst passengers as a form of transportation, whereby the priority of passengers over cargo was beginning to influence the choice of some of the port-of-calls. Around this period also in 1934 the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company (P&O) began advertising cruises to Melanesia to see ‘cannibals’ and ‘savages’ (Douglas, 1996; Douglas and Douglas, 2004; 2006). They also introduced Port Vila into the P&O itineraries when they established the South Pacific Circle Cruise, a cruise sailing from Sydney through Noumea, Port Vila and Suva. Today this cruise still operates and is one of the most popular of P&O cruises with a total of thirty two calls to Port Vila in 2002 (Douglas, 1996; Douglas & Douglas, 2004b; 2006).
A shore designated tour operator has been assigned to provide a range of services for cruise passengers which are tailored to accommodate availability of time onshore. Passengers are encouraged to purchase tours several days in advance before they reach shore for logistic purposes. Although these are more expensive, many passengers prefer this method because of convenience in a foreign country and the advantage of purchasing tours in their own currency. This also means that the tourism industry is geared towards big tourism operators than small ones, therefore resulting in less benefit going to these small operations.

Douglas and Douglas (2004) in their survey of the seven Pacific ports, observed that weather plays an important influence in the spending patterns of cruise passengers where fine weather means they are inclined to spend time outdoors therefore, meaning engaging in more outdoor tours, activities and water sports tours. For some this may be their first experience of a Pacific Island beach environment and the warm waters and protected lagoons are appealing to many, encouraging them to purchase tours and transport onshore if they have not already done so. On the other hand if it rains, many passengers will spend more time indoors and spend more money in restaurants, bars and shops.

There are frequent cruises to Vanuatu each month with an average of four cruises calling into Port Vila. Slatter (2006) notes that the cruise ships arrivals have been steadily increasing since 2000 where today there is an average of four ships visiting regularly, carrying from 600 passengers to 1500 passengers. In addition there are other smaller ships visiting with 100 passengers. P&O (Australia) is still the major cruise company operating cruises to Vanuatu. Apart from calling into Port Vila, some of the voyages may also include visits to other port communities in Vanuatu such as: Mystery Island (Aneityum), Lamen Bay (Epi), Wala Island, (Malekula), Pentecost, Champagne Beach and Luganville (Santo) (Slatter, 2006).

A typical P&O cruise voyage varies from 7 nights to 13 nights and this may include visits to New Caledonia and Fiji as well. Examples of some of these itineraries may be seen in Figures 8, 9 and 10.

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Figure 8: A 9-night P&O cruise from Sydney covering New Caledonia and Vanuatu

Figure 9: A 13-night P&O cruise from Sydney covering New Caledonia, Vanuatu and Fiji

Figure 10: A 10-night P&O cruise from Auckland to Vanuatu and New Caledonia
Duty free items, for example cosmetic and perfumes are the most purchased items in Port Vila (Douglas & Douglas, 2004). In addition t-shirts and sarongs are the most commonly popular local items, followed by small craft items which satisfy the need for exotic artefacts to show friends, to give as gifts or as mementos of the cruise. Douglas and Douglas (2004) argued that there is strong evidence that the passengers are not particularly interested in the authenticity of handicrafts, an example of this was tourist preference for cheaper, single coloured artificial raffia variety of grass skirts to the traditional woven ones, which are bought mainly for fancy dress and not for display. Quarantine restrictions also mean tourists will often prefer these items over natural materials (VTMP, 2003).

The net contribution of the sector towards the national economy of Vanuatu is not known as cruise ship earnings are generally grouped together with the total tourism earnings. The SPTO (2003) estimates that cruise ship income from cruise ship tourism for Vanuatu in 2002 was US$11.5m. South Sea Shipping (SSS), the local agent for P&O Cruise, estimated that cruise ship industry injected over 1.6 billion vatu (approximately NZD$18 million) into the local economy in 2005, with the majority spent in Port Vila and Luganville, the two urban centres (Neil-Jones, 2006; Slatter, 2006). A Tourism Council of the South Pacific cruise ship survey in 1991 noted the average total spending per passenger in Vanuatu was US$94 and that over 54% of cruise expenditure was spent on duty free items (TCSP, 1992). A similar survey by Douglas and Douglas (2004b) in 2002 at seven South Pacific ports also noted Port Vila as one of the highest spending ports by cruise passengers with an average spending of US$94, the same as in 1991. The similarity of the two figures, despite the 11 year gap, is explained by the marked drop in AUD when compared with USD. Both these surveys noted that a large percent of the expenditure was made on duty-free and imported items which means the actual income generated from this sector is actually less owing to leakages. Similar studies in the Caribbean have also noted that although cruise tourists account for a high number of visitor arrivals, they have ‘less spend’ compared to costs incurred by their impact (Dann & Potter, 1997; Jayawardena, 2002; Weedon & Lester, 2004).

4.8 Chapter summary

In this chapter I had introduced a general background of the country and tourism development in Vanuatu in general. I first looked at the historical background of the country and examined tourism development in general and how the government plans and policies on tourism in general affect tourism development. In the last section I discussed the development of cruise
ship tourism in Port Vila. The next chapter will present the results of the field work carried out in June and July 2006.
Chapter 5: RESULTS

5.1 Introduction
The following chapter presents the results of the field study for this thesis. There are four parts to this chapter. Section one describes the meanings, Port Vila residents give to ‘tourism’ and ‘tourists’. Section two discusses the perception and attitudes amongst various stakeholders in the industry towards cruise ship tourism impacts in general. Section three looks at both the positive and negative socio-cultural impacts of cruise ship tourism as identified by these stakeholders and the final section summarises the chapter.

5.2 The meaning of tourist and tourism
To understand how residents perceive tourism and its impacts it is vital that they defined what ‘tourism’ and ‘tourist’ meant to them. This is because the two concepts can mean different things to different people, even amongst residents within the same community or communities from different islands in a country (Berno, 1996; Fisher, 2000; Hepburn, 2002; Horn & Simmons, 2002). Hence to make sure that both researcher and respondents had the same understanding of these two concepts, respondents were asked to provide their meaning at the beginning of the interviews (cf Fisher, 2000). They were also asked to provide a meaning for cruise ship tourists as compared to resort tourism.

In Vanuatu communities, as is traditionally the case in many Pacific Islands, there are no indigenous words for a ‘tourist’ or ‘tourism’ as tourism is not an indigenous practice (Berno, 1996; Minerbi, 1992). The linguistic diversity of the country also mean that each community has their own terms for tourists and these may not have the same meaning as the western definition of the term (Lanfant, 1993). As Tracy Berno (1996: 378) observed:

“In some cultures, the indigenous language may not have an exact equivalent of tourism and tourists, even though members of the culture may engage in indigenous forms of leisure travel. Despite this, when faced with Western-type tourism development in their country, the host nationals must somehow acquire definitions of these terms.”

For instance in my own community on the island of Uripiv, an offshore island off the north east coast of Malekula, the term commonly used to refer to a tourist is dosalsal. This concept literally means someone who floats, is not stationary and has no cultural roots. Dosalsal is still commonly used for any white people that the 6,000 speakers of the Uripiv language come in contact with and refers to both resident expatriates and tourists alike. De Burlo (1996)
found a similar concept used by the Sa people of South Pentecost. Most islands in Vanuatu have similar concepts for tourists as this is how the first Europeans came in contact with the local people; by ships. With the development of tourism into more areas in Vanuatu it means the concept is also adopted into the local languages, as the Bislama language uses the same term.

On the question of what tourism is and who tourists are, most of the respondents for this study, especially those involved in the tourism industry and those with higher secondary level education, had a more western conceptualisation of tourists and tourism. One possible reason for this awareness could be that the Port Vila area, where the interviews took place, have had a longer exposure to tourism development and respondents are used to seeing tourists. This finding supports Berno’s (1996) findings in the Cook Islands where residents in Rarotonga, the capital, conceptualised tourists in western terms, with tourists seen as someone on holiday and paying for the services they use. In Port Vila tourism also plays a significant role for many Ni Vanuatu residents who rely on the industry for their source of income and employment and hence their understanding of the two concepts. Even some residents who do not benefit economically from tourism but have seen tourists in passing were aware of some aspects of the tourism industry such as the airlines, hotels, tour operators, restaurants and the government. The small indigenous tour operators I interviewed had a pretty clear understanding of what tourism is and who tourists are, as seen from responses from two of the tour operators:

“Tourism involves the airlines, the Tourism Office, the hotels, restaurants and other activities to do with tourists while tourists are the people who use these services.”

“A tourist is someone who comes here for a holiday and tourism includes everything that provides services for tourists, for example, hotels, airlines, tour operators, taxis and so on.”

Interviews revealed that many of these operators have had ten to twenty years of experience and involvement in the industry and three of the tour operators had worked in the tourism industry for over twenty years.

Cruise ships have been coming to Vanuatu for over a century, therefore local people are used to seeing cruise ship passengers in Port Vila. In addition the experience of colonialism by residents means the presence of tourists is not novel or strange (Cowling, 2005; Douglas &
Douglas, 1996). Furthermore, racial differences between tourists and the indigenous people make tourists more noticeable. During interviews five of the respondents also referred to tourists as *waetman*, the Bislama or Vanuatu Pidgin English term for a white person or a Caucasian which distinguishes tourists from the darker skin indigenous people. For example, as illustrated in responses from a taxi driver and market vendor when asked to explain their meaning for a tourist:

“A tourist is a white man who comes here for a holiday.” (taxi driver)

“A tourist is someone that comes here for holiday and stays in a hotel, … like a white man.” (market vendor)

The racial difference also means that expatriate white people are sometimes mistaken for tourists by some taxi and bus drivers and overcharged for taxi or bus ride fares. Three of the respondents were not able to distinguish between the terms ‘tourism’ and ‘tourist’ and used them interchangeably. For example, John, with only primary level education, answered in response to the question ‘what is tourism?’ with: “...maybe it means the tourists.” Such responses were echoed by two other respondents who thought tourism and tourists were the same thing. This may be because the respondents have only reached primary level education and their comprehension of the English language does not allow them to distinguish between these different concepts, as the two concepts sound similar.

Many of the respondents, especially those who have some knowledge of the tourism industry, were able to distinguish a tourist from a resident expatriate working in Port Vila. This was largely based on certain personal and behavioural attributes that distinguish between the two groups:

“*Resident expatriates dress properly when they go to work here unlike tourists who dress casually when in town.*” (general public)

“*Resident expatriates speak or understand some Bislama but not the tourist.*” (taxi driver)

Resident expatriates have to live in the country for a longer period than the tourist and, as a result, they are more conscious of the laws and values they need to abide by unlike tourists who are often unfamiliar with local laws, values or sensitivities and may sometimes behave in ways not appropriate to these values or laws. For example, expatriates are aware that wearing
of brief clothing in public places is culturally inappropriate and seen by indigenous peoples as disrespectful. Tourists, being new to the country, may sometimes be unaware of these social norms, or sometimes they may know but may be under the influence of alcohol which determines how they behave in public. Some may just not care because they are there for a short time. Previous studies have shown that tourists often behave differently from when they are at home. This is because they have more freedom from the constraints and realities of everyday life therefore, their behavioural norms are being temporarily abandoned (Andrews, 2005; Crouch, 2001; Edensor, 2000).

Respondents were also asked to define who cruise tourists are and the majority of respondents referred to them as visitors that come onboard ‘tourist boats’ for the day and depart in the evening. Again, this is based on Port Vila’s residents being used to seeing cruise ships calling into Port Vila. Except for cargo boats, the only big ships that call into Port Vila are the cruise ships and everyone notices when a big ship is at the wharf as the ship takes up almost the length of the wharf and is quite visible from the seafront area and surroundings. The town centre and seafront area is also rarely crowded except when a cruise ship is in port or a major celebration is on, so everyone notices the town becoming busier with people and vehicles.

To ensure that the respondents were able to tell me about what they perceive to be cruise tourism impacts, I also asked them to identify cruise tourists from other types of tourists. Results showed that the majority of the respondents could make a distinction between the two and this was based on the length of time each type of visitor spends in Port Vila and also on their behavioural attributes and spending patterns, as seen from these responses:

“Cruise tourists are limited in where they go and the activities they do. They have only a day and many do not book tours unlike resort tourists that come by air and stay longer and have time to book tours.” (tour operator)

“Cruise tourists get drunk in the middle of the day and make lots of noise in the bar. They are in for only a day and everybody knows when the cruise ship is in town as things get a little more intense. You witness cruise tourists being drunk and some walking around semi naked.” (general public)

“Resort tourists travel alone or in smaller numbers. You don’t notice them much but cruise tourists are more noticeable. They travel in groups and congregate near the
Post office, the market place, at the Mamu bar or the Duty free and Chinese Gift shops." (government employee)

“Cruise tourists do not spend much money. As a tour operator I don’t receive any bookings from them. My reservations come mainly from the resort tourists who come by air.” (tour operator)

“Cruise tourists spend more money because they are more of them and everyone in the market is sure to make some money when the ship is in. But this is not so with resort tourists where only some women will make money on a particular day and the rest do not make money at all.” (market vendor)

The two types of tourists affect the respondents differently as seen from the above responses, with some favouring one type of tourists over another. For instance, the market vendors and taxi and bus drivers valued cruise tourism over resort tourists while the small tour operators preferred resort tourism. The reasons for this will be discussed below.

Overall, most respondents were aware of the difference between the concept of resort tourist and cruise tourist. However, interviews revealed that ‘tourist’ is used for all types of visitors, whether they come on cruise ships, yachts or plane. As one tour operator summed up:

“Everyone is a tourist and is not here forever and it doesn’t matter how they come into the country or how long they stay. At the end of the day they are still visitors and will go back to their country.”

5.3 Perceptions and attitudes towards cruise ship tourism by different stakeholders

This section looks specifically at the views and attitudes of different groups of stakeholders towards cruise ship tourism in Port Vila, to identify impacts as perceived by them and explore the factors influencing their perceptions. These respondents are grouped into categories representing government, the chiefs, the church, the general public, the market place tourist vendors who are predominantly female, the all male public transport operators, and small Ni Vanuatu tour operators of both sexes. In total thirty nine interviews were held with six tour operators, nine market vendors, seven taxi and bus drivers, three representing the government, two representing chiefs, two representing churches, and ten representing the general public.
5.3.1 Government

Three interviews were conducted with government officials, representing the National Tourism Development Office, Vanuatu Tourism Office and the Vanuatu Cultural Centre. Prior to this a review of existing and previous government policies on tourism was conducted. As discussed in Chapter 4, this review revealed that current government policies target tourism in general with nothing specific, including dealing with different types of tourism, such as cruise tourism. However, this review revealed that the primary focus of the government seems to be leaning more towards the development of visitors arriving by air and investments that support foreigners, as seen in government’s national policy and foreign investment policy, aimed at attracting foreigners to invest in large scale enterprises in the tourism industry. This is because these forms of investment are a major source of foreign exchange for the government and have more beneficiaries than cruise ship tourism. Although the government does not have any cruise ship tourism policies in place to regulate the industry, the government recognises that it is still an important component of the tourism industry that is vital to Vanuatu’s economy, not only as a source of foreign exchange for the government but also as a potential source of income and economic development for rural Vanuatu, in particular the outer islands.

The government is hoping that smaller cruise ships can visit outer Vanuatu islands, as explained by an official from the NTDO, the government body responsible for tourism planning and policies:

“One advantage for allowing smaller cruise ships is that it does not require much infrastructure development input from the government, unlike resort tourism, which require more expensive infrastructure like communication, roads, airports and other services to be constructed.”

When asked what the socio-cultural implications for allowing more ports to be opened to cruise ship tourism in Vanuatu, the government officials agreed that there will be costs associated with allowing more cruise visits to the rural ports if it is not well managed. They acknowledged the potential problems that could arise out of cruise tourism to be: internal disputes over equitable distribution of fees, crowding issues where cruise passengers outnumber the local population, drug related issues, devaluing of local traditions, and other environmental problems. In addition, it could also lead to dependence on cruise tourism and causing the communities to neglect their social obligations.
The government representative from the Cultural Centre was concerned that some communities are performing traditional dances purely for economic returns which can lead to losing the cultural significance of certain custom dances. He cited the *naghol* jump (see below) on the island of Pentecost and the opening up of *nasaras*, or traditional sacred sites, on Wala Island, as examples of this. As part of the cruise ship itinerary local people perform dances and rituals mainly for the economic returns. His main concern was that the government has no power to stop the local people from the exploitation of their culture, as explained below:

“This department is trying to protect some of the nasaras that the tourists are visiting as heritage sites. But it has no power to stop communities from allowing tourists into these sacred places, as happened on Wala Island. Communities have rights to how they decide to use their sacred sites. As a result the sites are no longer taboo and lose their meaning.”

The above shows a clear example of how one government department is trying to promote the preservation of traditional heritage within a community and yet at the same time the people who own these cultural resources see their cultural heritage as an opportunity to make money out of tourism. In this situation the government department feels helpless to intervene.

Other remarks made by government officials were that cruise tourism could also create social problems of crowding and intrusion into the village life for small communities like Wala Island where the population is doubled or tripled during a cruise ship visit and tourists walk through the island or village as part of their tour activities which raises questions of social carrying capacity of the local environment and community.

Disputes occurring over equitable distribution of entry fees had also been seen in some of the rural ports visited by cruise ships. As noted above, at every rural port visited, the cruise ship company pays a lump sum entry fee to the communities for activities and facilities use (Douglas & Douglas, 2004). While this generates income and employment for these communities this may lead to internal land disputes amongst the community over the jetty where cruise ship passengers disembark or where tours are conducted, as happened on Lamen Bay on the island of Epi, which resulted in cruises being suspended temporarily until the disputes were resolved. The number of visits was also reduced (Douglas & Douglas, 2006). To address some of these issues, both the NTDO and VTO are involved in raising awareness about potential social problems created by cruise tourism and how to manage them. The
NTDO conducts awareness programmes for communities before a cruise port is opened for cruise voyages. They also encourage the establishment of cruise ship management committees in the rural areas to be comprised of major stakeholders including representatives from the provincial government, community and cruise ship. Both offices are working closely with other government departments and the tourism industry to solve existing problems with the Port Vila public transport association and cruise ship agents. At the time of field research, the Vanuatu Tourism Office had recently employed a Tourism Accreditation Officer to assist in this area.

5.3.2 Chiefs

The chiefs play an important role in traditional and current Vanuatu societies and are the custodians of the Vanuatu kastom or the way of life. An interview with a representative from the Malvatumauri National Council of Chiefs, the ruling body of Vanuatu chiefs, agreed that cruise ship tourism, like all forms of tourism, has both benefits and costs and should be developed cautiously. He argued that:

“Cruise ship tourism brings economic benefits and opportunities for the government, businesses and residents to make money out of it. For example, residents have opportunities to sell the products they make to tourists; they can also perform custom dances and display their activities to tourists. The government too makes income through taxes and foreign exchange earnings that this form of tourism brings.”

Another chief, however, was concerned that promotion by government for tourism development in general had:

“…created a false impression and perception by the indigenous people that everything about tourism is good, especially amongst people in the rural communities who are often not aware of all the negative impacts in the beginning until much later. Tourism also creates problems with our custom because if we look at our country’s livelihood systems, it is based very much on our traditions and cultures. Tourism imposes challenges on this lifestyle and brings new changes. It makes the local people realise that the values, tourism brings are not the same as their own values and sometimes the younger generation may think the tourist values are better than their own.”

Concerns were also raised about possible commercialisation of traditional events if demand by tourist to see them increases. This chief gave an example of the naghol jump which is performed especially to ensure a bountiful yam harvest for the coming year and the divers’
hair is meant to brush the ground to fertilise it (Pemberton and Kapak, 2003). In preparation for the jump the menfolk spend five weeks separated from all females on the island to build their tower and also to observe other rituals associated with the ceremony. Only circumcised males are allowed to jump and for the young boys participating, it is also part of their initiation into the adult world.

Both chiefs raised concerns too that introducing more cruise ship visits to the outer islands may expose younger people to some negative behaviour and new values that cruise tourists may bring with them. These are often against the Vanuatu kastoms, the foundations which hold the rural people, communities, and country together. They were happy that introducing cruise ship tourism to rural areas will generate income for the local people but were concerned that traditional values of respect for chiefs and elders by younger people could be undermined if rural young people have more access to income generating options where they may tend to spend it unwisely on alcohol and other abuse substance and thus creates other social problems that the chiefs have to deal with.

They agreed the government and the cruise agents should play a more active role in managing the impacts of cruise tourism and make sure local people are informed of the benefits and possible social and cultural consequence of this type of industry before opening up new destinations.

5.3.3 Church representatives
Churches play a vital role in Vanuatu communities so two interviews were conducted with church ministers to hear their views. Both respondents acknowledged the monetary benefits that cruise ship tourism brings to those directly involved but one of them raised a concern that cruise ship tourism does not benefit everyone equally. He states:

“Only a few elites are benefiting economically from cruise tourism and these are the people who have big businesses, big tour companies, charter boats and other activities. The government too is making some money from wharfage fees and maybe the handicraft makers, taxis and buses drivers. So this form of tourism only contributes economically to some individuals.”

Both Ministers pointed out that cruise ship tourism should be supported if it can assist in maintaining the social values and contributes equally to the promotion of cultural, religious, political and economic values. They were concerned that some Ni Vanuatu involved in
businesses targeting cruise tourists neglect going to church on Sunday when there is a cruise ship in port on that day instead they rushed to providing services to the cruise ship tourists. The Christian churches in Vanuatu are more concerned about the spiritual well-being of their members and like to see developments that may help their members grow spirituality. However, although the church teaches that it is morally wrong to work on a Sunday both respondents acknowledged that they have no right to prohibit anyone wanting to earn an income on Sunday; it is the individual’s moral choice.

5.3.4 General public
Interviews were also conducted with ten members of the public who were asked for their views on the impacts of cruise ship tourism in Port Vila. In general, the majority recognised the economic importance of this industry with a positive perception. Seven of the respondents knew of someone, or had family members, working in the industry. Two respondents had a child working as a crew member in one of the P&O Cruise ships. Since 2002 P&O have recruited over one hundred and fifty Ni Vanuatu to work on its ships, the only Pacific Islanders employed in this capacity. This is a major source of income for the families of these crew members (Slatter, 2006).

Overall cruise ship tourism is viewed favourably by the respondents, not only as a significant economic activity but also for contributing towards learning experiences and appreciation of different cultures. This supports the findings of the Vanuatu Tourism Master Plan visitor survey of 2002 where there exists a harmonious relationship between international tourists and residents (VTMP, 2003). The local people are used to seeing cruise ship tourists and have learned to cope with any perceived negative impacts. More discussion on this will follow in the succeeding chapter.

While most of these groups of residents were positive about cruise ship tourism the majority of respondents said they faced some transportation problems when a cruise ship visits. This is primarily due to most of the public transport operators providing services to the tourists at the wharf and from town to transport cruise passengers back while only a few are servicing the general public. The general public reliant on public transportation to get to and from work or schools are affected the most. Conversations with three respondents who lived at Blacksand, Malapoa Estate and Beverly Hills Estate, on the outskirts of the town area, and who depended on public transportation to get to work, indicated that residents living outside the town area
are most affected on a cruise ship day. On this day, some people get to work or school late and the few buses servicing the public are running at full capacity.

Other comments made by respondents on their perceptions on the industry were:

“I am not really happy about what is happening, especially the kinds of activities happening in Port Vila in the middle of the street during a cruise ship call. Every cruise ship call, you see people getting drunk at Mamu bar and dancing on the benches and on to the street. They blocked the walkway so people have to walk on the other side of the street. What is bad is the children and young people come and watch these drunkard behaviour and think this is how these people behave back home. This can influence them and give them a bad effect in their community. When they go back to the village, they get drunk and do the same and do not respect the chiefs.” (general public)

“Sometimes you witness cruise tourist getting drunk and making lots of noise in the bar. Later you may see some of them marching along the main street chanting and some semi-naked.” (general public)

“You may also witness drunken youths driving around erratically on hired motor scooters and causing confusion and concern from the conventional drivers.” (general public)

Respondents also raise the problem of traffic and street congestion during the cruise ship visit. They noticed more people along the main street and more traffic as buses and taxis ran to and fro providing transportation for tourists from the Port Vila wharf. Aggravating this issue is the lack of pedestrian crossings in town, meant people must cross the road the best way they can. The streets appear smaller too as taxis parked along the main street to provide service for the cruise passengers, leading to further congestion. Respondents mentioned that the problem of street congestion and lack of transportation is not an every day occurrence but limited to days the cruise ship is in town. For this reason the majority of the respondents said they have come to accept that things will be back to normal once the cruise ship departs and, as a result, some of them have learned to make adjustments to avoid perceived negative impacts that cruise ship tourism brings.
When asked what should be done to alleviate the transportation problem three of the respondents stated that the public transport drivers need to organise themselves so equal number of buses and taxis are there to serve the public and cruise ship tourists. Two of the respondents also felt that the taxi associations and government officials should meet to discuss proper parking spaces for public vehicles to solve the issue of street congestion.

Two of the respondents raised concerns over how young unemployed people come to town to watch the cruise tourists when the cruise ship is visiting Port Vila, as seen from this comment:

“It’s sad to see young unemployed youths standing outside the Govan building [building opposite the Ma Barkers Bar which tourist frequent] and observing the tourists behaviour. We’ll have to ask ourselves what good they are getting out from this when they have nothing better to do.” (general public)

From personal observations, there is a regular occurrence of cruise tourists getting drunk at the Ma Barbers Bar (Manu bar) on almost every P&O cruise ship voyage to Port Vila and all respondents are aware of this. Amid loud noises, the researcher witnessed some drunken young tourists dancing shirtless and having water fights with the barmaids at the same bar. A conversation with the manager of the bar revealed that these water fights are popular amongst tourists, both during the day and the night when the tourist boat comes in. Across the street from the bar are usually groups of young Ni Vanuatu who come to observe what is happening. Mitchell (2004) in her study of how unemployed Port Vila youths spend their time when they cannot find work observed similar behaviours where some young people living at the Blacksand area, a squatter settlement outside Port Vila, set out to town during cruise ship days especially to observe tourists behaviour and how they dress. Later in the evening they recounted what they have witnessed in town to their friends.

5.3.5 Port Vila tourist market vendors

Nine market vendors, two males and seven females, were interviewed. These vendors are dependent on tourism and cruise ship tourism and viewed the industry positively. As stated earlier they valued cruise ship tourism more than resort tourism. The vast majority of the vendors are primary school leavers, and women, and have started their business with no assistance from any one. Interviews revealed that the first women to run open market stalls for cruise ship tourists in the early 1970s were Tongan and Fijian women who lived in Vanuatu or had married Vanuatu men. Later women from Ifira Island, an offshore island outside Port Vila, and the nearby villages of Pango and Mele joined them at the wharf. Today the women
of Ifira and Pango, as traditional land owners of Port Vila, still sell their art and crafts at the wharf during cruise ship visits. As the popularity of this type of informal business grew, other Ni Vanuatu women also joined them and established themselves, some near the Port Vila market place (later relocated to the Mama’s Haus Project) and others renting stalls at the Centre Point Market Place. Women from all over Vanuatu, living in Port Vila, share a stall and tables in these two locations.

At the time of the fieldwork, almost all the stalls were selling the same products at much similar prices. These products included: island shirts, dresses, pareos (sarongs/lavalava), beach baskets, pandanus woven baskets and hats, shell jewellery, necklaces, wooden carvings, and many more. When asked why prices were similar, the President of the Beginners Business Association, an association of market vendors at the Centre Point Market Place, commented that these prices were established by the women collectively as an association and based on the traditional principle of fairness. The prices of items are fixed and depend on the time taken to produce the item, size of product, cost of purchasing the raw materials for the product, quality of craftsmanship and also significance in culture. Wooden and ceremonial objects are more expensive than artificial items like grass shirts, bead necklaces and bracelets and price ranged from (NZ$3.00) for shell necklaces to (NZ$400) for wooden artefacts. The prices of baskets ranged from NZ$6 to NZ$35. Two of the respondents commented that they sometimes feel offended when they are asked to lower their prices as bargaining is not part of Vanuatu culture. However, the majority of the respondents said if a tourist has been a good customer and spent substantial amounts of money, they usually offered them a discount. The gross earnings of market stall owners during a cruise visit range from VT3,000 to VT20,000 (NZD$44 to NZ$294).

Most of the items sold in these stalls are sewn or made by the women running the stall, who buy material and other things they need, like cloth and beads, from the local Chinese shops. The women plait the grass skirts, string the necklaces or sewed their items while they wait for tourists to arrive. Items like seeds and shells are often bought from rural women, either from the Port Vila market or sent in from the islands. The traditional handicrafts, especially some of the baskets and small wooden ceremonial artefacts, are often made by rural people and brought into town to be sold. The women often buy cloth in 20 yard bundles, cut them into smaller pieces and exchange with each other so they have a variety of cloth designs. This saves them money having to buy different cloth patterns. The respondents mentioned that the cruise ship tourists like to buy different things but small items like t-shirts and sarongs with a
map or name of Vanuatu imprinted on are amongst the most popular items for tourists. This finding supports Douglas and Douglas’ (2004) study on cruise ship spending patterns in Pacific ports, discussed earlier suggesting that cruise ship tourists liked purchasing T-shirts and sarongs.

The selling strategy used by the women is a passive approach where they waited until the tourists approach them. However, the researcher observed some evidence of a few of the women who use a more proactive role where they approach tourists as they come into their stall to encourage them to buy their products. Although not culturally appropriate, this strategy has been adopted as a result of constant dealing with international tourists and will be discussed in the following chapter.

Overall the market vendor respondents perceive cruise tourism positively and fully support it and want to see an expansion in cruise tourist numbers to strengthen their business as more women are entering this trade. The women perceive cruise ship tourism as more valuable than resort tourism for them, even though the later also provides some income. The women prefer this type of tourists because they create employment for them and also provide a large portion of their income. This supports previous studies that the more a person or community depends on tourism dollars the more positive their attitudes will be towards tourism development (Harrill, 2004; Pizam, 1978). Three of the respondents were worried that constant brawls by taxi and bus drivers at the wharf during cruise ship visits could discourage increase in cruise ship visits to Port Vila in future which will thus have negative consequences for their businesses.

5.3.6 Taxi and bus drivers
Interviews were held with seven taxi and bus drivers and one official each from the Port Vila Public Transport Association and Shefa Public Transport Association. These operators fully support and view the cruise ship tourism positively. They also want to see an increase in the number of cruise ship arrivals since this will give them more opportunities to strengthen their businesses and make additional income.

The two transport associations acknowledged that there are over five hundred public transport operators in Port Vila. During a cruise ship visit two thirds are based at the wharf providing transportation for the cruise passengers. The peak visitation period for a cruise ship is between 9am and 4pm but most transport operators wait at the wharf before the cruise ship arrives.
While waiting they clean their vehicles and park them in the queue between 2am and 6am, before retiring home for the night. When asked why drivers arrive so early, all respondents said the closer one is to the front of the queue, the greater the chances of securing a tour with cruise tourists who have not pre-booked any tours but have disembarked early hoping to do one. This happens every time a cruise ship is in port, which is on average at least once each week. Some drivers even sleep in their vehicles to wait for the cruise ship to arrive and passengers to disembark. Drivers come from various islands in the group but the majority come from the island of Tanna. Tannese are traditionally known for being hardworking people by the local people and do not mind the conditions they work in. They are also locally stereotyped as being strongheaded and aggressive. This belief is supported in other literature as well (Gregory, 2003; Miles, 1998). These reputations make them employable in the taxi business as they can be relied on to work hard for their income.

The Presidents of the Taxi Associations revealed that the majority of their members are primary or secondary school drop-outs with limited education and no formal qualifications. Many are employed on a temporary basis by relatives who may usually be engaged in formal wage employment but may have purchased a taxi or bus through a bank loan to provide work for their relatives who cannot find a job in town. Only a minority of the drivers owned the vehicles they drive. Of the drivers interviewed for this study, five were employed by family members with two owning the vehicles they were driving. The latter had previously worked in the formal employment sector and on their retirement had taken loans with the local bank to start their businesses.

Interviews with the taxi and bus drivers revealed that the cruise ship tourists are a big market for them and during a six hour cruise visit to Port Vila they could make close to half a week’s total earnings. Respondents quoted various figures ranging between VT3, 000 (NZ$44) to over VT10,000 (NZ$147) as total income earned during a cruise ship call. Respondents favoured Australian tourists arriving on the Pacific Sun as they are known to spend more freely and undertake various activities. This is understandable given that most cruises are operating out of Australia. Although this study did not obtain the market profile of the cruise passengers on various cruises to Port Vila during the study period, a time when one of the P & O ships came from New Zealand. The overall observations made during fieldwork saw many families and younger people disembarking on these cruises. Previous studies have shown that this market tend to go for beach activities and purchases that appeal to young children (Douglas & Douglas, 2004; Henthrone, 2000; TCSP, 1991).
These drivers recognised that the economic benefits of cruise ship tourism are not equally distributed amongst everyone in the tourism industry. They mentioned that the majority of the cruise ship tourism benefits tend to go to only a few foreign owned companies and to few local elites, especially the local shipping agent and the shore tour agent. They gave examples of transportation, tours and food handling arrangements for shore tours that are handled by either foreign owned companies or the local elites. These drivers feel powerless as they cannot do much to change this, instead they direct their anger at the shipping agent and shore excursionist. As stated earlier they even direct their frustrations at each other, when drivers are seen not to observe the internal rules they have set up amongst themselves to ensure everyone benefits from the cruise ship passengers. Two of the drivers also pointed out that only a few drivers were instigating the fights. Some drivers do not understand why shore tours, like the Efate Round Island tour, are pre-booked when they can easily be booked on arrival. Some also felt that shore tours should be handled by a Ni Vanuatu operator where benefits are likely to circulate more in the country. There will be further discussion on this issue below.

Although these drivers are not happy about how cruise ship benefits are distributed, interviews also revealed that all these drivers prefer cruise tourists to resort tourists. As Peter (taxi driver) explains:

"Cruise tourists are easy money for us.....you can make more money when the cruise ship is in port than wait at the airport for resort tourists....sometimes you wait for a long time hoping that the tourist uses your taxi. But once they come out they go straight to the tour operators because they already have their transfer vouchers."

Respondents also raised concerns on the lack of proper parking areas in town for them to park, leaving them to stop their vehicle alongside the main street when the cruise ship is in town. As the president of the Shefa Taxi Association explains:

"This issue is the responsibility of the Government and Port Vila Municipality. We have made recommendations to have a pedestrian crossing and a taxi stand. This recommendation to have a taxi and bus parking area is not a new issue. We have been fighting to have a taxi stand since the former site near the Ma Barbers area was turned into an office block. We have asked the Municipality so many times to find a location where we can park our vehicles. At the moment there is no taxi stand or bus terminal. This again depends very much on the authorities concerned to allocate such a space."
Interviews with the two transport associations revealed that both associations are working with the authorities concerned to solve this issue and some measures are being taken to solve existing problems between taxi and bus drivers and cruise ship passengers in order to improve their service and image. They have published standard taxi fare rates and distributed these to drivers and cruise ship passengers to avoid overcharging and have also issued warnings to drivers causing problems at the wharf. They are also looking at tougher ways to penalise drivers who cause these fights. Currently the associations are working with the government to amend certain laws in the Land Transport Board Act to empower the taxi associations to revoke a driver’s public vehicle driver’s permit and license when they are involved in such incidents. Presently the two taxi associations do not have power to suspend the licenses of their members when they do wrong as this rests with the Land Transport Board. This Board had been established by an Act of Parliament and any changes to the law have to be amended by the parliament. By law, only this Board has power to recommend to the Minister responsible for Internal Affairs and other bodies concerned to suspend any drivers’ licenses if a driver has committed a criminal offence. The two associations are now working with the government to appoint new members to the Land Transport Board so as to revive it and implement its functions more effectively. Once this is established they are looking at working with the new Board and the government to change the Act so as to delegate some power to enable the two associations to cancel licences (Neil-Jones, 2006).

5.3.7 Ni Vanuatu small tour operators

Six small indigenous tour operators were interviewed as part of this study. Their views and attitudes to cruise ship tourism can be summarised as that of apathy or annoyance. These are indigenous tour operators who have very limited assets but are also offering various tours for the international tourist, both within Port Vila and Efate and to the outer islands. Time constraints posed by cruise tourism means many of these operators do not get any bookings from cruise tourists. Furthermore, the majority of these operators do not have any of their tour products/activities sold onboard the ship, since only a few selected operators’ products are sold onboard.

Four of the respondents offer the Efate Round Island Tour and the Port Vila City Tours, two of the most popular Port Vila tours. The Round Island Tour is a full day tour, by taxi or bus, around the island of Efate, to catch a glimpse of both village and urban life. Stops for refreshments near a beach and a swim in the sea or river are included as part of the package. The second tour is the two hour Port Vila City Tour which takes visitors through the places of
historic significance and scenic sites in Port Vila. A stop in one of the local factories or shops to buy souvenirs or gifts is included as part of this tour. Both of the above mentioned tours are also sold onboard the cruise ships by the shore excursionist, a joint venture company between an expatriate and a Ni Vanuatu “sleeping partner”, who has exclusive rights to all the prebooked cruise ship passengers’ tour bookings for the two tours (Neil Jones, 2006; Slatter, 2006). This shore tour agent uses eighteen to twenty local buses on every cruise ship call into Port Vila, in addition to its own buses, to run these two tours for the cruise ship passengers who have prebooked. In competition with the tour operators are also the taxi and bus drivers who are strategically positioned at the wharf, unlike the tour operators who are based in town, therefore making it easier for passengers to book tours at the wharf first. Taxi and bus drivers offer the same tours for passengers who have not made any prearranged bookings and whose rates, based on the cost of hiring the vehicle, are cheaper compared to those charged by tour operators which are on a cost per person basis. Both bus and taxi drivers charge NZ$50 for hiring their vehicles for two hours for the Port Vila tour and NZ$120 for the full day Round Island Tour. Hiring the vehicle with the driver as their guide is cheaper for cruise tourists as they share the total cost of hiring a vehicle instead of paying separately when booked through a tour operator.

For any other tour activities to be sold onboard and included as part of the cruise ship lists of approved tours, the activity must be different to those already sold onboard and must meet requirements and standards approved by the shipping company. Since the Port Vila and Efate Round Island tours are already sold on board, the small operators have no other unique products to offer. Faced with lack of finance to develop new tour products that would appeal to cruise tourists, many can do nothing but hope that some of the cruise tourists book a tour with them on arrival. Most operators are not from the island of Efate so this makes it more difficult to develop a local product. Only two of these small Ni Vanuatu tour operators receiving pre-bookings from cruise ship passengers. Their tours are different to the two tours described above, and are booked through the shore agent. As for the majority of the small operators, they do not care whether a cruise ship is in port or not. Jane and Joe commented:

“For me it’s [cruise ship tourism] not so much important. …..out of my total bookings I only make one percent from cruise ship tourists. Once in a while I do a city tour for them, mainly from tourists that come ashore and have not prebooked tours.”

“Cruise ship tourism doesn’t benefit me at all. Firstly, they are here only for a day and then they depart again. And during this one day they have already reserved all
their activities onboard with Adventures in Paradise, [the shore excursion agent in Vanuatu], who gets the majority of cruise clients and is the major beneficiary of the cruise ship tourist dollars.”

Interviews revealed that the Vanuatu Tour Operators Association (VTOA), of which many of these small operators are members, had tried in the past to negotiate with the P&O and its shore agent to allow members of the VTOA to promote their tours outside the wharf security area for passengers who have not made any prearranged tours. However, P&O protested this arrangement arguing that some of these tours do not have insurance nor meet international standards. In addition they would not be held responsible for passengers arriving back to the cruise ship late who have booked any of these tours.

One of the two operators currently receiving bookings from cruise ship tourists is Nafonu Tatoka Tours. They operate a cultural village tour to experience the traditional culture of Futuna Island, one of the Polynesian islands to the southern most part of Vanuatu. An interview with the Manager of Nafonu Tatoka Tours confirms that this cultural village was established by some members of the Port Vila Futuna community especially for tourists to educate them about their traditional island way of life. The village is located outside Port Vila, near Erakor village, and works closely with people in Futuna Island who send artefacts and handicrafts to be sold. The money received is sent back to help the families in the village.

The second operator who receives bookings from cruise ship tourists is Evergreen Tours, which has exclusive tour rights to the Mele Cascades Waterfall tour, a tour that takes tourists through Mele village, the biggest village in Vanuatu, for a swim at the waterfall. Both of the tour operators fully support cruise ship tourism and its expansion as they get a large number of their bookings from cruise ship tourists. The remainder of the small operators favoured resort tourists and other visitors arriving by air as this is where the bulk of their bookings are received.

5.4 Socio-cultural impacts of cruise ship tourism on Port Vila residents

Any development that takes place brings with it both benefits and consequences. The same can also be said of cruise ship tourism. Respondents for this study mentioned both benefits and costs that they perceive to be resulting from this industry. This next section discusses some of the socio-cultural impacts of cruise ship tourism that the different groups of
stakeholders in Port Vila have acknowledged as resultant from cruise ship tourism. Both positive and negative impacts were raised. The next section will begin by discussing the positive impacts then follow this with the negative impacts.

5.4.1 Positive impacts
The positive impacts identified by the respondents are:

- Income and employment;
- Upgrade in the social skills; and
- Revitalisation of kastom.

**Income and employment**
Positive impacts of cruise ship tourism were perceived largely in terms of economic benefits where cruise ship tourism was seen by most of the respondents as creating opportunities for self-employment and income, especially for disadvantaged Ni Vanuatu, like the market vendors and taxi and bus drivers, unable to find jobs in the formal wage employment sector. Today education and exposure to the outside world are changing aspirations of Ni Vanuatu, therefore more people are wanting to enter the formal labour force in the urban centres (Jowitt, 2001). However, unemployment is a big concern for the Vanuatu government as more young people are dropping out of school each year than the number of new jobs created. This is a major problem for people living in town where a ‘cash economy becomes central to peoples lives’ (Ibid: p55). In addition the urban cash-driven economy replaces the traditional subsistence economy and extended family system, making living in town financially difficult for those without jobs, consequently leading to other social problems as well.

However, one of the desirable effects that cruise ship tourism has been able to bring about is the opportunity for disadvantaged Ni Vanuatu to participate in the industry. All the market vendors interviewed agreed that cruise ship tourism has encouraged an entrepreneurial spirit amongst disadvantaged Ni Vanuatu in the urban centre, especially women, to establish micro enterprises to make an income from cruise ship passengers. An example is seen where the mostly female market vendors utilised their skills as weavers, tailors or handicraft makers to create jobs for themselves. Unlike other tourism ventures, these small ventures are said to pose not much financial risk for the vendors as they required only a small amount of money to establish a stall. Many used their own savings to start their businesses, with amounts ranging from 5,000vatu (NZ$74) to 20,000vatu (NZ$294). These businesses are individually owned, therefore, making them easier to control and manage. Another method used to start the
business was through pooling resources together with one or two women sharing the business start-up costs to establish themselves and once the business has taken off, they can decide whether to continue working together or split the business. Those who started off this way were usually family members or friends and are happy with how things were going. A few new recent vendors get assistance from non profit organisations to establish their stalls. The President of the Market Vendors Association revealed that some women were assisted by VANWOD, an NGO micro-financing scheme established with the Vanuatu Department of Women’s Affairs. The aim of VANWOD is to provide poor and disadvantaged women in Port Vila with small amounts of money to start income earning activities and to enable them to save regularly. VANWOD members are given small loan amounts without collateral to kick-start their business and each week or month they are required to repay their loans which may vary from 100vatu (NZ$1.47) weekly to 500vatu ($7.35) monthly.

Cruise ship tourism has also provided opportunities for other disadvantaged people like the taxi and bus drivers to find employment by providing transport service for cruise ship tourists. As discussed earlier, both market vendors and taxi and bus drivers viewed cruise ship tourism favourably because cruise tourists creates employment and income for them, as illustrated from these responses:

“Without cruise tourists, me and the other ladies here would not have a job or make any income. Our major clients are visitors that come from tourist boats.” (market vendor)

“This is my full time job and I pay for what my family needs. My husband is unemployed.” (market vendor)

“This business is the main source of income for me and my family as my husband doesn’t work. With the money gained I am able to pay our rent, electricity and water bills and put food on the table. I also pay for our children’s school fees.” (market vendor)

“Cruise tourism has helped us, as mothers, to make an income from selling what we make.” (market vendor)
“With cruise ship tourists, you can make money by making at least 3 trips back and forth when the cruise ship is in. You can be sure to do a tour with the cruise passengers too unlike those that come by air.” (taxi driver)

People with limited education are usually paid very low wages and even though the approved minimum wage is VT20,000 vatu (NZ$294) per month, studies have noted that many tourism industry employees were often paid below this amount (Slatter, 2006). The same applies to those working in the informal sectors. In 2001 a survey of this sector, revealed that its employees were paid an average of NZ$147 per month, well below fifty percent of the current minimum wage (ADB, 2003). But as this market vendor explained:

“There are not many jobs that one can do here. You do not have many choices on how to make an income and sometimes the pay is not really good. But the good thing about this bisnis (operation) is that every day you are making some money and you know you can feed your family.”

This sums up the perception of the market vendors and the taxi and bus drivers interviewed for the study. Although they may not be making much income cruise ship tourism actually empowers some of the small operators. More discussion on the empowerment issues will follow in the next chapter.

Unlike other types of small enterprises, for instance small scale agriculture farming, which is labour intensive and requires a longer wait before one can reap the financial rewards, one tends to see immediate results when one is operating a market stall or taxi and bus operations. This is one of the contributing factors to make these operators fully supportive of the cruise ship industry because they know they will earn some money when a cruise ship is in port unlike land-based tourists where they can never be sure if tourists will spend any money with them when they visit. On a non cruise ship day, these small operators may earn between NZD$0 to NZ$100\(^7\) from land based tourists depending on whether they have taken a tour or not and also whether it is the peak tourist season. But on a cruise ship day they are confident of earning some money and their gross earnings varies from NZ$50 to NZ$150.\(^8\) For the two small Ni Vanuatu tour operators receiving bookings from cruise ship tourists, they may get up

\(^7\) These figures should be treated cautiously as they are not representative of every market vendor or taxi and bus drivers, but only of the nine vendors and seven drivers interviewed.

\(^8\) Refer to footnote 6.
to 50 clients each cruise visit, again a major source of income and providing employment for the families involved.

These micro enterprises are individually owned and operated by the individuals or family members which means there are fewer leakages outside the country. Unlike larger operations these small businesses are easier to control and manage and do not have much financial risk and thus may be more sustainable for the local people to operate than larger enterprises. Furthermore the economic benefits that cruise ship tourism bring also trickles down to the rural areas to people who have produced wooden carvings, baskets, grass-skirts and other items sold to the cruise ship tourist.

However, critics have argued that the government does not make much income from these small informal enterprises. This may be true of the market vendors and taxi and bus operations where, except for business licences, they are not eligible to pay value added tax (VAT) as the gross total income generated annually are often well below the NZ$70,000 gross annual turnover margin.

**Upgrade in social skills**

Without the development of cruise ship tourism in Port Vila, market vendors and taxi and bus drivers and others involved in the industry would not have had the opportunity to practise and improve on some of the social skills required in dealing with international visitors. Many of these respondents commented on how dealing with cruise tourists has enabled them to improve their language skills and has given them more confidence in dealing with tourists. As discussed earlier that many of these respondents were primary school dropouts where only basic English language skills have been learned which can lead to many being shy to speak out in another language for fear of being laughed at or made fun of by their friends or by those around them, as explained by some of the respondents:

“I left school when I was in grade 4 and was taught in my local language but my involvement in this business has enabled me to improve my English. I used to be so shy when I first started here but now I am able to understand and even have some conversation with the tourists when they talk to me.” (market vendor)

“I am a francophone but most tourists that come here speak English so I had to learn to talk in the language so I can sell the carvings I made.” (market vendor)
“I started off talking only Bislama when tourists talk to me, but the good thing is Bislama has some English words so we were able to understand each other. Now I have been doing this (taking tourists on tours) for the last four years and although I am not perfect I can say I now speak better English to when I first started all those years ago.” (taxi driver)

“This business has given me lots of confidence. I am fluent in English but very shy and only talked when spoken to. So it took me some months to overcome my shyness which makes me embarrassed talking to customers. Now I can say that I have more confidence in myself, to serve my customers, without depending on my mother’s supervision and assistance. She helped me start this business.” (market vendor)

The taxi and bus drivers also commented on how dealing with cruise ship tourists has enabled them to gain and improve their skills in guiding cruise tourists, even though many of them had no formal training in dealing with tourists in the beginning. As they continue working with tourists they have gained more confidence in handling international tourists. This makes them value cruise ship tourists more because of the social benefits they get. However, as these respondents become more confident and bolder in approaching and dealing with tourists, it has also led to some negative behaviour, which will be discussed later under the section on change in culture and commodification.

**Revitalisation of kastom**

While providing opportunities for local people to make a living for themselves and their families, cruise ship tourism has also assisted in the revival of some aspects of Vanuatuan kastom. Earlier studies have acknowledged that tourism, in general, may bring revitalisation of cultures (Boissevain, 1996; De Kadt, 1976; Duggan; 1997)

In this study respondents commented on how cruise ship tourism has fostered a renewed interest in traditional arts and crafts and also pride in the traditional way of life, leading to their revival. An example of this is the creation of the Ekasup cultural village, established especially to revive the Futuna island traditional village way of life in Port Vila while educating tourists about what is happening is a village level setting. This cultural village serves a two way learning process where tourists can learn about the Futuna culture while young Futunese, many of whom have spent most of their life in Port Vila, also learn about their culture as they present it to tourists while at the same time learning about the culture of
the tourists. The village has been popular with cruise tourists who want to experience the local way of life within a set time limit and still have time to do other things, like shopping.

Cruise ship tourism has also stimulated the revival of some of the traditional forms of arts and crafts in Vanuatu, where various traditional wooden carvings (a wooden drum, bamboo flutes, masks, etc), different types of baskets, fans, grass skirts and necklaces were on sale by the market vendors. Wooden miniature statues were mainly from north Ambrym which is known for its wooden *tam tams*, hollowed out slit gongs or drums made from carved logs. The drums come in different sizes, with some up to six metres in length and a few possessing multiple faces. The drums are used mainly for ceremonial purposes but tourist interest in the carvings, has seen miniature replicas/models being made especially for the tourist market. Such figurines are carved following strict rituals that are imbued in century-old traditions (Huffman, 2000). The Ambrym carvings are connected to rituals of status acquisition and the traditional right to carve certain wooden ceremonial statues is reserved for people who have bought the right to carve them or have copy right to them, which is a highly formalized system of intellectual property rights that serves to ensure that standards are maintained and local culture is preserved (Geismar, 2005; Huffman, 2000). To be able to carve the statues the carvers must first apprentice and kill pigs to acquire rights to it. Pigs are a traditional currency for the Ni-Vanuatu (Jolly, 1994) and are killed at all important ceremonies, such as part of the grade-taking, which is how men move up the social status ladder in the village. The more heads one is allowed to carve on the statues, the more prestigious he is. During field research, there were three vendors selling mostly these traditional drums.

The custom structure of intellectual property stops the carvings being reproduced or mass produced by anyone. One of the vendors reported an incident a few years back that saw the north Ambrym village chiefs visiting Port Vila to stop people from reproducing carvings. News had gone out that local commercial buyers with overseas connections had employed someone in a factory setting to mass produce the carvings in Port Vila. This resulted in the chiefs’ visit to Port Vila to stop the buyer from doing so (Geismar, 2005; Huffman, 2000). The practise of the copyright system for tourism purposes has also encouraged the carvers to pass on their skills to their children or families so that this tradition continues. It also prepares other people to acquire new rights to new forms of carvings so that these skills are maintained in the cash economy. One of the reasons the copyright system has been able to work in the modern cash economy is because Ni Vanuatu still respects their traditional values and are generally fearful of cultural repercussions if they disregard other people’s cultural values and
traditions. These repercussions may include ill-health or other accident related incidents (Huffman, 2000). In addition most Ni Vanuatu are generally fearful of North Ambrym people who are traditionally known for practising black magic and sorcery.

Another aspect of Vanuatu culture seen to have been stimulated as a result of cruise ship tourism is the traditional art of basket weaving. Basket weaving is a traditional handicraft of Vanuatu and mainly a woman's occupation in the rural areas and there are a variety of styles, some common and others unique to different regions. Baskets have many different uses for the Ni Vanuatu (Vanuatu Cultural Centre, 2007). They are also cultural markers of where someone is from, have many and varied uses, which may include traditional trade and exchanges or be used as vessels for holding food and other things (Geismar, 2005).

Interest by tourists for some of the baskets, mainly for their aesthetic value and practical use, has encouraged the interest for weaving baskets by both urban and rural women for the tourist market, as seen in the various styles sold in the markets, especially from Pentecost, Futuna and north Efate. Today one may often see women, especially women from south Pentecost, weaving together as they wait for their customers. Weaving together also supports the communal spirit of doing things together. It also encourages the traditional art of story telling and handing down of skills to younger generations or transferring new design patterns to other women.

However, while cruise ship tourism revitalises traditional crafts it may also have lead to bastardisation of some of these traditions as seen in new basket weaving designs and other contemporary designs being made and sold to tourists in the market stalls. More of this will be discussed in the section on change in culture and commodification of cultures below.

5.4.2 Negative impacts of cruise tourism as perceived by Port Vila residents

Although cruise ship tourism is perceived to bring about some benefits to the respondents in this study as discussed in the preceding section, respondents also cited examples of negative impacts that they professed had resulted from cruise ship tourism development. Tourism literature acknowledges that there are sociocultural costs associated with participation in tourism (Burns, 1999; Chambers, 2000; Stronza, 2001). Even though little research has been done on the socio-cultural impacts of cruise ship tourism in the Pacific, previous tourism studies in the South Pacific and the Caribbean have acknowledged that tourism also brings negative consequences in addition to benefits (Britton, 1982, 1987; Douglas & Douglas,
Respondents for this study cited various impacts that they perceived to be a consequence of cruise ship tourism. These will now discussed further in the subsequent section and are categorised under: changes and commodification of cultures, contributing to prostitution, the demonstration effect, crowding, interruptions of public transportation services, crowding and feelings of marginalisation over unequal distribution of tourism benefits.

**Changes and commodification of cultures**
While respondents commented on how cruise ship industry has stimulated the revitalisation of some aspects of Vanuatu culture, some of them also mentioned that not everything about cruise ship tourism is good for the local culture. Previous studies have acknowledged that tourism may lead to commodification of rituals, religious rites and other indigenous practises and a potential loss of cultural integrity (Greenwood, 1989). Some of the respondents commented on how some aspects of Vanuatu culture have been commoditised for tourism purposes and also how participation in the cruise ship industry has affected how some local people perceive cruise tourists. Jim, a government employee explains: “When they [taxi drivers] see tourists, all they can think of is vatu [money]. As a result, the traditional spirit of hospitality no longer exists. When the visitors arrive, we should be welcoming them, instead of fighting over them or thinking how much money we can make out of them.”

Traditional values on social relations are centred on principles of caring, kindness, honesty and respect for other people and this same principle applies to how one treats visitors. Some respondents felt that dealing with cruise ship tourists has resulted in some local people adopting behaviours that contrary to the above values. For instance, as taxi and bus drivers become greedier for the tourist dollar, some become dishonest and overcharge them because they know these visitors will be in the country for only a day and many will never return. Some drivers have also begun hassling cruise tourists to force them to use their taxis or convince them do extra tours so they can spend more money with them. Such behaviours are disapproved by the local people. It also shows a lack of respect for visitors and is scorned upon and gives those who practised it a bad image and reputation.
Respondents also raised concerns that some traditional rituals are being commoditised for cruise ship tourists and performed for cash returns instead of traditional purposes. Studies have acknowledged that arts and crafts, once vital to Pacific life style, are manufactured today not for their use or the cultural value but purposely for tourists (Harrison, 2003; Tausie, 1981; Van der Veen, 2003). Often these rituals are performed outside their traditional sites, therefore, making them lose their sacredness and meaning. Impressions of the cultural activities elsewhere in Vanuatu, especially place where someone originally comes from, impacts on respondents understanding of tourism, and as a respondent gave an example of how the Naghol has been commodified by Port Vila Tour Operators to make an income while the performers make little income from it. The jump packages are often organised through a village committee and in most cases through the chiefs as middlemen and Port Vila based Tour Operators. Criticism is targeted at the organisers for promoting the jump for tourist purposes and charging cheap entry fees to witness the event, therefore disrespecting the cultural value of the ceremony. Jenny, a tour operator, commented on how the commodification of the naghol has created other socials problems in the communities performing the jump causing divisions over equitable distribution of the entry fees to the jump.

Respondents also commented on how traditional crafts have been recreated or modified to meet tourist demands where crafts are produced for tourists for aesthetic value and practicality, and not for their cultural value. Examples of this may be seen in women’s usage of plastic material instead of natural resources or fibres to make craft items. These items are also smaller to take home as souvenirs, lighter to pack and pose no bio-security problems compared to products made of natural products. These imported materials are also cheaper to obtain than local resources which are often labour intensive to make and make take a few weeks to process before being ready to use.

Although tourism is blamed for contributing to the changes and commodification of some of the art styles of Vanuatu, previous studies argues that tourism is often unjustifiably accused of being the sole socio-cultural change agent in host communities (Crick, 1989; Hashimoto, 2002). Some of these changes may have occurred regardless of tourism influence but it is often easier to blame tourists for these changes. In addition changes, adaptation and experimentation are both natural and necessary for cultures to survive (Tausie, 1981). Furthermore, globalisation is a complex issue and today more people in developing countries are being exposed to outside influences introduced through colonial rule, media, education,
mission, new technology and other forces of change (Van der Veen, 1993). Some arts have persisted though changed; others are reconstructions; others are traditional forms reconstructed, adapted and used to make new forms (Ibid, 1993).

Literature on Pacific arts have noted that demand by tourist for Pacific arts is influenced mainly by the aesthetic taste of the buyer and utilitarian values and not the traditional values behind the arts or how it was made. As a result, the commercialisation of these arts also led to improvement in workmanship, as discussed earlier in revitalisation of cultures. In addition, since these new art forms or curiosities have no distinct cultural meaning, they cannot infringe on cultural property right. They are also considered as contemporary works of art but made especially for the tourists market. (Tausie, 1981; Van der Veen, 2003).

**Contributing towards prostitution**

Not only is cruise ship tourism blamed for contributing to the commodification of traditional cultures but a few of the respondents also blamed tourism for contributing to the increase of some undesirable activities in Port Vila which go against traditional culture. One of the issues that were raised by some of the respondents is tourism’s role in the increase in prostitution. Although it is extremely unlikely that this is not happening in Port Vila, previous studies have discussed that tourism as a social factor of change may lead to prostitution (Cohen, 1988).

Prostitution is against the cultural and Christian values of Vanuatu and is illegal. Although it is not visible, interviews with taxi and bus drivers revealed that prostitution exists in Port Vila on a small scale and the services are used by some tourists which may contribute to its increase as tourists pay more than locals for services. Interviews also revealed that some taxi and bus drivers are promoting this illegal activity to tourists. This study could not verify if this service is used by cruise tourists as well as the majority of cruises to Port Vila do not spent a night. But a reliable source within the taxi association confirms that:

“There is in existence in Port Vila a business that markets young girls [prostitutes] to tourists…. done through the local taxis. These taxi drivers know who these women are and where to contact them. They also market the service to any male tourists they pick up and provide their contact number in case they want to use the service. What the taxi driver gets is a percentage of what the tourists pays, in addition to the taxi fare. This business is very confidential. Usually no one recognises what is happening as the taxi is seen to be only providing a transport service for its clients but in reality they are making a commission from the service too.”
Tourists should also not be blamed for assisting in an increase of prostitution as the foundations were set during colonial times by traders and later soldiers during the WW2 where today there is a local clientele for prostitutes. In addition the increasing number of young women and girls turning to prostitution is the result of poverty and tourism, as is usually is, has provided a means to an end. Furthermore one needs to remember too that tourists will only participate in any illegal activities if it is available locally and they have been informed about it. Studies conducted in Asia have noted that local people are the main clients of the prostitutes when such practises exist (Mason, 2003). Although there is only anecdotal evidence, to suggest otherwise, conversations with some of the respondents revealed the same may be true for Vanuatu where there are reports of young girls offering sexual favours in exchange for taxi or bus rides or for kava and other drugs.

**Demonstration effect**

Tourism is often been blamed too for introducing different values, goods and behaviours to a destination with effects on its residents, whereby it is stated residents may adopt tourist behaviours through observation of tourists (Gjerald, 2005; Murphy, 1985; Williams, 1998). These can have both positive and negative effects. In this study concern was raised mainly by the older people about how young unemployed youths have come to town to observe cruise tourists and many are concerned that they may adopt drunken behaviours witnessed when they return home. Although there is only anecdotal evidence to suggest young people adopt the drunken behaviour or dressing standards they observe amongst tourists, concerns are that these young people may adopt some of these behaviours, which creates other social problems in the community.

Tourism is often blamed too for leading to increase in drug use (Belisle & Hoy, 1980; Pizam, 1978). Some respondents partly blamed tourism for the increase of drug use, especially smoking of marijuana, by youths in Port Vila. Many blamed foreigners, especially those living in the country and those visiting, for introducing drugs into Port Vila and also for buying drugs, therefore creating a demand for it. When asked what the negative impacts of tourism are, the President of one of the Taxi Associations commented on the use of drugs as explained in this quotation:

"Today many more youths are involved in the use of drugs. Some are also selling to tourists. So you ask yourself how they come to know about marijuana. This plant is not native to Vanuatu and not part of our culture. The plant is only introduced by foreigners so this can also be one of the negative impacts of tourism."
Interviews revealed a black market exists for this in Port Vila and that there is secrecy over who is involved.

“The drug market is a secret market that people, especially authorities, are not aware of. My sources tell me that when tourists come to Vanuatu, especially Port Vila, they know that marijuana is sold locally and who to contact. When they come in they buy drugs through these local contacts.”

Although this study did not find out if the same was true of cruise ship tourists in Port Vila, a reliable source from the taxi association noted that there are reports of tourists are buying marijuana for their own use and that there are some local people who go looking for unsuspecting cruise ship tourists to sell drugs to. People are starting to be aware of its economic value and there have been reports of people cultivating the plant in the outer islands. The main concerns is that smoking of marijuana is not part of the traditional culture in Vanuatu and unlike kava, a traditional narcotic drink in Vanuatu and most of the South Pacific islands, marijuana is addictive and those local smoking the plant are not aware of the associated health risks and other related consequences.

However, as discussed in the preceding section that tourism is often blamed for many of the social problems occurring in the developing countries where many of the changes are part of globalisation process (Harrison, 1997; 2003) also argued that it is difficult to isolate tourism’s impact from other forms of modernisation or globalisation.

Crowding

When a cruise ship is in Port Vila the centre of town gets a little busier, with more vehicles on the road and more people along the main street. Unlike resort tourists who are spread out and not easily visible, cruise tourists tend to travel in crowds causing crowding and traffic congestion. As discussed in an earlier section that respondents, especially members of the general public, acknowledged crowding and traffic congestion issues when the cruise ship is in town. A count of vehicles for this study along the market area identified one hundred and fifty vehicles passing each way over a ten minute period during the cruise ship visit while only sixty cars passed each way during a non cruise ship day. Similar counts in the centre of town found similar results. Therefore it may be assumed that during a cruise ship day the traffic is likely to be twice or three times busier than non cruise ship days.
**Interruptions of public transportation services**

Many of the members of public are annoyed with public transport providers for not providing enough transportation for everyone when a cruise ship calls into Port Vila, as illustrated by the following comments from two respondents:

“Sometimes it takes almost an hour or more to wait for a bus to come this way when there is a cruise ship in Vila. I live outside the town and not many buses service the area and when there is a tourist boat this makes it even worst.”

“‘It’s like they do not even recognise us [local people] when the ship is in. When the ship goes and who do they run towards? It’s us!’”

Transportation problems are amplified during cruise ship days as only a third of the transport service providers are servicing the local population during the cruise call. This means these few transport providers are also busier and running mostly in areas closer to town than those further away. They are also running at full capacity which means people turn up late for work and even children late for school. Those affected are mostly people working in town but living further from or in the outskirts of Port Vila where public transportation is less accessible. Many have come to recognise the signs when the cruise ship is in Port Vila, as these respondent said:

“You know when the ship is in. If you don’t hear the noise of the boat signal as it comes in, then you’ll automatically know anyway if you wait longer than your usual waiting time for a bus.”

“Almost every bus is running at full capacity in the morning and travelling at a faster speed than usual.”

Many residents have come to accept that this as being only a temporary disruption until the next cruise ship calls but feel that taxi and buses should organise themselves so there is an equal number of vehicles to provide transport for both tourists and residents.

**Feelings of marginalisation over unequal distribution of benefits**

Although cruise ship tourism is said to provide income and employment for small tourism ventures, some of the respondents also acknowledged that there is an unequal distribution of economic benefits of cruise ships which tends to benefits mostly foreigners or elite naturalised Ni Vanuatu, as seen in the local shipping agent, a naturalised citizen, and the shore
excursionists, a foreigner with a Ni Vanuatu sleeping partner. As noted in Chapter 4, the structures guiding cruise ship tourism in Vanuatu were established during colonial times when the Burns Philips Ltd (BP) was still a major trading partner in the Pacific. Even the current local shipping agent, who runs the South Sea Shipping, is a former employee of BP who later established his own shipping company when the company was dissolved. The current P&O tour agent in Vanuatu, Adventures in Paradise, is reported to be a former employee of P&O. They control and monopolise tours sold on board the ships, which indirectly influences where cruise tourists spend their money as well. In the past cruise tours were handled by a Ni Vanuatu tour operator (now defunct Tour Vanuatu\(^9\)) but P&O cruise passengers’ complaints over Tour Vanuatu’s reliability to provide a high standard of service resulted in the P&O terminating their contract and giving it to Adventures in Paradise.

Those interviewed, especially the Ni Vanuatu tour operators, felt that cruise ship tourism was benefiting mostly foreigners because they operated most of the tours for cruise tourists. Pre-booked tours are paid in foreign currency too, therefore, contributing towards income and profit leakages. John (tour operator) explains: “The shore agent is using mostly the expatriate operated tours. At the moment there are a lot of expatriate run tour operations in Vanuatu and the agent is selling mostly their tours. This means the money doesn’t stay in the country. Small tours like mine are run by local indigenous people so the money stays in the country, because we also employ local people (tour operator).”

Although Adventures in Paradise is said to use over twenty local buses to provide transfers and tours for the cruise ship passengers, many of the respondents complained that the money they are paid is very small, approximately NZ$147, per tour per bus and that this is not enough to cover ‘wear and tear’ caused through travelling through unsealed roads around the Island of Efate. But they cannot do much as they rely on this income.

In the latest example of this lack of power in September 2006, the P & O and the shipping agent deliberately dumped 500,000 litres of waste oil at the Port Vila dump site at Teouma. Port Vila does not have treatment facilities and media reports say that this was not the first

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\(^9\) Financial difficulties faced by the company, owing both to mismanagement and the loss of their major source of income as cruise ship shore excursionists, eventually led to the liquidation of the company towards end of 1990s.
time local shipping agent had dumped waste in this area (Bule, 2006). Many residents raised concerns over the environmental impact that this could cause to this area since this area produces a lot of garden produce sold in the Port Vila market. Villages nearby also depended on the river system near the dumpsite for water. News of the dumping infuriated taxi and bus drivers who went on strike, refusing to transport the P&O passengers from the cruise ship terminal to Port Vila and forcing them to walk the 5km into town. Media reports show Pacific Star passengers being horrified to learn of the oil dumping when they arrived in Vanuatu the week after the news of the dumping was made public (Bule, 2006). The implications for such behaviour by the cruise ship company and its agents will be further discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

Such actions, in addition to the unequal control of tourism, created feelings of marginalisation and helplessness amongst the small operators because they cannot do much as the industry is controlled by foreign interests. They blamed the government especially for not providing much support for small Ni Vanuatu tourism operated businesses and for allowing foreigners into the list of investments reserved specifically for Ni Vanuatu. A report by OXFAM New Zealand found that tourism operators feel they are being marginalised and dispossessed by some foreign investors who may be operating illegally in some of these reserve investments and come to dominate the tourism market (Slatter, 2006). Similar views were also shared by the majority of the small tour operators and the transport operators interviewed for this study. Many of them lack financial resources to enable them to compete with these expatriate run businesses, therefore, felt disempowered by the cruise ship tourism.

An additional problem is that some Ni Vanuatu are letting foreigners use them as ‘sleeping partners’ to get into the reserved investments. John, a tour operator explains:

“Initially foreigners come in under joint ventures with their local partners but once they are established they terminate the Ni Vanuatu partner. Other times the business is registered under the Ni Vanuatu’s name but all cash or capital invested belong to the foreigner.” (tour operator)

These small operators gave examples of investors coming in to establish tourist accommodation businesses and ending up investing in tour operations as well. Another operator mentioned an example of a foreign Tour agent that brings tourists from an Asian country into Vanuatu but now has also branched into a tour operation company as well and was at the time of interviews in the process of purchasing buses for tours and transfers.
Interviews for this study and also as reported by Claire Slatter (2006) showed that lack of resources makes VIPA’s regulatory function weak as some investors used Ni Vanuatu to set up businesses for them, while others bypassed VIPA and go directly to Ministers for approval to set up businesses. Some loop holes in the VIPA Act have also made some investors taken advantage of these weaknesses and may be operating illegally.

This study found that frustrations by the operators over tourism development issues in general have led some of these operators to channel their frustrations through other means, for example, fighting at the wharf over tourists when a cruise ship calls. Although these feelings are generally towards tourism in general, it has resulted in local operators reacting to cruise tourism to direct their irritation and frustrations. These feelings recently spilt over resulting in ugly confrontations between the shipping agent and tour agent. The tour agent tried to stop taxi and bus drivers from taking tourists to Hideaway Island Resort, a popular island outside Port Vila providing tours for cruise ship passengers. Media reports (Neil-Jones, 2006; Slatter, 2006) stated that there had been no warnings to inform drivers that only visitors who have prebooked with vouchers were allowed to visit the Island. Many drivers were not aware of this arrangement and only found this out later after they had taken the cruise passengers there. This is because the island did not have facilities to cope with an influx of tourists in addition to their own guests. Only the shore agent, Adventures in Paradise, was issuing vouchers to those who had prepaid onboard. When word got out that Hideaway was receiving only clients of Adventures in Paradise, this infuriated the drivers. To the taxi and bus drivers this was just another monopoly tactic used by P&O and its agent to stopping Ni Vanuatu operators benefiting from the economic returns of the cruise ship tourists. This resulted in the shore excursionist agent being pushed and shoved and police being called to stop the incident. There were conflicting reports as the shore agent claimed that Hideaway did not have the capacity to meet extra passengers, whereas the taxi association inquiries with Hideaway revealed they were happy about what the taxi and bus drivers did, as these extra passengers also provide additional income for them at the resort. Their concerns were also backed up by the Managing Director of Cascades Tour who reported that two years earlier the shore agent had approached him to stop all taxis and buses from transporting cruise ship passengers to the Cascades water fall (Neil Jones, 2006).

In a separate incident at the Port Vila wharf, a staff member of the P&O ground agent, South Sea Shipping, (SSS) was beaten for swearing at the drivers after he was warned not to speed at the wharf. Swearing at a Ni Vanuatu is an insult, especially if the person is not a Ni
Vanuatu where they are seen to be disrespectful towards the country’s cultural and Christian values. In addition it brings back memories of how white people treated indigenous people during colonial times. These confrontations resulted in P&O Cruises threatening to cancel all future cruise ship visits to Vanuatu until further notice. Further discussions on this will follow in Chapter 6.

5.5 Chapter summary

In this chapter I have discussed how residents conceptualise tourists and tourism. The long history of tourism development and cruise ship visit to Port Vila has made some residents, especially those employed in the industry, have some conceptual understanding of the two terms, which is more towards the western definition. I then explored the perceptions and attitudes of different stakeholders towards cruise ship tourism and found that the majority of the respondents perceived cruise tourism positively but also pointed out some negative impacts. Finally I looked at the socio-cultural impacts of cruise ship tourism on the respondents. An analysis of the different respondents’ interviews showed both positive and negative perceptions of socio-cultural impacts of cruise tourism being identified. The positive benefits include, income and employment benefits, upgrade in social skills and revitalisation of traditional customs. Negative impacts that were perceived by respondents include: changes and commodification of cultures, contribution towards prostitution, negative consequences of demonstration effects, crowding, disruptions of public transportation services and feelings of marginalisation over unequal distribution of cruise ship tourism benefits. Overall, most of the respondents viewed cruise ship tourism favourably. I found that market vendors and public transport operators prefer cruise ship tourism because of the economic benefits this sector brings while small indigenous tour operators preferred resort tourists. In the following chapter I will discuss the coping strategies that respondents for this study employ to cope with cruise ship tourism impacts.
Chapter 6: DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction
Chapter 5 presented the results of the field study and has explored the perceptions and attitudes of different groups of stakeholders towards cruise ship tourism and the socio-cultural impacts of cruise ship tourism. This chapter discusses some of the strategies that the respondents have employed to cope with the socio-cultural impacts of cruise ship tourism in Port Vila. Using the coping strategies of Dogan’s (1989) and Ap and Crompton (1993), this chapter will be looking at the applicability of these models to the patterns of coping behaviour exhibited in Vanuatu. Finally, the chapter will discuss the key findings for this study.

6.2 Coping with cruise ship tourism
To foster an understanding of how the residents cope with the impacts caused by a cruise ship visit, it is important to understand their perceptions and attitudes towards the industry. Tourism literature acknowledges that the coping strategies employed by residents to deal with its impacts will depend on their perceptions and attitudes. Where economic benefits are perceived from the industry, the residents attitudes will also reflect this; therefore resulting in the final coping strategy they choose to employ. The same applies for negative impacts. If negative impacts are perceived by residents, then their attitudes and the coping strategies they take will also reflect this. Therefore, understanding the residents’ perception and attitudes towards the impacts of cruise ship tourism and how they deal with these impacts is important for planning and management purposes. Applying Dogan (1989) and Ap and Crompton’s (1993) models of coping strategies to cruise ship tourism, this section will discussed their applicability in assessing how the study respondents deal with cruise ship tourism impacts.

6.2.1 Tolerance
Learning to tolerate cruise ship tourists is one of the coping strategies the majority of the respondents in this study have adopted as a means to cope with the impacts of cruise ship tourism. According to Ap and Crompton (1993, p. 49):

“Tolerance means residents exhibit a degree of ambivalence towards tourism. That is there were parts they liked and elements they disliked. They endured it in the sense that they had a capacity to bear some of its unpleasant aspects without resentment and often because they recognized its contribution to the community’s economic vitality.”
Researchers have also acknowledged that in respect of socio-cultural impacts:

“… there is a threshold of tolerance of tourists by hosts which are both spatial and temporal that as long as tourist levels remain below this critical point, and economic impacts continue to be positive, the presence of tourists in destination areas is usually accepted and welcome by the majority of host population. Once this threshold has exceeded, numerous negative symptoms of discontent make their appearance, ranging from mild apathy and irritation to extreme xenophobia, from grudging courtesy to even exploitation.” (Wall & Mathieson, 2006, p. 233)

Respondents for this study made adjustments and adopted various strategies to cope with any perceived impacts based on their level of tolerance towards cruise ship tourism. Previous studies have shown that the long history of tourism at a destination meant that people may have had time to adjust and adapt to tourism and also acquired necessary skills to cope, as seen in this study (Faulkner and Tidewell, 1997; Horn and Simmons, 2002). To-date, the interactions between cruise tourists and residents in Port Vila have been positive and harmonious. These contacts have led the local people to learn and appreciate the different cultures (VTMP, 2003). As a result, many of the respondents have come to value cruise ship tourism. It may also be that Port Vila is still able to absorb the number of cruise ship passengers. Another reason for the harmonious relationship may be because the majority of tourist facilities and services are concentrated along the Lini Highway, the main street of Port Vila, and near the seafront areas, away from the residential areas. As such, it has not impinged on the locals’ living space and their ‘place’. The cultural notion of ‘place’ is where someone originally comes from or has their cultural roots and heritage. In addition, the traditional notion of offering hospitality to one’s visitors still exists in Port Vila, even though the nature of this exchange has been commercialised (de Kadt, 1979).

Similar to Ap and Crompton’s (1993) tolerance strategy, this study found that the respondents were able to endure any perceived negative impacts of cruise ship tourism without resentment because they recognised the contribution of this industry towards their economic vitality. The degree to which someone benefits from cruise ship tourism also determines their level of tolerance towards the industry. Where respondents perceived economic benefits, they tend to have a higher level of appreciation for the industry and to eagerly welcome it. Respondents who perceived no direct benefits tend to show apathy to the industry and similarly adapt to it by adopting different strategies to deal with the perceived impacts. As discussed in the previous chapter, taxi and bus drivers and market vendors appeared to appreciate cruise ship
tourism more than other respondents because it is their main source of income. Yet there were also signs of discontentment amongst some respondents, and sometimes within the same group of respondents, as seen in the case of small Ni Vanuatu tour operators. The majority of these small tour operators do not get any benefits from cruise ship tourism, but they tolerate the cruise ship because they recognise its importance to the economy.

This study found that within the coping strategy of tolerance, there were also signs of other coping strategies that respondents used to cope with the impacts of cruise ship tourism. Some of the strategies employed are similar and others different to Ap and Crompton’s (1993) and Dogan’s (1989) models.

6.2.2 Reorganisation

All respondents, whether or not they benefited from the cruise ship tourism, reorganise their lives when a cruise ship is in port. According to Brown and Giles (1994), reorganisation is where residents reorganise or alter their normal daily activities to avoid the impacts of tourism. Reorganisation here took the form of retreatism, adjustment and withdrawal coping strategies, as per the Dogan (1989) and Ap and Cromptons (1992) models. Research suggests that when people are confronted with undesirable conditions, they are likely to change their behaviour to accommodate changes (Anderson & Brown, 1984). In Vanuatu, direct confrontation is not part of the culture and, despite the examples given in Chapter 5, conflicts are normally sorted out on the basis of consensus; this is what makes up the fabric of the Vanuatu society. Even though some general public may be annoyed with the cruise tourists due to congestion and crowding issues, they do not confront them or employ direct resistance measures. Instead, some respond by retreating or withdrawing to places where cruise passengers are unlikely to be at. The seasonal and short-term nature of cruise ship visits has allowed the local people to make these adjustments and adopt different ways to cope with its impacts. For example, on a cruise ship day, taxi and bus drivers and market vendors reorganise themselves by preparing for work earlier than usual to service the cruise passengers or to sell their wares. For the general public dependent on public transportation, the reorganisation by drivers also results in disruptions in transportation. Consequently, it means that these residents may have to wait longer to get transport or have difficulties finding transportation to and from work. Some even avoid going home for their lunch hour.

To avoid the crowd of tourists and transportation problems, some respondents also temporarily withdraw from the town area. This finding supports previous studies where
residents adopt similar coping strategies to avoid the stress caused by an influx of tourists (Ap & Crompton, 1993; Dogan, 1989). It also corresponds with Ap and Crompton’s (1993) observations that residents who reschedule their activities sometimes use local knowledge to avoid the inconvenience caused by tourism, because they have accepted it as a reality for living in the community.

However, one of the consequences of residents reorganising themselves to avoid tourists is that their actions can also benefit others. When residents shop at the back shops to avoid the tourist crowd in the front, it benefits the back shops economically. Moreover, as residents working in town avoid going home for lunch during cruise ship days, it also means that they have to stay back in town and spend money on lunch. For the few bus operators who service the public during cruise ship days, it means that there is more public demand for their service, thereby providing them an additional income. However, for the public who are reliant on public transportation, it also means that they may need to work late to make up for lost time.

6.2.3 Revitalisation

According to Dogan (1989), tourism may lead to the revitalisation of local cultures, which are under threat of disappearing under the impact of industrialisation and urbanisation, where they gained a new spirit and meaning and become new tourist attractions. Interest by tourist for these traditions also strengthens them and makes them more appreciative by local people. There is some evidence to suggest that some respondent have adapted to cruise ship tourism by revitalising the traditional handicraft-making skills and structures. This is especially true of the traditional carvings seen in the various tourist market stalls in Port Vila. Another local practice consolidated and reinforced by tourism is that of traditional copyright, especially for the carvers on the island of Ambrym. The practice of copyright means that the people with the rights are able to continue the tradition and pass it on to the next generation. Tourists are seen as a new market for the carvers; thereby giving the practice of traditional intellectual property rights a new meaning. As a result, it strengthens the copyright practice so that it continues to exist amongst these carvers in the cash economy.

Cruise ship tourism provides opportunities for the weavers in the market place to continue the traditional practice of basket weaving in the urban centre. It has also brought new meaning to the producers where baskets are seen as commodities. Yet, at the same time, weaving encourages the continuance of the weaving skills and the improvement in workmanship. Geismer (2005, p. 34) noted that “Weaving together is one way that women openly transfer
knowledge and create social bonds and unites them together”. New designs are also created, incorporating both natural images and combining modern designs, as weavers produce items especially for the cruise ship tourism market. Although this may be called bastardisation of local cultures to suit tourists’ wants, the context in which they are made is different; these baskets still have utilitarian value for both tourists and locals alike.

The Pentecost land diving jump is another local practice that has been reinforced and strengthened through tourism and cruise ship tourism. Although there have been complaints over the jump losing its cultural value, where jumps are performed especially for tourists for economic returns, the jumpers still have to follow strict cultural rituals prior to and during the jump. Cruise ship tourism has given the naghol a new meaning where today it is a major tourist attraction, giving communities’ opportunities also to capitalise on this to earn income. Performance for tourism has also assisted in strengthening the practice and reinforcing the traditional transmission of culture to the younger generation and tradition and the relations that socially bind the community people as they partake in the ceremony (de Burlo, 1999; Sofield, 2003). However, the local people also recognised that cruise ship tourism can have negative consequences, and adapted by maintaining a boundary around its performance.

6.2.4 Boundary maintenance
According to Dogan (1989), boundary maintenance is where residents recognise that tourism has both positive and negative impacts and adapted by maintaining a boundary over which cultures are to be present to the tourists and to be kept private. Although there is no strong evidence to suggest that this strategy is adopted in Port Vila, anecdotal evidence suggests that this strategy has been adopted in the performance of the naghol. Two types of jumps are performed and in different settings: one especially for tourists and the other for the local people. Performing the ceremony in different locations also ensures that a boundary is maintained where visitors can watch the demonstration events in a different location, while the real jumps are performed without the invasion of tourists in their traditional settings. This coping strategy is similar to Ap and Crompton’s (1993) retreatism strategy. By maintaining a boundary over where the ceremony is performed, it also allows the local people to retreat back to their areas where they can perform their own ceremony without the invasion of tourists.

Maintaining a boundary also reinforces the traditional concept of boundaries that restrict the movement of people from going where they want to. In the past, taboos are kept on which
‘roads’ (paths) one is authorised to go. These are usually nasaras or sacred grounds, and travelling off the designated areas is trespassing and has cultural consequences (Miles, 1998, pp. 156-157). To enter a taboo place, one has to be invited by the owners. In accepting the offer, one has to bring gifts to present to the hosts. Today cruise ship tourism has brought a new meaning to this traditional boundary maintenance, where one is allowed to visit or witness a sacred event, provided they pay an entry fee. This payment replaces the traditional gift-giving that permits tourists to move into the taboo areas, as seen in the naghol.

The Ekasup cultural village is another example of this boundary maintenance, where a village has been established especially for tourists so they can witness the traditional Futunese culture without visiting the island. Miles (1991) cited a similar example on the island of Aneityum, where a tourist market was established especially for the tourists. There is also a racial boundary where some residents, like the taxi and bus drivers, have been able to strategise on this boundary by charging ‘white’ people (assuming them to be tourists) more money for their fares than they charge black people.

6.2.5 Embracement and adoption of tourism culture

Ap and Crompton (1993) and Dogan (1989) noted that some residents may embrace and adopt the culture of the tourists, typically defined as western culture, as a result of the influence of tourism. There is no clear evidence in this study to suggest that respondents have embraced the culture of cruise ship tourists, but there are some examples to suggest that some respondents have adopted the culture of the tourists, as seen in the market stall vendors. During fieldwork, some of vendors have been observed to be more proactive in their selling techniques, a contrast to the traditional passive selling technique. Another example is the behaviour of taxi and bus drivers towards cruise ship passengers. As they gain more confidence in dealing with the visitors, they also adopted proactive selling techniques, where they approach visitors to use their vehicles. Some also hassle or overcharge the tourists.

In addition, as people embrace the tourist culture, they also adopted the cash economy where the concept of traditional hospitality becomes commoditised. Currently, visitors have to pay for services previously considered reciprocally free as part of a host obligation to a visitor. Such exchanges cannot be reciprocated for two reasons. Firstly, the nature of this exchange is different from the traditional system that allows for this favour to be repaid in the future. Secondly, the immediate need for cash in an urban setting outweighs the value for traditional hospitality.
6.2.6 Resistance strategy
According to Dogan (1989), this strategy occurs when residents are extremely dissatisfied with tourism development, and reacted by resisting all forms of tourism development. There is no evidence of a widespread resistance strategy found in this study, but there is some evidence that this might develop if tourism continues to benefit only some in the community. Many of the respondents were satisfied with cruise ship tourism because it is their main source of income. For this reason, they tolerate cruise passengers even if negative social impacts are perceived. This may be because the number of visitors to Port Vila has not outnumbered the local residents, and cruise visits on a daily basis are still small enough not to impact the residents negatively. Furthermore, the threshold that the Dogan’s model suggests, where negative feeling towards cruise ship tourists becomes widespread among the local population, has not been reached. The economic importance and dependence on this industry by small operators is another reason they do not resist the cruise ship tourists. However, there are some signs of irritation (a form of resistance) beginning to emerge amongst small operators over the way the economic benefits are dispersed locally where only a few companies benefit from most of the tourist expenditure. Currently, any sign of dissatisfaction is directed at the residents or the local cruise ship agents (also a direct form of resistance), although not directed at the tourists. But frustrations over how the cruise ship benefits have been benefiting mostly the few foreign-owned companies, and the local elites have created feelings of marginalisation, as discussed in previous chapters. Annoyance over how the benefits of cruise ship tourism have been shared has led to local operators channelling their anger towards the cruise ship shore agents. Some have also directed their anger through other passive resistance strategies where operators like taxi and bus drivers overcharge tourists. Some use other means where they hassle tourists to make them use their services. Other strategies used was through social groupings like the different associations, where collectively they had been able to challenge issues relating to cruise ship tourism, as seen in the taxi drivers’ boycott against P&O oil dumping.

Although this is what this study found, it would be interesting to see whether this trend becomes more noticeable as cruise ship numbers increase in the future.

6.3 Empowerment
The key finding in this thesis is the empowerment of local people as a consequence of micro-entrepreneurial activity. The significance of this finding is that future studies on coping strategies should investigate not only how residents are coping with the positive and negative
impacts of tourism, but also at the consequences of their adaptation to tourism as found in this study. This study found that as the tourist market vendors embraced cruise ship tourism; they also feel empowered, not only economically but also psychologically, socially and politically (cf. Scheyvens, 1999, 2000, 2002). This contradicts the findings of Pulsipher and Holderfield (2006) that cruise tourism leaves local communities disempowered and underpaid. Although the anecdotal evidence of this disempowerment may be true of the broader impact of cruise ship tourism in Vanuatu, this study argues that some small vendors, especially the market vendors, are empowered by cruise ship tourism.

Overall, the market vendors and taxi drivers have very positive perception of the cruise ship tourism. They felt that cruise ship tourism was more valuable for them than resort- or land-based tourism, and embraced cruise ship tourism as an important source of empowerment. Positive impacts of cruise ship tourism were perceived largely in terms of economic benefits where this type of tourism was seen as creating opportunities for income and employment. This was particularly important given that many market stall holders have low levels of education, especially the group of Ni Vanuatu traditionally disadvantaged when it comes to finding jobs in formal wage employment in Port Vila. Where these people do find formal employment, they are usually paid very low wages. Studies have noted that many tourism industry employees are paid below the minimum wage (Slatter, 2006). While incomes of those working in the informal sector, such as these market stall holders, is below minimum wages, the money earned is very important to their households and, in many cases, represents the family’s main source of income. The results of this study showed that the benefits the market stall vendors receive from the cruise ship industry is more significant than the income alone.

One of the biggest advantages of the work of the market stall holders is the opportunity it offers for self-employment. All the market vendors agreed that cruise ship tourism had encouraged an entrepreneurial spirit amongst disadvantaged Ni Vanuatu in the urban centre to establish micro enterprises. For example, these market vendors were able to utilise their existing domestic skills as weavers, tailors or handicraft makers to create jobs and an income for themselves. While many tourism investments require intensive capital, these small businesses require only a small amount of money to kick-start. Unlike other types of small enterprises – for instance, small-scale agriculture farming, which is labour intensive and requires a longer wait before the financial rewards can be reaped – operating a market stall provides immediate results. Most of these market businesses are individually owned or
owned within family groupings, making them easier to control and manage. Furthermore, the multiplier effect from the cruise tourist expenditure at these small businesses is also significant, as these initiatives purchase most items for sale, or the materials to make such items, from within the country (either from the local shops or from rural communities). This ensures that the economic benefits from cruise ship tourist trickles down to the rural areas to people who have produced wooden carvings, baskets, grass-skirts and other items sold at these stalls.

Not only has participation in this industry empowered the various respondents economically, but it has also assisted in building their ability to manage their businesses and enabled them to acquire other skills necessary for dealing with international tourists (for example, improving their language skills and giving them more confidence). Social empowerment has also been encouraged through the social networks that have developed between the market stall holders. One will often see these women weaving together, as witnessed by the researcher, as they wait for their customers. Weaving and making other handicrafts together supports a communal spirit and encourages the traditional art of story telling and handing down of skills to younger generations. It also creates a sense of community where women gather together and transfer knowledge of new weaving designs and share experiences of everyday life. This social support that the women get from working in this environment is often missing in urban settings (Beeton, 2006; Graves, 1992; MacMillan & Chavis, 1996).

The reward of being self-employed, and a new-found confidence in their social abilities, has had very positive psychological impacts for the market stall vendors interviewed for this research. In many cases, it is not how much money they are making that is empowering them, but rather the satisfaction that they get from knowing that they own and control the money they earned. In other words, the social and psychological aspect of being their own bosses and controlling the money they make may be more rewarding than the income alone. Furthermore, for the women respondents in particular, their experience as market stall vendors may be seen as politically empowering. Although previous studies have focused often on the negative aspects of women’s employment in the tourism industry, this study found that cruise ship tourism has also empowered indigenous women. For instance, women who may be the major breadwinner in their household reported having more control over the way the money is spent in the household than would otherwise be the case. In addition, the market vendors have formed social groupings for networking purposes and to protect their
interests, which has given them greater bargaining power and public presence in the community.

In conclusion, it has become apparent from primary data collected in this research that market stall holders have not only adapted to the impacts of cruise ship tourism, but that there are also consequences of their adaptation that may be seen as empowering for them. As these respondents embraced cruise ship tourism, they also feel empowered, not only economically but also psychologically, socially and politically. As a note of caution, however, it must be acknowledged that not all types of small tourist operators in this study is positive about the impacts of cruise ship tourism. Furthermore, the empowerment of these market stall holders is dependent on the continuing flow of cruise ship visits to Port Vila; something beyond their control. The cancellation of future trips or decrease in the number of voyages will have significant consequences for the sustainability of this informal sector.

6.4 Disempowerment
While cruise ship tourism can be empowering, there is evidence that it can also be disempowering for some small operators. Scheyvens (1999, 2000, 2003) noted that communities may be disempowered through their involvement in tourism ventures, and a number of factors may be seen as constraining their ability to fully participate. These may include lack of ownership, capital, skills, knowledge and resources. Other studies have also supported the view that when tourism is internally controlled by residents, it brings empowerment and self-reliance; if it is externally controlled, it brings dependency, regional inequalities, economic problems and social tensions (Britton, 1982; Lepp, 2004; Pulsipher & Holderfield, 2006). Studies have also shown that not only does this relationship occur between developed and developing countries, but it can also exist within a state or states (Akama, 1999; Scheyvens, 2002; Weaver, 1998).

In this study there is evidence of disempowerment amongst some respondents, especially among the small indigenous tour operators who feel economically disempowered as they have no say in which shore tours are sold onboard the cruise ship. Taxi and bus drivers shared the same view. They feel marginalised by foreign tourism operators who control the industry and monopolise how it operates. This finding supports the dependency theory that foreigners and metropolitan companies determine how the industry is run, and residents are dependent on them as tourist-generating countries (Britton, 1984). The study also supports Pulsipher and Holderfield’s (2006) recent study of the Eastern Caribbean whereby cruise passengers take
island tours organised by the cruise company rather than by local operators. This strategy is used mainly to limit the time spent onshore and also to retain most of the benefits incurred to themselves, resulting in tourists being provided with an impoverished experience, leaving the island people disempowered (Pulsipher & Holderfield, 2006). Lester and Weeden (2004) acknowledged that the imbalance in power relations is caused by cruise ship companies with a powerful force in stakeholder relations, which is used to monopolise where and how they operate, leaving small local entrepreneurs economically disempowered.

This also leads to a feeling of marginalisation and powerlessness by the small operators who view cruise ship tourism as another disguised form of imperialism. Although this industry has always been controlled by foreign companies who exert control over where the tours should go, it does create feelings of disempowerment because locals have no control over its development. Being mobile also makes it difficult for the government to exert control as the cruise ship can decide to leave anytime or whenever it likes if economic, political and social conditions are not favourable. Cruise ship companies control where the ship and passengers go and the activities they do in the destination ports. This also makes it difficult for local people to have any say over what type of tourism they want and how it will be run. It creates feelings of marginalisation because the locals are economically dependent on the sector and cannot do much about it.

Many respondents are frustrated with the government who appears to care more for protecting foreign interests than local interests. However, Slatter (2006) noted that the ability of the government to regulate impacts of tourism is constrained or removed by Vanuatu’s commitment under the General Agreements on Trade in Services (GATS) as part of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and globalization. As a result, the Vanuatu economy has become very much liberalised, allowing foreign investors to come into the country whereby locally-owned small businesses (such as the tour operators) cannot compete with the newer and well financed foreign-owned tour operators. The government is disempowered through these regulations. It is perceived by local people to be weak in reinforcing its regulations, and not caring for the local interests but promoting foreign interests.

As these small vendors embrace tourism, it has also led to their dependency on cruise ship tourists. For the market vendors who rely deeply on this type of tourists, the cancellation of future trips or decrease in the number of voyages can have consequences for their sustainability.
6.5 Chapter summary

This chapter has discussed some of the coping strategies employed by the Port Vila residents against some of the existing coping strategy models found in the tourism literature. This study found that the level of tolerance that respondents have over tourism also determines which coping strategies are used to deal with the impacts of cruise ship tourism. Where benefits are perceived, respondents have a higher level of tolerance towards the industry and are eager to welcome it. Where no direct benefits are perceived, the respondents tend to have a lower level of tolerance toward the industry. Some of the coping strategies employed were similar, and others different, to Ap and Crompton’s (1993) and Dogan’s (1989) models. Strategies that were found to be in use by respondents include: tolerance, reorganisation (where respondents employed the strategies of retreatism), adjustment and withdrawal to avoid negative impacts. Other strategies used were revitalisation and boundary maintenance strategies. Although there was no strong evidence of embracement or adoption of tourist culture strategies or resistance strategies, there were some signs of these strategies starting to emerge. It would be interesting to see the trends as this type of industry progresses. One of the major findings for this study was that adaptation of cruise ship tourism impacts also has consequence, where it leads to empowerment, not only economically but also psychologically, socially and politically. For some respondents, it leads to dependency on cruise ship tourists, creating a situation where this empowerment will only last as long as the cruise ship tourists continue to arrive. Cruise ship tourism is disempowering for some respondents who do not get any benefit from the cruise ship industry.
Chapter 7: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction
The purpose of this thesis has been to explore Port Vila residents’ perceptions and experiences of the impacts of cruise ship tourism and to examine their coping strategies regarding this industry. Many studies have been written on the socio-cultural impacts of tourism and some research done on coping strategies that residents of a tourist destination may employ to cope with negative impacts of tourism development. However, there is little research that examined these impacts in terms of cruise ship tourism, one of the fastest growing sectors within the tourism industry. The aim of this final chapter is to integrate the data presented in previous chapters, while detailing the conclusions and the implications drawn from the present study. Firstly, the chapter reviews what this study set out to do by restating the main aims and objectives of the thesis. Next, it presents a summary of the key research findings and their consequences by linking them to existing theories. The management implications and recommendations are also discussed. Research limitations are outlined and suggestions made for further research elsewhere to validate this exploratory research.

7.2 The research aim and objectives revisited
It is important to revisit the aim and objectives set out for the study to ensure that they have been achieved. The aim of this study was to explore the socio-cultural impacts of cruise ship tourism on Port Vila residents and to examine their coping strategies against Dogan’s (1989) and Ap and Crompton’s (1993) models of tourism coping strategies. It was envisaged that the results might provide the Vanuatu government with a basis for formulating appropriate guidelines and policies to better manage the impacts. In addition, the study aimed to contribute to the academic understanding of the socio-cultural impacts of cruise ship tourism and extend the knowledge from existing literature on resident adjustment strategies to cruise ship tourism.

The five objectives of the study were:
1) To identify the positive and negative impacts of cruise ship tourism on residents in Port Vila, Vanuatu, as identified by them;
2) To identify the socio-cultural impacts as perceived by residents of Port Vila and to explore factors influencing their perceptions;
3) To explore the coping strategies that residents apply to the impacts of cruise ship tourism;
4) To assess the suitability of existing models of coping strategies to resident’s responses towards cruise ship tourism in Port Vila; and
5) Where appropriate, to formulate suggestions for managing any long-term impacts of this type of tourism and also make suggestions for future planning and policy regarding this type of tourism.

To meet the above objectives, Port Vila, the capital of Vanuatu, was chosen as the case study site to collect primary data for the exploratory study. The research has utilised a qualitative research methodology of participant observation and semi-structured interviews with a range of tourism stakeholders. The stakeholders interviewed included representatives from the government, the church and chiefs, as well as a number of small business operators, including taxi and bus drivers, small tour operators, and market stall vendors.

This next section will provide a summary of the key findings in relation to the above stated aims and whether these were achieved.

### 7.3 Summary of the research findings

With regards to the first and second objectives, the study concludes that residents of Port Vila are aware of the impacts of cruise ship tourism. The foundations of cruise ship tourism were established during the colonial era; this means that the respondents have had a long exposure to cruise ship tourism development. This exposure has contributed to an increase in their level of awareness concerning the industry. As a result, many of the respondents have a more western conceptualisation of ‘tourists’, ‘tourism’ and ‘cruise ship tourist’.

Overall, the respondents have very positive perception of the cruise ship tourism. Many of them recognise the significant role this industry plays for small informal businesses like market vendors and taxi operations. These small operators felt that cruise ship tourism was more valuable to them than resort- or land-based tourism, and embraced cruise ship tourism as an important source of empowerment; however, other small operators do not perceived it this way. Research has shown that such small-scale tourism schemes, like the market vendors and taxi operations, are more sustainable because these opportunities enable the local people to own and control the enterprises.
The respondents (including those who do not gain any economic returns from the industry) perceived cruise ship tourism in terms of the income and employment opportunities it provides. It is also seen by respondents as contributing to the development of social skills, such as language and tour-guiding skills for cruise ship passengers. Some also attributed working with cruise ship tourists as helping them to gain confidence in dealing with international tourists and assisting them to acquire management skills to operate their small business ventures. They also acknowledged that cruise ship tourism can revitalise traditional crafts.

The study also revealed that respondents are aware of the negative consequences of cruise ship tourism development. They recognised that cruise ship tourism can bring changes to traditional cultures, whereby some aspects of the traditional cultures become commodities to meet tourists’ demands. This leads to the cultures losing their traditional meaning. Respondents also acknowledged that participation in the industry can lead to some residents adopting some of the negative behaviours of cruise ship tourists that are against the local traditional values. The naghol jump was cited by some as an example. Respondents were also aware that participation in the cruise ship tourism could lead to the bastardisation of some of their traditional crafts, which are reproduced to meet tourists’ expectations and have no cultural significance – as seen in the production of synthetic grass-shirts.

Some blamed cruise ship tourism for contributing to social problems like prostitution and drug abuse. However, as previous studies have acknowledged, tourism is often used as a scapegoat and unjustifiably accused of being the sole socio-cultural change agent in host communities (Crick, 1989; Hashimoto, 2002). Respondents were also concerned about the younger people adopting some of the negative aspects of tourism culture. The issue of crowding and traffic congestion was also mentioned by respondents. In addition, they raised concerns over the interruption of public transportation services during cruise ship visits to Port Vila. Some of the respondents also felt marginalised by the unequal distribution of cruise ship tourism benefits that mostly benefited a few foreigners, including the elite naturalised Ni Vanuatu.

To address the third objective of the study, it can be concluded that residents of Port Vila have developed coping strategies to deal with the impacts of cruise ship tourism. The study found that there were various factors influencing how respondents view the impacts from cruise ship tourism; these include the level of contact they have with cruise tourists and the economic
benefits they receive from the industry. Both those who benefit from cruise tourism and those who do not benefit viewed the industry favourably. However, there were differences in their level of tolerance towards the industry. When economic benefits are perceived, respondents tend to have a higher level of tolerance, subsequently leading to the coping strategy they employ to deal with any perceived impacts. This finding supports Ap and Crompton’s (1993) embrace and Dogan’s (1989) tolerance strategies, where some residents eagerly embrace tourism while others tolerate it based on their perception of impacts. Respondents who tolerate cruise ship tourists are able to make adjustments to any perceived negative impacts by using local knowledge – as seen in respondents shopping in back street shops or delaying their activities until later to avoid tourist crowds or disruption of public transportation. These actions resulted in coping strategies consequently benefiting the back street shops.

Respondents who embraced cruise ship tourists were those who depended on them, and wanted to see further increase in the number of future visits. This supports previous studies that economic dependence will determine residents’ attitudes towards tourism (Horn & Simmons, 2002). The study also found that there were some sectors within the tourism industry that viewed cruise ship tourism with indifference or apathy because they were not receiving any economic benefits from the industry. An example is small Ni Vanuatu tour operators, who do not receive any pre-booked shore tours from the cruise ship company. However, they benefited from visitors who arrive by air. The implication for the differences in opinion is that the government needs to consult every stakeholder in its planning as to how to best manage the impact of this industry.

The study also revealed that some residents are aware of the consequences that cruise ship tourism can have on their traditional cultures when performing solely for the tourists. They maintained a boundary over which aspects of traditions should be presented to the tourists and which should be preserved for the local people, as seen in the naghol jump.

Another coping strategy that this study noted was the revitalisation strategy by Dogan (1989), where cultures are revived and accorded new meaning to become tourist attractions. An illustration is the Ekasup kastom village. The enforcement of the traditional practice of copyright of the Ambrym carvings is another example.

Residents who do not benefit from cruise ship tourism needed to reschedule or reorganise themselves to cope with any perceived impacts. Similar to Brown and Giles’ (1994)
reorganisation strategy, Dogan’s (1989) adjustment strategy, and Ap and Crompton’s (1993) retreatism strategy, some residents made adjustments to their daily activities to avoid some of the social impacts of cruise tourists. This is based on their level of local knowledge. Others avoid going home at lunch hour, as it takes longer to wait for public transportation. There were others who delay doing their activities in town until the tourists have left, while others avoid the tourist shops. This finding corresponds with Ap and Crompton’s (1993) observations that residents reorganise themselves to avoid the inconvenience caused by tourism, because they have accepted it as a reality for living in the community and have accommodated it.

The fourth objective of this study was to assess the suitability of existing models of host adjustment to resident’s responses to cruise ship tourism in Port Vila. This study found that existing models are useful in understanding how residents cope with cruise ship tourism. However, not all models will be applicable in every situations. In Vanuatu’s situation, the short-term nature of cruise ship visits, the historical development of cruise visits, the frequency of visits, and the economic dependence on the sector, all contributed to how residents respond to cruise ship tourism and the coping strategies they used to deal with the impacts. Furthermore, there are also consequences as to how residents cope with the impacts, as seen in empowerment and dependency.

The fifth objective of the thesis was to offer some recommendations, formulate suggestions for managing any long-term impacts, and make suggestions for future planning and policy regarding this type of tourism. These recommendations are further discussed in Section 7.5.

7.4 Contribution of the present study towards the literature on tourism impact studies

This study has contributed significantly to this area of tourism studies and provides perspectives on the socio-cultural impacts largely missing in cruise ship tourism to-date. Although traditional studies have looked at coping strategies – which indicate that people have to cope with the positive and negative impacts of tourism – few have identified empowerment and dependency as a consequence of coping with tourism, as found in this study.

Two main conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, participation in the industry can be both empowering and disempowering for the people involved. Some groups felt empowered
because this industry provides an opportunity for them to become self-employed and be their own bosses. Others felt disempowered because they have no say over how the industry is to be run. Secondly, the residents’ income is dependent on visiting cruises, instead of local enterprises. As the cruises are externally owned and controlled by foreign companies, the local residents and the government have very little say in how the industry is to be run.

The finding implies that traditional coping strategy models are inadequate in explaining how residents cope with tourism, and that they should go further by addressing the consequences of the coping strategies adopted.

This finding also implies that policy makers need to work closely with those impacted, as well as with the cruise companies, in how to best manage the impacts. Governments may be powerless to dictate where a cruise ship can visit, but they can be proactive in having guidelines and policies in managing its impacts. Because cruise ships are mobile, this makes them accessible to many remote destinations, often with fragile environments and diverse traditional cultures, which can create huge impacts for the destination communities (Weaver, 2005). This is why it is important that all stakeholders affected are involved or consulted with regards to the planning for managing its impacts. Cruise ship tourism can create problems or issues that require the government to deal with, as seen in the Port Vila oil dumping by P&O in 2006. This incident implies that now is the time that Vanuatu needs to seriously consider how to manage this type of tourism impacts before it is too late, as the number of cruise visits are increasing each year. The next section will discuss suggestions on managing the cruise tourism impacts.

### 7.5 Recommendations

The fifth objective of this study was to offer some suggestions for managing any long-term effects of cruise ship tourism. Currently, the government is promoting increases in cruise ship arrivals into Vanuatu so that expenditure from the cruise ship tourists would benefit more local people. However, the government currently does not have in place any cruise ship tourism management polices to manage the impacts, should this industry increase further.

Since cruise ship tourism is a major component of the tourism industry, the social and environmental problems cannot be ignored. The government needs to plan now. It is vital that the government formulate a Cruise Tourism Plan to guide them in managing the impacts. Although, the cruise ship company is not under the jurisdiction of the government, the impacts that the industry brings affect the Vanuatu citizens. Therefore, it is urgent that the
government makes management plans concerning the social and environmental impacts. As discussed earlier, this type of tourism has some impacts unique to the industry. As such, there is a need to address them separately as to how to manage them. The policy guidelines should be drafted in with the country’s tourism Master Plans, setting out strategic actions to be taken to manage impacts of different type of tourism in order to maximise the positive impacts, while taking necessary measures to minimise any potential negative impacts.

Vanuatu and other small island states in the Pacific dependent on this type of tourism should learn from the experiences of what is happening in the Caribbean and use them as learning exercises in managing the impacts of this type of tourism. When planning the guidelines, policy makers need to gather views from various government and non-government bodies such as those listed below – the list is not inclusive, but should be representative of everyone affected by the industry.

**Government bodies:**
- Ministry of Tourism
- National Tourism Development Office
- Vanuatu Tourism Office
- Port Vila Municipality
- Vanuatu Investment Promotion Board
- Environment Unit
- Ministry and Department of Internal Affairs
- Ministry and Department of Finance
- Ministry of Ni Vanuatu Businesses

**Non-government bodies:**
- Taxi Association
- Market Vendors Association
- Shipping agencies
- Tour operators
- Women’s organisation

Such a plan should take into consideration policies on managing the economic, cultural, social and environmental impacts. It should also have implementation strategies and set out actions
to be taken in the event that something goes wrong with the industry. In addition, the government should continue its tourism education and awareness programs. It is important that they ensure that the people are aware of both the benefits and consequences of allowing cruise ships into their community, especially to the rural areas. Once informed, the people are then better able to make informed decisions and choices.

The government and the private sector need to work towards addressing issues leading to tensions and fights at the wharf, and find solutions to rectify the situations. There should also be stricter control measures at the wharf during cruise visits where the police are present at all times to prevent fights occurring amongst the drivers. The government and the two taxi associations are also planning to introduce an accreditation programme for all drivers, where they are accredited before providing service to all international visitors. The programme should set out criteria that have to be met before the driver is accredited. It will also detail the types of vehicle that can be used as taxis or buses, the type of training to be undertaken by drivers, and disciplinary measures to be taken. Although standardisation of the taxis and buses will be one way of preventing problems from arising, the underlying problem is the lack of employment opportunities. Standardisation will only make those who can afford to buy the vehicles that meet the standards to have monopoly over the taxi and bus operations.

The Vanuatu Tourism Office and the National Tourism Development Office are working towards an accreditation programme where taxis and buses have to be standardised; this is a good thing as it will alleviate some of the existing problems currently faced by taxi operators. However, the downside to this is that the certification and award may not often be the best way to solve the underlying problem. It will only ignore the real social issues, which are the main issues behind the fights between the taxis and bus drivers. For those who may not have other opportunities to find a job in Vila due to their limited education, allowing only those who meet the standard is like cutting a huge part of their income. The taxi and bus operators should reorganise themselves so that there is an equal number of transport operators servicing both the tourists and the public. This should be based on a rotational basis so that everyone gets to benefit.

The Vanuatu Investment Promotion Authority should be stricter in enforcing its regulations and take disciplinary actions against the law breakers to alleviate feelings of marginalisation by the small operators.
Although this study is exploratory and found this to be true of Port Vila, there needs to be further studies elsewhere in other cruise destinations in Vanuatu to determine whether the same can be true for Vanuatu as a whole. There also needs to be a survey to quantify these initial results. Studies need to be done in other countries as well, especially in the Pacific, to find out if the same is true. Therefore, there is a need for more research (both quantitative and qualitative) to be carried out to validate the findings of this exploratory study.

### 7.6 Research limitations

One of the limitations for this research is methodological, where only people who have an understanding of tourism and who visited the interview sites were selected for the study. As such, a biased discussion of perceptions of cruise ship tourism impact may have emerged from the interviews. A more balanced result would have been gained by interviewing also those who have no knowledge or benefit from cruise tourism.

The second limitation is the timing of the fieldwork. Data was collected over a period of six weeks, one of which is when the soccer World Cup was held. As a result, some of the planned interviews were either missed or delayed where interviews had to be rushed.

### 7.7 Concluding remarks

This concluding chapter has revisited the aims and objectives of the thesis to ensure that they have been achieved. The study concluded that residents of Port Vila are aware of the impacts of cruise ship tourism. It also concluded that residents of Port Vila have developed coping strategies to deal with the impacts of cruise ship tourism, and that there are various factors influencing how they view the impacts and which coping strategies to use. The study also concluded the usefulness of existing models of coping strategies (in our understanding) of how residents cope with cruise ship tourism. However, it should be noted that not all models will be applicable in every situation. This chapter also presented a summary of the key research findings and their consequences by linking them to existing theories, and discussed their implications. The study concluded that some of the respondents (such as the market stall holders) have not just adapted to the impacts of cruise ship tourism, but that there are also consequences of their adaptation that may be seen as empowering for them – a key finding for this study.

The study noted that as these respondents embraced cruise ship tourism, they also feel empowered, not only economically but also psychologically, socially and politically.
However, according to this study, not all small tourist operators felt positively about the impacts of cruise ship tourism. Furthermore, the empowerment of these market stall holders is dependent on the continuing flow of cruise ship visits to Port Vila; something which is beyond their control.

While cruise ship tourism can be empowering for some, there is evidence that it can also be disempowering for some small operators because they have no say as to which destination the cruise ship would visit. They feel marginalised by foreign tourism operators who control the industry and monopolise how it operates. As these small vendors embrace tourism, it has also led to dependency on cruise ship tourists. For the market vendors who rely heavily on this type of tourists, the cancellation of future trips or decrease in voyages can have consequences for their sustainability.

This study also offered some recommendations in managing the impacts of this type of industry. Finally, this chapter outlined some of the research limitations and offer suggestions for further research elsewhere to validate this exploratory research.
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Appendix 1: Interview schedule for in-depth interviews

NB: This guide provides a general structure to the in-depth interviews, which will be shaped also by the information ascertained from the participant observations and focus group discussion.

Can you tell me what does a tourist means to you?

- Overnight tourists?
- Cruise ship tourists?

How do you feel about the role of tourism in Vanuatu?

- Benefits / Why do you think so?
- Problems / Why do you think so?
- Concerns / Why do you think so?

How do you feel about the role of cruise ship tourism in Port Vila?

- Benefits / Why do you think so?
- Problems / Why do you think so?
- Concerns / Why do you think so?

What do you think of the current levels of cruise ship tourism in Port Vila?

- Would you like to see it increase? Decrease?
  - If yes why do you say so?
  - If no why do you say so?

What does cruise ship tourism mean to you?

- How much contact do you have with cruise ship visitors?
- Are you involved in the business and why do you become involved in it?
- Where you involved in the industry in any other capacity? Explain!
- Are you dependent on the industry for your livelihood?
- What proportion of your business comes from cruise ships?

How does cruise ship tourism affect you personally?

- How much contact do you have with cruise ship visitors when shopping?
  - If you have contact, is this contact positive or negative?
  - If negative, how do you cope?
- How much contact do you have with cruise ship visitors when using bus and taxi?
  - If you have contact, is this contact positive or negative?
  - If negative, how do you cope?
- How much contact do you have with cruise ship visitors when eating out?
  - If you have contact, is this contact positive or negative?
  - If negative, how do you cope?
- How much contact do you have with cruise ship visitors when socialising?
  - If you have contact, is this contact positive or negative?
  - If negative, how do you cope?

Should the government alter the way cruise ship tourism currently operates?

- If yes, how?
- If no, why do you say so?

What could be done to minimize negative cruise ship tourism impacts for individuals?

- By government? regulations, etc
- By businesses?
- By the community?
What could be done to maximize the positive cruise ship tourism impacts for individuals?

➢ By government? regulations, etc
➢ By businesses?
➢ By the community?

What do you see as the future of the cruise ship industry?

➢ Example current plans for development?
➢ Future development possibilities?

Any other suggestions for managing the industry?

Thank you for taking time to share your views.

Name:………………………………….Gender:…………………………………….. .
Place of residence:……………………………..Length of time in residence:………………...
Age on their last birthday:…………………………………………………………… .
Highest level of education attained…………………Occupation:…………………...
Interview Schedule for In-depth Interviews (For Business Operators)

NB: This guide provides a general structure to the in-depth interviews, which will be shaped also by the information ascertained from the participant observations and focus group discussion.

Name:………………………………………….Gender:…………………………………….. .

Location of business:……………………………..Number of years in Business:………………...

Main business target…………………………………………………………………………………………

Can you tell me what does a tourist means to you?
   ➢ Overnight tourists?
   ➢ Cruise ship tourists?

How do you feel about the role of tourism in Vanuatu?
   ➢ Benefits / Why do you think so?
   ➢ Problems/ Why do you think so?
   ➢ Concerns/ Why do you think so?

How do you feel about the role of cruise ship tourism in Port Vila?
   ➢ Benefits / Why do you think so?
   ➢ Problems/ Why do you think so?
   ➢ Concerns/ Why do you think so?

What do you think of the current levels of cruise ship tourism in Port Vila?
   ➢ Would you like to see it increase?
   ➢ Why do you think so/Why not?

What does cruise ship tourism mean to you?
   ➢ Why did you become involved in it?
   ➢ Where you involved in the industry in any other capacity? Explain!

How does cruise ship tourism affect you personally?
   ➢ How much contact do you have with cruise ship visitors when shopping?
     o If you have contact, is this contact positive or negative?
     o If negative, how do you cope?
   ➢ How much contact do you have with cruise ship visitors when using bus and taxi?
     o If you have contact, is this contact positive or negative?
     o If negative, how do you cope?
   ➢ How much contact do you have with cruise ship visitors when eating out?
     o If you have contact, is this contact positive or negative?
     o If negative, how do you cope?
How much contact do you have with cruise ship visitors when socialising?
  o If you have contact, is this contact positive or negative?
  o If negative, how do you cope?

How does cruise ship tourism affect your business?
  ➢ How much contact does your business have with cruise ship visitors?
    o If you have contact, is this contact positive or negative?
    o If negative, how do you cope?
  ➢ Are you dependent on the industry for your business livelihood?
  ➢ Are there types of tourists you like more than others?
  ➢ Could you distinguish the nationality of cruise passengers? How?

Should the government alter the way cruise ship tourism currently operates?
  ➢ If yes, how?
  ➢ If no, why do you say so?

What could be done to minimize negative cruise ship tourism impacts for you individually?
  ➢ By government? regulations, etc
  ➢ By businesses?
  ➢ By the community?

What could be done to maximize the positive cruise ship tourism impacts for your business?
  ➢ By government? regulations, etc
  ➢ By businesses?
  ➢ By the community?
Interview Schedule for Semi structured interviews

NB: This guide provides a general structure to the in-depth interviews, which will be shaped also by the information ascertained from the participant observations and focus group discussion.

Name:………………………………….Gender:……………………………………...

Place of residence:……………………………..Length of time in residence:....................

Age on their last birthday:........................................................

Highest level of education attained.................Occupation:.........................

Can you tell me what does a tourist means to you?
  ➢ Overnight tourists?
  ➢ Cruise ship tourists?

How do you feel about the role of tourism in Vanuatu?
  ➢ Benefits / Why do you think so?
  ➢ Problems/ Why do you think so?
  ➢ Concerns/ Why do you think so?

How do you feel about the role of cruise ship tourism in Port Vila?
  ➢ Benefits / Why do you think so?
  ➢ Problems/ Why do you think so?
  ➢ Concerns/ Why do you think so?

What do you think of the current levels of cruise ship tourism in Port Vila?
  ➢ Would you like to see it increase?
  ➢ Why do you think so/Why not?

What does cruise ship tourism mean to you?
  ➢ How much contact do you have with cruise ship visitors?
  ➢ Why did you become involved in it?
  ➢ Where you involved in the industry in any other capacity? Explain!
  ➢ Are you dependent on the industry for your livelihood?

How does cruise ship tourism affect you personally?
  ➢ How much contact do you have with cruise ship visitors when shopping?
    ▪ If you have contact, is this contact positive or negative?
    ▪ If negative, how do you cope?
  ➢ How much contact do you have with cruise ship visitors when using bus and taxi?
    ▪ If you have contact, is this contact positive or negative?
    ▪ If negative, how do you cope?
How much contact do you have with cruise ship visitors when eating out?
  o If you have contact, is this contact positive or negative?
  o If negative, how do you cope?

How much contact do you have with cruise ship visitors when socialising?
  o If you have contact, is this contact positive or negative?
  o If negative, how do you cope?

Should the government alter the way cruise ship tourism currently operates?
  ➢ If yes, how?
  ➢ If no, why do you say so?

What could be done to minimize negative cruise ship tourism impacts for individuals?
  ➢ By government? regulations, etc
  ➢ By businesses?
  ➢ By the community?

What could be done to maximize the positive cruise ship tourism impacts for individuals?
  ➢ By government? regulations, etc
  ➢ By businesses?
  ➢ By the community?
Appendix 2: Recruitment letter and consent form

Dear ____________________

Research Information Sheet and Recruitment Letter for semi-structured interview participants

You are invited to participate as a subject in a project entitled “Exploring the socio-cultural impacts of cruise ship tourism on Port Vila residents and their coping strategies.” This research is part of the course requirements towards the Master of Tourism Management degree at Lincoln University, which I am currently doing.

I am interested in discovering what Port Vila residents perceive to be the positive and negative impacts of cruise ship tourism, how they deal with these impacts and how it can be managed better.

This research will be conducted between June and July 2006 and will be using a semi-structured interview format. Your participation in this research will involve answering a short series of questions about your knowledge of cruise ship tourism and its impacts in Port Vila and how it can be manage better. The entire interview will take from thirty minutes to one hour and be tape recorded.

Participation in this project is entirely voluntary, and you are free to terminate your involvement at any time. All responses received will remain confidential, and only the researcher and supervisor involved in this project will have access to the data once collected. The results of the project will be published and data may be used in future research, however in any reports your identity as a participant will not be apparent, as data will be presented either in aggregate form, or using non-identifying codes. Data may be retained for used in future research and your permission is requested to allow this.

If you are interested in participating in this research, please sign the attached consent form.
This project is being carried out by: Anne Lucy Niatu, Environment Society and Design Division. I will be pleased to discuss any concerns you have about participation in the project. Contact details: ph. 64 (03) 325 2201, niatua2@lincoln.ac.nz

Supervisor: Dr Joanna Fountain. Contact Details: ph: 64 (03) 325 3838 ext. 8767, fountaij@lincoln.ac.nz

Yours sincerely

Anne Lucy. Niatu
Student (Master of Tourism Management)

The project has been reviewed and approved by Lincoln University Human Ethics Committee.
Consent Form

Name of Project: Exploring the socio-cultural impacts of cruise ship tourism in Port Vila residents and their coping strategies

I have read and understood the description of the above-named project. On this basis I agree to participate as a subject in the project, and I consent to publication of the results of the project with the understanding that anonymity will be preserved. I understand that data may be retained for used in future research and permission is granted to allow this. I understand also that I may at any time withdraw from the project, including withdrawal of any information I have provided.

Name: ______________________________

Signed: _________________________ Date: ____________________________