

# **Making a living in Vanuatu: Livelihoods and development in peri- urban Port Vila**



(Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2012)

## **Emily Leslie**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the degree of Master of Planning at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand.

1<sup>st</sup> November 2012

# Abstract

In the Pacific Island country of Vanuatu, the majority of the population is involved in subsistence agriculture. However, through the processes of globalisation and urbanisation, people are increasingly moving to the capital city, and economic hub, of the country, Port Vila, to participate in education and the exchange of goods. This migration has led to the growth of peri-urban settlements, the expansion of existing villages, and a change from traditional lifestyles. Communities, who live in the peripheral areas of Port Vila, are often disadvantaged because they have limited infrastructure and social support from local authorities. Such people need to develop supportive livelihood strategies by diversifying the ways they earn a living.

This study examines the livelihoods of people living in peri-urban Port Vila by identifying the main influences on peri-urban businesses. The field-based research conducted during June 2012, collected primary data from semi-structured interviews with family business owners, chiefs, local NGOs and key decision-makers.

The results reveal that there are different opportunities for peri-urban village businesses and peri-urban informal settlements. People living within peri-urban villages have the opportunity to enter the tourism sector. The peri-urban informal settlements lack this opportunity, however, there are other prospects within the informal sector. NGOs, local authorities and community play important roles in supporting these businesses.

This research is of importance to New Zealand, which is one of the leading aid donors to Vanuatu, and reveals the significance of understanding livelihood strategies in Pacific Island nations. Further, it is of value to Vanuatu's local and central governments, as public perceptions and the understanding of local businesses initiatives and peri-urban areas are needed for policy development.

# Acknowledgements

I have many people to thank for supporting me in the completion of this thesis:

To my supervisors, Professor Tony Binns for your positivity, expertise, patience and encouragement, and to Dr. Simon Springer for your guidance and support.

To the Vanuatu component of this research, especially to Jeffry Kaitip and the Physical Planning Unit for your support of this research. To all the key informants, thank you for giving up your time and sharing your thoughts, perspectives and visions with me. I am blessed to have had the opportunity to carry out research in such a beautiful, welcoming country, and am thankful to have met such charming people. *Tankyu tumas long everi samting we yufala I save helpem me mo sapotem me long hem long saed blong research blong mi taem we mi stap long Vanuatu.*

To Volunteer Services Abroad (VSA), for the opportunity to live and work in Vanuatu, and for all your support during 2010. Please continue to do such fantastic work.

To the University of Otago Department of Geography and the Master of Planning Programme. Thank you for providing me with a tertiary education that has encouraged my excitement for life, and for learning.

To my friends and flatmates, from this year, and from the past six years. You have provided me with countless laughs and adventures over my time in Dunedin, and I am thankful for the memories and friendships we share together.

And finally, to my family, for your continual support, guidance and encouragement. I could not have done it without you

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# List of Acronyms

AUSAID	Australian Government Aid Programme
CRP	Central Reform Programme
GDP	gross domestic product
GNP	gross national product
GNI	gross national income
JCfD	Joint Commitment for Development
IPR	indigenous Pacific region
LED	local economic development
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MICROPEPS	Microfinance for employees in the private sector
NGO	non-governmental organisation
NZAID	New Zealand Aid Programme
PiPP	Pacific Institute of Public Policy
PIDP	Pacific Islands Development Program
PVMC	Port Vila Municipal Council
RSE	Recognised Seasonal Employment
SMEs	small and medium sized business enterprises
SPC	Shefa Provincial Council
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNW	United Nations Women
UNELCO	Union Electric de Vanuatu
USD	United States of America dollar
VANWODS	Vanuatu Women's Development Scheme
VFSC	Vanuatu Financial Services Commission
VIPA	Vanuatu Investment Promotion Authority
VNSO	Vanuatu National Statistics Office
VSA	Volunteer Services Abroad
WSB	Wan Smolbag Theatre and Youth Centre

# *Bislama*<sup>1</sup> Glossary

<i>aelan dress</i>	“island dress”, the national dress of Vanuatu (for women)
<i>aelan kaekae</i>	island food
<i>haos gel</i>	female domestic servant
<i>kaekae</i>	food
<i>kastom</i>	traditional Vanuatu way of life
<i>kato</i>	fried bread
<i>laplap</i>	national dish of Vanuatu cooked on hot rocks made of root vegetables, coconut, island cabbage and sometimes with meat.
<i>Man Ambrym</i>	a person born, or whose family is from, Ambrym Island
<i>Man Efate</i>	a person born, or whose family is from, Efate Island
<i>Man Ifira</i>	a person born, or whose family is from, Ifira Island
<i>Man Ples</i>	expressing an “affiliation to place”
<i>Man Shefa</i>	a person born, or whose family is from, Shefa Island
<i>Man Tanna</i>	a person born, or whose family is from, Tanna Island
<i>nakamal</i>	traditional meetinghouse where kava is drunk
<i>Natagora</i>	variety of flax
<i>Ni-Vanuatu</i>	indigenous people of Vanuatu (singular or plural)
<i>Pandanus</i>	variety of flax
<i>storian</i>	chat; discuss; listen; to tell stories
<i>taboo</i>	sacred
<i>tuluk</i>	traditional Vanuatu cuisine made of root vegetables and island cabbage, and sometimes with meat. Often served hot.
<i>vatu</i>	Vanuatu currency exchange rate: NZ\$1 = 70 <i>vatu</i> (National Bank Online, 2012)

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<sup>1</sup> *Bislama* is Vanuatu’s *lingua franca*, one of the country’s three national languages (French and English are the other two). Prior to 1840 the language did not exist, although by 1890 it was used throughout the country, quickly evolving to be a grammatically complex language. It formed as a ‘broken English’ by Melanesians working on sugar plantations in Queensland, Australia, who used *Bislama* to communicate with each other and with the Europeans. *Bislama* additionally uses words and grammar from the French language and from dialects of Vanuatu’s many islands (Crowley, 2004). It is used by people throughout Vanuatu as an everyday spoken language, and is increasingly used in written communication by people working in government and non-governmental organisations, although the language is not used in schools or university.

# 1 . Introduction

The best thing about Vanuatu, though, is that you feel safe and happy here. The people are a delight. They love their country and want you to enjoy its pleasures, but they aren't after the 'tourist dollar'. There's no bargaining, no hawkers, no pressure to buy. It is so refreshing

(Lonely Planet, 2009).

This extract from the Lonely Planet website reveals a romanticised tourist perception of the Pacific Island country, Vanuatu. This assumption is not necessarily a bad thing, as it attracts many tourists to the islands of Vanuatu. This understanding draws upon the elements of sun, sand and surf, and “the tourist” naturally assumes that the local people are happy. This thesis does not intend to doubt the happiness of people living in Vanuatu, but instead attempts to portray and unravel the complex livelihoods of people living in the capital city Port Vila, a topic not covered in the tourist brochures. Pacific Islands are facing development issues of globalisation and urbanisation that are creating challenges for its populations. People are seeking new ways to make their living, sometimes in quest of the “tourist dollar”.

## **1.1 Identification of the Research Problem**

In most developing nations around the world, populations are becoming increasingly urbanised. People from rural areas are migrating, temporarily or permanently, to an urban environment. This trend occurs within the Pacific Islands, where rural to urban migration forces communities to diversify into different moneymaking avenues to support their families' lifestyles. For those who have limited access to capital, these changes can have a major impact on peoples' livelihoods. From a planning perspective, understanding the livelihoods of people, and in particular of marginalised people, can have a significant impact on the way local and central governments, and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) operate, and ultimately, on foreign aid distribution.

Poverty and marginalisation are prevalent throughout the Vanuatu urban setting of Port Vila, and are particularly marked on the periphery of the town boundary. People have migrated to these areas from the outer islands, away from a traditional subsistence agriculture lifestyle, in the hope of finding job opportunities. There are, unfortunately, limited employment opportunities, with less than 15 per cent of the population working in the formal employment sector (Cox, Alatoa, Kenni, Naupa, Rawlings, Soni, Vatu, Sokomanu and Bulekone, 2007). As a result, many people from these peri-urban communities operate businesses within the informal sector. Additionally, there are the people whose families have long lived in these settlements, and find urban growth increasingly encroaching on what had been an essentially rural existence. Many of these people have adapted to the peri-urban environment, enjoying the benefits of access to both the rural and urban lifestyles.

## **1.2 Purpose of the Study**

The purpose of this study is to identify the key lifestyle influences of people living in peri-urban communities. The research uses qualitative methods, and has been conducted in peri-urban communities of Vanuatu's capital city, Port Vila. Examples have been taken from the peri-urban villages of Mele, Pango and Emua, and the peri-urban informal settlement<sup>2</sup> of Blacksands. Through these examples, comparisons and contrasts are made about those who migrate to the urban environment, with those indigenous people who lived there long before colonial influence. Through these examples, the influences of urbanisation on the peri-urban communities are evaluated, and examples of how people are finding new ways to make their income are analysed. Additionally, this thesis will attempt to decipher the range of support local businesses receive that encourages the development of communities. In particular, the role of local authorities and NGOs will be analysed by evaluating their contribution to economic stability that enables communities to live sustainable lives.

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<sup>2</sup> Chung and Hill (2002) define "informal settlement" as a place "where people live in a way that does not accord with urban land-use or housing regulations and laws". Despite the fact that Vanuatu does not have urban land use or zoning laws or regulations, 'informal settlement' is considered more appropriate to use than other similar expressions (for example 'squatter settlement' or 'slums'). This is because "it is more inclusive and accurate for the situation in Vanuatu" (p. iv).

### **1.3 Research Objective and Research Questions**

The objective of this thesis is to identify the main factors influencing the local economic development and livelihoods of people living in peri-urban communities in Port Vila, Vanuatu.

In order to investigate this aim, six research questions have been posed:

1. What types of local businesses are prevalent in Port Vila's peri-urban communities?
2. How are peri-urban communities changing?
3. What are the main challenges facing peri-urban businesses and communities?
4. What are the main support systems for peri-urban businesses?
5. What are other dominant factors influencing local business and peri-urban community development?
6. What suggestions of improvement for local government and NGOs are possible for the planning and provision, both theoretically and practically, to enhance the livelihoods' of peri-urban communities in Vanuatu?

### **1.4 Statement of Approach**

This study has taken an exploratory approach, and it is recognised that further empirical research may need to be carried out to confirm these findings. Qualitative data was collected during fieldwork, which took place in June 2012. This fieldwork collected primary data through semi-structured interviews with a variety of stakeholders including small business owners, chiefs, local NGOs, and decision-makers at a local and central governmental level. Secondary data was collected through conducting a literature review, which looked at a variety of literature from academic sources, 'grey' literature, newspaper articles and government reports.

### **1.5 Thesis Structure**

The thesis is organised into seven chapters. Chapter One is this introduction. Chapter Two is the literature review, which creates a theoretical context for this research. Chapter Three establishes the contextual location of the research and the background information. Chapter Four describes the methodology used to collect data while in the field. Chapter Five includes case studies collected from the field-based research.

Chapter Six covers more results and discussion, which analyses more data collected during the fieldwork, and examines it in the context of the location of Port Vila and in relation to the established theoretical framework. Chapter Seven presents policy recommendations and concludes the thesis. The seven chapters are followed by a detailed list of the references, and the appendices relating to the data collection.



# 2 . Context

## 2.1 Introduction

The process of gradual urbanisation has a long history and was greatly accelerated by industrialisation (Potter, Binns, Elliot and Smith, 2008). Urban growth started relatively late in Melanesia when the colonial settlers arrived in the 1800s, but this movement is now among the fastest growth in the world (Storey, 2003). Vanuatu has an urban population growth rate of 3.5 per cent, which is the result of urban migration and natural urban population growth (Storey, 2003; Vanuatu National Statistics Office (VNSO), 2009). This migration is occurring as people move to the urban environment in the hope of finding job opportunities. The growth of jobs, however, and the formal economy cannot keep up with the influx of people (Government of Vanuatu, 2011a). This has resulted in the predominantly cash economy, as people diversify into the informal sector to make their livelihoods.

Historically, urban management has been neglected in Melanesia, with authorities lacking resources to carry out responsibilities in both urban and peri-urban areas (Storey, 2003; Tonkinson, 2011). Local governments do not have adequate systems to provide safety, sanitation, urban sustainability and health services. This has consequences for people living in these areas, and poverty is rife throughout the expensive urban environment, as people struggle to meet their basic needs. Thus, people living in these communities are increasingly looking for new opportunities to improve their living standards. This chapter will discuss how the geography, history and political setting have resulted in the contemporary urban situation in and around Port Vila.

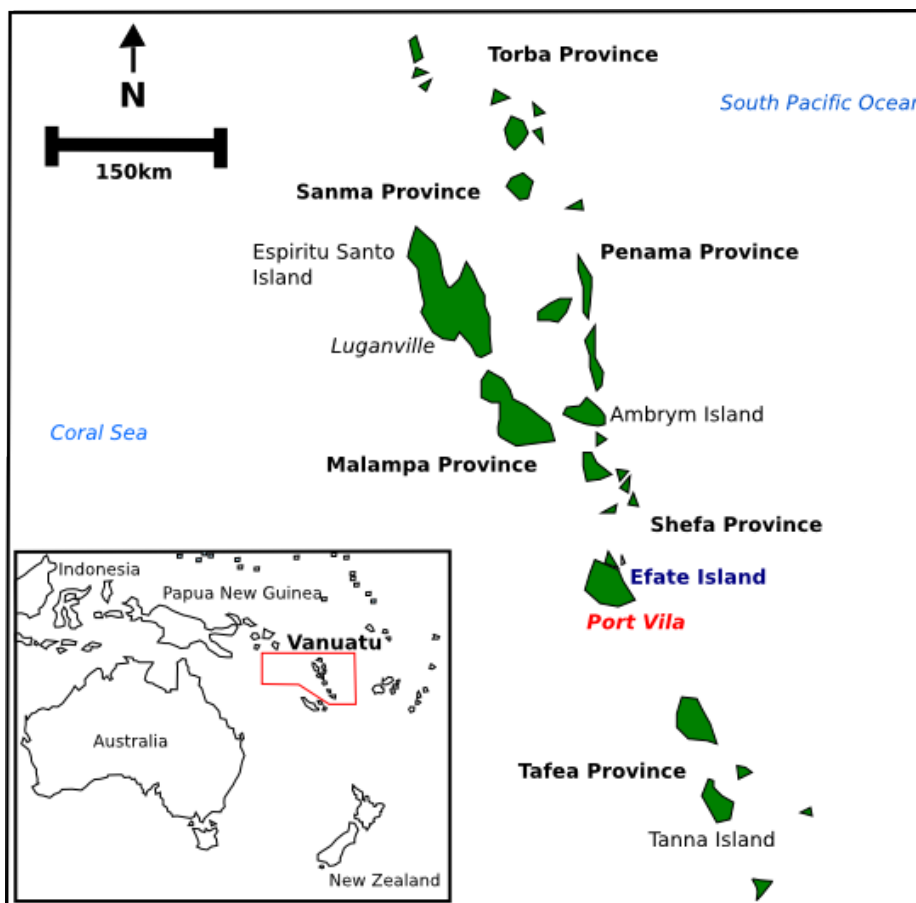
## 2.2 Geographical Context

Vanuatu is located in the Pacific Ocean in the subregion of Melanesia. It is located north of New Zealand. It is an archipelago of 83 islands, of which approximately 65

are inhabited. The capital city of Port Vila is located on the southern side of the island of Efate, and is the focus of this thesis.

There are natural elements within the geography of the country that create stunning tourist attractions, including coral reef beaches, bush and live volcanoes. The geography, however, also creates numerous challenges within the country. For example, transport between the islands is difficult, resulting in an uneven provision of services across the six provinces. There is much literature that debates the need to focus infrastructure improvement on the rural areas of Vanuatu, to reduce this rural/urban inequality. There is, nonetheless, also vast inequality within the urban area itself, indicating the many development challenges that Vanuatu faces.

**Map 1: Map of Vanuatu showing provinces, main islands and urban centres.**



(Adapted from: Lonely Planet, 2009a).

## Present Day Vanuatu

Table 1 below summarises some of the key indicators about Vanuatu's economy and level of development:

**Table 1: Vanuatu development indicators.**

Indicator	Value
Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (USD)	\$819.2 million
Population	245,600 (2011)
Life expectancy at birth, total (years)	71 (2010)
Gross National Income (GNI) per capita, Atlas method (USD)	\$2,870 (2011)

(Adapted from: World Bank, 2011).

### 2.3 Historical Context

Vanuatu has had a varied history. Melanesians inhabited the island group for over 2500 years, until the fifteenth century when European explorers and missionaries began visiting the islands, which were named New Hebrides by Captain James Cook in 1774 (Radio New Zealand, 2012). Port Vila was established in the 1800s, as a centre of commerce, administration, education and white urban settlement, similar to many other Pacific towns (Rawlings, 1999). In 1906, France and Britain formed a joint condominium administration to manage the country. This government was focused in the urban areas of Port Vila and Luganville, where the majority of the colonials lived. The condominium relegated the indigenous people of Vanuatu to marginalised citizens, a process that is recognised to have occurred widely during the colonisation of South Pacific nations (Deloughrey, 2009; Sofield, 1993). Prior to such establishments there was no history of urbanisation within the Pacific (Rawlings, 1999). Port Vila was administered by “arguably the most ridiculous colonial arrangement ever arrived at”, and the result was a drastic change in lifestyles and dynamics for the indigenous people living in these areas (Radio New Zealand, 2012). After many years of colonial repression in Vanuatu, an indigenous movement for independence formed in the 1970s. Part of this movement for independence was due to the lack of agreement in governing strategies between the two colonial powers, and the gaps in governance that created numerous problems for the indigenous peoples.

### 2.3.1 *A New Government and a New Constitution*

Independence was gained in 1980. The Constitution of the Republic of Vanuatu was passed in 1980 and this is the central document that still controls legislation within the country. Specific to the communities, and lay people of Vanuatu, is Chapter 13, which concentrates on the decentralisation of government. Section 82 and section 83 respectively state:

#### Legislation for Decentralisation

82. The Republic of Vanuatu, conscious of the importance of decentralisation to enable the people fully to participate in the government of their Local Government Region, shall enact legislation necessary to realise that ideal.

#### Local Government Councils

83. The legislation shall provide for the division of the Republic of Vanuatu into Local Government Regions and for each region to be administered by Local Government Council on which shall be representatives of custom chiefs.

These sections of the Constitution are enforced by legislation in the Decentralisation and Local Government Regions Act 1994 (twice amended). These Acts, administered by the Department of Local Authorities (Ministry of Internal Affairs), saw the decentralisation of power through the formation of six provincial governments: Torba, Penama, Sanma, Malampa, Shefa and Tafea (see Map 1). The primary aim of this was to create accessibility to government services for people who lived rural lifestyles in the outer islands of Vanuatu.

The Local Authorities Association of Vanuatu, with its secretariat in the Port Vila Municipal Council (PVMC), promotes communication between the provincial governments. The majority of local government funding comes from grants from the central government, with some finance received from waterfront development, business licenses, vehicle licences and physical planning fees. The majority of this money is spent on salaries and administrative costs. A current weakness in Vanuatu is the lack of laws related to specific resources. There are generalised resource management laws<sup>3</sup>, but these are considered inadequate to specifically manage the

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<sup>3</sup> The Physical Planning Unit within the Department of Local Authorities regulates two acts of parliament: The Physical Planning Act (Cap 193), and the Foreshore Development Act (Cap 190). Both these acts, however, lack power for enforcement and regulation. This is similar to other resource management acts including The

resources. Additionally, despite the decentralisation of power through the six provincial governments, the capacity of a number of these governments is questionable, with several of these local governments suspended during 2012 due to financial management issues.

## 2.4 Population Context

Vanuatu has a population of 234,023 (Table 2). The majority of the population lives a rural lifestyle, with 24 per cent of the population living in urban areas in Port Vila and Luganville (VNSO, 2009). Port Vila on the island of Efate (Shefa Province) is the largest urban settlement in Vanuatu with 44,039 people followed by Luganville on the island of Santo (Sanma Province), which has a population of 13,156 (VNSO, 2009).

**Table 2: Statistics of population and land in Vanuatu.**

Indicator	Specified	Quantity
Population	<b>Total</b>	<b>234,023</b>
	Urban	57,195
	Port Vila	44,039
	Luganville	13,156
	Rural	176,828
Growth Rate	Total	2.3%
	Urban	3.5%
	Rural	1.9%
Land Area	Vanuatu – Total	12,281.25km <sup>2</sup>
Households	Total	47,582
	Port Vila	9,097
	Luganville	2,582

(Source: VNSO, 2009).

### 2.4.1 Population Growth

Bryant-Tokalau (1995) described Port Vila as “one of the more dramatic examples of rapidly growing urban settlements in the Pacific” (p. 120), as in 1995 the city was growing at a rate of seven per cent per annum. Growth rates have since dropped; and at the last census there was an average urban population growth rate of 3.5 per cent (VNSO, 2009). Table 3 below shows population growth in Vanuatu since 1967:

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Utilities Act 2010 (amended), Ozone Layer Protection Act 2010 (amended) and The Environmental Management and Conservation Act (Cap 203), which are enforced by other departments.

**Table 3: National population growth in Vanuatu**

Year	Population
1967	77,710
1979	111,251
1989	142,419
1999	186,678
2009	234,023

(Adapted from: VNSO, 2009).

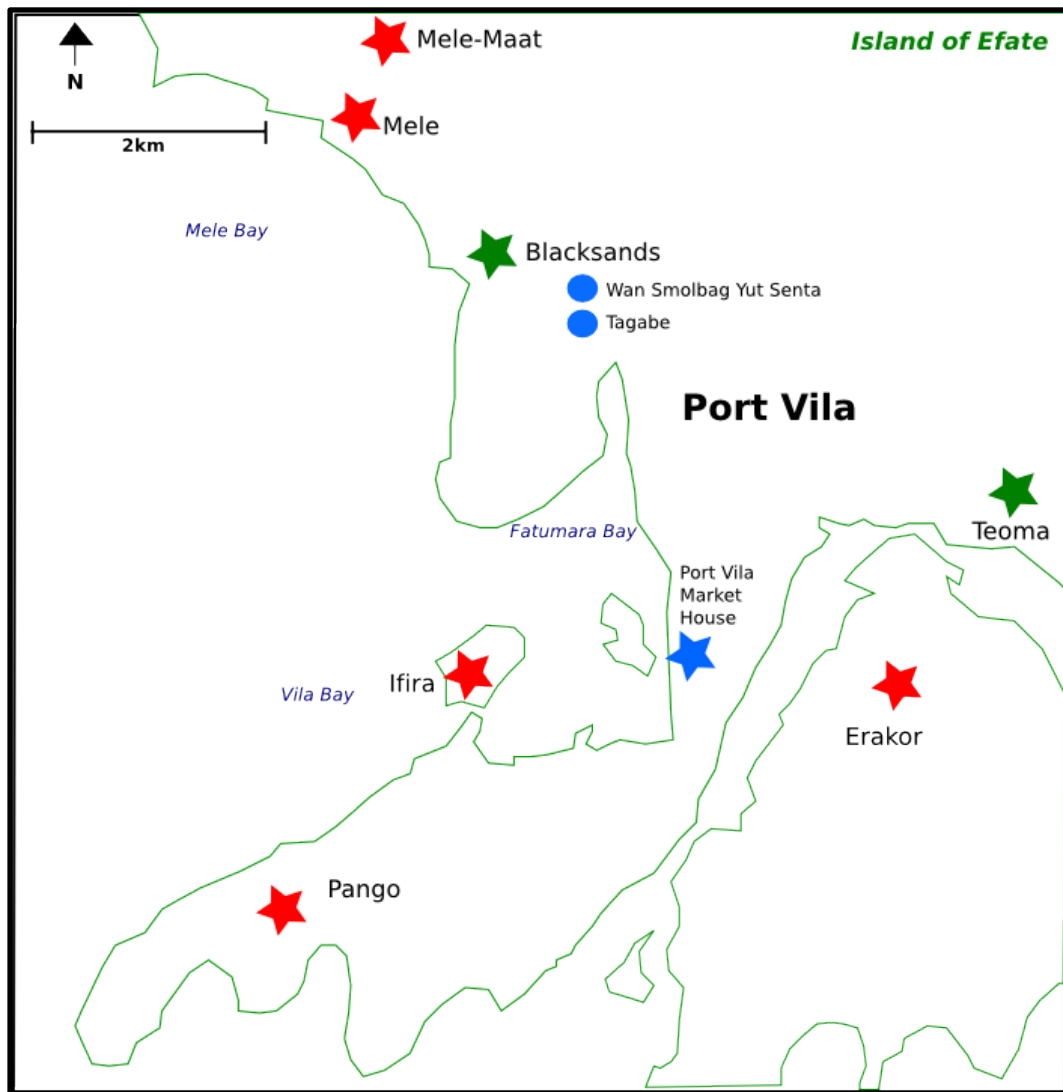
This growth is occurring because there are vast differences in the accessibility of essential services in rural locations in comparison with the urban environment. This difference is also visible with the income distribution of the population, with the average urban household income is estimated to be five times more than rural households (Government of Vanuatu, 2011a). As a result, many people move to the urban areas of Port Vila and Luganville to find work opportunities as there is a “belief that these exist in urban areas” (Government of Vanuatu, 2011a, p. 2). Although there are many who are create opportunities within the urban environment to improve their livelihoods, there are still many people struggle to make a living, and consequently are forced to live on the periphery of town in informal settlements.

This urban growth has seen the rise in informal settlements in the city; with such settlements lacking basic services including water, electricity, sanitation and waste removal, despite rapidly increased housing prices (Bryant-Tokalau, 1995; National Housing Corporation, 2012). As a result of this it is not uncommon for many families to live in the same household, or to spend half their weekly wage on rent (VNSO, 2009). Large numbers of people living within close proximity can have hygiene and sanitation issues as pressures are put on septic tanks, water supply and electricity (Bryant-Tokalau, 1995; National Housing Corporation, 2012). In 1990, approximately 25 per cent of Port Vila’s population lived in informal settlements (Bryant-Tokalau, 1995). It is currently almost impossible to establish exact figures due to the frequent movements of the informal population (Chung and Hill, 2002).

#### 2.4.2 Peri-Urban Communities of Port Vila

Rawlings (1999) described Port Vila as having five “peri-urban” villages: Pango, Mele-Maat, Mele, Ifira and Erakor (see Map 2). The Port Vila Municipal Boundary is shown in Map 3 of which all of Rawlings’ five “peri-urban village” lie outside.

**Map 2: Port Vila’s peri-urban villages and informal settlements.**



(Adapted from: Tourism Vanuatu, 2012).

**Map 3: Satellite image of the Port Vila Municipal Boundary that separates the administrative areas of PVMC and Shefa Provincial Council (SPC).**



(Source: National Housing Department 2012).

In addition to the peri-urban villages included within Rawlings' (1999) definition, it is now apparent that 'peri-urban' communities of Port Vila extend over the entire island of Efate. This is because the recently completed 'Round Island Road', has improved accessibility to the urban environment for those living in villages in North Efate. It now takes approximately 40 minutes to reach the other side of the island, meaning that people living in these once isolated communities, can now come to commute to town for work and business. Similarly, tourists can now access the northern villages with greater ease, meaning there is an increase in cultural exchange and livelihood variation.

Despite this expansion of the peri-urban lifestyle to North Efate, the villages which Rawlings (1999) described to be as peri-urban are still relatively different to those in the north of Efate, which have only recently been able to easily access Port Vila. These five villages have longstanding historical relationships with the colonial settlement of Port Vila, which have changed and adapted over time, and strongly influence the livelihoods of people living in these locations. Despite the longstanding



colonial relationships with Port Vila, culture and tradition still prevail within the peri-urban village context, as described by Rawlings (1999):

In well-established peri-urban areas people invoke the village as their place. Relatively secure with this sense of place, the proximity of town does not immediately threaten this displacement. Town and village exist side by side, and it is with this context that urbanisation occurs. Urban space can be accessed without relinquishing one's place (p. 76).

Because of this, the peri-urban villages close to Port Vila possess many lifestyle similarities similar to the ones in the in North Efate, and as a result, for the purpose of this thesis, the term “peri-urban” extends across the island of Efate.

The urban environment of Port Vila, similar to numerous other island nations and developing countries, is often seen as a site of historical exclusion, where many early settlers did not welcome indigenous peoples into the city centre. Accordingly, prior to independence, the livelihoods of people in the peri-urban villages evolved to take account of colonial repression. These villages still contain people adapting to the globalised environment of Port Vila, with the city centre is still seen by some *Ni-Vanuatu* as an un-welcoming location, and a location that increasingly benefits expatriates over indigenous peoples (Storey, 2003). Additionally, prior to independence, the training of a group of indigenous males during the 1970s to perform administration and government roles created evident differences between the elite and non-elite lifestyles present within the indigenous community of Port Vila (Zimmer-Tamakoshi, 1995). Furthermore, expansion of the urban environment into *kastom*<sup>4</sup> land has caused large social and political conflict in Vanuatu. These are important issues for town planners and *kastom* leaders, who have historically failed to adequately respond to these issues (Storey, 2003).

## 2.5 Economic Context

Vanuatu has a dichotomous economy in terms of both location and system. There are both the rural and urban-based economies, which result in the co-existence of a cash-based economy and a traditional based economy (exchange of goods for example,

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<sup>4</sup> *Kastom* refers to traditional, *Ni-Vanuatu* culture and is described by Bolton (2003) as “the word that people in Vanuatu use to characteri[s]e their own knowledge and practice in distinction to everything they identify as having come from outside their place” (p. xiii).

kava, pigs and taro) (Hickey, 2008; Ratuva, 2010). Vanuatu's exports are represented in the Table 4 below:

**Table 4: Vanuatu's export commodities for July, 2012.**

<b>Export Product</b>	<b>Value %</b>
Coconut Oil	27
Kava	17
Copra	15
Beef	12
Cocoa	9
Fish	6
Other	
Sandalwood Carving waste,	<5
Scrap metals,	<5
Food Supplements	<5
Personal effects	<5

(Adapted from: VNSO, 2012, p. 2).

Table 1 shows that Vanuatu's GDP is 819.2 million USD (Page 7). Other industries that contribute to Vanuatu's economic exchange include tourism, services (retail trade, government services, transport, communication) which make about 50 per cent of Vanuatu's GDP and manufacturing which makes up approximately 10 per cent of Vanuatu's GDP. The economy of Vanuatu is considered to have rebounded well since near crisis in the early 2000s (Duncan, 2008); the country, however still faces many challenges.

One of these challenges is the country's agricultural export market, which has experienced slow economic development. The *Republic of Vanuatu Millennium Development Goals Report* (Government of Vanuatu, 2011a) reveals a number of reasons for this:

Reliance on a narrow range of agricultural exports which are subject to international prices, distance from world markets, limited capacity to make full use of natural resources, the high cost of infrastructure (land, sea and air transport, communication, water, electricity), and vulnerability to natural disasters. Some commentators also point to the unstable political climate and

government's difficulties in implementing good governance as other factors inhibiting economic growth (p. 2).

The majority of Vanuatu's population lives a rural lifestyle and is involved in the agricultural sector. Most people, however, are involved in the subsistence agricultural production, so this sector produces only a limited variety of exports. There are job opportunities in the tourism and infrastructural industries in Vanuatu, although the majority of the urban population works in the informal sector. The civil service in Vanuatu is proportionally among the smallest in the world, and in the South Pacific, with only three civil servants per 100 people (Jayaraman, 1999). This indicates the lack of job availability within the formal sector.

### 2.5.1 *Foreign Aid and Development*

The Central Government is involved with international relations and controls the bilateral aid and multi-lateral aid the country receives. The majority of Vanuatu's GDP comes from foreign aid received from countries including; New Zealand, Australia, France, United States of America, the United Kingdom and Japan, and it receives amongst the highest aid per capita in the world<sup>5</sup> (Milne, 1992; Cox *et al.*, 2007). Milne (1992) argues that many of the:

[F]ormer colonial powers [...] have an "ethical" duty to support these small islands. Thus budgetary grants are unavoidable in the postcolonial era unless the regional powers are willing to see living standards slide in their former colonies or are prepared to be supplanted by competing donors. Thus, it is argued that these nations will continue to enjoy relatively high standards of living despite continual trade deficits and various problems associated with small island size (Milne, 1992, p. 196).

These "high standards of living" are, however, only apparent among some of the elite *Ni-Vanuatu* in Port Vila, and it is questionable as to who benefits from the high acceptance of foreign aid, as the majority of Vanuatu continues to struggle to meet the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) (Cox *et al.*, 2007).

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<sup>5</sup> Between 2002 and 2003, Vanuatu was the fourth largest recipient of foreign aid *per capita* (Cox *et al.*, 2007). Cox *et al.* (2007) noted that "[w]ith its sound macroeconomic environment and its relative political stability within a troubled region, aid flows are set to increase dramatically in the coming years" (Cox *et al.*, 2007, p.6).

The creation of economic sustainability within Vanuatu is essential, to reduce reliance on multilateral and bilateral aid. Following independence the decentralisation of the economy was one way this was encouraged (Forster, 1980; Nari, 2000). The country's economic growth is currently led through the private sector, under the Central Reform Programme (CRP) (Nari, 2000). Through the decentralisation of power and the economy it was hoped that economic development could occur at the village level (Nari, 2000); this has, however, failed in many respects. Some of Vanuatu's companies have been undergone privatisation. This is logical if the country is to reduce its reliance on foreign aid, as public sector savings can be made by reducing involvement in areas that can be left to the private sector (Jayaraman, 1999).

Agricultural production is untaxed. There is also no taxation on individuals or businesses regarding income or profits, thus creating the status of the country as a tax haven (Jayaraman, 1999; Rawlings, 2004). The Government of Vanuatu relies on indirect taxes, through international trade and tourism, and through import taxes, to raise revenue. High import taxes, with an average of 37 percent, significantly increase the cost of living in urban areas (Jayaraman, 1999).

### 2.5.2 *Tourism in Vanuatu*

The Republic of Vanuatu MDG Report (2011) revealed that there are economic opportunities present within “the tourism, forestry, mining and fisheries sectors” (p. 2). Milne (1992), however, argues that agriculture is “highly vulnerable to disruptions caused by natural disasters” and fisheries are a risky industry due to “declining stocks” and the negative influences on the natural environment<sup>6</sup> (p. 194).

Tourism is considered within much literature as a viable option to expand Vanuatu's economy. The MDG Report (2011) revealed the challenge to make these activities sustainable “so urban and rural areas alike benefit from the economic opportunities and the land and sea environments of Vanuatu are preserved for future generations”

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<sup>6</sup> Damage to coral reefs by trawling boats, species extinction and depletion of fishing stocks are all negative effects of fishing on the natural environment. For example of Hunt (2003) comments that in the Pacific ocean “[i]ncreasing fishing effort and new technology appears to be deleting a major tuna species” (p. 1).

(Government of Vanuatu, 2011a, p. 2). The involvement, however, of many in Vanuatu's tourism in peri-urban communities is unknown. Some people are able to tap into this sector, while other people need to be involved in alternative industries to build their family's livelihoods.

The MDG Report (2011) recognised that in Vanuatu "tourism is the main source of foreign exchange earnings, with tourism activities mostly limited to Port Vila and surrounds" (Government of Vanuatu, 2011a, p. 2). Tourism within Vanuatu is considered positive revenue, as it provides jobs for local people, results in professional training and brings money into the local community.

Additionally, many authors recognise that Vanuatu has achieved macroeconomic stability through tourism, construction and land sales, and remittances<sup>7</sup> through workers in the Recognised Seasonal Employer (RSE<sup>8</sup>) scheme (Howes and Soni, 2009; Milne, 1992). Expatriates and foreign investors own the majority of tourism businesses within Vanuatu (Milne, 1992), and it is therefore still debatable whether tourism within Port Vila and its peri-urban communities is 'pro-poor' by resulting in any significant wealth redistribution. This concept of 'pro-poor' will be discussed in Chapter 3.

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<sup>7</sup> Vanuatu is not a MIRAB nation (unlike other Pacific nations), meaning it is not reliant upon Migration, Remittances, Aid and Bureaucracy for its economy (Ware, 2004). The MIRAB strategy has been employed by many Polynesian communities to avoid conflict though maintaining economic returns to a wide section of the public, and to enhance opportunities for young people (Ware, 2004).

<sup>8</sup> The RSE Scheme was designed by New Zealand's former Department of Labour (now incorporated into the recently established Ministry of Business Innovation and Employment) to facilitate the recruitment of seasonal employees from the Pacific Islands to work in New Zealand's horticulture and viticulture industries (Department of Labour, 2012). It has operated in Vanuatu since 2007 under an inter-agency agreement with Vanuatu's Ministry of Internal Affairs. Workers from numerous villages around Vanuatu work in New Zealand and save money for school fees, improved housing and community infrastructure. Many villages in Vanuatu rely heavily on the remittances that come from workers under this scheme (Hammond, 2009).

### 2.5.3 *New Zealand's Tourism aid*

Tourism is a leading foreign exchange earner in Vanuatu (Howes and Soni, 2009). The Government of Vanuatu has recognised the potential of tourism for this growth. Similarly, New Zealand and Australian governments are also keen to develop legislation and policies to govern tourism within the nation. According to the New Zealand Aid Programme (NZAID<sup>9</sup>) website:

Economic development is a key focus of New Zealand's country strategy in Vanuatu. Both the New Zealand and Vanuatu governments agree that the private sector plays an important role in leading the economic development of the country. New Zealand is increasing support in this area, particularly to improve the benefits of tourism to Ni-Vanuatu people (NZAID, 2012).

There is support from the foreign aid donors for economic development within Vanuatu: "New Zealand is increasing support in this area, particularly to improve the benefits of tourism to Ni-Vanuatu people" (NZID, 2012). NZAID is increasingly supportive of small- and medium-sized business enterprises, as well as offering business support under the Pacific Business Mentoring Programme. This is aimed at increasing both private and public tourism incomes.

Additionally, New Zealand backed its foreign aid policies by signing a Joint Commitment for Development (JCfD) in 2012 to target tourism and private sector development as key focuses for development (Government of Vanuatu, 2012d). JCfDs are considered by NZAID as the most effective way of distributing resources and of promoting development. Thus, it is recognised that work needs to be done for the tourism sector within Vanuatu. A limitation is that in the main centre of Port Vila, most tourism ventures benefit expatriates, and tourism receipts do not benefit the wider community (Milne, 1992; Storey, 2003).

The Government of Vanuatu's Department of Tourism recognises the growth in tourism over the past 15 years and now has tourism departments in all of the six

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<sup>9</sup> NZAID (New Zealand Agency for International Development) as an institution no longer exists. The name NZAID, however, remains in common use to refer to the New Zealand Aid Programme, which since 2011 has operated as a division of the New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT). For the purposes of the thesis, NZAID is used to refer to the work of MFAT through the New Zealand Aid Programme.

provinces of Vanuatu. The number of *Ni-Vanuatu* who own businesses within the province of Shefa is considered low because of the expatriate-owned business market, in Port Vila and on the island of Efate (Cox *et al.*, 2007). Thus, on the Government's website the main focus of the Shefa Provincial Tourism Office is to "promote and facilitate the establishment of tourism business in other islands within Shefa Province" (Government of Vanuatu, 2011b).

## 2.6 Land Context

Land ownership within Vanuatu is of high importance. In 1980, when Vanuatu celebrated independence, all the land was given back to the *kastom* owners and their descendants (Scott, Stefanova, Naupa and Vurobaravu, 2012). This occurred under Chapter 12, Section 73, Section 74 and Section 75 of the Constitution which respectively state:

Land belongs to custom owners

73. All land in the Republic of Vanuatu belongs to the indigenous custom owners and their descendants.

Basis of ownership and use

74. The rules of custom shall form the basis of ownership and use of land in the Republic of Vanuatu.

Perpetual Ownership

75. Only indigenous citizens of the Republic of Vanuatu who have acquired their land in accordance with a recognised system of land tenure shall have perpetual ownership of their land.

There was also land that was designated "state land" under the Land Reform Act 1980; this land was located within Port Vila and Luganville municipal boundaries and is considered "urban" land, while land outside these boundaries is classified as "rural" (Scott *et al.*, 2012). All land within Vanuatu is leasehold land, with a maximum lease term of 75 years. Thus, even when land is sold, the *kastom* landowners retain an interest in it<sup>10</sup>. Accordingly, in order to have power and water supplied to a property, the land owner needs to give consent to the electricity and water supply company, a private company Union Electric de Vanuatu (UNELCO); a French company with a

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<sup>10</sup> Although the local people can keep an interest in it, in order to take back the land after the 75-year period, the landowner must pay back the leaseholder the money for any improvements made to the land, which in a number of cases will be difficult for the *kastom* landowner.

contract that expired in 2011 (Jayaraman, 1999). Another barrier that decreases people's access to power is high power tariffs (Jayaraman, 1999).

## **2.7 Chapter Summary**

If growth and development are going to be sustainable, they need to be accessible from all levels of society, from those most marginalised to the wealthiest people. As described, there are vast inequalities present within the urban and peri-urban environments of Port Vila, with limited opportunities for economic growth. Chapter Two has introduced the context for research evaluating local business initiatives in peri-urban Port Vila, how urbanisation, colonisation and land ownership issues have created inequalities within the urban environment. Furthermore, it has discussed how tourism is seen as an industry for growth at a macroeconomic level. Chapter Three will analyse the academic literature and themes, concepts and theories surrounding this topic of local economic development in peri-urban Port Vila. It will create a conceptual framework for this research, using examples from around the world, and literature that focuses predominantly in the Pacific.



# 3 . Literature Review

## **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter provides a theoretical framework for evaluating local businesses and livelihoods in peri-urban Port Vila. The literature review begins by putting Port Vila into context as the capital city of a small island developing state in the Pacific Ocean. Increasing urbanisation is common throughout the Pacific, and as a result, the nature of the urban and peri-urban environment is undergoing changes. These ideas will be discussed alongside how LED can be used as a tool to meet the challenges that occur as a result of the changing urban environment. Additionally, discourses of ‘pro-poor’ tourism, and the role of local authorities and NGOs within the urban environment will be discussed. The following chapter considers the methodology used to collect data and gaps within the literature covered in this chapter.

## **3.2 Small island developing states (SIDS)**

SIDS were first recognised as a unique group of countries at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Earth Summit) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. The acronym was conceived with the aim of encompassing small island nations to encourage discussion between these countries, many of which face similar development issues of overcoming poverty and inequality (Ghina, 2003, p. 2). The concept of SIDS facilitates the construction of a framework for this literature review. While each island nation has different circumstances and faces its own unique challenges, the concepts discussed here have relevance not only to Vanuatu, but also to other similar SIDS.

There are 52 SIDS in the world, 20 of which are located within the Pacific Ocean (United Nations, 2012). Many SIDS face challenges arising from common issues: colonial history, racial and ethnic diversity, post-colonial economic dominance by foreign multinational corporations, an economic reliance on tourism, low per capita GDP and lower levels of education (Bertram, 1986; Howes and Soni, 2009; Tisdell, 2002). Milne (1992) notes the difficulties and problems associated with grouping islands into microstates and making comparisons on this basis. For example, it may not be valid to make comparisons between a larger grouping and a smaller one, or between a microstate recently involved in the tourism sector, and one where tourism is long established. It is, however, useful to contrast SIDS and developing countries that have faced similar problems, as these leads to beneficial comparisons of solutions and tools used to overcome these problems

Milne (1992) discusses several problems common in SIDS including the often widely dispersed islands which: “creates severe communication problems and restricts the efficiency of traditional approaches to regional development” (p. 192). Ghina (2003, p. 1) describes SIDS as facing “many challenges and constraints in pursuing sustainable development due to their ecological fragility and economic vulnerability”. Others support this view describing SIDS economies as volatile and easily destabilised by global economic changes and natural disasters (Briguglio, 1995; Fontenay, 2010; Howes and Soni, 2009).

Bertram (1993) argues that Pacific Island nations’ economic fragility is a western perception, and that Pacific Islanders have lived and traded on the same islands for hundreds of years by surviving on the natural resources. Briguglio (1995) notes that SIDS’ GDP and Gross National Product (GNP) do not indicate the vulnerability of these economies to external forces that are outside their control. In the case of Vanuatu, 75 per cent of nationals live a rural essentially subsistence lifestyle, and accordingly are not greatly affected by global economic changes (VNSO, 2009).

Many strands of literature consider various frameworks to evaluate the vulnerability of SIDS to economic and environmental disasters. Turvey (2007) uses the indicators of coastal index, periphery index, urbanisation indicator and vulnerability to natural disasters to determine the environmental vulnerability of SIDS. Smaller, low-lying

islands are generally considered most at risk. Despite this, Vanuatu, with its mountainous islands are considered one of the most at risk nations, due to its long coastline and high exposure to natural disasters between 1970 and 1996 (Turvey, 2007). Vanuatu differs from many other Pacific Islands, in that it is not made up of low-lying coral atolls. Like most of Melanesia, Vanuatu is characterised by high islands covered by dense tropical rainforests. Efate, for example, has a peak of 647m named Mount McDonald. A particular risk associated with high islands possessing steep slopes and short watersheds is that tropical storms can cause high levels of sediment erosion inland, resulting in damage as it travels downstream towards the ocean, and can further result in coral reef damage once the sediment reaches once the ocean (Dumas and Fossey, 2009).

Another index is posed by Briguglio (1995) in his article “*Small Island Developing States and their Economic Vulnerabilities*”. Here, an economic vulnerability index for SIDS is established to evaluate the economies’ resilience to challenges faced as a result of forces outside the nation’s control. Such indices are useful tools to determine economic and environmental disasters. They often, however, lack the qualitative analysis and local perceptions of environment and economy that are invaluable in determining the vulnerability of livelihoods.

### **3.3 Urbanisation**

Urbanisation is a process that is occurring across the globe. Pelling and Uitto (2001) consider urbanisation to be a localised event or outcome, which occurs because of global change processes (as shown in Table 1):

**Table 5: Components of global change.**

<b>Global process</b>	<b>International linkage</b>	<b>Local events occurring worldwide</b>
Global Climate Change	International migration	Urbanisation
Sea-level rise	Development aid flows	Environmental degradation
International regulatory institutions and agreements	Foreign direct investment	Identity politics
	International communication networks	Insurance flight
	Cultural interaction	
	International debt	
	International policy co-operation	

(Adapted from: Pelling and Uitto, 2001, p. 55).

Conversely, some authors consider urbanisation to be a global process that results in other effects. Either way, there has been increasing focus within the literature on urbanisation and processes that occur within an urban environment for the past 15 years (Potter *et al.*, 2008). It is now globally recognised that there are more people who live in urban settlements than in rural areas (Storey, 2010). Even in locations where there are more people living in rural locations than in urban centres, urbanisation is still recognised to be occurring at increasing speeds (Pelling and Uitto, 2001). Many Pacific Island urban centres, although small in population size, are facing the effects of urbanisation: increasing poverty and inequality, and degradation to the urban environment (Bryant-Tokalau, 1995; Storey, 2003, 2005, 2010).

### **3.4 ‘Peri-Urban’**

Many strands of the literature reveal the difficulties in defining the difference between ‘urban’ and ‘rural’ around the world, and specifically within the Pacific context (Beard and Dasgupta, 2006; Bryant-Tokalau, 1995). In many Pacific countries, and SIDS, if there is a movement of people from ‘rural’ to ‘urban’ it is nearly impossible to define this movement in terms of distance, as land areas can be so small (Bryant-

Tokalau, 1995). The close proximity of rural to urban areas influences the culture and lifestyles of people who live in these areas. This is because there is a mixture of urban and rural lifestyle choices, the existence of rural hierarchies in the urban environment, and some villages with traditional laws have the urban environment built up around them, reducing their 'ruralness' and forcing them to combine with the city and live urban lifestyles (Bryant-Tokalau, 1995; Rawlings, 1999; Storey, 2003). This is the case with several villages in Port Vila, which are considered to comprise the 'peri-urban environment'.

Allen (2003) observes that defining 'peri-urban' is a difficult task, however, establishes that both urban and rural features are becoming increasingly common within a city's limits. As previously described, within many Pacific Islands and SIDS, determining 'urban' and 'rural' is difficult, and there is often an overlap between them. This in turn creates complications in the governance of these areas, and local authorities often overlook those living in these areas. As a result, people living at the periphery of an urban environment are often considered more disadvantaged, and have problems that often require urgent attention (Allen, 2003; Storey, 2003). Despite this, decisions affecting the peri-urban environment should always be considered in the long term (Allen, 2003).

#### *3.4.1 Informal Settlements*

It is generally agreed that Pacific countries can no longer be considered as simply 'rural' environments (Bryant-Tokalau, 1995). Population growth results in migration to urban areas, economic and political development, growth of the urban centres and the development of peri-urban areas (Bryant-Tokalau, 1995; Jones, 2002; Tisdell, 2002). Informal settlements sometimes referred to as 'slums', 'shantytowns' or 'squatter communities', often occur in peri-urban areas, as people who move to the urban environment cannot afford to buy or rent land, so unlawful housing is established on the outskirts of cities. As highlighted above, people who live in these urban environments in the Pacific are often disadvantaged; face a decreased standard of living and limited social opportunities (Bryant-Tokalau, 1995).

Informal settlements are common throughout the world, especially in developing countries. It is not uncommon for peoples' human and civil rights to be ignored in informal settlements:

In many cities, especially in developing countries, slum dwellers number more than 50 per cent of the population and have little or no access to shelter, water, and sanitation, education or health services. All too often, they are deprived of their human and civil rights as well (UNHABITAT, 2012).

Urbanisation can have negative environmental impacts on a peri-urban area. Falkland (1999) identifies effects that large populations have high water demand and pose a pollution risk within the urban environment. Similarly, Bryant-Tokalau (1995) comments that adequate housing, clean water and sanitation are essential to improving urban health conditions, yet a significant proportion of urban dwellers live in marginal locations with inadequate rubbish removal, fresh water and sanitation. Devas (2001) notes that some cities around the world fail to recognise informal settlements with plans and policy, and they do not therefore receive even the most basic council services. This serves to further accentuate the poverty found in informal settlements in the peri-urban areas of the urban environment.

### **3.5 Poverty**

The term 'poverty' is often avoided in the Pacific, despite it being recognised that poverty has been present for a relatively long period of time (Bryant, 1992; Bryant-Tokalau, 1995; Storey, 2010; Tisdell, 2002). Strands of the literature recognise that the definition of 'poverty' continue to be an issue, particularly in the Pacific (Bryant, 1992). Poverty in the urban environment is an issue to be addressed by development agencies worldwide. In the Pacific, however, poverty has been described as less intense than other parts of the world, notably Africa and Asia, because of the smaller population sizes affected (Storey, 2010). Despite these observations, with high levels of disease due to inadequate sanitation, declining cash incomes, and lack of available services, it remains evident that poverty is widespread within the Pacific Islands (Bryant-Tokalau, 1995).

The measurement of poverty is an issue that is raised in much development literature. It is not enough to simply measure the cash incomes of populations; a number of variables must be considered for poverty to be assessed (Bryant, 1992; O'Collins,

1999). This is a constant theme for development planners. A community may be poor in monetary terms and have less developed education and lifestyle technologies, but may be rich in land and also in life experiences, creating difficulty in terms of assessing the needs of communities. Clearly defining and identifying ‘poverty’, especially when considering a community’s perceptions to its living conditions and lifestyle choices can be exceptionally difficult (Bryant, 1992; Bryant-Tokalau, 1995). There are communities that appear to be lacking in basic facilities that westerners consider essential, yet may possess a wealth of other resources that are difficult to quantify, for example, there can be strong community participation and values, and a wealth of environmental resources. Many strands of the literature note the importance of using a multidimensional approach when evaluating poverty; incorporating factors from the formal and informal economies, as well as social, environmental and political factors (Bryant, 1992; O’Collins, 1999). Assessment of ‘poverty’ needs to consider issues such as infant mortality, access to sanitation and safe water, preventable disease incidence, population growth, education levels that includes indigenous knowledge, and life expectancy (Bryant-Tokalau, 1995; Thaman, 2003).

Many international organisations, development researchers and the media use the human development index (HDI) as a tool to assess livelihoods. Elements of the literature discuss inadequacies associated with HDI for addressing the situation of many developing countries (Hickey, 2008). This is because HDI evaluates standard of living through the three elements; life expectancy at birth, adult literacy rate and gross national income (GNI) per capita. McGillivray (1991) argues that HDI is statistically flawed, and fails to give insight into a number of development indicators. Additionally, many strands of the literature critique the HDI, as it does not consider inequality within a country. Grimm (2008) reiterates that this factor is imperative to have a successful index. Furthermore, the HDI only uses quantitative livelihood analysis, indicating that it does not reflect the “multidimensionality of human development” (Despotis, 2005, p. 385). Additionally, while the adult literacy rate is considered fundamental for a high standard of living in a western culture, in many other cultures, including those within the Pacific, knowledge is evaluated through different mechanisms. Thaman (2003, p. 2) argues that Pacific knowledge includes “knowledge, skills, and values relating to the Pacific region that are considered

worthwhile to teach and to learn”, and thus, the HDI fails to account for such knowledge.

Because of the failure of recognition of poverty within the Pacific environment, a challenge is posed due to the lack of reporting of poverty in official documents. This creates difficulties for governments and bilateral and multilateral donors, and leads to assumptions about peoples’ livelihoods, resulting in flawed policy and planning. In Vanuatu, for example, weaknesses in health data have been of growing concern in the past with estimates of only one-quarter to one-third child deaths being reported (UNICEF, 1991). Furthermore, poverty assessments need to look at the bigger picture in terms of livelihoods, for example, in Vanuatu factors such as the traditional rights to land, and the exchange networks that trade with social capital, need to be considered in livelihood assessment (Hickey, 2008). These evaluations are important for urban planning and cities’ framework, which around the world often fail to adequately address poverty, meaning there is limited support for those who are most disadvantaged (Devas, 2001).

### **3.6 Economic Development**

‘Economic development’ is a component of mainstream development discourse in the SIDS and around the Pacific (Ratuva, 2010). Economic development within SIDS is often impeded by a variety of factors that characterise SIDS, including: geographic isolation, transportation links within countries, a lack of accessibility to remote locations within countries, a lack of appropriate skills among the local populations and inadequate amounts of local capital (Milne, 1992; Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008). Consequently many SIDS face serious economic problems, and are often reliant on foreign aid for infrastructure, government functioning, economic and social development, healthcare and environmental management (Bertram, 1986; Ghina, 2003; Milne, 1992; Tisdell, 2002).

Bertram (1993) notes that often observers look at island states as foreign aid consumers, and it is easy to ignore these countries’ ‘informal’ economies, involving the people’s self-sufficiency and resourcefulness. Accordingly, Bertram (1993) argues that the conventional form of ‘economic development’ cannot be applied to the



small islands and nations of the South Pacific. This idea is supported by Fontenay (2010), who notes that Vanuatu can be considered relatively sheltered from the recent economic crisis because of the economic strength of Australia throughout this period. The fact, however, that three quarters of the population are involved in traditional subsistence agriculture, rather than a cash economy, means that in any event the global economic crisis would have only a very limited effect on most of Vanuatu's population (Fontenay, 2010).

Many strands of literature recognise that economic growth does not always lead to an increase in livelihoods and a reduction in poverty (Duncan, 2008; Ratuva, 2010; Potter *et al.*, 2008). This is often referred to as 'growth without development'. This is of particular importance to Vanuatu, which has seen a lot of economic growth in recent years, but has had only limited improvement in people's socioeconomic well being, with limited employment opportunities available to the majority of the population (Milne, 1992; Ratuva, 2010; Storey, 2003).

### **3.7 Local Economic Development (LED) and Small Business Development**

The role of local business within the Pacific context is crucial to the development and enhancement of livelihoods (Hailey, 1987). There is, however, currently limited scholarship in the field of local economic development (LED) in the Vanuatu and Pacific contexts, and most literature based upon the LED in a western society. Fragments of this literature relate to LED in the Vanuatu context, and as a result these concepts are discussed in this section of the literature review. Additionally, this section analyses literature taken from examples situated in other developing countries, notably South Africa. The themes and theories learnt from post-apartheid South Africa can be applied to the Vanuatu context. This is because of the similarities between the countries in terms of climate, colonialism, poverty, corruption, and urban environmental planning problems. LED is an important area of growth as "new economic opportunities can be created, new employment generated, and self-sufficiency fostered" (Hailey, 1987, p. 1). LED can be used as a development tool that is associated with decentralisation of government, and this additionally relates to Vanuatu, as decentralisation has been a focus of governments since the country's independence in 1980.

The concept of LED closely aligns with decentralisation policies as it aims to provide wealth-generating opportunities at the community level. This is of particular importance if community business development opportunities are to reach the most socially disadvantaged within a society (Teague, 1987). North (1955) describes one reason why alternative economic avenues are sought: “With increased population and diminishing returns in agriculture and other extractive industries, a region is *forced* to industrialise” (p. 244). This idea of industrialisation relates to the context of Vanuatu, because the increase of people in the urban areas of Port Vila and Luganville is creating a need to find new solutions to making a living. Despite this, Hailey (1987) recognises that the industrialisation and the establishment of indigenous businesses in the Pacific context leads to smaller businesses that provide services to the local community.

The local, national and global environment influences the success of LED initiatives. For example, the recent global economic crisis had an effect on LED throughout the world, and similarly the political situation of any given country would influence LED in that country, as would a climatic event in a particular location. As a result, a characteristic of LED initiatives is that many are reliant on the geographic location, and the unique local features of that location, to create business (Cox and Mair, 1988). This could be through workers with local knowledge and skills, as well as the supply of goods and products to meet customer demand.

In South Africa, LED is included within the country’s development agenda and is “now considered a mandatory component of local government administration and development planning” (Nel, Binns, and Bek, 2009, p. 225). This came about following Nelson Mandela’s government whose focus was to “propagate bottom up, community based development inventions which, through explicit decentralisation processes, were designed to give power to local communities” (Nel *et al.*, 2009, p. 227). This is similar to policies implemented by many governments following independence from colonial powers, including that of Vanuatu. Despite the widespread political support of LED, Nel *et al.* (2009, p. 226) argue that the success of LED in South Africa has been “relatively limited and sporadic, and has seldom generated the wide range of anticipated benefits”. In addition, Nel *et al.* (2009) highlight that this is a result of uncertainty and limited capacity at the local authority

level, often created from lack of direction at the national policy level. Despite this, many strands of the literature identify the importance of local government's role within LED. Teague (1987) in his article "*The Potential and Limitations of Community Business*" identifies the importance of the local government role extending beyond physical planning and including economic development. Teague (1987) categorises three ways in which local authorities can do this:

1. *Business infrastructure projects* include providing factory units, commercial buildings or instituting umbrella sector initiatives;
2. *Targeted financial policies* involve establishing financial and investment programmes for local businesses; and
3. *Enabling schemes* involve local authority enforced policy that aids local businesses in the start up process through provision of advice, cooperative agencies and/or start up grants (p. 18).

Teague (1987), unsurprisingly, notes that local authorities often consider funding projects that meet social needs as an inappropriate use of council funding, especially when most councils' budgets are limited. Despite this, he additionally finds that councils' need to realise that "the social benefit from an initiative may outweigh the narrow financial costs of incurring a subsidy" (p. 30). This indicates that, although LED projects may operate at a financial loss for some or all of the time, there are still other cultural, environmental and social benefits for the community that balance out the financial loss.

### 3.7.1 *Limitations of LED*

LED receives funding and political backing as a development tool from all over the world. This is because as a tool, the "key features of LED are that it seeks to encourage economic growth and diversify the local economic base into sectors that are usually quite different from those in which recent hardship has been experienced" (Binns and Nel, 2002, p. 236). Despite this, limitations of LED as a successful development approach are revealed within several strands of the literature. Nel *et al.* (2009) argue that the popularity of LED is not based on successful results as the tool has yet to reveal its ability to "make a meaningful and sustainable contribution to

local development on a widespread basis” (p. 234). One limitation, as identified by Teague (1987), is that often councils’ facilitation of LED measures is unintentionally focused on helping motivated entrepreneurs’, and not those most disadvantaged within community. Additionally, LED initiatives can have low employee productivity, in comparison to companies whose focus is profit driven (Teague, 1987).

### 3.7.2 *Evaluating LED*

The evaluation and assessment of LED is an area of some controversy within the literature. Rogerson (2008) indicates “it is evident that much new research will be required on small enterprise development at national, provincial and local scales of analysis” (p. 60). Teague (1987) identifies “expectations about the potential of community businesses should be realistic” (p. 31). He further argues that it is important not to assess local economic business initiatives under formal financial criteria, but rather appreciate the form of community development that LED businesses create. Thus, this recognises that local authorities and community planners need to take a holistic approach in analysing LED initiatives through analysis of cultural, social and environmental benefits, as well as the economic effects. This is similar to taking the multi-dimensional approach to evaluate poverty, as discussed previously within this chapter.

One method of evaluating of LED as a development tool is to determine the impacts LED has on unemployment, and on poverty levels. As mentioned above, there is a need to have realistic expectations on the outcomes and successes of LED. For example, Teague (1987) states, “it is unrealistic to expect community enterprises to create ‘real’ jobs on a shoe-string budget” (p. 31). The use of the term ‘real’ jobs should be avoided within the Pacific, as the majority of peoples’ employment, within the informal economy, is considered to be a ‘real’ job for people within this setting. Hailey (1987) supports this by defining ‘entrepreneur’ in a way that is useful within the Pacific Island context:

[P]eople who show a practical creativity and managerial ability in effectively combining resources and opportunities in new *ways so as to* provide goods and services appropriate to island communities and yet still can generate

sufficient income to create new opportunities for themselves, their families, and the community (p. 3).

Hailey (1987) uses this definition to approach a LED initiative evaluation taken by the Pacific Islands Development Program (PIDP). This study evaluated over 200 businesses owned by indigenous peoples from numerous Pacific Island countries including the Cook Islands, Fiji, the Marshall Islands, Papua New Guinea, Solomon Islands, Tonga, and Western Samoa:

PIDP's project researchers, when defining Pacific entrepreneurship, emphasise[s] the impact of communalism rather than individuality, reciprocity rather than acquisitiveness, and social gain rather than financial profit. Such culture-specific definitions are essential if researchers are to grasp the complexities of assessing business performance in the Pacific (p.3).

This recognises the difference between evaluation of business initiatives in a western and Pacific setting, and identifies that cultural influences unique to each Pacific Island location will influence business methods used. There are many examples within Vanuatu of culture influencing business: the family and community unit is of particular importance, and in most circumstances funds are required to pay for extended families school fees, often preventing individual advancement (Cox *et al.*, 2007). Furthermore, it acknowledges the importance of 'social capital' within the Pacific context, something that is commonly discussed by Pacific commentators (Ratuva, 2010). Ratuva (2010) specifically discusses the importance of family and relationships for social security and protection, which is of high importance for businesses and families in Vanuatu.

### 3.7.3 *Elements of successful LED*

Within the literature, there are debates about what contributes to successful LED measures. Nel *et al.* (2009) identify that LED works better in larger cities. Larger cities recognise that infrastructural intentions of LED are most successful, for example, "convention centre development, infrastructure improvement, marketing, inner city renewal and industrial support" (Nel *et al.*, 2009, p. 230), while "informal sector support and community-based service delivery programmes" are less successful (p. 230). Alternatively, Rogerson (2008) found that the key elements of promoting small, medium and micro-enterprise within South Africa were through "better access to finance, skills and leadership training and more flexible regulations"

(p. 61). These skills all potentially can lead to the increase of good business practice, for example as identified by (Cox and Mair, 1988):

The development of predictability, trust, brand loyalties and unique knowledge all encourage stable relations with particular customers and suppliers in particular places; likewise the establishment of relations with government officials that are often necessary for commodity exchange to occur (p. 309).

There is a balancing issue of LED in terms of providing local opportunities to address poverty issues, as well as to be globally competitive by providing quality products at a competitive price, particularly as advancement in technology creates difficulties in the viability of many local business initiatives. Porter (2000), in his article "*Location, Competition, and Economic Development: Local Clusters in a Global Economy*", suggests that the geographic location of businesses can connect businesses, enabling them to "compete but also cooperate" (p. 15). He observes that the clustering of businesses as a "striking feature of virtually every national, regional, state, and even metropolitan economy, especially in more advanced nations" (p. 15). Porter (2000) notes that the "prevalence of clusters reveals important insights about the microeconomics of competition and the role of location in competitive advantage" (p. 16). This is of particular importance in the Pacific urban setting, especially when looking at differences between businesses in peri-urban villages and those in peri-urban informal settlements, when different geographies of space result in diverse LED outcomes.

As revealed above, it is important there is support from local authorities in community economic initiatives, however the level of involvement of the local authority with LED initiatives is a constantly debatable discourse (Cox and Mair, 1988). Despite this, Teague (1987, p. 31) notes that "a 'top down' approach when trying to get community business initiatives off the ground" should be avoided because the local authority can "pressuri[s]e development workers into attempting to set up schemes with no hope of success" (p. 31). This indicates that there needs to be long-term community involvement and ownership of a LED project in order for it to be successful and sustainable. Nel *et al.* (2009) identify that there is need to try to enhance the effectiveness of how local communities respond to economic opportunities and challenges. Whether this is through the work of council or other

community bodies is a matter of debate, and how much a local authority should participate in such inventions is also a subject of discourse.

Although a concept that is unique to each differing location, Nel *et al.* (2009) have identified a need for a unifying policy and framework from central government in order to guide weak local governments. The limitations of LED create doubt in the mind of development planners when employing LED policies, as it is difficult to determine if LED is the appropriate pathway for developing countries like Vanuatu, when larger and more experienced countries like Brazil and South Africa have had low success rates with the use of such development tools. Nel *et al.* (2009) have identified the following factors as crucial to consider to successfully implement LED strategies:

- “dedicated national funding for LED projects in local municipalities;
- extension support for smaller municipalities that lack skilled staff to drive LED
- active encouragement of partnerships, relevant training and networking;
- evaluation of and learning from applied experience
- recogni[s]ing that small town and city LED differs significantly and that different support systems and strategies are need” (p. 236).

### **3.8 Tourism in SIDS**

Tourism is widely considered as a viable income generation tool for SIDS with limited resources, and can be used for socio-economic development (Méheux and Parker, 2006). Similar to South Africa, Vanuatu, with its tropical climate and diverse cultures, could be argued to be “one of the more appealing and rapidly growing tourist destinations in the world” making “this sector an area to which government, entrepreneurs and communities are currently looking into seriously” (Binns and Nel 2002, p. 236). Literature on the subject examines the themes of SIDS’ heavy dependence on tourism for economic growth, and the issue of environmental sustainability.

Tourism is the only economic sector in many SIDS that has seen growth in recent years (Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008). Reliance on tourism for economic growth often occurs because of a lack of other opportunities due to geographic isolation, fragile economies and numerous development challenges (Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008). It has, however, been identified that the SIDS that do not have a tourism sector are among the poorest islands in the world (Connell, 1993).

Although tourism growth is occurring in numerous SIDS throughout the world, this growth is at a macro-level, and does not consider the implications of tourism within national populations (Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008). Often the influx of money does not result in an increase in poor peoples' livelihoods and instead the growth appears to increase inequality within these SIDS. There are, however, some examples that reveal that tourism growth reduces poverty in SIDS as it is "used as a tool to stimulate marginal economies and to promote development through the jobs and incomes that it can foster" (Liu and Wall, 2006, p. 159). Additionally tourism can create opportunities for "economic diversification and can contribute to growth in many other tourism-related activities such as agriculture, fishing and services such as transportation" (Graci and Dodds, 2010, p. 3). Tourism, however, can also have numerous negative effects on island nations, which are identified in Table 6 below:

**Table 6: Examples of negative effects of tourism on island nation states.**

Dependency of a host community's economy on tourism	Decline in quantity and quality of water resources	Government debt to finance development
Rapid decline of traditional pursuits by locals because of a change in habits due to tourism;	Decline in biodiversity of species and ecosystems	Increased congestion and strains of infrastructure
Loss of habitat areas and resources due to development and pollution	Loss of natural and architectural heritage in the face of rapid expansion	Encroachment of buildings, facilities and roads close to coastline
Foreign customs and expectations creating conflicts	Sea, land, noise and air pollution	Displacement of local population

(Adapted from: Graci and Dodds, 2010, pp. 6-7).



Furthermore, Milne (1992) recognises that most microstates in the region face difficulties in:

Optimi[s]ing the positive economic impacts associated with tourism [...] Demand for imported goods and services tends to lead to high levels of monetary leakage and, as a consequence, the local income generated by the industry may only be a relatively small proportion of total tourist spending [...] Similarly, the benefits of job creation are often reduced due to the fact that managerial positions may require skills not available locally [...] In addition, the amounts of money and expertise required to establish large-scale tourist facilities are often beyond the resources of local people, with the result that much of the industry may be controlled by overseas concerns (Milne, 1992, p. 202)”.

These concerns primarily reflect why it is important to use the concepts and aims of LED and with the tourism sector in SIDS, like Vanuatu, in order to maximise the benefits to the local people.

### 3.8.1 *‘Pro-Poor tourism’*

The concept of ‘pro-poor tourism’ is well known within numerous strands of development literature (Connell, 2003; Devas, 2001; Nel *et al.*, 2009; Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008; Potter *et al.*, 2008). This concept identifies whether policy and practices are accessible to ‘poor’ people. Scheyvens and Momsen (2008) refer to the approach of ‘pro-poor tourism’, and identify that its “aims [are] to ensure that tourism delivers more net benefits to the poor” (p. 23). Tourism is identified as a sector that fits well within the pro-poor growth model because “it can be labour-intensive, inclusive of women and the informal sector; based on natural and cultural assets of the poor; and suitable for poor rural area with few other growth options” (Ashley and Roe, 2002, p. 61).

Scheyvens and Momsen (2008) argue that there is need for ‘pro-poor tourism’ to be applied to island states that rely on tourism for overall economic development, as often the majority of a population, particularly the most marginalised, do not have the opportunity to benefit from tourism related growth. Additionally Nel *et al.* (2009) identify that the “pendulum of policy thinking has swung from pro-poor to pro-growth” (p. 226), thus referring to the increased focus on many nations’ overall economic growth, as opposed to focus on how economic growth distributes through all levels of society.

“Pro-poor tourism”, and other forms of “pro-poor policies”, recognise that there is a need for increased benefits to the poor in social, environmental, cultural and economic sectors (Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008; Potter *et al.*, 2008). The three main strategies of ‘pro-poor tourism’ focus on increasing economic and non-cash livelihood benefits, improving policy, and reducing negative impacts, such as cultural intrusion, or the loss of access to land and coastal areas.

### **3.9 Government and governance**

Many of the problems that plague developing countries (for example, economic), are frequently perceived to be the result of political or governance issues (Roberts, Wright, and O’Neill, 2007). Roberts *et al.* (2007) argue that development issues result from “bad governance, making governance the thing that has to be fixed first in any attempt to ensure economic development” (p. 968). This recognises the role of the government within a country to meet the needs of its people. Across the Pacific, governments have consistently failed to adequately address the needs of urban populations, and Jones (2002) comments that “urban governance in the Pacific continues to be weak, ineffective and inadequate” (p. 186).

International development literature increasingly discusses the relevance of planning within a local community, as opposed to planning that comes from the central state (Beard and Dasgupta, 2006). This shift is due to revelations in the inadequacies of top-down, modernist and authoritarian approaches that have in the past dominated development literature (Beard and Dasgupta, 2006). In some situations, for example, a rural village, the hierarchies within a community may be obvious and known to everybody living in that environment. In comparison, within an urban environment, these hierarchies often are less obvious, particularly in peri-urban communities where change has recently or constantly been occurring due to migrations of people. As a result, the central and local governments are important to provide overarching structure for communities.

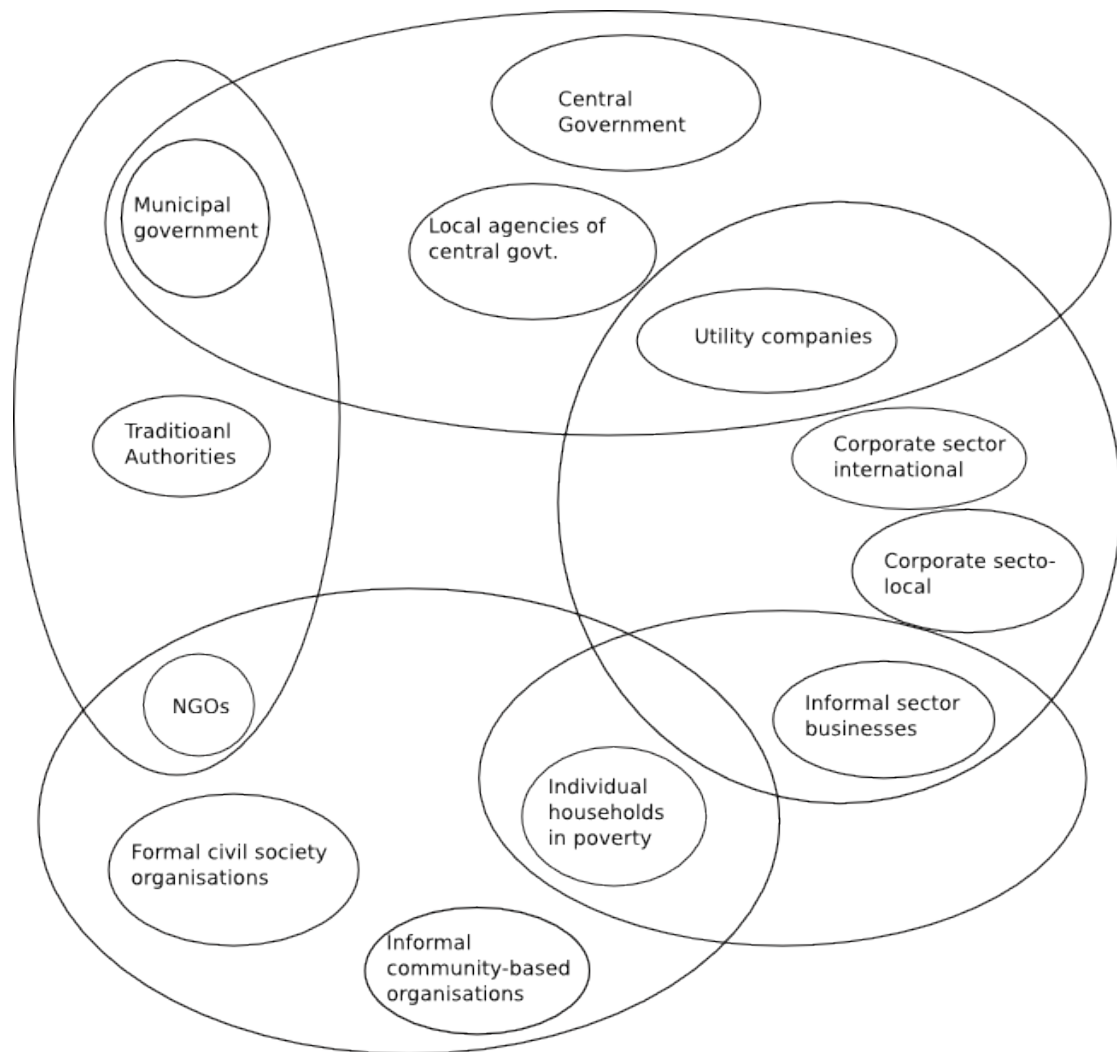
#### *3.9.1 City Governance*

Within Vanuatu there are two legal systems: the formal judicial system introduced at Independence and the “unofficial (customary) system administered by communities

and chiefs” (Forsyth, 2004 p.427). This *kastom* system is often ambiguous, and is interpreted by people from different communities in different ways. An example of this conflict is the selection of island and community leaders; some islands follow matrimonial lineages while others follow patriarchic lineages. Due to this ambiguity in community hierarchies, the overriding role of government is critical within the urban and peri-urban areas to use differing opinions to create a livable city. Devas (2001) identifies that there are many key parties who are involved in the governance of a city, not just local and central councils (see Figure 1). Such parties include formal and informal businesses, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), political organisations, religious groups, community groups, ethnic based groups, external forces such as aid donors, the media, trade unions and political groups (Devas, 2001).

Therefore, it is identified that there are numerous elements and perspectives that influence civil society. These opinions may conflict, and certain groups’ perspectives will be considered as having more weight than others, and will influence writing policy frameworks respectively. What really defines the success and abilities of these services is the ability to cater to the entire community, not just government funders (Devas, 2001).

**Figure 1: Actors and institutions of city governance.**



(Source: Devas, 2001, p. 394).

Devas (2001) identifies exclusions within society due a limited government capacity:

1. City boundaries exclude the homes of poor communities.
2. City governments are not responsible for many services on which the poor depend e.g. land allocation, housing, water, policing, education and health.
3. Legal restrictions.
4. Inadequate information on which to base policies and decisions.
5. Limited technical and managerial abilities of staff.
6. Limited financial resources.
7. Weakness in financial management.
8. Constricted by higher levels of government.

(Adapted from: Devas, 2001, pp. 398, 399, 400).

These parameters apply to cities throughout the world in both developed and developing countries, and large and small cities. If sustainable outcomes are planned, then there is the possibility of good outcomes being reached. This has been witnessed in the Polynesian capital city of Apia, Samoa. In Table 7 below, key parameters are identified for planning and development to create an improved urban environment in the Pacific capital city of Apia, Samoa.

**Table 7: Emerging urban outcomes- planning and development parameters.**

<b>Emerging outcomes of the urban system in Apia, Samoa</b>	<b>Key planning and development elements relevant to achieving outcome</b>
<i>Outcome 1:</i> Safe, healthy and cohesive communities that meet peoples needs and support and enhance village character	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Planning guidelines and standards (land use, setbacks, access, layout, open space, noise/air quality)</li> <li>2. Infrastructure (electricity, water, roads, sanitation drainage, waste disposal)</li> <li>3. Services (school, health centre, shops)</li> <li>4. Building guidelines and standards</li> <li>5. Village council/community focus/participatory process</li> </ol>
<i>Outcome 2:</i> Sustainable natural resource management in Apia and the catchment	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Land use guidelines</li> <li>2. Watershed protection</li> <li>3. River/stream water quality</li> <li>4. Infrastructure (electricity, water roads, sanitation, drainage, waste disposal)</li> <li>5. Village council/community focus/participatory process</li> </ol>
<i>Outcome 3:</i> Supportive environment for business	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Planning guidelines and standards (parking, pedestrian access, urban design, open space, footpaths, setbacks)</li> <li>2. Infrastructure (electricity water roads, sanitation, drainage, waste disposal)</li> <li>3. Building guidelines and standard</li> <li>4. Business council/participatory focus</li> </ol>
<i>Outcome 4:</i> Appropriate urban structure and form for Apia	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Equitable land use (transport, roads housing commercial development, commercial infrastructure (electricity, water, roads, sanitation, drainage, waste disposal) industry, schools, health centres, ports open space, airports)</li> </ol>

(Adapted from: Jones, 2002, p. 191).

### **3.10 Community**

Pacific countries have had long histories of community planning and involvement, and these systems need to be continued and enhanced, in order for the livelihoods of people living in impoverished conditions to be improved (Bryant-Tokalau, 1995; Ratuva, 2010). A dominating principle that is mentioned in many authors' work in the Pacific is the need for consultation, both rural and urban, within the planning process (Bryant-Tokalau, 1995; Jones, 2002; King, McVey and Simmons, 2000).

In addition to the crucial role of central and local governments, the role of the local community is evident within the Pacific. Bryant-Tokalau (1995) argues that long-range planning and community participation is key to the improvement of conditions in urban environments within Pacific nations. A question that is posed in the literature is "what constitutes and delimits community?" (Beard and Dasgupta, 2006, p. 1452). This relates to the country of Vanuatu, where numerous different island groups with a myriad of cultures and beliefs can be found within the urban environment, forming communities that can be difficult to distinguish through the western lens. Furthermore, it is important to include the concept of community and social capital when evaluating livelihoods as these are often of greater importance to peoples' livelihoods than the physical condition of infrastructure (Beard and Dasgupta, 2006).

Ratuva (2010) discusses the use of the problematic term 'informal' when used in the Pacific setting. To the western eye, many of the social structures within the Pacific hierarchy system appear informal, but Ratuva (2010, p. 42) notes, "the system of reciprocity of goods and services is structured very formally - not in terms of state policies or the market but relative to local cultural norms". It is therefore important to consider the local context and the local community when evaluating livelihoods, as systems within the Pacific are often deeply entrenched within the cultures and are often appropriate to the local context.

Community systems within the Pacific are important in providing both financial and social protection (Ratuva, 2010). Ratuva (2010, p. 43) notes that:

In developing Pacific states, informal social protection systems are cheaper, more readily available, more embedded within the community and can be

more sustainable compared with formal systems, which can be limited in scope and reach.

### **3.11 Non-Governmental Organisations (NGO)**

Within developing countries, NGOs often play an important role in the livelihoods of disadvantaged communities. Clarke (1998, p. 36) defines NGOs as:

[P]rivate, non-profit, professional organi[s]ations, with a distinctive legal character, concerned with public welfare goals. In the developing world, NGOs include philanthropic foundations, church development agencies, academic think-tanks and other organi[s]ations focusing on issues such as human rights, gender, health, agricultural development, social welfare, the environment and indigenous peoples.

This definition identifies the vast range of organisations that are encompassed under the umbrella of NGOs, and additionally, the large numbers of NGOs that are present within developing countries. In Clarke's (1998) article '*NGOs and Politics in the Developing World*', it is argued that there are few clues as to why NGOs form, and additionally, how they are supposed to contribute to the democratic process, or the formal political process, that create change.

Conversely, in the western world it can be argued that the role of the NGO often differs from that in the developing world. Their role is to keep the government in line by continually questioning the governmental policies. NGOs also play an important advocacy role in society by representing disadvantaged and vulnerable groups within society. The more voices (NGOs/vulnerable groups) that are heard, then the more the government remains accountable and transparent and therefore, less corrupt. Additionally, NGOs also play a 'service role'. This means that a service is also provided for people who need it; often this is done at a minimal cost, or is free to those who need the service. In the developing world, however, the role of the NGO can be quite different (Low, 2002). In many developing countries, there tends to be large numbers of NGOs that function at low capacity, reducing their influence on governments. In this regard, NGOs can often have a service role, as opposed to an advocacy role in developing countries.

NGOs must remain sustainable. Low (2002), however, highlights, NGOs are normally involved in multilateral or bilateral agreements in relation to funding. It is therefore difficult for them to operate on a sustainable or long-term basis, because the future availability of foreign aid is unknown. It is important to note that governmental and non-governmental organisations are not mutually exclusive (Woods, 2007). Often NGOs only have a voice within society because they receive financial support and advocacy from the government. This is either through financial support, or through advocacy by the government of the NGO services.

### **3.12 Chapter Summary**

This chapter has revealed a wide range of literature that provides the conceptual framework for this research. This chapter has revealed the constructed framework for the research using the themes of SIDS, urbanisation, peri-urban communities, economic growth, central and local governments, local business opportunities, pro-poor tourism, local business initiatives and peri-urban communities. Additionally, the topics of community, local authorities and NGOs were covered to evaluate the themes surrounding business support systems that may be in place for businesses within the Pacific.

Within this literature review, several gaps have been identified with the discourse. Notably, there is limited literature available on LED in the Pacific environment. As a result, discourse from other developing regions, such as Africa, has been taken to understand the themes relating to LED. Furthermore, it has been noted that many indexes only use qualitative data, while similarly many evaluations of economic development and influence of tourism initiatives are looked through a macro lens, as opposed to looking at individuals' stories and needs. As a result, a qualitative approach has been taken for this study, looking at individual circumstances. This will be described in the following chapter, which outlines the methods used to gather data to answer the research questions posed in the Chapter One.



# 4 . Methodology

## 4.1 Introduction

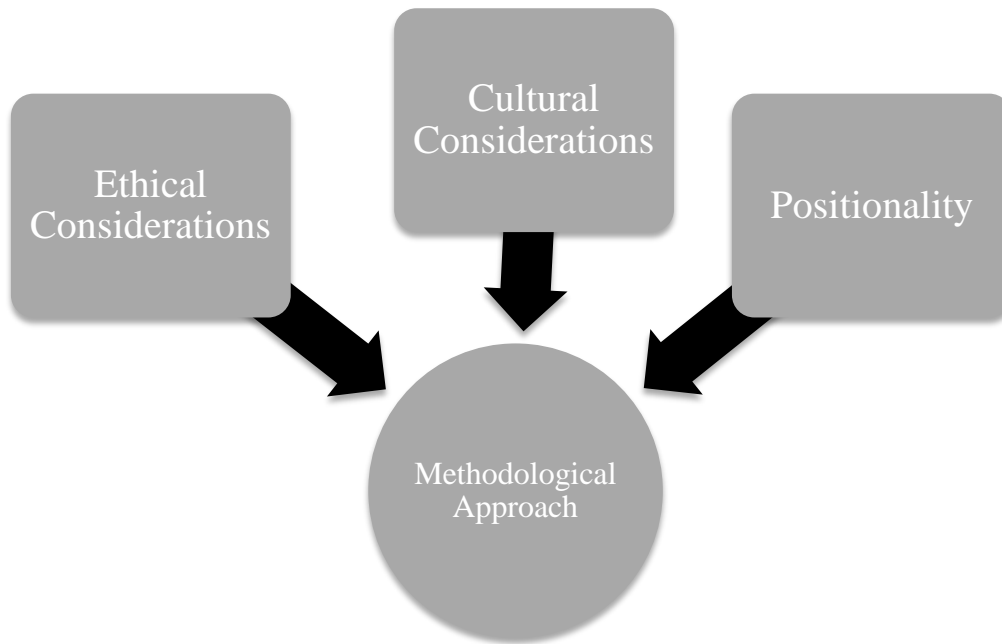
The research design for this study is outlined in this chapter. First, the cultural, ethical and positionality considerations that have shaped the design of the study are outlined. Secondly, the research methods used in this study are validated. The study examined both qualitative and quantitative data sources. Primary data was collected through interviews, focus groups and field observations. Secondary data was collected from census material, a detailed literature review, grey literature, and other material, including newspaper articles and social media websites.

## 4.2 Research Approach

This research takes a multidimensional approach, as suggested by O'Collins (1999). Several social, cultural and economic themes are evaluated using a variety of sources. This is considered of value when undertaking research within the Pacific, because of ethical and cultural considerations that must be adhered to (Huffer and Qalo, 2004).

Figure 2 reveals the factors considered when constructing a methodology, and how these factors influence the multi-dimensional approach taken. The ethical and cultural considerations considered, in addition with the researcher's positionality, and the key themes identified in the previous chapter, together influence the methods employed to collect the data. The justification of the methods used in the study is the basis for this chapter.

**Figure 2: Diagram illustrating the methodological approach taken in this study.**



(Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2012).

#### *4.2.1 Cultural Considerations*

This section will now discuss the cultural considerations taken to carry out this research. When conducting research in any area, it is important to understand the cultural values of that location. The 'cultural landscape', is argued by Schein (2010) to encompass numerous aspects of human activity, as well the material landscape that influences the society that we live in. Incorporating the Pacific 'cultural landscape' into research is of great importance as identified by Huffer and Qalo (2004): "the ethic must be acknowledged, understood, and respected by all who interact with Pacific Island communities" (p. 89).

Huffer and Qalo (2004) distinguish that "ignorance or dismissal of Pacific thought prevails in academia, which in turn has impacted on policymaking in Pacific countries" (p. 88). Additionally, international economists often focus on promoting 'development' and "Pacific attitudes are seen as a constraint or barrier" to the western view of this development and economic rationalisation (Huffer and Qalo, 2004, p.89). Thus, an understanding of Pacific lifestyles, beliefs and ideologies is important when conducting research, as this in turn leads to policy and change.

Sanga (2004) suggests that, “indigenous Pacific knowledge is relativist and inseparable from the context and the social realities of Pacific peoples” (p. 45). This reveals that place based research is specific to that location, particularly in the Pacific context where culture and traditions are embedded in everyday life. Furthermore, the analytical importance of separating Vanuatu from the Pacific context through including culture and ethics as critical elements of the contemporary context is revealed. For example, in relation to the Vanuatu context, Sanga (2004) specifically identifies the need for the “cultivation of local agenda, *Ni-Vanuatu* interpretations and *man ples*<sup>11</sup> perspectives” (p. 14). This is specifically important for contextual research, where there is a need to understand the way of the local people in order for any potential solutions to be made for any culture, social, political and environmental issues that may exist. This research, through its discussion of topics of interest with *Ni-Vanuatu*, encourages *Ni-Vanuatu* perspectives to emerge.

#### 4.2.2 Ethical Consideration

Secor (2010) makes the point that entering into trusting relationships with people because of self-interest (for example, completing a Master’s thesis) is unethical. For this reason, copies of the thesis will be made available for all participants involved, and small gifts were given to participants to show appreciation for taking part in the research and sharing their stories and knowledge.

Additionally, understanding the significance of this research was imperative. Huffer and Qalo (2004) argue that “listening to the communities around us and giving them a chance to express their understandings of the world” (p. 109). Therefore, having an appreciation that this research contributes to the body of knowledge means that it was carried out respectfully. In the researcher’s case, this involved becoming familiar with *Ni-Vanuatu* customs, culture and protocols.

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<sup>11</sup> *Man ples* is a *bislama* term that reveals “affiliation to place” which “is basic to *ni-Vanuatu* identity” (Bolton, 2000, p. 561). This affiliation is generally specific to the user’s home island. Bolton (2000) refers to a common situation in Vanuatu, where people living in or near Port Vila have only an abstract connection to a home island, which they have never visited. There can therefore be a loss of *kastom* and *man ples* identity, particularly within youth in Port Vila.

Prior to commencing the research, the researcher obtained permission for the study from the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee under the Ethics A category (See Appendix 3). This involved receiving permission from the Physical Planning Unit within the Government of Vanuatu's Ministry of Internal Affairs. Additionally, the research was discussed with several local leaders in Port Vila, and academics who had previously carried out research in Port Vila.

The researcher discussed the purpose of the study in detail prior to conducting interviews with the key informants, and gave them the Participant Information Form (Appendix 3), which provided the participant with background information on the study, and the key objectives of the study. The Consent Form (Appendix 2) informed the participants that they were not obliged to take part in the study and that they would remain anonymous in the study. Throughout the fieldwork, the researcher found that all participants were willing to share their experiences. This is similar to the work of Milne (1992, p. 192), who conducted surveys in numerous Pacific Island countries and found that “[b]ecause of the small scale of the countries and the interest of the participants, it was possible to obtain excellent survey coverage”.

#### 4.2.3 Positionality

The researcher is herself a positioned subject – consciously thinking about what and where she is and what and how she does things.

(Baxter and Eyles, 1997, p. 1).

This statement reveals that the researcher is positioned *via-à-vis* the subjects being studied. Furthermore, it outlines the consequence of ‘positionality’ when conducting research, how the researcher is part of the situation, and in turn, influences the data collected. The researcher’s positionality has also added value to the research. After living and working in Port Vila for a year while on assignment with Volunteer Services Abroad (VSA) she had gained a good understanding of the values of *Ni-Vanuatu* people. This experience has enabled a wide variety of participants to be interviewed, and also allowed for effective analysis of the data collected.

It is important to note that the researcher is not *Ni-Vanuatu*, nor does she have any family ties or ancestral links with Vanuatu. The significance of this is revealed through (Thaman, 2003) who states “researchers’ cultures often influence what they see or do not see (p. 3)”. The researcher is a 23 year-old female, who has been educated and raised in New Zealand. As a result of conducting research in a non-western world, there are possible influences and limitations involved in this study, as there may have been concepts the researcher failed to understand adequately. Despite this, every effort was made by the researcher to immerse into the *Ni-Vanuatu* culture, and to align her thinking with Pacific methodologies. The researcher had previously lived and worked in the community and she had taken time to form relationships through work and leisure. Additionally, she learnt the local language of *Bislama* enabling her to converse with an extended group of participants. Conversations surrounding the differences and similarities of the *Ni-Vanuatu* culture with the researcher’s culture facilitated relationships and trust between the participants to be formed. However, the researcher still notes the limitations of this study, and realises that leaving the community and then returning in a research capacity, may have weakened some of her ties. The fieldwork was carried during a period of three weeks from the 9<sup>th</sup> – 30<sup>th</sup> June 2010. While the researcher and participants had open and positive conversations, it might have been beneficial to the research to spend more time in the field to further deepen dialogue and discussion.

Additionally, being a female researcher in a male-dominated society may have influenced the results. Men who held positions of power may have considered the researcher’s study to be unworthy, and not gone into the depth and analysis that would have been engaged with a male. Despite this, the researcher made every effort to conduct her research in a professional fashion, which respected *Ni-Vanuatu* values. On the contrary, being female had its advantages, as the researcher was able to engage with female participants, who are often not engaged in decision-making processes.

Ethically, the researcher was obliged to undertake research appropriately and adhere to ethical policies, while at the same time learn more about the *Ni-Vanuatu* culture. By having contacts in Port Vila prior to this time, this was achieved, and the outcome was generally a positive learning experience.

### 4.3 Primary Data Collection

#### 4.3.1 Fieldwork

Fieldwork occurred in Port Vila, Vanuatu from the 9<sup>th</sup> to the 30<sup>th</sup> of June 2012. The study area of Port Vila was chosen because it is a Pacific urban setting. It was also chosen because it was an area known to the researcher from previous living and working arrangements. The population pressures facing the area were also well known and understood, and this created an interesting case study of determining how different stakeholders respond to problems faced. Primary data was collected through semi-structured interviews with key informants focus groups and site observations.

#### 4.3.2 Semi-structured Interviews

Qualitative researchers are encouraged to allow the research situation to guide research procedures in order that they may gain access to human experiences.

(Baxter and Eyles, 1997, p. 506).

This statement is of importance to all research within the social sciences, particularly in the Pacific context. Interviews with the key informants were semi-structured, which allowed the key informants to lead the interview discussion. This technique was chosen because of the importance of *storian*<sup>12</sup> in the *Ni-Vanuatu* culture. Taking the time to *storian* and discuss way of life is considered of high importance, and it essential in building relationships enabled for research to be carried out. Secondly, this technique is considered to be valuable in the social sciences because of the technique's ability to capture participants' views and experiences:

Most often, we choose to ask people questions if we are interested in what people think, know, or feel – or more accurately, if we are interested in *how people talk about what they think, know or feel*” (Secor, 2010, p. 195).

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<sup>12</sup> *Storian* is the practice of telling stories. Warrick (2009) describes *storian* as “an umbrella term indicating semi-structured interview, informal interview, and opportunistic discussion as part of observation. Irrespective of specific method, the central feature of *storian* is building rapport with participants” (p. 83).

Sanga (2004) further identifies the debates of knowledge surrounding methodological practices. He identifies that research methods are either “to test hypotheses, systematic protocols and techniques” or to “focus on obtaining contextual details, insider perspectives, particularities, as these unfold during investigation” (p. 48), and that Pacific research tends to align more with the later description of research methods.

Stitt (2005) found that when conducting research in Vanuatu it was necessary to make an appointment with the chief to ensure that the villagers were available for conducting research and not working in the garden. Although because of the peri-urban nature of this research, working in the garden was not a concern, as in many cultures, time to prepare is essential, and thus it is important to make appointments and seek the appropriate approval before collecting data.

Many of the interviews that the researcher undertook were with members of local and central government, and NGOs, and thus appointments were arranged via email or mobile phone prior to the interview. These interviews were arranged at a time and venue that suited the participant, which was often during working hours at the participant’s workplace.

Interviews with business owners, and community members, chiefs and leaders were arranged using a “snowball technique” (Secor, 2010, p. 201). When this occurred, a local companion would accompany the researcher to the correct place, and would often listen in and even contribute to the interview. In all situations the participants willingly took the opportunity to participate immediately. The interviews took place wherever the participant felt comfortable. This was usually in their kitchen or living room, or outside their home in the village. A small, token gift was made to all participants prior to the interview. This exchange is considered as good research practice, since participants are giving up their valuable time to be involved in the research.

Some of the interviews were conducted in English, and some were conducted in *Bislama*, while some interviews used a mixture of both languages. The researcher is fluent in both languages, and no translator was needed. Permission was obtained to

record the interviews using the dictaphone, enabling the researcher to give full attention to the participant. The interviews were later transcribed and translated into English using “free translation”, (the general meaning of a person’s dialogue) as opposed to “literal translation” (word for word translation) (Crowley, 2004). Although ‘freely translating’ dialogue may result in the loss of some meaning and depth, the researcher generally felt that an accurate perception and opinion of the key informant was attained.

#### 4.3.3 *Site Observations*

Observation is considered to be the ideal and necessary way to verify notions about the world’s character, forces and mechanisms.

(Rhoads and Wilson, 2010, p. 32).

This statement signifies the importance of observations, and these were taken while conducting fieldwork in Vanuatu. These observations were taken without influence of the key informants and were general in nature. As the researcher had lived in Port Vila in 2010, she was able to note changes, if any, which had occurred within the past two years at the time. Photographs were taken as evidence to back up these field observations.

#### 4.3.4 *Focus Groups*

Focus groups are considered a useful research tool as they “encourage solidarity between participants in a collaborative project that decenters the role of the researcher” (Secor, 2010, p. 200). Focus groups were used to collect primary data during field-based research, as they appeared appropriate for the context. These were conducted on two occasions: once with a group of chiefs, and on a second occasion with a group of VANWODS members. On both occasions a gift of food was given to the researcher to be shared among participants. The researcher considered focus groups as an adequate way of gathering opinions from people, who appeared to have a shared opinion the majority of the time. Furthermore, the researcher considered that the participants were comfortable discussing issues together as these groups of people often spent time together, and faced similar issues to one another.



#### **4.4 Secondary Data Collection**

Consultation of secondary data provides examples of agreement and comparison with data collected using primary data collecting tools. Martin and Pavlovskaya (2010) note that the “attributes of secondary data provide opportunities for particular forms of analysis that simply would not exist otherwise” (p. 176).

##### *4.4.1 Literature Review*

A theoretical framework was constructed prior to fieldwork in Vanuatu through undertaking a literature review. This allowed the researcher to recognise key theories and themes present within the wider literature surrounding this research. Local, regional, and global perspectives of local development planning within the peri-urban environment were understood.

##### *4.4.2 Grey Literature*

Grey literature includes material from unpublished reports. Some grey literature was consulted prior to undertaking fieldwork, notably reports from the United Nations and NZAID. Grey literature reports were also collected when undertaking fieldwork. These included census data from Vanuatu National Statistics Office, reports from the World Bank, from the Pacific Institute of Public Policy (PiPP), Vanuatu Government’s Physical Planning Unit and Vanuatu’s Department of Housing.

##### *4.4.3 Websites and Social Media*

Sanga (2004, p. 46) identifies that “within urban settings, some knowledge from the indigenous Pacific region (IPR) is now constructed and passed on through videos, camera and on websites”. Opinions and perspectives have been taken from the Vanuatu Daily Post (Vanuatu’s national newspaper), radio podcasts and television extracts. Social media websites, including the Facebook<sup>13</sup> ‘Groups’ ‘*Yumi Toktok*

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<sup>13</sup> Facebook is a social networking website that is an online tool in which individuals and companies share information. According to the website homepage, “Facebook’s mission is to give people the power to share and make the world more open and connected”. Because of the open and honest way in which many people use Facebook, it is considered a valid research tool.

*Stret*<sup>14</sup>, and ‘Vanuatu Spotlight 2011’ were used by the researcher to reinforce trends in opinions revealed from the field-based research. There are no direct quotes included within the presented data, however the researcher acknowledges that social media websites were a useful tool to keep up to date with current issues of debate in Vanuatu, before and after the field-based research.

#### **4.5 Data Analysis**

Data analysis is of particular importance as identified by Baxter and Eyles (1997): “the significance of authorship and the characteristics of the researcher in shaping the interpretation of findings have become increasingly influential as writing in social and cultural geography seeks to re-present the subjects of inquiry” (p. 1). The semi-structured interviews, after transcription, were coded and categorised to establish the main themes that would influence the results and discussion. Direct quotes are used within Chapters Five and Six as this acknowledges the valued involvement of key informants in this research, and within the Port Vila community.

#### **4.6 Chapter Summary**

This chapter has outlined the methodology used for this research study. The chapter has revealed the utmost importance of conducting research in an ethical manner, which is consistent with the *Ni-Vanuatu* worldview and aligns with Pacific methodologies. This is why a qualitative, ethnological approach was taken, using primary data from semi-structured interviews and field observations, and a broad range of secondary data. This methodological approach taken is followed by Chapter Five, which outlines and discusses the data collected.

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<sup>14</sup> ‘*Yumi Toktok Stret*’ approximately translates to mean ‘let us, everybody talk truthfully and openly’. This is the name of a Facebook group forum that has received vast attention in the past year in Vanuatu. The motto of the group is “Giving the people the voice and the chance to express their opinion”. A wide range of topics is discussed openly in this forum with numerous government ministers and politicians actively involved in the discussions. ‘Vanuatu Spotlight 2011’ is another similar Facebook group forum, which receives less public and media attention.

# 5 . Case Studies

## 5.1 Research Question One: What types of local businesses are prevalent in Port Vila’s peri-urban communities?

The first research question posed in Chapter One asked: “What types of local businesses are prevalent in Port Vila’s peri-urban communities?”. This chapter, in answering this question, describes businesses present within six case studies from the field-based research. These are outlined in the Table 8 below.

**Table 8: Case studies and key informants.**

Case Study	Key Informant	Location
1	1	Mele Village
2	2	Mele Village
3	3	Emua Village
4	4	Pango Village
5	5, 6	Blacksands
6	7, 8, 9, 18	Vanuatu Women’s Development Scheme (VANWODS)

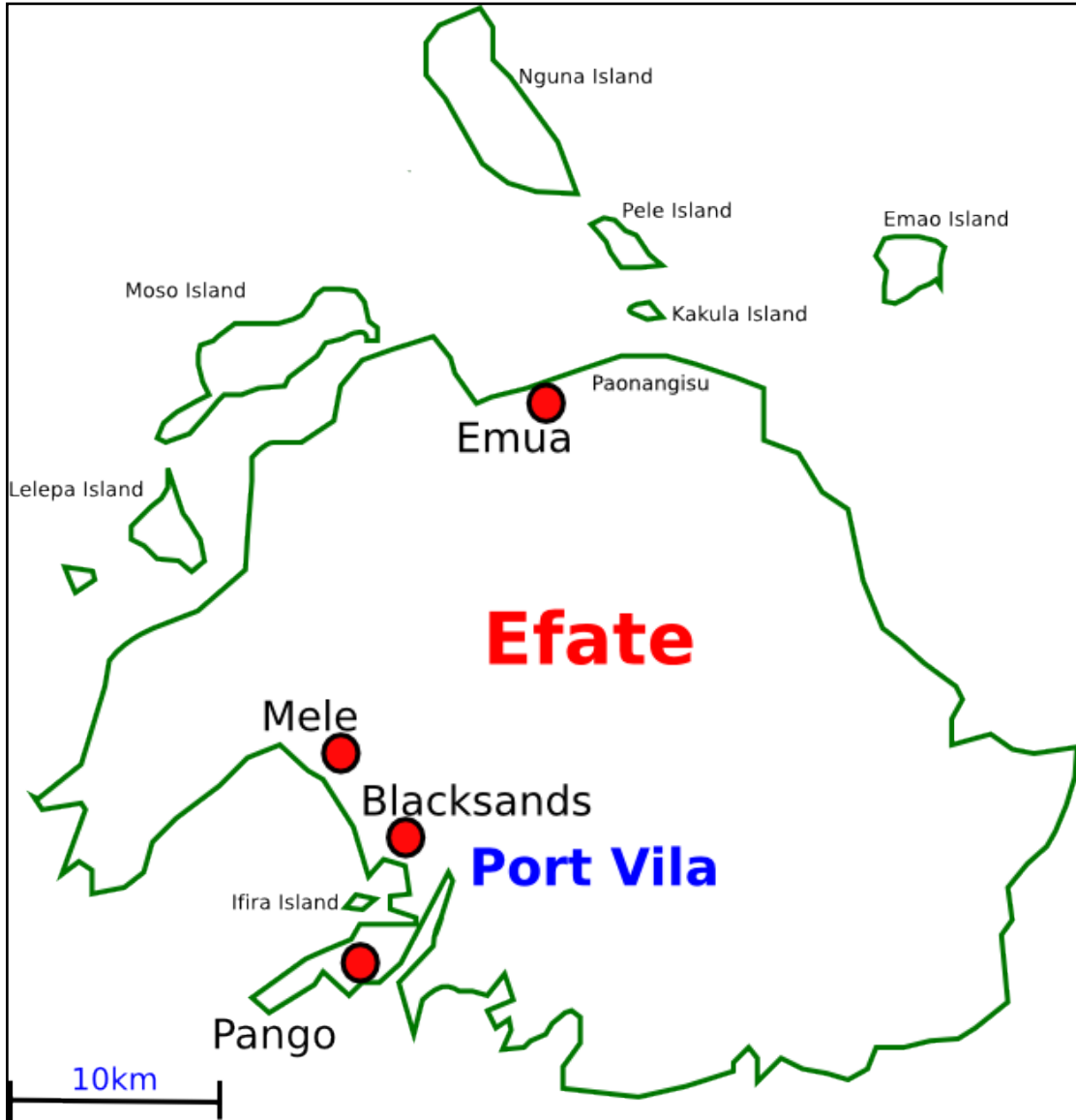
(Source: Author’s Research, 2012).

The first four case studies are from the peri-urban villages of Mele, Emua and Pango, and are primarily based on semi-structured interviews with four business owners who are indigenous to those areas. The fifth case study is from the peri-urban informal settlement of Blacksands, and this is based on semi-structured interviews with chiefs and community members, and grey literature. The final case study is based on a focus group with a VANWODS centre, a semi-structured interview, and grey literature.

This chapter leads on to Chapter Six, where a discussion of themes revealed from these case studies, and other examples from discussions with key informants, will be

undertaken, primarily looking at influences on local economic development and livelihoods in these peri-urban areas of Port Vila.

**Map 4: Map of Case Study Locations, Efate, Shefa Province, Vanuatu.**



(Adapted from Mappery Online, 2012).

### 5.1.1 Case Study 1: Guest House in Mele Village

Key Informant 1's family had recently opened a guesthouse in Mele. The husband and wife had four children. They did not need to pay rent on the land, as they were *man Efate* and the *kastom* owners of the land. The guesthouse was approximately two years old. It was extended onto the back of the house, which is located on the main road in Mele. The extension had added three units to the back of the house, each with two bedrooms, a lounge and kitchen unit (see Photo 1).

**Photo 1: Guesthouse in the peri-urban Mele Village.**



(Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2012).

The family opened the business to supplement the family's income, with the aim of both funding the four children through to university and helping their church. They chose the tourism industry because the returns are "[...] faster - I chose tourism because the marketing of tourism is good" (Key Informant 1). Prior to the opening of this guesthouse, Mele, which is the "biggest 'village' in Vanuatu", did not have a guesthouse, so Key Informant 1 opened a guesthouse so "tourists can come and sleep inside the Village" (Key Informant 1). The guesthouse provided long-term and short-term stays for tourists, and recently provided long-term accommodation for students

from Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands. Tourists want to come stay with the family in Mele Village because:

It is outside the town; it is a village. [My family] make everything; the flowers and the fruits [Photo 2]. Everybody likes to come to this place because there is no noise - it is quiet. When [the guests] wake up they see all the nice flowers, trees, everything- the Garden of Eden (Key Informant 1).

**Photo 2: A selection of local fruits and flowers to welcome guests.**



(Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2012).

Because of the close proximity of Mele Village to Port Vila and Mele Beach, the owners recognised that guests could use local tourist activities, as well as learn about the tradition and culture of the Village. Key Informant 1 identified the following activities for tourists staying at the guesthouse in Mele Village:

- Hideaway Island,
- Snorkeling,
- Village tour, Garden or jungle tour to “look at the yam and banana”;
- Sharing cultural differences, and
- Sharing local cuisines, for example *tuluk* and *laplap*.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> *Tuluk* and *laplap* are traditional cuisines of Vanuatu. They both consist of grated root vegetable and coconut milk mix, often with island cabbage or meat, wrapped in

The family charges between 1000 *vatu* and 2500 *vatu* depending on whether breakfast and laundry services are needed; and if there is a long stay; a couple and children are staying.

When asked about the challenges that the family faced with the business, Key Informant 1 identified that in order to start the business the family obtained a loan from the bank, which they are paying back 'slowly'. They are finding it stressful having a loan to pay back, but are really keen to be able to help their church and to send their children to university. An additional problem which Key Informant 1 identified was that competition within Mele Village was common: "When you make something like this [the guesthouse], all the other people will see, and they will start making [the same thing]. Another guesthouse is now up [the road]; another man started it. We were the first".

Key Informant 1 noted that there were cultural changes occurring in the community from not only their guesthouse, but also other tourist activities that were occurring within the Village. Notably, Key Informant 1 recognised distinct changes in the national language of *Bislama*, particularly amongst the young people in the community.

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banana leaf. *Laplap* is made throughout Vanuatu. It is often cooked as a large slab (similar to *lasgane*). *Tuluk* is famous from the village of Mele. This is different to *laplap* as it is cooked in individual portions wrapped in banana leaves. Both are cooked on a hot rock fire.

### 5.1.2 Case Study 2: Restaurant in Mele Village

This is a restaurant located within Mele Village, less than 100 metres away from the guesthouse in Case Study 1. This business had closed temporarily as it was undergoing expansion and renovation. It comprised a large room (see Photo 3) built in front of Key Informant 2's family home, with a pandanus<sup>16</sup> roof and walls made from bamboo, concrete and coconut shells.

**Photo 3: Restaurant in Mele. A whole in the wall provides for takeaway orders, and inside are tables and a billiard table. The restaurant currently caters for the local population, and aims to cater to the tourist population in the future.**



(Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2012):

Key Informant 2, his wife, and their three children own this business. Key Informant 2 has a job within the tourism industry, so the business was started so the wife could work from home and supplement the family income. The aim was to save money for their children to go to university, similar to that of Case Study 1. This business started over a period of trying out a variety of different moneymaking schemes. First, the

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<sup>16</sup> Pandanus has long, thin leaves that are traditionally used by *Ni-Vanuatu* to make the roofs and walls of houses, woven mats, woven baskets and *kastom* clothing items (Jolly, 1992).



family was gifted money and decided to use the money to start a money-lending scheme within Mele Village. Key Informant 2's wife would lend the money to family, friends and neighbours, and charge a small percentage of interest. This simple business thrived, and soon the small business was handed down to the eldest son of the family to manage. With some of the profits of the money-lending scheme, the family purchased two deep fryers. These were used to sell hot chips to family, friends and neighbours within the community. This business proved highly successful, so the family is currently expanding the business by building a restaurant so that:

People can come in, buy lots of food, and have a good place to sit down, because sometimes the weather is no good, and it rains continuously. The [family] house was too small for people to hide from the rain. So, I decided to extend this [building] so they could come enjoy their lunch, or whatever I have prepared" (Key Informant 2).

The new restaurant is approximately 10 metres by 30 metres in size, with a separate kitchen. Food and beverages can be purchased from within the restaurant, or from a booth outside the building. Key Informant 2 also purchased a billiard table to provide entertainment for visitors within the restaurant. The family owns the land, as both the parents originated from Mele, and they also have a garden where they grew vegetables to support their livelihood.

Key Informant 2 did not think that the neighbours would have any issues with the restaurant, because it would not be open late and it would not sell alcohol or kava. He thought that the provision of a local eatery within Mele would be beneficial for the community, and he hoped that tourists would eventually frequent the restaurant.

### 5.1.3 Case Study 3: Guesthouse and Restaurant in Emua Village

This business was located in Emua, a village at the top of Efate, approximately 40 minutes drive from the Port Vila Market House. This case study is different to Case Study 1, 2 and 4 because Emua was not included within Rawling's (1999) classification of Port Vila's peri-urban villages. This example has been included within the study because it identifies that the 'peri-urban' environment of Port Vila can now include the whole of Efate. As identified within Chapter Two the recently constructed 'Round Island Road' that circles the island of Efate has increased accessibility for people living in North Efate to travel to Port Vila by car, bus or truck, taking approximately 40 minutes. As a result, the lives of these villagers is now changing, as not only can they more easily commute to town, but also tourists can easily travel to visit these areas.

**Photo 4: Building that acts as the restaurant in Emua Village.**



(Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2012).

In the year 2000, the family leased the seafront land, which had previously used as a garden, to an expatriate who built a solid stone house on the property (Photo 5) and lived in the house until the lease contract expired after five years. With this new building on the property, Key Informant 3's family decided to add some more

buildings (see Photo 4 and Photo 6), and move into the tourism sector. It was a large job to first establish the property as the family had to clear a considerable section of bush to build the restaurant and guesthouse.

**Photo 5: Guesthouse, constructed by an expatriate who rented the land for five years, which is now used as part of the guesthouse business.**



(Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2012).

Key Informant 3 thought the tourism business was a good way to support their young family and to put their children through school: “We saw that tourism was better than any other business, because you have lots of visitors come [stay]”. Previously the husband had been a teacher at the local primary school, and his wife worked in agriculture. But they found this tiring, and now find tourism to be a better lifestyle. The couple has developed their business through trial and error:

I haven't been trained. When we started the business we got experience in looking after tourists. When we look after our guests, we just used our instinct. When we started using a visitor's book, they [the visitors] could make comments. So when the comments tell us something, we try our best to make it [happen] (Key Informant 3).

The wife cooks the meals in the restaurant, which were most often eaten by tourists staying in the guesthouse. The husband tidies the rooms, does the gardening, and

entertains the guests with activities. Key Informant 2 thought in the future they would employ someone else from Emua Village to help with the jobs if they were to become increasingly busy.

**Photo 6: Guesthouse, built by Key Informant 3 and their family.**



(Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2012).

A tourist from Australia offered to help advertise the business, and made a website for the family, with a contact cellphone number that tourists can ring if they want to book a room in advance. There is no electricity in the Village; so all cooking is done on fires or gas stoves, and Key Informant 3 has neighbours with generators and solar panels that enable the family's cellphone to be charged. However, most often tourists 'walk-in' and arrive in the afternoon, requesting a room for that evening. In the past, brochures were used to advertise the business, but these were expensive to print, and Key Informant 3 believed that the website was enough marketing for people to come. The family has a sign to put on the roadside indicating the location of the guesthouse and restaurant; however, this is only put out occasionally, as it creates too much demand for the business.

At present, there are tourists staying at the guesthouse an average of one night per week. The (recorded) numbers of groups that have visited the guesthouse are as follows:

**Table 9: Number of guests staying Key Informant 3's guesthouse.**

Year	Number of guests
2005	Unrecorded
2006	Unrecorded
2007	Unrecorded
2008	3
2009	19
2010	24
2011	36
2012	21 (up until 25 June)

(Source: Key Informant 3's guestbook figures 2012).

Key Informant 3 considered the biggest challenge facing the business is that of the infrastructure. First, the business uses the community water supply that comes down through the bush on the hill above the Village. In the future, the family would like to buy a rainwater tank to meet the water demands of the guesthouse. Secondly, the quality of the buildings is a challenge, as the original guesthouse fell down during a storm and had to be rebuilt.

The location of the guesthouse and restaurant on the beach (Photo 7), away from the bustle of Port Vila and in the Emua Village, means that tourists can enjoy a beachside holiday as well the cultural experience of *Ni-Vanuat* village life:

My husband does a coconut demonstration, and explains how we use coconuts in Vanuatu. They [the tourists] walk around the community; look how we live inside the community. Everyone is very interested in how we live in Vanuatu. They [the tourists] don't want to stay in town (Key Informant 3).

Other activities available within the area include:

- ‘Sky Deck’ (a short walk up a nearby hill for a ocean view);
- ‘Feeding the fish’ in the neighbouring village;
- Bush walks;
- Snorkeling;
- Visiting nearby offshore islands; and
- Visiting a village kava bar.

**Photo 7: The beachfront location of the Emua guesthouse is a valuable asset to Key Informant 3’s business.**



(Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2012).

There were also two other guesthouse businesses in Emua Village. These guesthouses were inside the Village, and did not have the beachside location, so often Key Informant 3’s guesthouse was the most popular. The community, however, would take turns at hosting guests, depending on how much the guest wanted to pay, and which owner had a room ready and available.

#### 5.1.4 Case Study 4: Guesthouse in Pango Village

This business was located in the peri-urban village of Pango; approximately 15 minutes drive from the centre of Port Vila. This business is a guesthouse, run by a *man Efate*, whose family were the *kastom* owners of the land. All the guesthouse's neighbours are related to the owner.

**Photo 8: Guesthouse in Pango.**



(Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2012).

Previously, Key Informant 4 had used the land to grow vegetables and to farm pigs. Key Informant 4 started the guesthouse business because he wanted to use his land to make a living for his family:

I've seen lots of people from Pango sell [their land], even members of my family [have sold their land] on the coastal area. But I had a thought, if everybody sells, and all the real estate will be taken and my family will have no chance [of a livelihood] here [in Pango].

This business was advertised through a website, that had been set up by a tourist who came to stay for a month. There was also a sign outside the business, however this simply indicated the presence of the business, as opposed to advertising it, as it is not located on a busy street.

This family had a truck, and the business had electricity, which enabled them to offer services which other businesses without these assets would not be able to provide.

Key Informant 4 explained:

Before the family started the business, my family had no experience with tourism. I started with nothing. When [the tourists] came, and started my marketing, started checking my email and my cellphone. I looked in tourist brochures and I followed their ideas. When a tourist comes, part of my service is to go to the airport, look after the transfer, bring everybody [to the house], and when they want to go back [home], or to another destination, like Santo or Tanna', I drop them at the airport. I've learnt a lot of tourism ideas".

The location of the guesthouse in Pango is close to beaches and the owners of the business recognised the range of the activities in the area. The guesthouse was close to a surf beach; so young surfers from Australia would come stay at the guesthouse. It is also relatively cheap, in comparison with the other nearby large resort chains (owned by expatriates and foreign investors), which can cost over 70,000 *vatu a night*. A bed at the guesthouse costs 2500 *vatu* a night (and special rates are negotiated for long-term stays).

Key Informant 4 noted that the many landowners in the area were leasing their ground to foreign investors. As a result, Key Informant 4 felt that the guesthouse created benefits to Pango Village, especially as his family was proud to have a locally owned guesthouse in the Village:

When guests stay here, it builds, and it lifts up the community too. There is another local who is building close to the sea down there. When we get up, the community supports us, because it is our culture. When we don't have tourists, we still check our emails and our bookings, and sometimes we provide accommodation for the locals. When the guesthouse is empty friends and family use the building. This means that they are supporting us (Key Informant 4).

Key Informant 4 organises the guests, and his wife helps with the cleaning of the guesthouse. Additionally, the family's children helped with small jobs around the guesthouse like picking up rubbish to keep the lawn looking tidy. The guesthouse is a self-contained unit, with a stove and fridge so guests could cook their own meals, but the family will often prepare fruits for the guests. On Sundays, the family invites guests to eat lunch with the family. This would consist of *laplap* because the family wanted to teach the guests about Vanuatu culture. Key Informant 4 and neighbouring



family members entertain the tourists with activities, which also creates additional benefits, with lucrative opportunities for the community:

[Tourists can go] bush walking, fishing, diving. This service is free. They [the tourists] gave me these ideas. Sometimes my next-door neighbours take the tourists fishing, bush walking and going diving, so they [my neighbours] benefit too. I don't ask the guests to [pay my neighbours]; it is their idea [to pay] a small donation.

In addition to supporting the local community through paying for activities, Key Informant 4 felt that the guests supported the *nakamals*<sup>17</sup> and small grocery stores located within the Village.

A challenge, which the business faced, was with the infrastructure of the building. It was a difficult process starting the business. First, a loan was needed to construct the building, and secondly, there were problems with the concrete foundations and walls of the building, which leaked soon after construction. This was stressful for Key Informant 4, who had made considerable investment into the building. Additionally, Key Informant 4 felt that not having internet access at his property created a challenge, as he needed to go into town to check the business website (which was set up by an Australian tourist who stayed with the family), in case the guesthouse had any overseas visitor bookings.

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<sup>17</sup> A *nakamal* refers to a place in which kava is drunk, often referred to as a kava bar. Kava traditions were established in Vanuatu before colonials arrived in the 1700s, and since this time the kava drinking practices have changed throughout the country (Crowley, 1995). Notably, kava was drunk throughout Vanuatu, with different traditions in the different regions. A *nakamal* is traditionally a male-dominated venue, however in the urban areas women are beginning to partake in the drinking of kava in social situations (Crowley, 1995). In Port Vila, women sell the kava, and often it is sold alongside an array of pawpaw and other fruits, chicken and fish, and in the urban centre they are sold alongside sweets, potato chips and Tusker: Vanuatu's Premium Beer. This usually occurs in a communal location where many women gather together to sell kava. Alternatively kava is sold in the back sections of local family homes, where a diesel lantern flickering outside the property indicates that kava is for sale in the backyard (Crowley, 1995).

### 5.1.5 Case Study 5: Blacksands

This case study is based upon a focus group with Blacksands chiefs, Blacksands community members, and some information from grey literature sources. Blacksands is a peri-urban settlement of Port Vila that faces many challenges. Vanuatu’s National Housing Corporation conducted a study in Blacksands for the Port Vila Informal Settlements Upgrading Project entitled “Basic Data on Port Vila Informal Settlements” (National Housing Corporation, 2012). Some of this data is included in the Table 10 below. The National Housing Corporation has recommended solving land disputes, and improving community lighting to help improve security. Additionally the construction of UNELECO water mains has been advised.

**Table 10: Basic data for Blacksands informal settlement, Port Vila**

<b>Factor</b>	<b>Description</b>
Located	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Outside Port Vila Municipal Boundary</li> </ul>
History	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Longest established informal settlement near Port Vila (since 1960s)</li> </ul>
Tenure Type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Owned by Ifira (Village) Trust with informal agreement for residents, with many sub rentals. Sub-rentals are the main cause of growth.</li> <li>• Informal agreement conditions include residents only being allowed to build temporary housing. This condition is sometimes waived for individuals who want to build a permanent house to national building standards.</li> </ul>
Social Structure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Most people are from Tanna Island (although also from numerous other island groups).</li> <li>• Variety of cultural, political, religious and economic backgrounds.</li> </ul>
Dwelling Type	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One third of houses are permanent (concrete, timber and galvanised roofing); the other two thirds is temporary housing.</li> </ul>
Other	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Houses close to Tagabe River are at risk of flood damage</li> <li>• In some areas up to 25 people use one toilet</li> <li>• 45% of people have direct or indirect electricity access</li> <li>• No defined road grid: access to interior houses is via unpaved walking tracks</li> <li>• No public lighting</li> <li>• Only houses along the roadside have water, the houses in the interior use rainwater tanks or wells.</li> </ul>

(Source: National Housing Corporation, 2012, p. 2).

Notably many of the issues present within Blacksands relate to a short history of land issues. Migrations to Blacksands first occurred in the 1960s when Mount Marum on the island of Ambrym erupted and caused a group of *man Ambrym* to move to Port Vila as refugees. Key Informant 6 explains the story of how the location of Blacksands was formed as a community:

Previously Blacksands was a *taboo*<sup>18</sup> place for *man Ifira*. They [*man Ifira*] used to garden there [on the Blacksands land]. But lots of people from other islands [of Vanuatu] didn't have anywhere to live [when they migrated to Port Vila], so they asked the landowners "can we do your gardening?" All the people from the other islands came and did the gardening [in Blacksands] so they could live for free. When *man Ifira* wanted food, they could come to them [the migrants living in Blacksands] and take the food.

This way of life continues to this day in Blacksands, with people in the community cultivating the gardens of *man Ifira*. Some people rent the land in Blacksands and "every month give money to the landowners [*man Ifira*]", while others live for free off the land (Key Informant 6). When land is rented, it means that the rights of the tenant are increased, and they can then create more long-term housing settlements with electricity and water. This is because the electricity supplier, UNELECO, of Port Vila will only supply electricity to a house if there is proof of ownership, or the owner allows electricity to go on to the land.

We still pay rent to the Ifira landowners [...]. In the end it's the landowners who decide if we have water or not, electricity or not, and the local governments cannot do anything about it (Key Informant 6).

The people in Blacksands also have to prove to the landowners that they are dedicated rent payers before the landowners will sign agreements for UNELECO to connect electricity to the land. As a result of this, many people in these settlements use generators for electricity, or illegally connect electricity to the houses, often with ten households in a community supplying the electricity for thirty households (Key Informant 6). As an alternative to electricity, some households burn fires for cooking and candles for light, or have solar panels to charge cellphones (Key Informant 6).

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<sup>18</sup> *Taboo* is the *Bislama* expression for 'sacred'.

Key Informant 6 noted that despite there being several issues of land, and a lot of poverty within the settlement of Blacksands, it is still a place where a good lifestyle can be lived, because of both the rural and urban aspects of the settlement:

It's a place that is closer to home [the island] because the sea is close by, and there are rivers in Blacksands so it still has things you can do; we have gardens too. And you can fish from the sea, and from the river also, so it's still quite like home, and yet it is close to town. You can walk to town, and you can walk back, and it is still OK.

Key Informant 8 described Blacksands in the following way:

Blacksands: it is a rural place. And inside a rural place there are lots of people that don't work hard, that don't have good [formal / continuous] jobs, and that find living hard. I think they manage [to survive] because they live in a rural location where rent is cheap [...] and where living standards are low. They have access to walk around the bush and collect firewood; they live simply because they must pay rent [and don't have money for other things].

Key Informant 6 recognised that the peri-urban community incorporated both rural and urban lifestyles, and as a result food was grown and sold within the community, enabling community owners to make money:

It's an urban [environment] in a rural place. We've got markets on the side of the road, where you can get fresh vegetables, and also cooked food. So if you can't afford to eat, to prepare a good meal, then you can walk and get food for 20 *vatu*, 50 *vatu*, 100 *vatu* and satisfy your stomach.

### 5.1.6 Case Study 6: Vanuatu Women's Development Scheme (VANWODS)

This case study is based on an interview with Key Informant 18, and a *storian* styled focus group with over 20 VANWODS members (collectively identified as Key Informant 9). Furthermore, this case study draws upon a report entitled “VANWODS *Microfinance Impact Assessment 2010*” which is a survey of VANWODS members by Suen and Fred (2010).

VANWODS has held a strong influence on local economic initiatives since it began operating in 1996. This NGO provides microfinance, predominantly to women, for businesses to be established to provide for family and community needs. There are more than 70 VANWODS centres throughout Vanuatu, and in Port Vila alone there are more than 3000 members (Key Informant 18). There are approximately 35 people in every VANWODS centre. These centres are communities of women who meet weekly to discuss their business and hand their savings over to the group treasurer, who then takes the centre's savings to VANWODS Port Vila office. VANWODS is considered to be a reputable and effective NGO because of its high member enrollment, and receives its funding from NZAID, AUSAID, the European Union and the Government of Vanuatu (Key Informant 18).

VANWODS operates with three different products:

1. Microcredit;
2. Microfinance for employees in the private sector (MICROPEPS); and
3. Seasonal employee funding.

Microcredit encourages savings amongst women. MICROPEPS<sup>19</sup> enables women to obtain loans to help expand their businesses, and the Seasonal Employee Funding is a scheme available to help men and women obtain finance enabling them to come to New Zealand to work under the RSE Scheme<sup>8</sup> (refer to Page 17) (by providing flights, passports, warm clothing and any extra pocket money needed while in New Zealand)

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<sup>19</sup> The MICROPEPS product was first offered in 2005 through companies to clients who were fully employed (Suen and Fred, 2010, p. 27).

(Key Informant 18). A current pilot project<sup>20</sup> is the lending of finance to purchase cars and vans to function as small taxi and bus businesses, and if this is considered successful it will be offered as a product of VANWODS (Key Informant 18).

VANWODS centres are all over the country, revealing the importance of the organisation both in terms of local economic development in the urban centres, but also within the rural and peri-urban environments. There are VANWODS branches on the islands of Malekula (1000 members), Santo (2000 members) and Tanna (1000 members) that provide microfinance and savings scheme to both women and men on these islands (Key Informant 18).

Women involved in VANWODS are only accepted into the programme if their community centre group thinks they are worthy of being accepted (Key Informant 18). The groups work together to make sure every member in a group is saving a minimum of 200 *vatu* per week, and paying back any loans they have from VANWODS. Members work hard to earn the respect of their community group, by saving money weekly and only asking for loans after they have proven their dedication and handwork. This community aspect of the programme is one of the reasons why the scheme is considered successful (Key Informant 18). Loans range in size between 10,000 *vatu* and 150,000 *vatu*. Additionally, the organisation also goes to air on the radio several times a week and provides financial literacy advice to listeners.

Women who are enrolled under VANWODS operate a wide range of businesses: kitchen stores<sup>21</sup>, *nakamal*, sewing products from calico, selling *kato*<sup>22</sup> in the mornings, weaving products from endemic plants, operating a bus or taxi, selling produce grown in gardens, selling kava by the kilo, having a store at the handicraft

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<sup>20</sup> This pilot project needs to be considered carefully by VANWODS, as there is a lot of public criticism regarding the large numbers of taxis and buses on the roads of Port Vila, that cause pollution, car jams, and cause an over supply of public transport.

<sup>21</sup> Kitchen stores refer to a small community business that is operated from somebody's kitchen or house. Often such products sell everyday necessary items for example matches, biscuits, breakfast crackers, canned meat or fish, rice or kerosene.

<sup>22</sup> *Kato* is deep fried bread sold in convenience and kitchen stores throughout Vanuatu; it has emerged as a local product as a result of the French colonial influence.

markets to sell crafts to tourists and roasting peanuts to sell at the markets (Key Informant 18).

**Photo 9: A typical *nakamal* made from wood and corrugated iron, with windows for several women to sell their kava from, and a sitting area outside the *nakamal*.**



(Source: National Housing Cooperation, 2012).

More of these businesses are listed in Table 11, which has been taken from the report by Suen and Fred (2010) who surveyed over 500 VANWODS members about their involvement in VANWODS. Table 11 reveals the percentage of VANWODS loans used to spend of various business and non-business activities:

**Table 11: Spending of microcredit loans by VANWODS members.**

<b>Business activities</b>	<b>Percentage of agranted loans</b>	<b>Non-business activities</b>	<b>Percentage of granted loans</b>
Retail Store	15.3	Solar light	17.5
<i>Nakamal</i>	5.4	Education	14.1
Baking	4.3	Household assets	5.7
Cooking	4.2	Home improvement	5.6
Sewing	4.2	Personal	4.2
Markets	4.0	Christmas loans	3.6
Handicrafts	3.1	Business license	1.6
Peanuts	1.2	<i>Kastom</i> ceremonies	1.2
Ice blocks / Ice Cream	1.0	Deposit for land	0.3
Sale of single food items	0.7	Paying bills	0.3
Cigarettes	0.5	<b>Sub Total</b>	54%
Agriculture (copra, cocoa)	0.3		
Fishing	0.3		
Refill Cards	0.3		
Transport (truck, boat, bus)	0.3		
Selling Timber	0.2		
Poultry	0.2		
Second Hand Clothing	0.2		
<b>Sub-Total</b>	46%		

(Adapted from: Suen and Fred, 2010, p. 14).

In addition to these businesses, VANWODS members are involved in other businesses that do not involve money expenditure or start up costs, including: selling of fruits and vegetables at the market (see Photo 10); a grass cutting service; clinic services; road market stalls; running preschools; and running guest houses<sup>23</sup> (Suen and Fred, 2010).

<sup>23</sup> Note: The guest houses in Case Study 1 and 4 required money to start up their businesses as they built new, western-styled structures with concrete bases. These



**Photo 10: Women selling products for sale in the Port Vila Market House:  
coconut, pawpaw and firewood.**



(Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2012).

Furthermore, during times of celebration (for example Independence Day and Fest'Napuan<sup>24</sup>, many families set up stalls close to celebration grounds to sell *kaekae* (see Photo 11).

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businesses both obtained their loans through formal banking systems. However, it is possible to start up guesthouses without startup costs, if a suitable structure is already present, or if building materials obtained within the community are used (for example, *pandanus*<sup>16</sup>, Page 60).

<sup>24</sup> Fest'Napuan is "Vanuatu's annual culture and music festival" that "has provided a forum that supports the performance of contemporary and traditional music and dance" (Dick, Farr-Wharton and Brown, 2011, p. 1). The festival runs across four days in Port Vila and is an opportunity for local and Pacific performers to showcase their talents in front of an audience in the thousands.

**Photo 11: An array of small stalls selling *kaekae* (including *laplap*, *tuluk*<sup>15</sup>, *kato*<sup>22</sup>, soft drinks and sweets) set up for festivities.**



(Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2012).

In Port Vila, the VANWODS office has changed locations several times and this was difficult for the organisation. Additionally, Key Informant 18 recognised that there are more difficulties for the organisation as a greater number of banks and finance providers offer microfinance deals that have interest rates that compete with VANWODS. However, VANWODS as an organisation encourages its members to seek information about different opportunities available to them, in order to increase its members' understanding of finance and credit. Key Informant 18 additionally identified that a problem of the scheme is that there is limited understanding of financial systems amongst its members, and this is something that could be improved to enhance the outcomes of several of its members.

Additionally, Suen and Fred (2010) noted that some people were unable to use VANWODS services because of a variety of reasons including the time commitments of attending meetings meant they were away from their family, paying back loans was difficult, and many centres were at their full capacity of 35 people. Key Informant 18 revealed that, internally VANWODS was low on human resources in terms of trained

personal. However, the organisation was under good management, with a newly appointed Chief Executive Officer and a functional Board of Trustees.

VANWODS provided an opportunity for people of all ages to start a business and financially support themselves. This was considered of high importance especially to young mothers, who need to support themselves and their young families. In general, however, older women are members of VANWODS, as revealed in Table 12 below:

**Table 12: Typical VANWODS member profile Port Vila, Vanuatu.**

Statistic	
Age	43 years
Length of Membership	4 years
Number of children	4 children
Number of members in the household	6 people
Number of income earners in the household	2 earners
Total household income for the month	64,000 <i>vatu</i>
Per capita income (per person, per day)	389 <i>vatu</i>
Housing type	Tin

(Adapted from: Suen and Fred, 2010, p. 10).

Key Informant 18 recognised the considerable difference VANWODS was making in the peri-urban community of Blacksands through the operation of three different community groups (each of 35 women) in the settlement. Even if the supplied microfinance is not specifically used for the business, it virtually always enhances livelihoods. For example, as shown by Table 13, VANWODS loans are even spent for Christmas celebrations. Another example is the purchase of water tanks using VANWODS microfinance improves the lives of Blacksands women, as previously buckets would be carried to and from the river for their family's water supply. Thus, a water tank enables women to not only think about starting business, but provides time for them to do so. The provision of microfinance also enables houses to be built and boats to be purchased, enabling families to fish for their livelihoods. The table below is a number of businesses and situations of VANWODS women collected from a focus group in a Port Vila informal settlement during field-based research:

**Table 13: VANWODS members' small business varieties**

<i>Member</i>	<i>Product</i>	<i>Story</i>
1	Eggs	This member's hens lay 6 or 7 trays of eggs a day, and then she sells them off one at a time to hungry people in her community, or whole trays to other businesses to sell. VANWODS enabled her to increase the size of her business. Prior to joining VANWODS she already had chickens, but found VANWODS a good way to save, and knows that if she decides to expand her business in the future she will be able to do so using a loan from VANWODS.
2	Bus	This member obtained a large loan from VANWODS to buy a bus that her husband drives to support the family.
3	Kato ( <i>fried bread</i> )	This business was owned by an elderly lady, who wakes up every morning to sell <i>kato</i> to school children and people on their way to work. Prior to joining VANWODS she had no opportunity to make <i>vatu</i> , but now she has the support of her local centre.
4	Kitchen Store	This member owns a kitchen store, which people from the community visit to buy flour, sugar and other basic needs. She operates the kitchen store, which allows her to look after the family home at the same time as earning some money.
5	Twenty <i>vatu</i> store	Roadside stall selling <i>aelan kaekae</i>
6	Kitchen Store	
7	<i>Nakamal</i>	
8	Handicrafts	
9	Community Store	
10	Kava and Cigarettes	

(Source: Author's Fieldwork 2012).

Some women in Blacksands have ‘twenty *vatu* stores’, which sell *aelan kaekae* for low prices on the side of the road. Key Informant 18 identified that many of these women have long-term plans for their money, and it is not simply selling food on the side of the road to make ‘twenty *vatu*’ every now and then. Key Informant 18 gave the example of women selling food to save to buy a sewing machine, which would enable them to make handicrafts to sell at the markets (which creates greater income than the ‘twenty *vatu* stores’) and to make their families clothes:

Before, all the mamas used to play cards and waste their time. But now, you see all the [Blacksands] mamas selling foods in the small stalls, ‘twenty *vatu* stores’, they are VANWODS members. Every afternoon they make food and sell it in the road markets and have aims and goals for their life. For example, aiming to buy a sewing machine.

VANWODS members even have multiple businesses. Key Informant 18 lists three businesses owned by one member: “she has a rent house, she has a store, she has a tourist business”. Key Informant 18 revealed that because of this women’s success in her small businesses, she had no desire to go to New Zealand to participate in the RSE Scheme because she was doing well for herself in Port Vila. Suen and Fred (2010) found that “VANWODS has helped mamas<sup>25</sup> “wake up” and open their minds to business (p. 2)”. This statement reveals that VANWODS has empowered women through the opportunity to be involved in small businesses.

## **5.2 Chapter Summary**

This chapter has presented six case studies that reveal some of the activities occurring in peri-urban communities of Port Vila. Case Studies 1, 3 and 4 are predominantly tourism businesses present within peri-urban villages of Port Vila, while Case Study 2 is a business that in the future could cater to tourists, but at present has grown mainly out of community support. Case Study 5 reveals what is happening within the peri-urban informal settlement of Blacksands, while Case Study 6 reveals the work that is being completing by the NGO VANWODS, which is giving thousands of people in Vanuatu the opportunity to start small business initiatives. The following chapter, Chapter Six, will discuss these case studies in relation to the literature and themes that have emerged from interviews with key informants.

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<sup>25</sup> Older *Ni-Vanuatu* women are often referred to as called ‘mamas’. Referring to the Port Vila Market House as the ‘Mamas Market’ is also common.

# 6 . Discussion

## 6.1 Introduction

The principle objective of this chapter is to discuss the data collected from the key informant interviews. The themes that emerged from the six case studies in Chapter Five are discussed in relation to the conceptual framework constructed in Chapter Three. This chapter is structured to address the research questions posed in Chapter One, and meet the research objective of identifying the main factors influencing the local economic development and livelihoods of people living in peri-urban communities in Port Vila, Vanuatu. The five questions addressed in this chapter are:

2. How are peri-urban communities changing?
3. What are the main challenges facing peri-urban businesses and communities?
4. What are the main support systems for peri-urban businesses?
5. What are other dominant factors influencing local businesses and peri-urban community development?
6. What suggestions of improvement for local government and NGOs are possible for the planning and provision, both theoretically and practically, to improve the livelihoods of peri-urban communities in Vanuatu?

## 6.2 Research Question Two: How are peri-urban communities changing?

The second research question posed in Chapter One asked, “How are peri-urban communities changing?” This section emphasises how communities are changing, largely through an influx of new migrants into the peri-urban areas.

Key Informant 18 identified that although families live in the outer islands and rural areas of Vanuatu on a self-sufficient or subsistence basis, without needing money to

pay for food or for rent, they require funds to pay for their children's school fees<sup>26</sup>, and the other expenses associated with school attendance. Increasingly, in Vanuatu's rural areas, the value of monetary income has become increasingly important not just to cover the cost of schooling but also for changes in lifestyle, and some consumer products. For example, mobile phone usage is increasing, and money is therefore required to both to buy and "top up" the mobile phones. Without an electrical supply there is also the need for solar panels to charge mobile phones. To pay for such expenses people are moving to urban centres to find ways to increase their income and expand their livelihoods

While there are formal sector jobs available within Port Vila, these are limited. While some have the comparative luxury of both urban employment and a cultivated garden for their livelihoods, many people who have migrated to Port Vila do not have these opportunities. Informal settlements are prevalent in Port Vila in the peri-urban area. People there rely on their gardens (if available) to make a living, or to establish services in the informal cash economy, catering largely to the local population.

For less educated women and men, finding employment can be particularly difficult (Rodman, 2007). The urban environment, and the tourism industry, provides opportunities for service roles, as do the lifestyles of those of who work in the formal sector. For example Key Informant 6 identified that people from Mele Village often employ people from Blacksands to play service roles within their community:

They are gardeners for them, they are *haos gels*<sup>27</sup> for them, [and] they are babysitters for them. So they don't live in Mele, they live in Blacksands. [...]

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<sup>26</sup> In 2010 the government implemented a school fee subsidy. This is a JCfD between the Government of Vanuatu, Australia, New Zealand and UNICEF. This means that schooling is now free for children up to year six (AusAID, 2012). This enabled approximately 3,000 more children from around Vanuatu to attend school. Despite this, in the urban areas, many of the schools do not have enough places for the number of children, and many children miss out. Children above year six still need to pay for schooling. Costs are approximately 9,000 *vatu* per year for primary school, and 40,000 *vatu* per year plus transport costs for secondary school (Hammond and Connell, 2009).

<sup>27</sup> *Haos Gels* or 'house girls' is a term given to female domestic servants in Vanuatu (Rodman, 2007). Traditionally, expatriate colonials would employ *haos gels* to live with the family, and be responsible for the cooking, cleaning and childcare, with the opportunity to leave and return to their subsistence lifestyle if conditions became inadequate. It is reported that contemporary *haos gels* generally have worse

Mele, it is already crowded so there is no other place where they can go unless you've married to that family, and then they can give you a place to stay.

Key Informant 11 recognised that some people have the choice of living in other locations, but want to save money on rent and thus chose to live in informal settlements, where rent is cheaper but without any formal tenancy protection. This recognises the high costs of living in Port Vila, and particular difficulties that indigenous *Ni-Vanuatu* face in meeting social and cultural expectations in the urban environment. For example, people with formal jobs in the urban environment can be expected to pay school fees for their extended families. Because of such expectations, and the relatively expensive living costs within the communities of Port Vila, people are building their livelihoods through a variety of mechanisms. These mechanisms include small business initiatives, formal sector jobs, informal sector jobs, and through horticulture and agriculture.

#### 6.2.1 “Peri-urban”: *mergence of the rural and urban lifestyles*

The majority of the key informants perceive the lifestyle of those living in peri-urban communities as involving urban, rural and “rural and urban” lifestyles. The council, however, and many people living within the urban area, perceives people in peri-urban areas as living a rural existence, because they live outside the municipal boundary. Whether these people live an entirely rural existence is debatable. Key Informant 11 noted “[a]lthough people are living ‘rurally’ in the peri-urban areas, everyday you see them in town”.

“[P]eople living in peri-urban areas commute to town for work, so they too contribute to the development of the urban area” (Key Informant 11). Some town leaders acknowledge that there are people living in peri-urban communities who contribute to the urban economy. Many peri-urban dwellers, however, have no such opportunity. . . There is a range of inequality within the peri-urban areas, which Key Informant 8

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conditions; the emergence of the *Ni-Vanuatu* middle class has resulted in the employment of *haos gels* by *Ni-Vanuatu* on low wages and poor conditions. There is now less opportunity to return to a subsistence lifestyle, and little other paid urban employment available. Contemporary *haos gels* also tend to not live in employer's family homes, have to pay for their own meals and transport, and are often excluded from their family environment (Rodman, 2007).



identified as having negative social implications, such as bullying and abuse among youth. These implications are common across the Pacific, as identified by Hailey (1987):

A major consideration is that the impacts of economic imbalances are exacerbated in such small island nations with their narrow economic bases and limited resources. Moreover, uneven development and the concentration of wealth and opportunities in the urban areas can create pernicious political and social tensions (p. 4).

The imbalances and tensions identified in 1987 are even more prevalent within the Pacific today. In particular the rapid growth of peri-urban villages and the peri-urban settlements such as those around Port Vila heightens an awareness of the imbalances, and the social and political tensions. The research found these imbalances and tensions exist, not just between the peri-urban and urban environments, but also between the peri-urban villages and the settlements themselves. This can be seen through the long-term local business developments that are occurring within the peri-urban village of Mele (Case Study 1 and Case Study 2), in comparison with the short-term business solutions present in the nearby peri-urban informal settlement of Blacksands (Case Study 5). In Mele the buildings were being constructed to house the business, while in Blacksands local indigenous business was occurring at a smaller scale, through 'twenty *vatu* stores', selling of organic produce at the Port Vila Market House, and the use of sewing machines to make clothing (among other micro-scale business ventures identified in Case Study 6).

### 6.2.2 *Cultural Changes*

Peri-urban communities are places of culture change as these areas are exposed to an array of ethnicities as people from different areas merge together. The rapid pace of urbanisation and globalisation all over the world is creating significant cultural changes. Such processes are occurring in Port Vila's peri-urban communities. The collected data revealed how LED activities are increasingly creating changes within peri-urban communities. Key Informant 1 recognised the changes that were occurring in the Mele Village as a result of a variety of factors: urbanisation, the RSE Scheme<sup>8</sup> (Page 17) and tourism.

Key Informant 2 identified the significance of the RSE Scheme on the development of villages within Vanuatu: “[t]hey [the fruit pickers] go [to New Zealand], they come back with money, and they build solid houses”. Hammond and Connell (2009) also propose that the aim of many people who are involved in the RSE Scheme is eventually to start small businesses. Additionally, Key Informant 2 recognised that the location of Mele, only 15 minutes drive to the Port Vila centre, meant that Mele residents had the opportunity to attend better schools and have formal jobs:

Lots of people work now. They [the young people from Mele] work in town; lots go to school, find jobs for work. I think this has changed the houses building cement houses which are stronger when facing cyclones. Lots [of people from Mele] have good jobs, so can afford to build good houses”.

This indicates that Mele Village is not reliant on LED initiatives, as many people from the Village have jobs in the formal sector in town, or become involved in the RSE Scheme, and thus have other forms of income. Despite this, as shown by Case Study 1 and Case Study 2, LED is a useful way to supplement a family’s income, which is often required to put children through higher level education. In both the situations of Case Study 1 and Case Study 2, it was the female head of the household who took ownership of the small business initiative. This suggests that LED is a practical way in which women can supplement the family’s income, without having to be absent from the family home.

Another change is involves the evolution of the national language of *Bislama*; “at the beginning, [if anybody] came to Village and spoke *Bislama*, [the locals] would run away from you as they only spoke the [dialect] of Mele. But now, *Bislama* is big in the Village”. Key Informant 1 identified that the language is continuously changing in Mele, giving the example:

When the students from Papua New Guinea and Solomon Islands came, one change they made was with the pigeon [language]. Lots of young boys and girls from Mele now speak the pigeon of Papua New Guinea and the Solomon Islands, because they made friends with them [the students], talked, storied, laughed so that they taught us slowly.

Key Informant 2 thought that the community was changing the way they made money:

Since 2000, there hasn’t been many women from Mele who are selling at the [Port Vila] market”. It appears that people want to specialise in order to

increase their profits. Three things [from Mele] are really popular. The first one is *tuluk*<sup>15</sup>[see Page 58] the second one is *natagora* [flax] which *man Mele* sew up into a roof around bamboo. It makes [the people from Mele] very popular. Number three is fish from the beach. We have a long beach, so we have lots of fish.

Thus, these changes include cultural and language changes, infrastructural changes and lifestyle changes. Key Informant 2 identified the need for the community to talk together and consider how tourism will affect their community, with increasing numbers of tourists visiting Mele Village because of its close proximity to town. These included both societal effects, and how the community could maximise profits earned from tourists. For example, Key Informant 2 identified the opportunities that tourists presented to the community for business and moneymaking through “sell things on tables like necklaces, sarongs and *aelan dresses*<sup>28</sup>”.

### 6.2.3 Why start a business?

The lack of opportunity within the peri-urban environment, and the problems that arise from this, create negative perceptions of the peri-urban environment from the media and from politicians:

[t]he population is expanding so quickly, but there is no thought put into where everyone is going [...]. Some people say ‘send them [peri-urban dwellers] back home [to their island of origin]’, there are no jobs [in the urban areas]’ but it is not that easy” (Key Informant 14).

This quote exemplifies that in the peri-urban community there is little formal employment available for migrants to earn an income, and as a result urbanisation is often viewed negatively.

All the participants spoken to in this research had one reason to start their own business: to pay their children’s school fees. This supports the findings of other research on Vanuatu (Davis, Tiseli and Solomona, 2010; Suen and Fred, 2010; Hammond and Connell, 2009). The owners of the businesses in Case Study 1 and

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<sup>28</sup>Women and girls throughout Vanuatu commonly wear *aelan dresses* or ‘island dresses’, which are sometimes referred to as ‘Mother Hubbard dresses’. These were introduced during colonial times, and are now normally worn for special occasions. The dress covers the shoulders, and goes down to the ankles, and are made of brightly coloured fabrics with Pacific inspired designs.

Case Study 2 had teenage children and spoke about the desire to send their children to university. Davis *et al.* (2010) found an additional two reasons to start a business in Vanuatu; to help their community and “to build their country” (p. 4).

**Photo 12: Children in the area of Tagabe, close to the settlement of Blacksands. Many children from families in peri-urban informal settlements do not attend schools. This is because many families cannot afford to pay school fees and the additional costs that come with sending children to school. Furthermore, there are not many schools in peri-urban communities, and most schools in Port Vila operate at full capacity.**



(Source: Author’s Fieldwork, 2012).

Without the employment opportunities that give people the capacity to send young people to school, numerous problems exist within the urban environment as more people migrate towards: “looting or stealing. Social problems [occur] if [the public] are not content. If they need some money to spend in the urban environment [...] [they] can probably break into a shop”. Key Informant 11 identified that these social problems were increasingly prevalent around the peri-urban areas, including and included burglary, excess kava and alcohol consumption, drug and alcohol related

issues, and domestic violence. These social issues are often prevalent in societies when there is a lack of economic opportunities.

An example that reveals the importance of economic opportunities in reducing social issues is in Vanuatu's neighbouring country, the Solomon Islands. In a migrant squatter community, named Burns Creek, a husband was less abusive towards his wife when he was given the opportunity through a World Vision micro-finance project to start a piggery and a small store, enabling the family to make their own income (Television New Zealand, 2012).

### **6.3 Research Question Three: What are the main challenges facing businesses and peri-urban communities**

When asked about the challenges facing businesses in Port Vila, the responses received were varied (Table 14). These differences provide insight into the challenges facing businesses and communities in peri-urban Port Vila. Many of these issues reveal that poverty that exists within the peri-urban, informal settlements of Port Vila, where food, water, electricity and money are often considered luxuries. Table 14 additionally reveals contrasts in livelihoods of those living in the established peri-urban villages (Case Study 1, 2, 3 and 4, with tourism focused business), and peri-urban informal settlements (Case Study 5 and 6, with more informal business). Those who are operating businesses in the peri-urban villages have issues that affect their business, including: insurance problems (Key Informant 1), cultural changes of tourism (Key Informant 2), improving the water supply (Key Informant 3), and lack of internet access (Key Informant 4). At a different scale, those living in peri-urban informal settlements (for example, Blacksands) face poverty and social issues on a daily basis as they struggle to meet their everyday needs, due to a lack of basic infrastructure and social opportunity.

**Table 14: "What are the challenges facing your business or community"?**

Key Informant	Key Informant's Response
1 (Case Study 1)	"[Natural disaster] crisis, [and the need to] back up our business".
2 (Case Study 2)	"The other day a tourism bus came round and I saw children putting their hands out, and the tourists gave them sweets. I [think] they should do something differently. They should make a donation box; so [the tourists] give money, which goes to a teacher who can use it for something [for the children]. This is a challenge. I think all the children will grow up and learn the wrong thing; that if you put out your hand you can expect something to go inside".
3 (Case Study 3)	"Sometimes we are short of water. We will try our best to get a big water tank in the future, so when rain comes it will fill up the water tank. [At the moment] we use the community's [water supply]".
4 (Case Study 4)	The business owner faced challenges including, not having internet on his property thus having to access emails in town, construction issues with the foundations of the building and loan repayments stress.
5 (Case Study 5)	"If we want to build a market house for all the mamas of Blacksands, all the landowners must agree for it to happen. Even if [most] of them agree, but two don't, then it won't happen. It takes a lot of work. So the biggest problem is the landowners. Because here [in Blacksands] there are between 20 and 30 landowners. If there were one or two, it would be easier [to get infrastructure projects started]".
6 (Case Study 5)	"When we ask for water supply and electricity, we ask the landowners, and they will say 'yes', or 'no'. So if we live free on the land without paying any rent we cannot have electricity or water. We need to be pay faithful paying rent over the years to be allowed water and electricity, even if it is us who will pay for it [electricity and water] they have to approve on it land. Because UNELCO cannot provide that to us if we cannot provide a written agreement given to them from the landowner".
7 (Case Study 5)	"Land [issues] is the biggest problem facing the community here [in Blacksands]".
8 (Case Study 5)	"The challenges facing the community of Blacksands face are to do with good communication. Where I live, the people find communication difficult. Also, when the weather is good all is OK, but when there is bad weather it is too muddy. Another challenge is that all the [young] boys and [young] girls they smoke too much [marijuana]".
10	"Finance. Money. Everything is money. Compare to the [outer] islands where everything is free, [while in town] you need money for <i>kaekae</i> . Some [town] families eat breakfast but they don't eat lunch".
11	"We have slum houses which is a challenge, and the standard of living in peri-urban areas is [low] compared to [the] urban area".
22	"When the French government [was in power], finding work in [Port Vila] town was easy. Now, since when we [reached] Independence, [finding] work is hard; life standards have decreased".

(Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2012).

### 6.3.1 Poverty

The poverty facing the peri-urban communities of Port Vila is of particular concern. Key Informant 6 believed that housing facilities were the most important infrastructure within peri-urban communities, and the community faced challenges in this area. Key Informant 6 thought that many people lived in Blacksands:

[B]ecause they can't afford houses [in town]. The people who live there just have little shelters and they pay rent: 5000, 6000, 7000 *vatu* a month where there is no access to water [or] electricity. You can survive with a ground-well but if you cannot [afford] a good house it is [difficult].

Key Informant 6 recognised the importance of having a good house in terms of overall quality of life and related this to aspects of poverty:

Because [when] people don't live in decent houses, it rubs off onto them; they don't care what they do, how they live, what clothes they wear, if they shower or not, they don't mind, they don't think about it. To me, if you live in a good house, you want to make yourself feel good when you get up in the morning.

**Photo 13: Typical housing located in Tagabe (informal settlement neighbouring Blacksands) made of corrugated iron.**



(Source: National Housing Corporation, 2012).

### 6.3.2 *Land Issues: a barrier to local economic development?*

Table 14 revealed noticeable differences between peri-urban informal settlements and peri-urban villages within and around Port Vila. These differences create issues for Port Vila as it develops as a city, and international location. These differences are discussed throughout this section.

One of the main differences between peri-urban informal settlements and peri-urban villages relates to land ownership. Key Informant 14 revealed that one of the main issues affecting the businesses and livelihoods of people living in peri-urban areas is that the “issues over land boundaries and the legality of who has the traditional land ownership, and who has the real land ownership”. The same informant explained that “rural and peri-urban economic activities [often] engage in the production of agriculture, [to] feed the markets in the city; they contribute to economic activities”. Agricultural activities often take place in the peri-urban informal settlements, despite land issues, as some Key Informants (2, 4) recognised that women from Pango and Mele Villages were less active participants in the Market House than in the past.

**Photo 14: Women selling produce (passionfruit, pineapples, cucumbers, fresh flowers, and yellow and green bananas) in Port Vila Market House).**



(Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2012).



Although there are some families that have the capacity to live off the land to make a living, there are numerous families that have migrated to Port Vila and thus do not have a garden on Efate. Furthermore, if people living in peri-urban informal settlements do not have an agreement with the owners, they often have limited rights and no access to agricultural lands.

Key Informant 15 considered the land issues a result of the lack of planning and organisation since independence, and posed the question: “Independence, then what? We never really looked at how to plan for our lands when we get them back from the colonialists and traders. We never planned how to organise ourselves once we took over the local governments and towns”.

Land issues affect the everyday livelihoods of people living in peri-urban informal settlements, and prevent the establishment of sustainable, effective businesses. An example is the town boundary (Map 3, Page 12), which goes through the centre of town and creates confusion over the respective councils’ administrative zones. Further, while the two councils share similar organisation values and goals, there is little coordination. PVMC only looks after the areas within the Municipal Boundary with responsibilities including issuing building permits, liquor licensing and the operation of the Port Vila Market House. SPC looks after the “rural” area, and the overall functioning of Shefa Province.

Blacksands is a densely populated, informal settlement close to the urban environment and on the verge of the Municipal Boundary, but is considered a “rural” area (Key Informant 8). This creates difficulties for SPC, the local authority administering the area, which has traditionally focused on providing rural support. Key Informant 6 also identified that there are issues with the maps during voting time: “[t]hey always have fights during voting time as to whether we’re urban, or rural. Because they just draw lines, lines on the maps”.

The challenge of land issues in Vanuatu also creates difficulties for community decision makers. It is difficult for local authorities to exert power over landowners who as the *kastom* owners of the land, often believe they have the sole right to control the land. Key Informant 11 considered that people’s attitudes need to be changed:

“[e]specially in Vanuatu, planning is always a challenge because we really have to change people’s attitudes, and most of the land is owned by the local people and not the government. There are always issues”.

The idea of ‘islandism’ was identified by Key Informant 16, and was also referred to by numerous other key informants. An example of this is from Key Informant 16 who explains that ‘islandism’ is favouring one island, or province of islands, over other islands within Vanuatu: “there is ‘islandism’ within the communities. [Questions are asked like] who should be collecting rubbish, this island community or that island community? Which island does proper cleaning and should be recognised etc?” This creates further difficulties, as migrant communities often think they are treated differently because they are not from Shefa Province, when in fact it may be because boundary issues create confusion within councils over where administrative areas should be located.

Earlier 2012, a local research NGO ran study groups with the informal, peri-urban settlement of Blacksands. As previously discussed, within this one settlement area, there are a range of distinct communities, each made up of migrants from the different islands and provincial island groupings that make up Vanuatu. Some of these people own the land they live on, but the majority rent or ‘squat’ on the land. The NGO asked the question “What is the most important lifestyle influence in your community?” (Key Informant 14). The results from this study found that land ownership was the most influential factor on people’s livelihoods, as all services and infrastructure were subjective to land ownership. This is because any development such as building or connecting to electricity requires the permission of the landowner. Thus, it is not surprising that Box 1 below reveals that Key Informant 6’s response to the question “what are the issues you want to see resolved within Blacksands?” is “land issues”.

**Box 1: Quote from Key Informant 14 about priority issues in peri-urban informal settlements.**

“[We] want our land issues resolved in Blacksands. Most of these people [living here are] from Tanna [Island], and [if we resolve these land issues] we [could] build good houses, we [could] connect [to] electricity, and we [could] ask for a police post, and we [could] even ask for a school, because at the moment the children have to go all the way out, and it costs us a lot to send them all the way out.

But the problem is the land. If we build a building, it’s going to be disputed. We want our land to be cleared, and we want the government to help us clear our land so we can build [a building].

If UNELCO can’t come connect our electricity we can’t do anything – we can’t start a store! So unless UNELCO comes in and sees the agreement, the piece of paper that the land is cleared by the actual landowners and us, then UNELCO will come collect the power. But right now we don’t have power, and we don’t have water, because these things run through the land, this is how it is now in Vanuatu. Land is still very precious, and in the peri-urban areas, land will be an issue that will be challenging for government and for settlers as well, so it has to be part of the planning, urban planning.

Urban authorities need to have a lot of discussions with the land owners considering things like rural-urban drift, and also population growth, economic activities, expansion, and that really has to be considered in terms of growing populations.”

(Source: Author’s Fieldwork, 2012).

The importance of land is critical to LED. In Case Studies 1, 2, 3 and 4 the business owners in the peri-urban villages were all also landowners, meaning they had the authority to build permanent structures on their land, connect to electricity and water supply. However, in Case Study 5 and Case Study 6, it is likely that many of these people are not landowners, and do not have the capacity to establish large business. In the broader literature many authors argue that land ownership is a critical resource for local businesses, and particularly for developing tourism (Burlo, 1989).

**Photo 15: "Taste Life, No Salem Graon", which freely translates as "Enjoy life, Don't sell our land". This graffiti found in Pango Village in Port Vila, reveals the frustration felt by some indigenous *Ni-Vanuatu* at the sale of *kastom* land on the island of Efate. 90 percent of land on the island is now under foreign ownership (Cox *et al.*, 2007; World Bank, 2012).**



(Source: Author's Field Work, 2012).

#### **6.4 Research Question Four: What are the main support systems for businesses?**

One of the questions posed in Chapter One (Introduction) was "What are the main support systems for peri-urban businesses?" Within Chapter Three (the Literature Review), the idea of community, local government and NGOs were discussed as avenues of local business support. From the Case Studies 1, 2, 3 and 4 it was evident that family and community support were large influences on the way business was carried out. This was of particular importance for businesses located on *kastom* land, and reliant on family support and approval.

#### 6.4.1 *Community*

Community support is typically prevalent within Pacific culture and needs to be considered when analysing business development (Davis *et al.*, 2010). Case Studies 5 and 6 revealed aspects of community support present within Port Vila's peri-urban informal settlements. Businesses within these communities were of a relatively small scale because land issues, which will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter, create difficulty in long-term establishment.

Additionally, Case Study 6 revealed the importance of the community network created from involvement with VANWODS. This was essential as the support received from community members encouraged VANWODS members to make business goals, and plan the steps necessary to achieve these goals. The contribution of VANWODS to LED initiatives will be further discussed later on in this chapter.

Community support was considered an important business factor within peri-urban villages, as these businesses generally rely on informal marketing through word-of-mouth, and a client base in their immediate, local community. When asked about the participation of the wider community, or village, a variety of responses were received and are presented in Table 15.

**Table 15: "How has your community supported you or your business?"**

Key Informant	Key Informant's Response
1 (Case Study 1)	<p>“There are some [people] who try to ruin what [we] have by copying [But] yes, the community supports sometimes. When we had a large group [of people] come, we asked the Mele Council of Chiefs to come talk with [the group] at our property, and the women made <i>laplap</i>, and we gave them a little bit of money [...]. It was good like this”.</p>
2 (Case Study 2)	<p>“Yes, they buy chips from us [and thus support our business]”.</p> <p>Additionally, through the researcher's observations, there was a lot of community support during the construction of the business. On the Friday evening when the interview took place, there were several men from Mele Village who were carrying out jobs for the business.</p> <p>Key Informant 2 noted that “I do my best; I've brought a billiard table so people can come play pool” revealing his desire to be hospitable to community members that come to his restaurant.</p>
3 (Case Study 3)	<p>“Everyone in the community is happy about it [the business] because it is a project that lifts up the community's name. [...] One time the community came to help build the verandah of the restaurant, but that was the only time”.</p>
4 (Case Study 4)	<p>The owner, and surrounding family members looked after the tourists for their activities, and tourists paid the neighbours, creating benefit to the wider community:</p> <p>“[We take the tourists] bush walking, fishing [and] diving. This service is free. They [the tourists] gave the ideas to me. Sometimes my next-door neighbours [take the activities]. I don't ask the guests to [pay my neighbours], it is their idea [to pay] a small donation”.</p>
8 (Case Study 5)	<p>“The church and Wan Smolbag<sup>29</sup>, I feel that they are my family. At least I have some friends at church to support me”.</p>
22	<p>“In the community, we have representatives and chiefs; if there is small [issue] like a [verbal] fight, or something is stolen, the chief will [solve the problem himself]. [If something more serious] like a killing or rape takes place, the chief will take the person to court and government to judge him”.</p>

(Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2012).

<sup>29</sup> Wan Smolbag (Theatre and Youth Centre) is the largest NGO in Vanuatu. Its role within the community will be expanded on later in this chapter (Page 107).

#### 6.4.2 Local governments

Although it was evident that community support and participation was important in business development, the role of the local authorities in LED initiatives in the Port Vila peri-urban communities was less ostensible.

#### 6.4.3 Port Vila Municipal Council (PVMC)

The data collected indicates that PVMC plays a limited role in the promotion of LED; there were, however, aspects of their work that directly affected small businesses. For example PVMC supplies building permits where the construction of buildings is required, such as the permanent convenience store or *nakamal* shown in Photo 16 (Key Informant 11, 20). Key Informant 11 asserted that the PVMC works closely with the police to ensure the community safety that is essential for business, development and operation

**Photo 16: A *nakamal* used to sell kava in the evenings.**



(Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2012).

PVMC provides a rubbish collection service within the Port Vila Municipal Boundary. This service does not extend to the peri-urban communities (Key Informant 11). PVMC is also responsible for the Port Vila Market House, which

involves hiring stalls to the vendors (stallholders), and clearing rubbish from the Market House. This reveals a role in which it promotes LED, through the provision of a clean market place; this is, however, not specific to peri-urban areas. Vegetable selling vendors pay 900 *vatu* for a stall, which can be shared amongst a number of women, and is paid on daily basis). Vendors selling hot *kaekae* (most commonly rice with fish, beef or chicken) rent stalls on an annual basis. Key Informant 23 felt PVMC did not provide enough support or service to justify the amount of the market stall fees.

#### *6.4.4 Shefa Provincial Council (SPC)*

Shefa Provincial Council (SPC) plays an important role with LED in the peri-urban communities of Port Vila. Key Informant 11 identified that the SPC plays a role in encouraging and educating people to beautify their town, which was seen as important as “one of the economic growth areas for the country is tourism” (Key Informant 11). This LED role also extends to the provision of infrastructural facilities, such as the roadside market stalls found in a number of communities around the island of Efate. SPC also plays a role in the facilitation of projects between international organisations and local communities. For example, SPC collaborates with United Nations Women (UNW) and United Nations Development Program (UNDP) to promote “Partnership to Improvement Markets”, which encourages dialogue and decision-making between female market vendors and local authorities (Marango, 2012).

Despite coverage in the Vanuatu Daily Post of the role SPC in LED, the key informants interviewed for this research project had little knowledge of these projects. Some key informants attributed the lack of opportunities presented by the Council on corruption. Comments are included in Table 16 below:



**Table 16: "How do local authorities support your business and community?"**

Key Informant	Key Informant's Response
1 (Case Study 1)	"[Shefa Council] built a piggery for the youth of Mele called the Youth Piggery Project. They [SPC] gave the pigs, then the youth of Mele looked after the pigs, which they then sold at the market. This helped the young people to understand business".
3 (Case Study 3)	"[Shefa Council] came and took photos [of the guesthouse and restaurant] but they did nothing. Only the tourist helped [advertise the business through the website] It would be good if they [Shefa Council] did something like [make a youth business workshop]".
4 (Case Study 4)	"[Shefa Council] do not give any support. I just struggle by myself, with my wife, and with my community".
5 (Case Study 5)	"The work of Shefa [Council] is no good. [They] only come and steal [my money] through paying business tax. It does not help me. Sometimes he comes, but I don't give him what he wants [money], but he does not take me to court, because if we went to court I would win. So now he washes his hands of this community and does not come".
6 (Case Study 5)	"Provincial Government should contribute more as a lot of small businesses pay taxes and licences, but there are no services provided in Blacksands that were provided by the Shefa Government. We haven't even got a clinic, no dispensary, no nothing! Maybe I could say [they have provided] the road. Otherwise nothing else that has been done. Everybody has tried; people have tried to change the living standards by themselves. Provincial government should provide good, simple houses in areas like [Blacksands] so that people can live healthy"
7 (Case Study 5)	"Yes [Shefa supports us], but not that much. For example, if Shefa strongly supported the people here [in Blacksands] they would make a market house. That would be good because lots of mamas go to sell in the town market. Last month I went round the island and in every community [SPC] had made a market place. Now for their mamas, it is easy- lots sell in the village markets and don't come to town. If they made one in Blacksands that would be good".
10	"[Council/community interaction] needs to be improved. They need to sit down and talk about what is next [for Vanuatu's future]. In some places, there is [Council interaction] but in some places there is not. In Ifira and Pango; they [ <i>man Ifira</i> and <i>man Pango</i> ] received a pension."
16	"Central and local governments help communities with projects. Realistically, once a community is in a local government area, for example, Blacksands peri-urban area, the local and central governments are obliged to bring services to the people in Blacksands. There's a lot of discussion about <i>who</i> should be supporting peri-urban areas; and there is not a right or wrong answer as everyone should be involved; community members are responsible for their community; even if it means that they do not receive any support government. 'Survival for the fittest' is embedded within them".

(Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2012).

Although Table 16 reveals faults and negative attitudes towards the SPC, there is a manifest lack of resources within both the PVMC and SPC. Limited personnel and financial resources create continuous problems and challenges within the councils (Key Informant 12, 13). These problems are common within local authorities in Pacific nations, and in the developing world (Jones, 2002). As a result, council involvement within local economic initiatives is raised in many strands of the literature; Key Informant 16 additionally questioned this: “*Who* should be involved within the peri-urban community?” Likewise Key Informant 15 expanded on this concept:

Income generation initiatives or income productivity in Port Vila or the fringes of the urban areas is a tricky one. Do we plan small income generation initiatives for people already living in town or do we improve the municipality or the provincial government's ability to provide these? Is income generation an issue to do with economic productivity or the high cost of living or financial difficulty? How do we ensure that we do not create expectations that place considerable strain on the ability and resources of the municipality and the provincial government?

Accordingly, the level of provincial government involvement in LED is an issue that needs to be considered. All the key informants believed there was the need for local authorities to become more involved in LED. As identified within the Chapter Three (Literature Review), there were numerous examples where the local government failed to provide adequate measures to facilitate LED in an urban environment. It appears this is usually the result of a lack of resources (Hampwaye, 2008). In South Africa there is “perceived failure of some local governments to deliver on development promises” (p. 226) which could be argued as a failure of the decentralisation process (Nel *et al.*, 2009). The situation is similar in Vanuatu, where a number of key informants saw a lack of services from both SPC and PVMC. Nel *et al.* (2009) identify that the majority of local governments in South Africa have a good understanding of what LED is, but have a limited ability and capacity to provide for it. This is due to lack of policy and direction from central government, or policy from government that did not create the opportunity for local governments to adjust their policy choices to meet the needs of their local area (Nel *et al.*, 2009). Similarly, Key Informant 14 recognised that the problems within the local authorities in Vanuatu stem from problems at the central governmental level and a lack of successful policy.

Key Informant 11 identified that there have been several recent expulsions<sup>30</sup> of local governments within Vanuatu due to misuse of funds. There are longstanding and ongoing accusations within the media and development literature that reflect corruption and political instability within the Government of Vanuatu (Howard, 2012). Key Informant 14 noted that:

MPs from the urban constituency and MPs from the rural constituency should be working together to meet the growth of settlements within the cities, like Luganville and Port Vila, as well as how they can assist these people to be more economically productive in the city.

Key Informant 14 recognised the need for governments to have “a really inclusive approach, and realistic planning [is needed] between the local governments” if the social, cultural, environmental and economic needs of populations, particularly within the peri-urban environment are to be met.

#### 6.4.5 *NGOs*

NGOs role in local business initiatives in Vanuatu is prevalent and important. This section discusses the work of two NGOs working in Port Vila, who have a role in facilitating LED through work in areas of microfinance, public policy and education. Key Informant 14 believed that the fundamental role of the NGO was to start the conversation about contentious issues with appropriate stakeholders:

[T]hat’s the big question: who starts the conversation? [...] And its not just about starting, it’s about continuing. Will it continue when stakeholders in the sector, in urban planning, come together and see the importance; it’s not a town-authority issue anymore. It’s going to be everybody’s issue. It needs to be inclusive. It includes political will; cities are going to be the centre for social and economic [activities, which] needs to happen.

#### 6.4.6 *The microfinance NGO*

VANWODS aims to fill a niche in the market by providing many women throughout Port Vila and Vanuatu with the opportunity to be involved in small businesses. As

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<sup>30</sup> Expulsions and suspensions occur frequently in Vanuatu politics. The PVMC was suspended by Central Government earlier this year because of unaccounted “poor financial status” (Marango, 2012a). Suspensions, however, often lack justified reasoning; for example the suspension of the Malampa Provincial Council by the Minister of Internal Affairs earlier this year. This Council was financially transparent, and the suspension has been described as “politically motivated” (Joshua, 2012).

revealed by Table 12 (refer to Page 79), 55.6 percent of VANWODS members live in “tin” housing, indicating the marginalisation of many of the women involved in the organisation, and therefore the need for these women to carry out business initiatives for their families’ livelihoods (Suen and Fred, 2010, p. 9).

Due to the high numbers of people moving to the peri-urban areas, there is an increase in less formal business activity. This is useful for these businesses, which can work together in networks. The concepts of “business networks and “business clusters” are identified within the literature review and have some relevance in the Port Vila context. For example, business clustering could result in reduction in transportation costs, and improve the marketing of similar types of businesses within one area. So, Case Studies 1 and 2 reveal the benefits arising from having two similar businesses, one restaurant and one guesthouse, on the same street. Sometimes people come to Mele for one service, and end up using other available services in the area. Additionally, these two businesses benefit from the other tourism businesses located in this area. One local bus driver recognised this clustering of tourism businesses within Mele, and has thus established the “Mele Bay Express”, a bus service aimed to transport tourists and local Mele residents from town to Mele Village and the surrounding tourist attractions (Vanuatu Daily Post, 2012).

Porter (2000, p. 16) notes “[g]overnment’s more decisive and inevitable influences are at the microeconomic level. Among them, removing obstacles to the growth and upgrading of existing and emerging clusters takes on a priority”. Porter (2000) notes that “clusters” do not have fixed boundaries, and that these often expand or contract dependent on the establishment or closure of other businesses in the same locality. This is evident with the groups from VANWODS, who work together to facilitate business. This is currently done through one woman going to the VANWODS head office to deposit a whole VANWODS group’s weekly deposits, so making a saving on bus fares. This approach, however, is not fully utilised by other businesses in Vanuatu because at present there are few “business clusters” (for example in Case Study 4, the guest house in Pango, was isolated from any other form of business activity). There is room therefore for the enhancement of local connections, which could increase efficiency and opportunities for LED in both peri-urban villages and peri-urban informal settlements. The concept of clusters requires the understanding

of similar or complementary businesses and LED initiatives, available resources, linkages between businesses, as well as business competition (Porter, 2000). In the environment of Case Study 3, the guesthouse operates in competition with other guesthouses in Emua. When, however, it is full, any more tourists that arrive are welcomed into the neighbouring guesthouses, consequently creating an image for the Village as a tourist location. Additionally, intra-village trading can create business efficiencies that benefit the local economy. The owner buys many of the food ingredients for the restaurant from the local store, or alternatively from Port Vila if they have reason to travel that distance (Key Informant 3). Additionally, the access to tourist attractions, or to a nearby beach, can create a cluster of tourist activities, and brings benefits to numerous different families and service providers. Examples include day trips for tourists to the nearby outer islands of Nguna, Pele or Kakula from Emua, or to the 'Sky Deck' (above Emua). Both networking and clustering are associated with themes for an area, and there is some potential for these concepts to be advanced in each of the case studies.

Key Informant 18 identified the value of VANWODS as an NGO as a networker to supply support for business initiatives. An example given was of a group of women from the Maskelynes Islands (Malampa Province, see Map 1, Page 6) who came to Port Vila with fruit and vegetables from their gardens to sell at the Port Vila Market House. The women paid for all their business costs themselves (including their boat fee and their market house stall fee), and the only support given to them from VANWODS was through contacts. VANWODS told all its contacts about the arrival of the women from the Maskelynes Islands, and encouraged their contacts to support them. Additionally, when some of the larger banks such as Westpac Bank, facilitate financial literacy workshops in town, VANWODS promotes these workshops through its contacts by telling group leaders. Key Informant 18 identified the power of "word of mouth" within Vanuatu saying, "when you talk to one [person], four more [people] already know".

Key Informant 18 identified that VANWODS had its own unique approach, and this approach that made its work so effective. The community-based steps of the VANWODS programme made it relatively easy to obtain a small business loan, and

the support structure meant many members were able to re-pay the loan, and successfully expand their businesses.

Key Informant 18 identified difficulties that VANWODS had with SPC, and noted that despite their limited revenue of many women's businesses, they still had to pay a 20,000 *vatu* business fee. In the past, SPC has offered a discount to businesses of VANWODS members; this, however, is no longer the case (Key Informant 18). The cost of a business licence varies depending on the type of business. For example, Shop business owners pay a licence fee of 20,000 *vatu*, a dressmaker pays 5,000 *vatu*, and a kava seller 3,000 *vatu* (Key Informant 18).

Additionally VANWODS is an advocate for small business owners. An example of this occurred this year, when the Vanuatu Financial Services Commission (VFSC) required all business owners throughout Vanuatu to register the name of their business with them. Many smaller businesses in Vanuatu, because of their size, and the community level on which they operate, do not have business or trading names. Thus, VANWODS came to an agreement with VFSC that VANWODS members did not need to register their businesses within the VFSC (Key Informant 18).

Key Informant 18 identified the formal nature of other microfinance providers, and revealed that these organisations often did not understand the lives of VANWODS members, and often had too much paperwork and administration for the, often uneducated, women to understand. The approachable nature of VANWODS as an organisation, and the advocacy role which VANWODS plays for the LED initiatives employed by those enrolled in VANWODS enables the lives of many *Ni-Vanuatu* to be improved through their businesses.

Key Informant 18 thought that the current size of VANWODS was small, but manageable. She believed VANWODS brought "happiness" to its members, who use bankbooks to record their savings and make goals. Additionally it helped them pay their school and even university fees, which were identified by all key informants as a primary goal of entrepreneurship.

#### 6.4.7 *The educational NGO*

A theme discussed with a number of key informants was promoting business development initiatives by engaging the youth in LED projects. Key Informant 12 revealed that youth business workshops were carried out in all the villages in Shefa, and Key Informant 1 confirmed this by explaining that the SPC had implemented the “Mele Piggery Project” as a form of youth business development. No other key informants, however, were aware of such initiatives in their communities. Municipal boundary and land issues present in peri-urban areas, notably informal settlements, result in a lack of services for these areas. This includes both infrastructural services and social support. For example, SPC has not conducted any youth business workshops in the peri-urban informal settlement of Blacksands, which has a large number of unemployed youth who lack educational resources and opportunities. It is often as a result, often NGOs that fills these gaps in service provision.

The Wan Smolbag Theatre and Youth Centre (WSB) is the largest NGO in Vanuatu. It is well known in Port Vila and many key informants recognised the important role WSB played in the peri-urban communities of Blacksands and Tagabe (among other informal settlements) through the provision of informal activities for young people. Such activities help young people develop skills, goals and visions to help them in their future lives.

As well as providing workshops within the communities, WSB has classrooms, an all-weather sports court and facilities that provide young people with opportunities to gain literacy, and to learn to sew, cook, dance, sing, play instruments and use computers. WSB combines life and health skills with traditional culture and skills like agriculture and gardening. The emphasis is on local cultures and *kastom* learning, including opportunities for showcase their own local island traditions. Learning such skills provides a holistic education for young people, enabling them to become more effective citizens in their communities.

Furthermore, WSB provides opportunities for young people to gain financial and business skills. An example of this is the emergence of a “fire-throwing” group, formed after WSB workshops. The group is now regularly paid to perform as a “circus-type” act at local resorts and restaurants (see Photo 17). This provides a

moneymaking opportunity that involves young people learning business and entrepreneurial skills.

**Photo 17: WSB fire performers putting on a show, an economically viable activity at a nearby beach resorts.**



(Source: Author's Fieldwork, 2012).

The NGO similarly enables opportunities for women and girls to learn to sew, and sell their products to local people. Such products include *aelan dresses*<sup>28</sup> (see Page 87), cushion covers, shirts, and sarongs.

Such activities align with WSB visions and goals. Key Informant 24 noted that one of WSB's wider objectives was to "promote positive participation by youth in Vanuatu's socio-economic development". This goal is of high importance to the young people within the settlement of Blacksands and surrounding areas, and also to the wider peri-urban Port Vila community. It can be argued that young *Ni-Vanuatu* lack a long-term vision for the future, and that such visions will be important in developing this young nation. Key Informant 21 believed that Blacksands was fortunate of the close proximity of WSB, and thought there are numerous other peri-



urban informal settlements (including Teoma, see Map 2 Page 11), which does not have easily accessible NGOs and services.

Indirect benefits can be attributed to the work of WSB within the peri-urban communities, as the provision of learning opportunities challenges young people's minds and results in reduced involvement in anti-social behaviors. Key Informant 6 recognised that WSB promoted family planning in the community and was a reason for later pregnancy among many girls within the area:

A lot of young girls have learned to 'live' longer, in the sense that they are not having children at young ages. [Previously], [when] they start turning 15, 16, [and] 17 they got big [pregnant] tummies. But [now] you see them turning 21 or 22 [and having their first babies], and to me that is a big improvement in the living standards of [Blacksands] people.

Key Informant 6 additionally identified WSB's role in supporting people who were living in peri-urban communities:

WSB has been an advocate for people in Blacksands for a long time. There is so much rubbish around the sides of the river, so WSB has a project where the people living by the riversides put their rubbish on the road for a vehicle to come and pick up the rubbish and [take it to] the dumpsite. That's an action-based activity where you don't talk; you *do* something about the rubbish; because people live off the water from the river [for their survival].

This 'action-based activity', and similar infrastructural ventures such as providing compost toilets in Blacksands extends beyond WSB's fundamental visions as an NGO. Despite this, they are greatly appreciated by the community (Key Informant 7). Key Informant 21, however still considered that the provision of tangible solutions to community problems improves the NGO's rapport within a community. This is of importance to an organisation, like WSB, which needs the support of surrounding communities in order to carry out its work.

#### **6.5 Research Question Five: What are other influences of local businesses and their development of the livelihoods' of peri-urban communities in Vanuatu?**

This section discusses the ideas of agriculture in the urban environment, the role of the international market, the role of *kastom* in business, the global financial crisis, and

tourism as a form of LED and using technology to improve business relationships and communication.

#### 6.5.1 *Agriculture in the urban environment*

Key Informant 6 recognised that often peri-urban informal settlements evolve when people move in to these areas from the outer islands. This will often involve a person from the same island who is already based in or near Port Vila who can facilitate the financial arrangements for family and friends on the outer island. Produce and crops from the outer islands are then put on a boat and sent to Port Vila to be sold at the market by the community representative living in Port Vila. The revenue is then sent back to the island to pay for school fees (Key Informant 6). As the capacity to sell produce increases, more people move to Port Vila to live with the family, which results in the settlement of larger communities from the outer islands.

A key agricultural project run is the sale of livestock in the peri-urban Port Vila community of Tagabe. This involves the sale of livestock from all over Vanuatu and takes place each Friday, on SPC owned land. The Department of Livestock and Quarantine jointly organises the project, with funding from NZAID and during the three years it has operated has generated revenue of over 25 million *vatu* to local *Ni-Vanuatu* (Key Informant 17). There are similar NZAID funded projects in Tonga and Samoa (Key Informant 17).

This project is considered a success because it reveals the collaboration of many different agencies for the promotion of *Ni-Vanuatu* in the economy. Each province takes turns at holding a market selling their local produce, thus catering to those who live on the rural islands of Vanuatu, and also to Shefa Province and people living in the peri-urban areas of Port Vila. Further, this project has extended beyond what it was originally set out to do. It has now become a place where women can also come and sell garden produce, cooked *aelan kaekae* and local handicrafts, with VANWODS running a pilot project in collaboration with the livestock market. This market is a success and Makin (2012) explains that:

Many Vila residents welcome the fresh quality from the Islands as town folk have ever increasing demands on their lives allowing less time to tend to their

gardens and less time to practice customs such as weaving fans and mats that are important for custom events such as weddings and funerals.

This example reveals of pilot projects for success for community economic activities. ‘Trial and error’ at the grass roots level is essential for empowerment of local people. This must happen before anything is written into policy. This also allows for the natural progression of appropriate NGOs, businesses and governmental organisations to be involved in projects. For example, this local market, which is being run by the Department of Livestock and Quarantine, on land owned by the SPC, where women from the VANWODS group are taking the opportunities to sell more than just also fresh garden produce and handicrafts. Thus, taking a flexible approach to LED is essential for successful enterprises. Further, this example reveals the agriculture culture of Vanuatu as a country, and reveals that economic opportunities lie within this sector. This concept was prevalent in much of the literature. For example, Fontenay (2010) recognised that although tourism is good for macroeconomic growth, he believes that “more rapid growth in agriculture would have the greatest impact on poverty reduction and employment” (p.1). This is because the majority of the population has access to agriculture.

Additionally, agriculture was increasingly prevalent with the study, with agriculture being a critical survival strategy for those who live in peri-urban villages. Key Informant 1, 2, 3 and 4 had gardens where they grew fruit and vegetables. This has provided an important support to these families as it supplemented their family food budget, as well as providing an interesting aspect of *Ni-Vanuatu* life to show to tourists who stayed in the guesthouses.

This idea of agriculture as a ‘survival strategy’ is supported in the literature, with Ratuva (2010) considering agriculture a “back to basics” form of “social protection for vulnerable groups in Vanuatu” (p. 40). Ratuva (2010) identified “most working families in Port Vila have family gardens or receive vegetables, fruit and root crops from relatives in villages and outer islands” (p. 49). He argued that because of the lack of accessible formal social security protection, people in both the urban and rural environments relied on agriculture for survival when money was unavailable.

Urban agriculture was prevalent for families living in the peri-urban settlement of Blacksands. As discussed, Blacksands was identified as a ‘rural’ location by many of the key informants where a ‘rural’ and agricultural, subsistence lifestyle dominants (Key Informant 5, 8, 14). Any surplus that these families have will be used for agriculture sales (Photo 18). Key Informant 14 recognised the role the peri-urban communities of Port Vila played in the town’s economy:

Peri-urban agriculture contributes to the economy of the city. In the Port Vila Market House, most things are supplied by people from Tanna [living in Blacksands] and from Teomea. They feed the urban and local markets, [so we should see them [the peri-urban migrants] as contributors to peri-urban agricultural and supplies, rather than problems.

**Photo 18: Produce grown in peri-urban villages and informal settlements for sale in the Port Vila Market House. This produce is only sold in internal markets: none is exported.**



(Source: Author’s Fieldwork, 2012).

As a result of the agricultural activity of the peri-urban communities, Key Informant 5 believes that it is necessary to protect the rights of those living in the peri-urban communities, as they provide the majority of the produce at the Port Vila Market House. This claim could not be substantiated, and may be a case of “islandism”, with

each community group believing they contribute more than others. Key Informant 5 (*man Tanna*) commented:

If the population of town increases, [if the government decides to ‘clean up’ the town] then we will have to pay for land to live on [in Port Vila]. But if we don’t have enough money, we will have to go back to our island [of Tanna]. However, I will tell you, that if every *man Tanna* goes back to the island of Tanna, then there would not be a market in [Port Vila] town.

This recognises that people living in the peri-urban informal settlements realise the lack of social protection, and their lack of rights as illegal or informal tenants on the land on which they live. There is a need within these communities to solve these land tenure issues to enable families to plan for the future.

Despite the prevalence of agriculture, it is important to note that there are some people within the community who do not have a regular food supply. Some people are reliant on low-paid jobs for food, water and rent. This included Key Informant 8, who lives in Blacksands because of the cheaper rent available, who explained the hardship faced in her life as a result of disownment by her family: “I struggled; lots of the time I did not eat, I did not sleep well, I rented a small room and none of my family visited; I tried my very best [...]”. She had no access to land, and this created difficulty in her life. Further this recognises the importance of family in the *Ni-Vanuatu* culture for security and as social protection (Ratuva, 2010). Furthermore it recognises the increasing difficulties of living in the urban environment, where traditional forms of social protection (for example, family) are less relevant. Her example also reveals that within the urban environment, many people have a “survival of the fittest” mindset (Key Informant 16) and because of high living costs and increased pressures on livelihoods, extended family structures are less important.

#### 6.5.2 *What about the international market?*

Key Informant 15 identified a niche in the market: “We don’t do vegetable exports, we import into Vanuatu. No exports. Yet we can grow them [vegetables] here”. Appropriately, he also identified the need to meet the needs of the local populations before considering providing to international markets “we have to provide the locals first” (Key Informant 17).

Vanuatu produces limited agricultural produce for export. One reason may be that no pesticides are used; these are necessary to maintain quality of fruit and vegetables fresh for long transport distances to international markets. Despite this, there is potential for Vanuatu to market itself as an organic country, which could mean its produce could sell at a premium in markets such as New Zealand and Australia (Lockie, 2002). It was, however, stated that Vanuatu is “not like in Fiji, or Samoa, or Cook Islands or Tonga. [In these countries] [t]hey use a lot of chemicals to control certain plants” (Key Informant 17). Because of this, Key Informant 17 is happy a Pacific Organic Standard is currently being developed, which will help the certifying of products, to ensure that ‘organic’ means the same throughout the Pacific.

Vanuatu has exported beef to Australia, Papua New Guinea, Fiji and Solomon Islands (Key Informant 17). All the beef within Vanuatu is organic (Hamilton, 2008). Having a Pacific Organic Standard for this beef would increase its value, and lead to a higher premium for beef in these international locations (Key Informant 17). Furthermore, the Pacific Organic Standard will provide the opportunity for many of Vanuatu’s exports<sup>31</sup> to be labelled as ‘organic’ under a certified label. There are no indigenous *Ni-Vanuatu* that own export companies. The export companies do, however, provide opportunities for *Ni-Vanuatu* farmers to supply export products under special licences. For example, a company that previously exported cocoa to Germany bought from 13 cooperatives in the island of Malekula (Malampa Province), and each cooperative comprises around 300 farmers. This means that around 3,900 cocoa bean farmers and their families received money for school fees and their livelihoods from exports to Germany. Key Informant 17 recognised that the development of the Pacific Organic Standard, among other projects within the agricultural and tourism who note the reliance on overseas investors for such projects to go ahead. For example the Pacific Organic Standard project is led by a New Zealand consultant, and has used NZAID money for funding. This reliance on foreign aid, foreign resources and foreign expertise creates difficulties for the sustainability of projects. As a result, these projects are often designed to meet the needs of the overseas investors, rather than the domestic growers and their

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<sup>31</sup> Current exports from Vanuatu include Tanna coffee, beef, vanilla, pepper, virgin coconut oil, coconut oil, noni juice, tamanu oil and sandalwood oil.

communities. This means they often fail to benefit Vanuatu by promoting its economic development to the extent that might be expected.

### 6.5.3 *The role of kastom in business and the peri-urban environment*

*Kastom* refers to the traditional *Ni-Vanuatu* practices that took place prior to colonialism and still occur today. There are still many communities throughout Vanuatu that uphold *kastom* traditions for their everyday community functioning. While there are no traditional *kastom* villages *per se* on the island of Efate, there are still remaining *kastom* traditions that influence life on Efate. These reflect *kastom* practices of marriage, death and medicine. Furthermore, as increasing numbers of people move from other islands to Efate, they bring with them their own *kastom* traditions, beliefs and lifestyles. This creates a diverse cultural landscape within and around the Port Vila urban environment.

*Kastom* has been identified as a barrier to reaching the Millennium Development Goals in Vanuatu. This is because “[i]f development initiatives do not fit inside custom and tradition or are not endorsed by traditional leaders implementation can be difficult and protracted” (Government of Vanuatu, 2011a, p. xiv). An example of was revealed by Key Informant 17 who believed it is difficult for *man Efate* to be involved in agricultural exports due to cultural and family responsibilities. In spite of this declaration it is important to stress the continuing importance *kastom* plays in many aspects of Vanuatu life. This needs to be considered and appreciated in all forms of public consultation.

Key Informant 16 recognised that acknowledging, “*kastom* rules in all aspects of a *Ni-Vanuatu* life is vital”. Furthermore, Key Informant 16 outlined the many aspects of *Ni-Vanuatu* life that *kastom* is incorporated into:

For settling a marriage dispute, peri-urban communities will use *kastom* as the first court hearing in the community setting with very little paper work but more of the verbal discussions. Disputes or arrangements [of] marriages for two different island [groups] in a peri-urban community are settled or discussed via *kastom* rules or laws, settlements on land issues are the same. Yes, *kastom* is incorporated into planning of local government. However, once these are incorporated it can also be overlooked [...] as we transition between western world and the valued *kastom* values we are embraced with.

In the literature, Hailey (1987) discussed the impact of cultural influences on LED. This idea was also discussed by Key Informant 17 who discussed the difficulties of *Ni-Vanuatu* supplying fruit and vegetables for export, because of the importance placed on cultural ceremonies, especially those associated with grief periods for death, or the long celebrations associated with marriage. Family and culture obligations are the top priority, and many businesses do not consider service delivery or economic outcome as the most important thing (DeBurlo, 1985). DeBurlo (1985) from his research determined that:

[T]he response to tourism as economic opportunity found elsewhere, in Vanuatu indigenous response is motivated by social considerations; as a means to extend local organi[s]ation over activities which represent 'tradition' or 'doing business' as symbols of local group identity" (p. 1)

Additionally, he found that "because of traditional Melanesian political organi[s]ation, local group participation in tourism is difficult to sustain" (DeBurlo, 1985, p. 1). Additionally, in the situation of Emua where business activity is sporadic, a traditional subsistence way of life can be continued even when the business does not have any demand.

Furthermore, *kastom* land ownership strongly influences how tourism and business is carried out in the peri-urban communities of Port Vila. For example, the traditional land issues create difficulties for those living on uncontrolled *kastom* land to own and operate businesses (Burlo, 1989). For example, if permanent structures cannot be used as stores, *nakamals*, and restaurants, then business options are limited, and semi-permanent structures are prone to weather damage.

The *kastom* way of life with its roots in tradition also creates a divide between the urban and rural way of life, and many people living in the rural environment believe they have a superior lifestyle to those in the urban environment. Thus, because the 'peri-urban' is considered 'rural' by many Port Vila dwellers, many people in Blacksands are thankful for their livelihoods. When discussing the lifestyle of many people who live in Blacksands, Key Informant 5 said: "It is rural. It is good. It is better than [a lifestyle in] town". Key Informant 19 additionally stated: "life in the town is hard", and as he lived in Emua Village, that was 40 minutes drive from Port Vila, he had no intention of ever moving closer to the urban environment, as he



believed it instilled a lack of values and morals into young people. This perception is common amongst *Ni-Vanuatu* from more rural, and traditional backgrounds. Similarly, many people in urban environment have no access to land or ability to produce their own food. Many city dwellers have a romanticised idea of farming and subsistence agriculture within Vanuatu:

The population is expanding so quickly but there is no thought put into where everyone is going. Some people say ‘send them back, there are no jobs’ but it’s not that easy. There is freedom of movement, and you can’t do that. There is kind of a romantic idea of farming as well, of subsistence living, but all the people who romanticise about it are living in town, going to schools, enjoying hospitals [and] universities [...]. The fact is, the city is definitely going to get more crowded so there definitely needs to be some form of planning (Key Informant 14).

#### 6.5.4 *Global Financial Crisis*

The majority of Vanuatu’s population has not been affected by the global financial crisis because the majority of the population lives a subsistence lifestyle, and is predominantly reliant on their vegetable gardens for their survival. Furthermore, at a macroeconomic analysis, Vanuatu has not been affected by the global financial crisis as the country’s tourism sector and GDP has continued to grow. This may be because Australia, the largest source country for tourists visiting Vanuatu, was only affected to a limited extent by the global financial crisis, meaning that people continue to take tourist holidays in Vanuatu (Fontenay, 2010). Although this was not discussed with the key informants, there could be a possible decrease in tourists from other parts of the world.

There are, however, other ways, in which Vanuatu could be affected by the global financial crisis. Ravuva (2010) noted that the increase in fuel and imported food prices would most likely affect those living in urban and peri-urban areas. Although the global financial crisis was not discussed with any of the key informants, it is evident that increases in fuel would influence any VANWODS member who had a bus or taxi business to make their livelihood, and increases in food would have an effect on the ability of people to nutritionally feed their families. Additionally, earlier in this chapter it was identified that some people move to peri-urban informal settlements for cheaper rent because of the high living costs in town. There is the

possibility that this is the result of other high costs, for example high food and fuel costs, meaning that there is less money available for rent and quality housing.

Furthermore, it was noted that this year Germany stopped buying cocoa from Vanuatu after buying it for about 15 years (Key Informant 17). Vanuatu at present does not know if this is because of the high transportation costs or because of the global financial crisis.

#### 6.5.5 'Pro-poor tourism' LED?

Prior to independence, tourism was not considered an appropriate route for Melanesian countries' economies, and colonial efforts focused "development efforts on agriculture and the provision of infrastructure for primary education, health, and inter-island shipping" (Sofield, 1993, p. 732). The prospect of tourism facing "foreign domination, local elite control, and/or government institutionalisation of the tourism sector, as has occurred in many other small developing nations" is of high possibility if tourism is not efficaciously undertaken in Vanuatu, or any other island nation (Sofield, 1993, p. 747). Binns and Nel (2002) recognise that tourism is an industry that "can have significant potential for areas that are seeking to reorientate their local economies as a result of economic change or marginalisation" (p. 235). Thus, it is essential that effectively managed if benefits are going to emerge from the use of tourism as a LED tool within the peri-urban villages of Vanuatu.

From the field-based research, it was evident that within the peri-urban villages tourism a tool used to improve the livelihoods of the families of Case Study 1, 2, 3 and 4. Potter *et al.* (2008) explain that "[p]overty alleviation/elimination is the core focus of 'pro-poor tourism', and from the tourism businesses analysed in this study, poverty alleviation was unquestionably occurring. In the first four case studies, all children were being sent to school or even university, families had running water and had plenty of food, which are all core elements of development and the Millennium Development Goals (Government of Vanuatu, 2011a).

Further Potter *et al.* (2008) explain that the involvement of the local population in tourism ventures is a core component of 'pro-poor tourism'. This is visible in the

community involvement in facilitating tourist activities; this might include for example taking tourists on guided walks, fishing, snorkelling and swimming as in the Case Studies 1, 3 and 4. These examples are all from peri-urban villages, where the families owned the land and were thus able to provide these activities to tourists. Tourism, conversely, was not evident in informal, peri-urban settlements, where families tended not own the land, and where businesses are smaller, and cater only to the needs of the local indigenous population. There are examples; however, of women who are VANWODS members operating small/micro businesses and sell handicrafts to tourists. These women come from both peri-urban informal settlements, peri-urban villages and from communities inside Port Vila. This reveals that there are diverse options for local people to be involved in tourism in Port Vila. Despite this diversity, it can be argued that more ‘pro-poor tourism’ measures should be introduced.

Case Studies 1, 2, 3 and 4 are examples of profitable and sustainable ventures that use natural resources of the island of Efate:

[t]ourism represents an important development option for Pacific island microstates facing problems of small size and isolation, because tourists travel to the ‘product’ and often seek readily available ‘resources’ such as sun, sand and sea (Milne, 1992, p. 198).

Furthermore he notes:

[T]here are a number of exogenous factors that hinder the development of tourism. The first problem is overreliance on single markets, which leaves industries extremely open to economic fluctuations in these countries and creates a dependence on individual airlinks (Milne, 1992, p. 198).

Additionally, Milne (1992) notes that political problems can influence tourism within the Pacific. Vanuatu is fortunate in not having had recent political instability that might discourage tourists from visiting the country. Other influences on tourism numbers include climate conditions. Key Informant 1 and 3 said that it was important that houses were resilient to storms and cyclones, which may be due to the memories of many of the people as Vanuatu suffered large tourism damage during the 1980s, and due to the “beach front or coastal locations of many tourist facilities often bear the brunt of high winds and seas” (Milne, 1992, p. 199).

In Case Study 3, tourism was used as a form of LED for the community. It is an example that uses social, economic and environmental resources to promote tourism as an LED strategy and improve livelihoods in Emua Village. This business was particularly effective, because unlike the businesses in Case Study 1, 2 and 4, a loan was not required for the construction of the business, and the natural resources present within the community were the prominent resources used. Binns and Nel (2002) argue that this form of tourism can “lead to economic upliftment, community development, community development and poverty relief in the developing world” (p.235). Case Study 3 as an example provides a useful example for other small businesses in Vanuatu, to use tourism for LED that encourages economic growth of a community that continues to retain a relatively traditional lifestyle

Furthermore the guesthouses in Case Studies 1, 3 and 4 “through ‘exhibiting’ local culture and environment” (Binns and Nel, 2002, p. 236) provided a range of activities for tourists and guests that reveal the *Ni-Vanuatu* way of life.

#### *6.5.6 Technology – creating improvements in communication for small businesses*

Technological advancement is mentioned in the literature review as a catalyst for making small businesses less economically viable, as advancing technology creates cheaper commodity production for larger businesses, who are in turn able to sell at lower costs, and who thus capture the market (Porter, 2000). Although this may be the case, from the field-based research it is evident that a different type of technology improves small business owner’s ability to operate successfully. Accessibility to communications technology is improving business and livelihoods throughout Vanuatu:

Only 5 years has passed since we struggled to use a radiotelephone to ring people. Today, we are lucky to have the mobile phone. The mobile phone has helped us with lots of different things. And another tool is coming to rural Vanuatu; it is the computer and internet which can help us develop (Hampshire, 2012).

The increased accessibility of communication technologies within Port Vila improves small businesses efficiencies, allowing them to be more effective in their producing and marketing of their goods and services. Key Informant 14 brought the importance of telecommunications for small businesses to attention:

[T]here is an increasing appreciation of the mobile phone, particularly for the urban businesses. [The] mobile phone is becoming [a crucial] part of these groups of people, and their businesses, while wireless [internet] is helping them too.

Key Informant 14 claimed that small *Ni-Vanuatu* owned businesses were growing as a result of mobile phone communication that allowed risk mitigation strategies to take place when there were transport delays:

They [business owners] are communicating with the islands; if they [in town] need food [to sell], they [on the island] will send [some]. If the ship doesn't go, and [the women on the island] are unable to send the food to the town, the women in town will know through the use of cellphones.

Furthermore, mobile phones are allowing for increased business clustering and cooperation:

Women are benefiting from phones and trying to form coalitions with other women to work together to meet their economic and social needs. Women are getting together for church activities, or to make a roadside stall to meet the needs of the kava [drinking] men they can have an association. [...]. So even in these little groups they are utilising new formats of communication to improve their business and personal interest, so there are good things happening at the local level (Key Informant 14).

## **6.6 Research Question Six: What suggestions of improvement for local government and NGOs are possible for the planning and provision, both theoretically and practically, to improve the livelihoods' of peri-urban communities in Vanuatu?**

This section, and the following chapter, answers the final research question for this thesis by first, discussing the practicality of using policy to improve peri-urban businesses within Port Vila, and secondly, presenting some policy recommendations.

### *6.6.1 Policy – is it the answer?*

Small businesses that are earning cash income have the ability to uplift themselves, and uplift their country. The suggestion of improving policy to reaffirm a nation's commitments to LED were identified by Nel *et al.* (2009) and these are accordingly considered important in Vanuatu to improve how LED is perceived and encouraged.

The idea of developing policies was discussed during the field-based research. Key Informant 15 recognised the need to “identify who will drive [policy] in terms of

development, implementation and monitoring. I have seen lots of policies in government that really look good and are practical but they never get implemented”.

Thus, an upheaval of the way policy is driven within the Government of Vanuatu could be necessary. One crucial element of policy development is ‘ownership’.

Policy ownership is important when policies affect a large number of agencies:

[O]wnership: whose jurisdiction, and who will be accountable? While the Municipal Council comes under the Ministry of Internal Affairs, we also have investors in town who come under VIPA [Vanuatu Investment Promotion Authority]. We also have the landowners who come under Ministry of Lands, we have economic development authorities like Ministry of Finance, Ministry of *Ni-Vanuatu* Business etcetera. My point is, these other sectors might already have separate policies regarding urban development. How do we link up, or how do we ensure they agree on implementing objectives of ‘urban policy’ or own the policy?

The problems associated with communication between planning stakeholders and local authorities are evident in the literature. Wallace (2002) argues that there needs to be greater collaboration between NGOs and local governments in the supplementation of policy in promoting sustainable development. Accordingly, Key Informant 14 referred to the concept of ‘project ownership’, and working at a local level: “[i]t takes a lot of planning, and policy planning, and really practical planning and *implementation on the ground*”. Key Informant 16 also alluded to this idea of ‘project ownership’: “How do we measure ownership of programs within the community? Is there still dependency? Or, just lack of information to sustain community programs?”

The interrelationship between ownership and dependency is discussed by Key Informant 6, who felt that community of Blacksands often relied on WSB to solve its problems, and failed to seek its own community-based alternative solutions. The Blacksands community simply expects “Wan Smolbag to find the projects to fund this, and this, and this [...]”. Key Informant 6 posed the question:

Maybe they don’t know that Shefa Provincial Government can provide services for them? That’s why the Provincial Government doesn’t provide services for us at Wan Smolbag/Blacksands because they know that people know that they don’t exist. And there has never been a complaint voiced to that place. So, who will voice our complaints and all these issues that we have? Nobody. That’s how we’ve been living. And I don’t know when that will change.

One suggestion is for the collaboration of a number of stakeholders and community groups during the policy development process that will lead to projects aimed at the community level. Key Informant 16 recognises that “for some issues NGOs and local/central government work together; waste management for some peri-urban communities work really well”. Despite this, Key Informant 16 questions the sustainability of such projects, which use aid money to pay workers and cover refuse removal costs: “Do NGOs pay community workers or community groupings? For how long will this go on for?”

It does not appear likely in the foreseeable future, that services and functions currently carried out by NGOs in Vanuatu, or projects that use aid money, could become in any sense self-reliant. Despite large-scale developments within Port Vila, there is marked (and possibly increasing) inequalities within the city, and between the rural, urban and peri-urban environments. As a result, initiatives that enable communities to develop themselves are critical. The Department of Cooperatives and Ni-Vanuatu Business Development Services coordinates the Cooperative Development Fund and the Small Business Development Fund (Government of Vanuatu, 2011). This service technically extends out to all six provinces of Vanuatu. It is, however, noted by key informants that these departments do not function at full capacity. Additionally, these services have a rural community focus, and are not focused in urban and peri-urban areas. From this research it is evident that there are difficulties associated with separating the boundaries between the rural and urban areas; this is a theme that was presented in the literature review by Allen (2003). There is, however, the opportunity for the Department of Cooperatives and Ni-Vanuatu Business Development Services to look for solutions within the peri-urban environment, to create policy that encourages the Shefa branch of the Ministry to consider the peri-urban environment as rural and look for solutions accordingly.

## 6.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has analysed numerous semi-structured interviews to determine the status of Port Vila's peri-urban communities' livelihoods and business development. A complex picture has been painted, that reveals many challenges for the country of Vanuatu. The movement of people to Port Vila is creating areas of neglect within the peri-urban informal settlement environment, resulting in an impoverished existence for many people within these communities. Poverty is vast due to a lack of infrastructure and formal social support networks. Despite this, it is clear that people are creating opportunities to improve the way they fund their livelihoods. This is through support from NGOs, local community, and limited support from due to strong community networks present within peri-urban villages, and the work of NGOs in peri-urban informal settlements, that

Additionally, it is evident that there are vast differences between the peri-urban informal settlement and the peri-urban village environment. The people living within the peri-urban village are generally the *kastom* landowners, and accordingly these communities often have greater available resources than those in the informal settlements. This creates the opportunity to supplement their incomes with agriculture, and because of these villages' longstanding interactions within the colonial urban environment, there is often a wealth of contacts and knowledge within these communities about surviving within the urban environment. These factors create increased opportunities for people to establish more permanent and formal businesses (for example tourism businesses within the peri-urban village environment), which appear to have more opportunity for growth and development. It is, however, important for these communities to understand the cultural implications that result from a high involvement within the tourism sector. Chapter Seven uses this evidence to make policy recommendations that would help address these issues discussed within this chapter.



# 7 . Conclusions and Recommendations

## 7.1 Introduction

This thesis presents an exploration of livelihoods and development in peri-urban Port Vila, Vanuatu. Specifically, the thesis has looked at how local and community-based economic development is improving the lives of indigenous people. This improvement is not because of adequate policy provisions, but is rather, at least in part, the result of the self-reliance and self-sufficient attitudes of the people living in these areas. The research findings show how communities, families and individuals within the peri-urban areas are adapting to their circumstances to earn their livelihoods largely within informal sectors. This chapter presents an overview of the thesis by addressing each of the research questions in turn. This chapter also answers the final research question by concluding with policy and future research recommendations.

## 7.2 Chapter Summaries

Chapter Two presents the context of the thesis, by discussing population and economic issues present in the peri-urban communities of Vanuatu in relation to other relevant factors including Vanuatu's geography, history, and the international and national political contexts.

Chapter Three examines the themes present in the literature by introducing issues that affect both developing nations and small island developing states. These issues include urbanisation and the development of 'peri-urban' and informal settlements. As in most development literature, 'poverty' within the Pacific context was discussed,

as well as the measurement of poverty, which often fails to include indigenous people's viewpoints, local economic development (LED), 'pro-poor' tourism, and the influences and roles of government and NGOs in peri-urban environments.

Chapter Four details the research approach adopted by the study. A qualitative approach was identified as the most effective way to undertake the research, as it enabled access to the attitudes and perceptions of business owners and important stakeholders within the peri-urban environments of Port Vila. Within this research design, ethical and cultural considerations and the researcher's positionality were considered to be of highest priority, particularly when undertaking primary data collection. This data was collected using a mixed methodology: semi-structured interviews were undertaken which involved the *Ni-Vanuatu* concept of *storian* and, and were conducted in *Bislama* and English. Site observations and focus groups were also used as ways to gather data and to understand the field context. Secondary data was collected through a literature review, and an analysis of grey literature, websites and social media.

### **7.3 Key Findings**

Chapter Five addressed research question one, which asked "What types of local businesses are prevalent in Port Vila's peri-urban communities?". This was answered through a description of three different elements. First, four businesses from peri-urban villages were described, based on semi-structured interviews with business owners. Secondly, livelihoods of people from the peri-urban informal settlement of Blacksands were illustrated, based on semi-structured interviews and focus groups with community members, chiefs and community leaders. Finally, microfinance and business within the informal sector owned by VANWODS members were portrayed in detail, provided through grey literature sources, semi-structured interviews and focus group *storian*.

It became apparent that there is a range of businesses within Port Vila's peri-urban communities, and that people are providing for their livelihoods in many different ways. The businesses present within the informal settlements of Blacksands provide a contrast to the peri-urban villages of Port Vila. The businesses located within the

peri-urban villages were of a relatively large-scale, involving large capital investment and were the result of community collaborative efforts. In the peri-urban villages, tourism businesses are present that are using cultural and environmental resources to make their livelihoods. There are also businesses, such as restaurants and retail stores that cater for the local client base and hope to make enough profits to expand in order to cater for tourist customers. Within the peri-urban settlements there is an active informal sector that grows fruit and vegetables in gardens to sell to the local and urban markets. Women sell the *kaekae* to earn funds to educate their children, while other businesses include bus and taxi services, handicraft sales and construction. Blacksands, however, similar to other informal settlements in Port Vila, is characterised by widespread poverty. This is the result of a wide variety of political, historical, economic and social factors. As a result, business development and enhancement of livelihoods is of increasing importance in these areas.

The second research question, “How are peri-urban communities changing?” was considered in Chapter Seven. This focused on how urbanisation was changing the nature of the peri-urban environment. Previously, it had been an environment of just five villages, but now as vast migrations have occurred from outer islands, as people move to the urban environment in the hope of finding jobs and moneymaking opportunities, peri-urban informal settlements have emerged on uncontrolled *kastom* land. As a result, people living in these lands face particular hardship: many are unable to access water and electricity, creating a difficult living environment. Furthermore, this question is answered through the discussion of change in culture in the peri-urban environment. This includes a change of culture within the peri-urban environment, as exposure to western systems through tourists and increased foreign investment in these areas, as well as in the peri-urban informal settlements where people who have moved from the rural environment adjust to a different lifestyle within this environment.

The third question asked: “What are the main challenges facing peri-urban businesses and communities?” Key informants’ answers to this question were discussed in detail. For the businesses located within peri-urban villages, these included challenges of managing culture change due to tourism, which revolved around land issues for those in peri-urban settlements, susceptibility to natural disaster, social protection and

water and other infrastructural issues. In the peri-urban informal settlements these challenges were predominantly due to land tenure issues, and include difficulties faced with the inability to access water and electricity. Employment, social issues, housing standards and a general feeling that “life in town is hard” emerged from this discussion.

The fourth question asked: “What are the main support systems for businesses?” This question evolved into a focus of the research, and discussed in detail the roles of the SPC, PVMC, local NGOs and the community’s role in business support. A local microfinance NGO named VANWODS emerged as an important support system for small local businesses in Port Vila. Within the peri-urban villages, the community and family members appeared to play important roles in supporting business, and VANWODS also has community groups within the peri-urban villages. NGOs are of significance within the informal settlements, through supplementing educational workshops, micro-finance and savings schemes. PVMC plays a role in encouraging economic development within the Port Vila Municipal Boundary, which includes providing and managing the Port Vila Market House, which is used by many people who live in the peri-urban boundaries of Port Vila. The SPC also has a role to play in the provision of market stalls and facilitating local economic development in the peri-urban areas. At the moment this is being carried out in the peri-urban villages, however, the peri-urban informal settlements are, for the most part, neglected.

The fifth question asked: “What are other influences of local businesses and their development of the livelihoods’ of peri-urban communities in Vanuatu?” To answer this question there was consideration of the role of agriculture in the peri-urban environment and its role in local business within the peri-urban environment. The global financial crisis was also considered as an influence on people’s livelihoods, and technology and the availability of the mobile phone was considered beneficial to small business owners. Agricultural exports were considered a potential avenue international agriculture, however is influenced by *kastom* traditions and livelihoods and its role within business and peri-urban communities.

#### **7.4 Policy Recommendations**

The peri-urban communities of Vanuatu have an important role to contribute to the economic growth of Vanuatu. Increased economic growth is needed, and this needs to reach all levels of society. First, smarter policy is needed to act as a catalyst for change about the way local economic development occurs in Vanuatu's peri-urban areas. Presenting policy recommendations after a research investigation is important. This is because foreign aid and investment are more effective when based on accurate facts, figures and processes (Cox *et al.*, 2007). Connell (2011) argues that the problems of livelihoods of those living within the Pacific urban environment have been avoided within policy and practice recommendations for long periods of time despite becoming "elephants in the room" (p. 1). Huffer and Ropate (2004, p. 108) identify that a "lack of [a] coherent voice to promote Pacific thought or philosophy means that it is discounted, particularly when it comes to policy making". Thus, despite this thesis focusing on Vanuatu, there are elements of the discussion of LED in peri-urban areas that are applicable to other locations, particularly the Pacific Islands, other SIDS and also other developing countries. The rest of this chapter focuses on policy recommendations for the issues discussed in this thesis.

#### **7.5 Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)**

The MDGs provide a useful framework for a developing country to aim towards. The *Republic of Vanuatu Millennium Development Goals Report* (2011) includes several recommendations for economic development which relate to this study. These are presented in Table 17 below.

Following these MDG priorities and strategies for Vanuatu, recommendations will be presented based on the data collected during field-based research and based on themes revealed in the Chapter Six. These recommendations contribute to discussions of local economic development and peri-urban communities and are useful for Vanuatu's local authorities, central government, NGOs and foreign aid investors.

**Table 17: Vanuatu's MDG priorities and strategies that relate to this research.**

<b>Millennium Development Priority</b>	<b>Strategy</b>
1. Improving the lives of the people in rural (and peri-urban) areas	<p>Ensuring that basic Government services reach all rural communities</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Encouraging improved economic activities through REDI [Rural Economic Development Initiatives] schemes in all provinces</li> <li>2. Expanding access to market for products from rural areas</li> <li>3. Improving roads, jetties and other infrastructure in rural/outer islands</li> <li>4. Enhancing access to rural credit at reasonable interest rates and establishing mechanisms to encourage savings in rural and urban areas</li> <li>5. Protecting the rural environment for the benefit of the next generation</li> <li>6. Developing long-term sustainable government revenue sources and effective collection arrangements that support a young growing population.</li> </ol>
2. Supporting private sector growth	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Lowering the costs of doing business, including through monitoring prices</li> <li>2. Providing the framework and support for sustainable growth in agriculture and tourism</li> <li>3. Clarifying the rights of use and development of land, including through establishing effective land dispute mechanisms</li> </ol>
4. Improving participation by civil society	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Re-organising arrangements for CRP [Comprehensive Reform Programme] consultation so as to better involve local communities</li> <li>2. Encouraging civil society organisations to work in partnership with government</li> <li>3. Developing greater participation in local government</li> <li>4. Improving effectiveness of local government through implementing the report of the DRC [Decentralisation Review Commission]</li> </ol>
5. Closing the gap between rich and poor and disadvantaged groups	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Alleviating the problems related to urban drift and squatter settlements.</li> </ol>

(Adapted from: Government of Vanuatu, 2011a, p. 4).

## **7.6 Recommendation 1: Encouraging engagement in public policy debates**

The encouragement of public involvement in policy decisions and city is considered of importance, as governments must have policies that reflect the views of the public. Increased consultation would improve the respect and rapport of local authorities within the community. Possible avenues to encourage increased discussion:

- NGOs (for example Pacific Institute of Public Policy, VANWODS and WSB) to aid in the encouragement of public involvement.
- Social media fora including Facebook groups “*Yumi toktok Stret*” and “Vanuatu Spotlight 2011”, however this only includes a small proportion of the population (due to scarcity in computer skills and computer accessibility).
- Debates should continue to the outer islands, through facilitation by provincial councils and NGOs. This is of importance as the outer islanders’ opinions influence the peri-urban areas, as people from the outer islands have family members in the urban environment, and there is additionally a need to promote and encourage rural sector industries.

## **7.7 Recommendation 2: Facilitation of business and LED education**

LED is an essential survival strategy, which suits the location and self-reliance mentality present within peri-urban Port Vila, and yet is a concept that has received limited recognition and publicity within the Pacific. There is the opportunity to use this idea to reinvigorate policy to meet local entrepreneurs’ needs and increase opportunities. Possible avenues for this include:

- NGOs providing tourism education workshops in peri-urban communities
- Collaboration of NGOs to meet different niches needed for business and LED education. For example, VANWODS could provide the business side of LED, while WSB could offer courses that teach skills including painting, sewing and cooking.
- The role that the local authorities play in local business development needs to be enhanced, and be more identifiable. Business license fees were an issue for many small businesses. Instead of a fixed amount, a percentage threshold value of business license fees could be set, to equally affect different sized businesses.

### 7.8 Recommendation 3: Pro-poor tourism enhancement

This research recommends there is increased focused on ‘pro-poor tourism’ within peri-urban Port Vila. This recommendation for ‘pro-poor tourism’ enhancement assumes that modest growth continues in the Vanuatu tourism sector but reaches the indigenous and locally owned businesses. The avenues for this enhancement include:

- Inserting pro-poor tourism principles into relevant policy and promotion of these principles by relevant government departments and tourism organisations.
- Increased marketing of community and locally owned tourism businesses.
- Increased tourism education revealing its arguably sustainable usefulness as a form of LED that uses natural resources present in Vanuatu: sun, sand and sea to attract people to visit and spend their money in tourism locations.
- Using the unique culture of indigenous *Ni-Vanuatu* to develop tourism products, that act as a way of preserving culture and *kastom* values, and that offers a unique and traditional experience to tourists (for example a village or garden experience).

### 7.9 Recommendation 4: Future research

Key Informant 14 recognised a lack of government information in numerous sectors, making decision-making difficult, and recognised the importance of “collecting perceptions of people about law and community policy and safety”. It is evident that there is need for more research to understand community perceptions about appropriate ways for Vanuatu to move into the future. Possible avenues for further research include:

- Increased ongoing research that monitors and evaluates of small business owners using NGO services, to further determine their needs as small business owners.
- Specific analysis of Port Vila’s urban agriculture and how this is being used as a survival strategy for many people who face limited opportunities.
- Community research establishing possible avenues to develop agriculture exports from Vanuatu, first from Efate, and secondly from the other islands.
- Specific analysis on the impact of the RSE Scheme on peri-urban communities.



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# Appendix 1

**Table 18: List of Key Informants**

Key Informant	Role
1	Mele business owner
2	Mele business owner
3	Emua business owner
4	Pango business owner
5	<i>Storian</i> with Blacksands Chiefs
6	Blacksands community Member
7	Blacksands community Member
8	Blacksands community Member
9	<i>Storian</i> with VANWODS members
10	Community Member
11	Physical Planning Unit employee
12	Shefa Provincial Council employee
13	Port Vila Municipal Council employee
14	NGO employee
15	Government official
16	Government official
17	Government official
18	VANWODS employee
19	Emua community member
20	Government official
21	Community member
22	Wan Smolbag Theatre and Youth Centre employee
23	Port Vila Market House vendor
24	Wan Smolbag Theatre and Youth Centre employee

# Appendix 2

## **Interview topics used during semi-structured interviews and focus groups.**

### *Peri-urban communities*

History of community, challenges facing community, social structure, available infrastructure, interactions with local governments, job availability, effects of urbanisation, nearby businesses, nearby tourism, nearby developments.

### *Business functioning*

Community support, local government support, NGO support

### *Local authorities*

Structure of council, role of local authority in economic development, role of local authority in peri-urban community, interactions with community, decision-making process, current projects, current developments, rapport of local authority within community.

### *NGO support for business and community development*

History of NGO, role of NGO within community / interactions with community, role of NGO in economic development, role NGO plays in other areas, rapport within community, interactions with local / central government.

### *Planning and policy development*

Community engagement with policy, participation of public in policy development, urban policy within Vanuatu, policy development processes, role of *kastom* in policy.

### *Role of kastom in contemporary Vanuatu*

Previous role of *kastom*, contemporary role of *kastom*, desired role of *kastom*.

### *Future visions*

Local authorities view for future, vision of community in future, vision of Port Vila in future, vision of business in future, vision of job accessibility in future.

# Appendix 3



12/118

Academic Services  
Manager, Academic Committees, Mr Gary Witte

31 May 2012

Dr S Springer  
Department of Geography  
Division of Humanities

Dear Dr Springer,

I am again writing to you concerning your proposal entitled "**Planning for Opportunity: Economic development in peri-urban communities in Vanuatu**", Ethics Committee reference number **12/118**.

Thank you for your response and the documentation showing how you have addressed the Committee's concerns. We note in particular the letter from Vanuatu Government's Physical Planning Unit confirming their approval and support for Ms Leslie's research project, Ms Leslie's response letter and her Health and Safety plan.

Please ensure you are familiar with the University of Otago's Pacific Research Protocols. I would be happy to send you a copy of this for your reference.

On the basis of this response, I am pleased to confirm that the proposal now has full ethical approval to proceed.

Approval is for up to three years from the date of this letter. If this project has not been completed within three years from the date of this letter, re-approval must be requested. If the nature, consent, location, procedures or personnel of your approved application change, please advise me in writing.

Yours sincerely,

Mr Gary Witte  
**Manager, Academic Committees**  
Tel: 479 8256  
Email: gary.witte@otago.ac.nz

c.c. Assoc. Prof. S J Fitzsimons Head Department of Geography





**HUMAN ETHICS APPLICATION: CATEGORY A**

***PLEASE** read carefully the instructions “Filling out your Human Ethics Application” and important notes on the last page of this form. Provide a response to each question; failure to do so may delay the consideration of your application.*

1.       **University of Otago staff member responsible for project:**  
Springer, Simon Dr. (Lecturer)
  
2.       **Department:**  
  
Geography
  
3.       **Contact details of staff member responsible:** 477-8771 (5c24 Richardson Building)
  
4.       **Title of project:** Planning for opportunity: Economic development in peri-urban communities in Vanuatu.
  
5.       **Indicate type of project and names of other investigators and students:**

<b>Staff Research</b>	<b>Names</b>	Dr. Simon Springer
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<b>Student Research</b>	<b>Names</b>	Emily Leslie
<i>Level of Study (e.g. PhD, Masters, Hons)</i>		Masters

<b>External Research/ Collaboration</b>	<b>Names</b>	
<i>Institute/Company</i>		

**6. Is this a repeated class teaching activity?**

~~YES~~ / NO

If YES, and this application is to continue a previously approved repeated class teaching activity, please provide Reference Number:

N/Z

**7. Fast-Track procedure**

Do you request fast-track consideration? (See 'Filling Out Your Human Ethics Application')

~~YES~~ / NO

If YES, please state specific reasons:-

N/A

**8. When will recruitment and data collection commence?**

Field work is expected to start in Vanuatu on June 1st 2012. Preparation of the project and literature review started in February 2012.

**When will data collection be completed?**

Field work ends 30th June 2012. Thesis is due to be submitted November 1<sup>st</sup> 2012.

**9. Funding of project.**

Is the project to be funded by an external grant?

YES / NO

If YES, please specify who is funding the project:

N/A

If commercial use will be made of the data, will potential participants be made aware of this before they agree to participate? If not, please explain: N/A

**10. Brief description in lay terms of the purpose of the project (approx. 75 words):**

The aims of the project are to identify the main environmental, political and social factors that are influencing the lives' of the urban poor in peri-urban communities in the town centres of Port Vila in Vanuatu.

**11. Aim of project, including the research questions the project is intended to answer:**

The aim of this project is to investigate the ways that people in peri-urban communities in Vanuatu are living, and how access to capital for these people has effects.

1. What are the main environmental, historical, social and political factors influencing the livelihoods' of peri-urban communities in Vanuatu?

2. What actions are local and central governments, and local NGOs, taking to improve the livelihoods' of people living in peri-urban communities in Vanuatu?

3. What suggestions of improvement are possible for the planning and provision, both theoretically and practically, to improve the livelihoods' of peri-urban communities in Vanuatu?

**12. Researcher or instructor experience and qualifications in this research area:**

Supervisor: Simon Springer

Simon Springer has done a considerable amount of field research in Cambodia over the last decade, which has involved multiple long-term research visits in the country. At his previous institution, the National University of Singapore where he worked as an Assistant Professor, he supervised 8 honors theses, many of which involved research in different locations throughout Southeast Asia. These experiences, both as a researcher and as a supervisor, have enabled him to gain a solid appreciation for the ethical considerations that arise from cross-cultural research, particularly with respect to developing countries.

Student: Emily Leslie

After graduating from the University of Otago with a Bachelor of Science in Geography and Ecology, in 2010 Emily Leslie travelled to Vanuatu with the Volunteer Service (VSA) Abroad UniVol Programme. Through this programme, Emily volunteered as a youth adviser at a non-governmental organisation called Wan Smolbag Theatre for ten months. In 2011 she started the Masters of Planning Programme at the University of Otago, Dunedin. Her skills gained through his previous study and work experience, in particular her communication and interpersonal skills, combined with language skills in Bislama, and skills and knowledge acquired in the Planning Programme give her the ability to understand the complexities of her topic and to successfully execute the required research and interview tasks.

**13. Participants**

**13(a) Population from which participants are drawn:**

Participants sought for the research can be divided into three main groups:

1. Community: Community leaders / representatives from urban groups of Port Vila and Luganville.
2. Public sector: Local Government Officials, Central Governmental Officials, NGOs
3. Private sector, e.g. business entrepreneurs.

Snowball sampling will also be employed, as participants may have affiliations with other stakeholders who will subsequently be contacted as soon as possible after they have been identified as potential participants.

**13(b) Specify inclusion and exclusion criteria:**

Participants will not be drawn from people under the age of 18 years of age. People who have knowledge or opinion about the topic will be preferred interviewees.

**13(c) Estimated number of participants:**

The study aims to conduct approximately 30-35 semi-structured interviews for this research project.

**13(d) Age range of participants:**

Over 18 years of age.

**13(e) Method of recruitment:**

The researcher will contact participants by email or phone to invite them to take part in the study before commencement of the fieldwork. Every contacted participant will be asked if they know of any other individuals that might be interested in partaking and who are relevant to the study. Through the examination of literature other groups or individuals may be identified whose involvement can contribute significantly to the research. Similarly, they will be asked for knowledge of any other relevant groups or individuals who should be included.

**13(f) Please specify any payment or reward to be offered:**

No monetary incentive will be used. Participants will be informed that they can request a copy of the thesis resulting from the research.

**14. Methods and Procedures:**

This study will collect primary and secondary data. The primary data, during the fieldwork stage, will be gained through semi-structured interviews that will be recorded in audio. If the participant chooses not to be audiotaped, then written notes will be used instead.

Appointments for interviews will be made at a time convenient for the interviewee and as considered practical for the researcher. The interview venue is for the interviewee to choose. There is potential for language barriers to arise, because Vanuatu has three national languages: English, French and Bislama, as well as numerous dialects. However, no issues are expected in terms of communication as the researcher speaks fluent Bislama, which the majority of the population in Vanuatu converses in.

Secondary data will include census material, NGO and government reports, and newspaper articles.

**15. Compliance with The Privacy Act 1993 and the Health Information Privacy Code 1994 imposes strict requirements concerning the collection, use and disclosure of personal information. These questions allow the Committee to assess compliance.**

**15(a) Are you collecting and storing personal information directly from the individual concerned that could identify the individual?**

YES-/ NO

**15(b) Are you collecting information about individuals from another source? Please explain:** No.

**15(c) Collecting Personal Information:**

- Will you be collecting personal information?  
YES / NO
- Will you be informing participants of the purpose for which you are collecting the information and the uses you propose to make of it?  
YES / NO N/A – I am not collecting personal information.
- Will you be informing participants who will receive the information?

YES / NO

- Will you inform participants of the consequences, if any, of not supplying the information?

YES / NO

Will you inform the participants of their rights of access to and correction of personal information?

YES / NO

Where the answer is YES, please make sure the information is available in the Information Sheet for Participants.

**If you are NOT informing them of the points above, please explain why:**

N/A.

**15(d) Please outline your data storage and security procedures.**

During the fieldwork stage of the research collected data will be kept with the researcher. A laptop protected with a password will be employed to store electronic data. The researcher will make a backup of all the data on a portable USB drive and carry this on her person at all times. After her return to New Zealand the researcher will securely store the electronic and hard copy data within a locked filing cabinet provided by the Facilities of the University of Otago Department of Geography. After 5 years the University of Otago Department of Geography will appropriately dispose and destroy the data.

**15(e) Who will have access to personal information, under what conditions, and subject to what safeguards?**

Access to the data gathered in the interviews will be strictly limited to the researcher and her supervisor. Participants may withdraw their data at any time during the research process up until the data on which data processing and analysis will commence, which will be on June 30<sup>th</sup> 2012.

**Will participants have access to the information they have provided?**

Yes. Participants may withdraw their data at any time during the research process up until the data on which data processing and analysis will commence, which will be on June 30<sup>th</sup> 2012.

**15(f) Do you intend to publish any personal information they have provided?**

YES / NO

**If YES, please specify in what form you intend to do this?**

The research will result in a thesis that will be kept in the University of Otago Library. Every effort will be made to ensure the anonymity of participants in the final thesis, unless participants have explicitly given consent to be named. This research will also be presented at a departmental seminar, and compiled into a book of abstracts within the department. There is also the intention to write a paper on this research for submission to a journal.

**15(g) Do you propose to collect demographic information to describe your sample? For example: gender, age, ethnicity, education level, etc.**

Yes. I am going to ask people which island they come from in Vanuatu to aid in my understanding of each informant's positionality and perspective.

**15 (h) Have you, or do you propose to undertake Māori consultation? Please choose one of the options below, and delete the options that do not apply:**

(Please see <http://www.otago.ac.nz/research/maoriconsultation/index.html>).

Yes/NO                      If not, please provide a brief outline of reasons why not:

The research is being undertaken outside of New Zealand. Thus, it is considered that consultation with Maori groups is not required.

**16. Does the research or teaching project involve any form of deception?**

YES / NO

**17. Please disclose and discuss any potential problems:** (For example: medical/legal problems, issues with disclosure, conflict of interest, etc)

No problems are expected.

**18. Applicant's Signature:** .....

[Principal Applicant: as specified in Question 1]

**Date:** .....

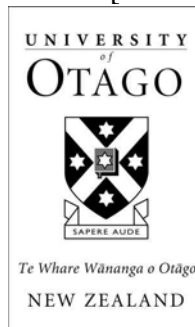
**19. Departmental approval:** *I have read this application and believe it to be scientifically and ethically sound. I approve the research design. The Research proposed in this application is compatible with the University of Otago policies and I give my consent for the application to be forwarded to the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee with my recommendation that it be approved.*

**Signature of \*Head of Department:** .....

**Name of Signatory (please print):** .....

**Date:** .....

*\*(In cases where the Head of Department is also the principal researcher then an appropriate senior staff member in the department must sign)*



## **Planning for opportunity: Economic development in peri-urban communities in Vanuatu.**

### **INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS**

Thank you for showing an interest in this project. Please read this information sheet carefully before deciding whether or not to participate. If you decide to participate we thank you. If you decide not to take part there will be no disadvantage to you and we thank you for considering our request.

#### **What is the Aim of the Project?**

The proposed study aims to identify the ways peri-urban communities are being affected by increased population size. 'Peri-urban community' in this study refers to a community that is on the edges of a city. Additionally, the study will look at systems in place by local governments and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that are catering to the increased needs of people living in peri-urban communities. A focus of this will be how economic opportunities are provided for and encouraged. The aim is to determine ways in which there can be increased opportunity for people in these peri-urban communities.

This project is being undertaken as part of the requirement for the Masters of Planning degree in the Geography Department at the University of Otago, Dunedin, New Zealand/

#### **What Type of Participants are being sought?**

Participants must be over the age of 18. The following participants will be included: private and public sectors representatives, community representatives, local council, or community members seeking increased opportunity, are invited to take part in this research. Experts in relevant fields from overseas will not be excluded from the research. Approximately 35 people will be required for this research.

Before starting field work, the researcher will contact participants via email or phone. Participants might know other people who may like to talk with the researcher, and identify these to the researcher.

Participants will receive no direct benefit for taking part in this research. Participants may request a copy of the findings.

### **What will Participants be Asked to Do?**

Should you agree to take part in this project, you will be asked to meet with the researcher for an interview during her fieldwork in Vanuatu between June 8th and June 30<sup>th</sup> 2012. The interview will be conversation, with open ended questions. The interview will not take longer than 1 hour. The location of the interview may be decided on by the participant and a time will be made that is convenient for both people involved. Please be aware that you may decide not to take part in the project without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

### **What Data or Information will be Collected and What Use will be Made of it?**

When the participant gives consent the interview will be audio recorded. If the participant chooses not to be audio-taped, then written notes will be used instead. After the field work the recorded audio data will be typed to be included in the project results. The data collected will be stored securely. At the end of the project any personal information will be destroyed except that, as required by the University's research policy, any data that results of the project depend on will be retained in secure storage for five years, after which it will be destroyed. The results of the project may be published and will be available in the University of Otago Library (Dunedin, New Zealand) but every attempt will be made to preserve your anonymity if that is what you choose on the consent form. However, with your consent, there are some cases where it would be preferable to name contributions made to individual participants. It is absolutely up to you which of these options you prefer. Access to the data gathered in the interviews will be strictly limited to the researcher and her supervisor. Participants may withdraw their data at any time during the research process up until the date when analysis will commence, which will be July 1<sup>st</sup> 2012.

The questioning surrounds the way that local government and NGOs provide for opportunity for economic development in Vanuatu's peri-urban communities. This project involves a conversation style interview. As a result, they have not been reviewed by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. So, if the questioning does develop in a way that you feel uncomfortable you have the right to decline to answer any question(s), and also that you may withdraw from the project before 1<sup>st</sup> of July without any disadvantage to yourself of any kind.

### **Can Participants Change their Mind and Withdraw from the Project?**

You may withdraw from this project at any time without disadvantage to yourself.

### **What if Participants have any Questions?**

If you have any questions about our project, either now or in the future, please feel free to contact either:-

Emily Leslie

and/or

Dr. Simon Springer

Department of Geography

Department of Geography

Telephone Number:- +64 3 4794220

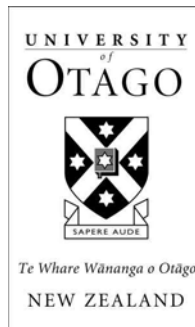
Telephone Number:- +64 3 479 8771

Email: [lesem076@student.otago.ac.nz](mailto:lesem076@student.otago.ac.nz)

Email: [ss@geography.otago.ac.nz](mailto:ss@geography.otago.ac.nz)

This study has been approved by the University of Otago Human Ethics Committee. If you have any concerns about the ethical conduct of the research you may contact the Committee through the Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256). Any issues you raise will be treated in confidence and investigated and you will be informed of the outcome.





## **Planning long saed blong economic development long communities blong Vanuatu.**

### **INFOMESEN BLONG OI MAN MO WOMAN WE OLI TEK PAT**

Tankyu tumas blong some interest long projek ia. Plis bae yu readim pepa bifo yu mekem tingting blong yu blong tek pat long projek ia. Sapos yu choosem bae yu stap insaed project ia, bae mi talem yu tank yu tumas. Sapos yu choosem yu no wantem stap insaed project ia, hem I no bigfala saemting- bae I kat no bad saemting long yu.

#### **Wanem aim long projek ia?**

Project ia hemi about ol ways local council blong Port Vila i lukout blong needs blong communities I stap outsaed town (long wae blong centre blong Port Vila). Aim blong study I identifem hownow communities blong Port Vila I save findim economic opportunity blong ol pipol I stap insaed community. Economic opportunity I olsem how ol pipol blong pipol I save mekem pem, mo fujare blong olgeta.

Project ia hemi part long Masters of Planning degree long Geography Department long Unversity blong Otago, Dunedin, Niu Sielan.

#### **Wanem pipol I kam insaed projek ia?**

Pipol I kat 18 yia nomo I save kam insaed project. Pipol long private sector, mo public sector, mo ol community representatives, mo ol members long council I save kam insaed project ia. Sapos wan expert blong subject ia I stap outsaed Vanuatu, hem tu I save kam insaed project ia. Mbae olsem 35 pipol I kam insaed project ia.

Bifo work long projek ia mbae researcher contactem ol participants long email o fone. Sapos wan participant I save neni nara person I kat intrest o knowledge long saed blong study, bae researcher I contactem person long email o fone. Bae ol person ol I stap insaed project I no kat pem sapos I stap insaed project. Sapos participant I wantem, bae participant I save askem long wan copy blong projek ia.

#### **Wanem participant I save mekem?**

Sapos yu wantem joinem study, mbae yu meetim wetem researcher wan taem hem I stap long Port Vila: 8 Juin kasem 30 Juin long 2012. Interview hem I olsem wan storian nomo. Bae researcher I askem question, mo toktok wetem participant long saed long study ia. Plis, sapos yu no wantem stap insaed project ia, hemi stret nomo, mo bae no bad saemting I stap long yu.

#### **Wanem information research I wantem? Wanem I happen wetem ol information?**

Sapos I stret wetem participant, mbae researcher is usem wan 'dictatorphone' mo recordem mo recordem I saemting participant mo researcher I toktok. Afta storian I stap, mbae

researcher I usem computer mo write ol saemting tufala I tok long. Afta I, mbae researcher I usem toktok long writem wan buk. Mbae buk I stap long wan ples ol pipol I stap long bilow I save long hem. Neni information I stap klosup long heart long person (personal information), mbae University blong Otago I deletem hem. Neni information, mbae university I karem information noia kasem 5 yia, afta, mbae University I deletem hem. Ol results long saed blong study ia, mebe bae I stap insaed wan 'published' journal, mo bae stap save usem University Blong Otago (Dunedin, Niu Sielan). Plis yu save nem blong yu, mbae researcher I no save usem sapos yu no wantem. Be sapos I stret long yu, bae researcher I usem nem blong yu, sapos yuk at intrest long hem usem. Researcher mo supervisor blong hem, hem tu nomo I save luk long ol saemting yu bin stap storian. Sapos yu no wantem stap insaed research, yu save tell researcher bifo hemi leavim Vanuatu long namba 30 Juin, from afta data ia bae hem I start write ol information long buk. Sapos yu no wantem tek pat long projek ia, bae I orate nomo.

### **Yu save aot long projek sipose yu wantem?**

Yu fri blong nomo tak pat long interview eni taem yu no wantem answerem eni qwestion, I orate nomo. I stret nomo.

### **Yu kat eni qwesten?**

Sapos yu kat eni qwesten long saed blong projek ia, plis yu fri blong kontaktem:

Emily Leslie  
Student blong Master long Planning  
Department blong Geography  
University blong Otago  
Telephone Number:- +64 3 4794220  
Email: [lesem076@student.otago.ac.nz](mailto:lesem076@student.otago.ac.nz)

and/or Dr. Simon Springer  
Supervisor blong projek  
Department blong Geography  
University blong Otago  
Telephone Number:- +64 3 479 8771  
Email: [ss@geography.otago.ac.nz](mailto:ss@geography.otago.ac.nz)

Study ia, hem I bin kat 'approval' long Human Ethics Committee blong University blong Otago (Dunedin, New Zealand). Sapos yuk at wan saemting I no stret wetem research, yu save kallim Human Ethics Committee Administrator (ph 03 479 8256). Neni saemting mbae Committee I no singout long neni person sapos yu no wantem, mo mbae I lukout long problem long yu.





