Sustainable energies building the future of the Islands

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colorial: FRANÇOIS VELLAS

desert Tourism & services

Tourism in the Maldives: The Resort Concept and Tourist-Related Services
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Because of the geographical conditions of islands, the development of international tourism and services is linked to air transport conditions. For this reason, the development of air access gateways is essential for the development of sector services in islands. However, new conditions in the development of services in islands require a redefinition of global development policies. This means that it is increasingly important to diversify the services sector, not only on the way of a tourism diversification but also in the way of new services sector as culture, music, arts and natural environment.

Development of a new services sector in islands need to develop new advantages:
• In terms of international gateway for tourism and trade
• In terms of efficiency and quality of the international airport infrastructure
• In terms of development of international traffic trends
• In terms of competitiveness of services price and quality

So far, it is important to note that it is necessary to formulate a long term strategy for services in islands which can address to the following questions:
• Could international tourism contribute to sustainable development for islands?
• Could all services activities be adapted to islands economies within the constraints of the current world globalisation?
• How could the services sector be modernised to contribute to the development new?

Thus, this new issue of INSULA focused on new aspects of the development of services in islands economies such as tourism, air transport, culture and music. The important question of the concept of resort is described by Manfred Donner in the case of the Maldives. The specific problems of air transport in islands are developed with a comparison between air transport and tourism policies in some islands in the Caribbean, the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. The question of culture specifically music is deeply described by Philippe Hein in an analysis of Islands as global Music players. This explores new possibilities and challenges for the development of diversified services in Islands.

It will not be possible to cater for the development of services in islands without looking actual case studies on specific islands. Jean-Yves Rochoux examines the case of services related with La Réunion Island, Di Castri looks at the originality of Easter Island and Pere A. Salva Tormas presents a dynamic contribution on the Balearic as a new California.

Services have to be linked with the environmental strategy. In this perspective the contribution on Sustainable tourism development of small islands by Hiroshi Kakazu is essential. He analyses the pre-conditions for sustainable in development in services sectors in islands. He discusses new possibilities of inter-islands co-operation, specifically in the case of the Asian region.
In this global perspective, three main issues need to be critically discussed:

- Liberalisation of multinational transport access to islands
- Encouragement of collaboration between islands operators and F.D.I.
- Development and improvement of access to GDS

A greater participation from small islands in GDS will allow them to better exploit source market and to increase tourism. Airline computerised reservation systems facilitate the development of travel by allowing greater access to reservation information provided from airlines and other tourism operators.

Several policies actions have to be formulated and implemented in this context with new investments, new links between air transport and the tourism industry. Training will also be of critical importance. These issues are examined extensively by Pierre Encoste in the UNCTAD's work in favour of Small Islands. It is vital that access to and within islands be demand-driven.

In fact, a new vision for islands economies needs to be favoured for improved diversification and successful services generally. It is particularly crucial for the future of islands to develop expertise and specialisation in services within the globalisation process.

Tourism in the Maldives: The Resort Concept and Tourist-Related Services

Tourism growth
Tourism was initiated by individual private sector in the Maldives in 1972 and developed informally in the beginning in an unchecked, unplanned and unregulated manner. Until 1978, at an infant and pioneer stage with a low and only basic standard of tourist services and facilities, the number of overseas visitors gradually increased to a handsome total of nearly 30,000, most of them divers and snorklers. Visitors were attracted by the thrilling underwater nature and extravagant beauty of abundant tropical reef and coral life praised as the richest on earth, after their discovery by Hans Hass on his legendary »Kurila» expedition (1957).

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To determine the course of tourism, the Government passed in 1983 the first longrange (10 years) Tourism Development (Master) Plan that declared Maé Atoll and Ari Atoll as national – tourism zones – to be systematically developed with a tourist service infrastructure at optimal levels that should fully cater the tourists’ needs for vacation, board, recreation, leisure and entertainment. Notably to remember that, until 1983, tourism had already impressively grown to over 75,000 overseas visitors.

Subsequently, under a wisely administered national tourism policy, both Maé Atoll and Ari Atoll professionally developed as tourism centers expanding the accommodation capacities and upgrading the tourist facilities and services. Gaining a boosting publicity on the major tourist generating markets in Europe, tourism in the 1980s constituted a firm consolidation stage, expressed by a rapid growth of tourists totalling to over 158,000 in 1989 and raising tourism to the leading economic activity in the Maldives, depressing fisheries second.

In the booming 1990s, Maldivian tourist industry gained professionalism at high international quality topping international tourist arrivals in 1997 at a major total of nearly 366,000, thus increasing the 1989 figure by 132 p.c. within eight years only. Accommodation capacity came up to nearly 12,000 beds, compared to only 7,500 in 1989.

Mandatory for the systematic development of tourism, Government of Maldives paid greatest efforts to harmonize tourism and environment. Due to nature, tourism resources are ambivalent in the Maldives as the unique reef and atoll ecosystems are abundant and rich in tropical life, but at the same time highly fragile and vulnerable. All tourist activities must therefore be balanced at a minimum risk with the natural environment. At the same time, the Maldivian tourism policy strongly avoids any negative impact of tourism on the society.

Based on the high performance profile and the seemingly unsatiable demand, the Second Tourism Master Plan, 1996-2005, optimistically suggests a drastic growth of tourism in the near future that nearly doubles the present (1997) figure of arrivals until 2005 with an indicative target of 650,000 international tourists showing a vigorous mean annual growth rate of 10 p.c. Progressively growing over the planning period, also the accommodation capacity is suggested to increase rapidly thus doubling tourism receipts to 525 Mill. US$ (related to 1994 prices). Thanks to their unique marine environment, the Maldives are described by a great future potential for tourism predicted to raise the Maldives to a "premium" marine ecotourism destination, as declared in the Second Tourism Master Plan.

As tourism has only started in 1972, present attention must be paid to the sources and reasons for the mass development which may cause environmental and societal problems to the local islands and the Maldivians, respectively. Two questions are of vital importance:

- Have the Maldives maintained their own and distinct natural and societal identity, inspite of the heavy tourist traffic?
- Are the Maldives readily prepared for a future soft development under a marine ecotourism concept?

**THE GEOGRAPHICAL FRAME**

Blessed by an unspoil tropical nature, the unique tropical reef ecosystems represent utmost wealthy tourist resources which, at the same time, are however also of serious risks to tourism due to their great fragility and vulnerability. Expressing their very islandness, the Maldives are an archipelago of some 1,200 to 1,300 small islands scattered over a North-to-South length of 753 km and a West-to-East width of 118 km, with all the many islands nestling in a huge Exclusive Economic Zone of 1 mill. sqkm.

All islands are organized in 26 major and minor geographical atolls mostly of a large circular shape. The striking islandness of the Maldives is expressed by the fact that all islands together just account for only 298 sqkm of solid land that is built of coral sand and gravel on a flat surface hardly above 1.5 m a.s.l. and naturally covered by coconut trees. The serious islandness of the Maldives is well presented by a land-to-sea ratio of 1:3000 that boosts tremendous problems of intersular services, communication and transport.

Conventional, intersular transport is most commonly by launches and small boats, partly of the traditional Maldivian dhoni type. Travel time of cargo-cum-passenger services from the north and south regions to Maé capital may range between four and six days. Domestic air services are available by the national carrier »Maldives Airways« connecting Hulie with four domestic airfields, at Kadhdhoo, Hanimadho, Gan and Kaadaladhoo. The only international access by air is through »Maé International Airport« located or the small island of Hulile, off Maé capital; the airport with a 3,500 m-runway opened in 1981 facilitates operation of any type of aircraft. Maé is conveniently connected by air with Europe, Middle East, East and South-East Asia according to the main tourist-generating markets. International tourists can enter the Maldives visa-free and without any health restrictions.

Underlying the great infrastructural problems that crucially burden the Maldives, only 200 islands are inhabited (by toally 275,000 people in 1998) with Maé capital housing alone some 65,000 to 75,000 people (incorporating some 10,000 unregistered migrants). On the local fishing islands, traditional way of life is still predominating with limited infrastructural services and facilities, mainly as regard to education, health, communication and interisland transport. Due to the rapid population growth, most of the islands are overpopulated leading to serious pressure on land and sea - with their limited resources - and socioeconomic problems.
Malé capital is accommodated on an island of its own and distinct islandness as it occupies only an area of about 1 sq km (including some reclaimed sections of land), hence leading to a serious overcrowpation of about 50,000 persons per sq km, a fact that creates strikingly social and physical infrastructural problems to the people under their still traditional way of life.

Malé capital houses the Government and is the only hub of trade and commerce in the Maldives with an also important overseas harbour. Malé offers also the best health and education services. The Government has however started to decentralize school education and prime health services and to set up regional centers on other islands.

THE TOURIST RESORT CONCEPT, FACILITIES AND SERVICES

From its beginning, tourism in the Maldives was developed as a Resort concept building Tourist Resorts only on formerly uninhabited islands chiefly to curb detrimental social interaction between Maldivians and international tourists.

The Tourism Law of 1979, with its consequent amendments, serves until present as the principal guideline for the Tourist Resort establishment and operation in order to ensure proper facilities and service standards. Regular monitoring and supervision are carried out by the Ministry of Tourism to ensure adherence to the established standards of facilities to a registered Resort.

Until present (1997), a total of 73 registered Tourist Resorts are developed, each of which established on a separate small island and equipped with comprehensive facilities for vacation, board, leisure, recreation and entertainment. Any Resort is strictly reserved for international tourists in order to cater their demands for exclusive leisure and vacation, to guarantee their complete privacy and to prevent the Maldivian society from conflicts of acculturation. As a principal rule, Maldivians are forbidden to enter a Resort, vice versa no foreigner is allowed to board a resort vacation on an inhabited Maldivian island.

The Resort standard facilities include the tourist bungalows with reasonably furnished rooms, mostly air-conditioned and attached bathrooms and cold and hot (desalinated) water from the tap. Public facilities include the reception and office, restaurant, bar, kitchen, store rooms and souvenirs shop. A live disco and karaoke bar are also not to be missed in many cases.

Many Resorts have also a coffee shop and fine dining restaurant with ala carte menu service. All the public facilities are usually centrally for a short access. Traffic and transport on the Resort itself can easily be covered on foot as the Resort island area is small.

Due to the remote site of the Resorts, all employees must be boarded on respective Resorts. Therefore, each Resort accommodates also the staff quarters and a mosque that commonly consists only of a praying room.

Sport and recreational facilities are usually abundant with scuba diving (mostly under a European instructor), windsurfing, sailing, boating and water-skiing as well as bathing, swimming and snorkeling safely to be enjoyed in the lagoon and also of the reef. Usually, the house reef is close to the Resort island and therefore easily accessible. Most Resorts offer also a wide range of indoor and outdoor games, including tennis. Even a fitness center and a fresh-water swimming pool need not to be missed on some Resorts.

All Resorts are also well-equipped with advanced telecommunication facilities, such as IDD telephone and fax. TV is also widely available. A few Resorts nowadays even offer modern audio-visual convention facilities. Health services on the Resorts include only first aid while full medical service is only available in Malé hospital. As the only Resort, Bandos has a Medical Clinic with a doctor on call 24 hours and even a decompression chamber.

As transportation to and from the Resort is conventionally by boat each Resort is also supplied with a jetty and small harbour.

All Resorts offer sightseeing trips and excursions by boat, by choice to a Maldivian fishing island, to Malé capital or to other Resort islands on an «island hopping» cruise. Due to the smallness of the Resorts and their limited resources, on the one side, and the environment-consumptive leisure lifestyle of the tourists, on the other, the Resorts can only carry a limited quantity of visitors that varies, in most cases, between 50 and 500 people, depending on the size of the respective Resort. Additionally, a sizeable number of staff also needs to be accommodated on each Resort.

Though all Resorts obtain correspondingly a complete physical and social standards for vacation and leisure the standard of the facilities offered may vary leading to different «star» categories among the Resorts including many luxury 5-star and clubstyle Resorts. To arrive at their present high quality standard of established facilities, the Resorts have gone through upgrading and modernization programmes which have built-up a professional tourist industry proudly to be hosted by the Maldives. For a greater attraction, some Resorts have even changed their original island names, for example Paradise to «Full Moon Resort» and Millaidhoo to «Paradise Island».

Expressing a high performance of tourism management and services, each Tourist Resort is an autonomous unit. With a total Resort island population of up to 1,000 people, Resort operation and services must be comprehensively managed in order to cater the tourists' needs for vacation and leisure by providing all facilities and services required and also supplying its own power and water as well as managing the Resort's environmental protection.

RESORT ENVIRONMENT PROTECTION

Under the distinct tourism policy of the Government of Maldives the conversion of uninhabited islands into registered Tourist Resorts is strongly controlled in order to ensure minimum implications of tourism on the marine environment underlying the Maldivian tradition of living in a sustainable and harmonious and peace with nature. Under this praxis, subsequently a soft environmental management is the prime obligation to any Resort based on the Government's enforced laws for the protection and preservation of the fragile atoll and reef ecosystems and their rich marine environment.

To conserve the environment and to preserve the cultural identity, Resort development was principally under a mandatory ratio of one Resort island against three uninhabited islands in any given atoll. This strategic rule was the main reason to control chiefly the isolated geographical dissemination of Resorts.

To protect the environment, the Government of Maldives, respectively her Ministry of Tourism, has imposed strict regulations and guidelines for Resort construction and operation. Paying particular attention towards a soft currying capacity of tourists any Resort is, as a standard, only allowed a maximum built-up area of 20 p.c. of the Resort island area. All guest rooms must face the beach, and five meters of the beach have to be allocated to each room in total. In other words, two thirds of the beach length can be allocated to guest rooms while the remaining one third must be left for public facilities and as open space. In managing environmental protection and preservation, it is also forbidden to remove any indigenous vegetation, to disrupt the marine ecology and to change the lagoon shape.

The Government of Maldives has also introduced certain standards for an environment-friendly Resort operation, such as:

- the coral and reef structure must not be destroyed by mining;
- all coastal works, such as jetties and groynes, must be strictly controlled;
- the original flow of currents must not be altered by the construction of piers and jetties;
- all Resorts must have incinerators, bottle crushers and compactors in order to burn solid waste, to compact metal cans and to crush bottles before disposal;
- sewage disposal through soak pits into the aquifer is discouraged.

Last, but not least, architectural standards shall preserve the esthetic shape of a Resort island. The height of buildings, for example, is restricted to the height of the adult natural palm tree vegetation. Houses should have two stories at the most with the use of local building material to be encouraged.

In terms of the esthetic shape of a Resort, landscaping and gardening are also well carried out often changing a Resort into a pleasant tropical garden.

All Resorts pay great concern to the maintenance and cleaning of the beaches and of the Resort island as a whole.

On the Resorts, tourists are advised to follow-up the guidelines for environment protection, for example by saving water and energy and to refrain from coral breaking when diving or snorkeling. Export of corals is strictly forbidden.

To protect the totally Muslim population of the Maldives from adverse cultural impacts of «western» tourists, nudism is by law strictly prohibited and tourists are instructed to respect the social and religious sensitivities of the local population. When touring and visiting a Maldivian fishing island or enjoying sight-seeing in Malé capital, tourists shall be properly dressed.

Paying prime attention to tourism as an environment-friendly industry, the rationale for the future growth strategy and tourism is claimed in that way that «Maldives has to become a 'premium' destination, but with a strong focus on its ecotourism» (Second Tourism Mas-
ECONOMIC BENEFITS OF TOURISM

With their narrow economic base, the Maldives have developed tourism as a highly viable niche economy with far reaching direct and indirect benefits to the islanders. Tourism has marked a new epoch in the economic history of the Maldives as it has risen to generate 17 p.c. of GDP, 90 p.c. of foreign currency earnings and 40 p.c. of Government Revenue (1997). These high percentages are most likely to increase in future, with the rapid growth of tourism that is firmly projected to the Maldives. Worth mentioning that tourism receipts increased 30 times during 1980-1997.

The economic benefits of tourism are clearly recognizable to the nation’s economic growth and modernisation as a whole (for example, with regard to communication and telecommunication development), on the one side, and to many individual Maldivians (and their families), on the other, who are directly and indirectly employed in tourism. Tourism industry has provided a great number of employment and practically eradicated unemployment. As tourism industry is very labour-intensive (rating, on average, at 0.9 employees per bed; 1997), it is officially estimated that tourism industry adsorbs directly more than 10,500 people besides an even greater number of indirect employment.

Crucially to note, however, that domestic labour force runs short of skilled service staff to the tourist sector, aggravated by the hard employment and abstinence living conditions in tourism, though wages are comparatively high. Tourist employees on the Resort live far away from their families for most of the year only being permitted once a year a 4-week leave home. To satisfy the demand of labourers, many Srilankan and Bangladesh expatriates are employed as executive and restaurant staff, respectively.

As to recruit well-trained, qualified and motivated Maldivian manpower and to raise the standard of services in tourism industry, a School of Hotel and Catering Services was inaugurated in Male in 1987. The school was financed by the UNDP, the EEC and the Government of Maldives. A key consideration of establishing a hotel school was and is to replace expatriate workers by suitable and qualified Maldivians.

Due to the rapid growth of tourism, the Maldivian carpenter became a craftsman very much in demand. New skills in carpentry were developed, and construction groups both in carpentry and masonry became an organized labour force. Also boat building and the demand for engineering and maintenance trades increased employment for many Maldivians contributing to the nation’s economic growth and output.

REGIONAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Tourism development during the past 25 years has shown different regionalization and dissemination patterns. In the pioneer stage and until launching the First Tourism Master Plan (1982), Male Atoll that is divided into the North and South Male Atolls, was chiefly developed expressing preference given to a regional centralization of tourism that was focussed around Hulhule airport and Male capital. Aside, already since 1977 tourism went also informally into operation in the adjoining Ari Atoll with three Resorts established until 1982. Early development of Resorts in Malé Atoll offered operational advantages principally related to the access opportunities provided by Hulhule airport and Malé capital. Most of the pioneer Resorts of the 1970s were developed within a 20 km distance from Hulhule and Malé which corresponds to a maximum 1-hour transfer time to the Resort by boat.

When the First Tourism Master Plan came into action (1983) tourism development was declared to concentrate on Malé Atoll and Ari Atoll as preferable tourism zones; hence tourism disseminated to more distant islands of Malé Atoll and systematically developed in Ari Atoll, yet increasing the Resort distance from Hulhule and Malé capital up to 50 km in case of Malé Atoll and even to 50-100 km in case of Ari Atoll. Subsequently, the travel time by conventional boat increased to two and four hours, respectively. Additional to the development of new Resorts the former Resorts progressively expanded their capacities and upgraded their facilities. Clearly online with the Government’s regional planning policy of tourism, all (18) Resorts developed since 1987 are exclusively accommodated in Ari Atoll.

The systemically designed development of a large number of registered Resorts in Malé Atoll and Ari Atoll paved the way for a heavy growth of tourism through the 1980s and 1990s. As a result, today (1997) 43 of all 73 registered Resorts are in Malé Atoll and 26 in Ari Atoll whereas only four Resorts are accommodated in other atolls. The respective bed space accounts for about 7,400 in Malé Atoll and 3,700 in Ari Atoll with the remaining 900 in other atoll Resorts.

Regional tourism development until today shows a striking concentration on the two most central atolls offering operational and service preferences and advantages with Malé capital and Hulhule international airport, both serving as well-functioning support nuclei to the tourism industry. Regional tourism concentration on Malé Atoll and Ari Atoll also benefits greatly from operational advantages as the Resort companies run their head offices in Malé capital being well-equipped with all modern telecommunication facilities. As the center of trade, transport and commerce in the Maldives, Malé capital also serves as an efficient hub of a comprehensive supply of all foodstuff and goods to the Resorts in the near Male Atoll and Ari Atoll.

As all Resort companies are stationed in Malé capital they have also the closest access opportunities to the Government and Ministry of Tourism and can deal in a most direct way with them as regards to all official tourism related matters. Such advantage is a great operational benefit as tourism industry in the Maldives is strictly administered by the Government which only leases the Resorts to Maldivian companies.

Regional tourism concentration on Malé Atoll and Ari Atoll also benefited from the close access to Hulhule international airport. Tourists are usually shipped by launches and boats to their respective Resorts, and hence the travel time is not unessential, especially after a tiring international flight. Automatically, Resorts in close distance to Hulhule are privileged with better and quicker transfer travel opportunities.

Opposite to the past regional concentration of Tourist Resorts (on Malé Atoll and Ari Atoll), in future a significant regional decentralization will take place. Under the Second Tourism Master Plan 1996-2005, totally 20-30 new Resorts will be created with an increase in bed space to 20,500 (1997 = 12,000). In a first stage 14 Resorts are developed in six atolls adjoining Malé Atoll and Ari Atoll, respectively, clearly underlining a new tourism policy of the Maldives towards a more balanced regional development that will diversify and disseminate the benefits of tourism to a greater part of the Maldivian archipelago. It is strongly expected that tourism will serve as growth pole and catalyst to a general economic progress to regions other than the central region.

TRANSPORT FACILITIES

Under the very character of islandness that includes large interatoll and interislandular distances, modernisation of transportation represents an urgent need for a better tourism prod...
Tourism in Maldives continued to develop aggressively. The total number of arrivals in-creased to 396,000 showing an increase of 151 % against 1989. Seven new Tourist Resorts came into operation, totalling the all-Maldivian number of Resorts to 80, with a total bed capacity of 13,810. The Resort decentralisation policy under the Government of Maldives was further strengthened, by six of the seven new Resorts opened outside Male Atoll and Ari Atoll. In total, 10 of all 80 Resorts are in other than Male and Ari Atolls with the respective bed capacity of 1,850 out of all 13,810 in the Maldives. The development of decentralisation is further paved by other five new Resorts that opened in 1999.

TOURIST SMALL INDUSTRIES
Tourism has revived many small-scale (cottage) industries that were almost extinct or of little value. The production of local building material like cinder, coir-rope and mats is in growing demands as local materials are preferred as far as possible. Traditional handicrafts for the tourist souvenir industry, such as lacquer work, mat weaving and shell souvenirs, were revived and became an important part of the rural economy on fishing is-lands, particularly for the employment of women.

CONCLUDING REMARKS
Due to their great diversity of the tropical reef ecosystem and the marine environment, the Maldives represent a unique tourist attraction. The Maldivian Government's concept of Tourist Resort establishments on formerly uninhabited islands offers a high standard of tourist vacation facilities under the preambles of exclusiveness and privacy. Subsequently, the Maldives host a competitive international tourist industry administered by clear Government policies and strategies. As a result, the marine environment has been conserved as also the negative effects on the Maldivian society were minimized. Tourism also contributes greatly to the national revenues though the benefits are still unevenly disseminated and concentrated on Malé Atoll and Ari Atoll. The Government is aware of a great need to a greater economic diversification of tourist revenues and to focus on a sustainable environmental conservation.

Acknowledgement and References
This article is based on the author's extensive research experience and field works in the Maldives under a project on the Maldivian geo- and human -ecology and its implications by tourism. All relevant information and data were collected authentically from respective experts and the Ministries of Tourism and Environment of Maldives. For more information, reference is made to the following articles of the author:


Sustainable Tourism Development for Small Islands with particular emphasis on Okinawa

by Hiroshi KAKAZU

Tourism as an Engine of Growth
Supported by the ongoing globalization process, global peace process, transport revolution, rising incomes and travel industry promotion, international tourism has grown spectacularly in recent years. According to the World Tourism Organization (WTO), 592 million peoples traveled abroad with estimated tourists' expenditures of $23 billion in 1996.

The growth of tourism has been particularly impressive for the Pacific islands such as Okinawa, Hawaii, and Northern Mariana Islands (NNI). In these island economies, external receipts from tourism accounted for 20% for Okinawa, 56% for Hawaii and 67% for NMI of their respective total current external receipts. For NMI, about 70% of island's economic activities depend on tourism (Table 1). These small islands transformed rapidly into tourism dependent economies because (1) they almost totally lack of natural resources to exploit for export earnings; (2) their market sizes are too small to develop viable manufacturing industry; (3) tourism related industries are usually small-scale and labor-intensive; (4) they are endowed with marine resources, particularly beautiful beaches; (5) these islands are part of or surrounded by rich countries such as the United States and Japan with well-organized transportation networks; (6) their tropical or semi-tropical climatic and cultural conditions are complimentary with those rich countries; and finally these island communities have maintained internal political stability and warm hospitality to visitors.

Tourism is usually classified as "services" industry. Therefore tourists' expenditures are recorded as "service receipts" in the balance of payments statistics. Tourists' expenditures, however, are quite different from other external «service receipts» such as sales of souvenirs, tourism, insurance, intellectual property right and labor. Beside hotels and lodging, a large portion of tourists' expenditures is in the form of local consumption and purchases of local or imported products as souvenirs (Table 2). Therefore, «sales to tourists» are directly reflected in local production or imports of goods. In this sense, tourism and goods producing sectors (agriculture and manufacturi ng) are supposed to be complementing each other and not necessary to be trade off as many economists have assented.

The case of Okinawa demonstrates that one unit of tourist's expenditure actually generated about 2 units of manufacturing sales (direct and indirect) which were not largely through cheaper imported goods. This will suggest that tourism can be used as a powerful engine for industrial diversification for these island economies. In this sense, tourism needs to be conceptualized as a composite industry not as a mere service industry. Such re-conceptualization of the tourism industry in small island economies will provide a development framework to diversify and revitalize the diminishing local agriculture and manufacturing as well as conserving tourism resources including marine and historical and cultural assets.

* Vice President of the Okinawa Development Finance Corporation. Formerly a Professor at the Graduate School of International Development, Nagoya University.
Table 1: COMPARISONS OF THE MAIN ECONOMIC INDICATORS OKINAWA, HAWAII AND NMI, 1980 AND 1996

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<th>1980</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Okinawa</td>
<td>Hawaii</td>
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<td>Population (thousand)</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of GIP</td>
<td>51.67</td>
<td>33.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trade balance (US$Mn)</td>
<td>-4670</td>
<td>-148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of GIP</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>36.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist arrivals (thousand)</td>
<td>3935</td>
<td>1801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tourist income (US$Mn)</td>
<td>2875</td>
<td>796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of GIP</td>
<td>24.12</td>
<td>21.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NMI = Northern Mariana Islands
GIP = Gross Island Product. Secondary industries include transportation and utilities.
Exports include costs of insurance and transportation.
Exchange rate: 1$ = 108.6 yen. — Not available.

TOURISM AS «CULTURAL CATALYST» AND «FRICITION»

An important difference between commodity exports and service exports through touristic activities is that they are consumed or stocked in imported region, while the latter are inseparable from the exporting region where services are rendered. In this sense, tourism is considered to be a package of economic as well as non-economic factors. This is where Okinawa has a comparative advantage over Hawaii and NMI because Okinawa has rich cultural heritage almost comparable to that of Japan proper. In any country, tourists are mostly welcomed not only because of income and employment they generate, but also because they are regarded as «cultural catalysts». Particularly the latter concept is becoming increasingly important in Okinawa where «internationalization» is the major theme of the Okinawan development objectives.

Despite a welcome attitude toward tourists, however, there are always deep-rooted fears among the island people that their fragile environments and rich culture might be eroded or degraded by a massive and continuous intrusion of outsiders. There are also constant complaints on the part of Okinawans that major tourism businesses, including hotel facilities and airline transportation, are dominated by mainlanders and a major portion of tourist incomes are boomeranged back to mainland.

In the case of NMI, cultural conflicts brought about by tourism is much more serious than any other island tourists’ destinations because NMI imported almost ‘pure workforce’ in the tourism industry mainly from the Philippines (see Kakanu, 1993). The Filipino workers are not only cheaper than the locals, but they are more fitted into the business than the latter who are mostly employed in the public sector. NMI’s over-expanded tourism industry through impelled foreign labor has been creating various socio-economic problems and uncertainty on the life of islanders including water shortage, food insecurity, imported inflation and family problems. Therefore, it is an urgent task for tourism dependent island economies to determine the capacity of tourists’ absorption for sustainable development.

The increasing number of tourists in Okinawa is what we call «cultural vampires» who seek the enjoyment of culturally life-enhancing experiences rather than conventional sightseeing and relaxation in resorts. Cultural tourism can be interpreted as a phenomenon of looking for a meaning to life by escaping from standardized, routine, urban industrial life. According to Keller, cultural tourism is the market segment which offers the greatest growth potential today. As much as 50% of the tourists currently making their rounds fall into the category of «consumers of culture». (Keller, 1996)

Paradoxically, however, this very trend of cultural tourism has been eroding indigenous cultures and historical heritages upon which the tourism industry thrives. On the other hand, these cultural heritages including historical monuments and traditional attractions cannot be sustained without tourism income and tourist appreciation. The challenging question is how we can plan and manage tourist resources including cultural heritages so that both culture and economic activities are interdependently nourished.

Impacts of tourism on cultural heritage and change have been intensively discussed in recent years (see Gusti Ngurah Bagus, 1992). Tourism is all about selling dreams to those who wish to escape from the dull and daily treadmill into more wonderful, exciting and challenging world. Tourism is not so much about travel, accommodation, and destinations; all these are merely the means to another end: it is to do with the attractions which are deeply related to cultural identity. «Cultural identity is the expression of one’s place in the world.» (Shoquist, p.42) Both the host and the tourist carry their cultural identity on which they base their communications to find not only inspirations, excitement, but also deep conflicts through which local culture is gradually eroded and exposed for a constant change for better or worse to the extent that even the local peoples no longer remember their authentic culture. A good case in point can be found in the Bali dances and other cultural performances which have been modified and made into packages of entertainment solely for tourists. They are quite different from the original ones (see Michel Picard, 1983).
ISSUES OF OKINAWA'S SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

A critical question I have posed in this paper is whether or not island tourism is sustainable for the 21st century. Take, for example, the year 2020, Okinawa's resident population and visitor arrivals are estimated by this author around 1.5 millions and 8 millions respectively. This will mean that Okinawa's de facto population will be around 1.6 million including tourists (70,000) and U.S. military personnel. The size of de facto population will be 19% larger than the current one. We need to examine carefully an absorptive capacity of tourism including infrastructure such as land, transportation, water, energy, environments and of course human resources.

The second issue is seasonal variations. Okinawa's patterns of visitor arrivals are more pronounced than Hawai'i and Bali due largely to climatic reasons and leisure or holiday-taking patterns of Japanese tourists. Smoothing out seasonality is important for capacity utilization of tourists' facilities including hotels, transportation and related businesses Fig. 1.

The third important issue is per capita tourist's consumption. In view of tourism for Okinawa, not Okinawa for tourism, we need to worry about recent declining trend of per capita consumption of tourists (Fig. 2). Compared to Hawai'i, an average tourist in Okinawa spent 37% less than that of Hawai'i in 1996. "Cheap, Near and Short" has been a recent catchphrase in attracting mainland tourists to Okinawa. As a result, despite high hotel-room occupancy rate, per room revenue has declined substantially. Excessive competition by means of cutting prices may damage quality of Okinawa's tourism in the end.

The fourth issue is regional diversification of tourists. As we have touched upon previously, diversification or globalization of tourists is an essential for sustaining Okinawa's visitor industry. Okinawa received 4.1 million tourists in 1998. Of which more than 90% are from mainland Japan. The increasing proportion of repeat visitors suggests that Okinawa's tourism market for mainland visitors will soon reach maturity like Hawaii’s westbound (U.S. mainland) market. Hawaii had adopted diversification strategy many years ago, and now it is receiving more foreign tourists than its traditional North American customers.

Finally, networking in terms of tourists, transportation, information, human resources and among tourism related industries is probably the most important issue for the future state of Okinawa's sustainable tourism. Deepening Okinawa's tourism industry through networking and value-added linkages among industrial sectors probably the only way Okinawa can afford after its absorptive capacity is fully utilized in the future.

TOWARDS FOR BETTER TOURISM PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT

If we speak of tourism development in a "balanced and harmonious" manner, we should also add "environmentally sound", "economically sustainable" and "participated and shared by the local people." Again without careful planning and concerted actions, these "beautiful words" fly over the high sky. Particularly the local community which is tempted by cultural tourism development needs to define its character and its uniqueness through careful assessment and evaluation of its cultural heritage. The importance of particular historical assets must be well recognized and the social design process should lead to human environments that are in tune with the genius loci rather than at odds with it (Afar Safari, 1996). Without such a painstaking community-rooted process, cultural tourism will merely inflate the local price, create competition for resources and intrude on residents' private lives, which in turn will gener-
International tourism
and air transport
in Small islands

by FRANÇOIS VELLAS*

Transport is one of the
essential factors of tourism development
in small island. Islands often have con-
siderable resources for tourism that
cannot be developed because it is dif-
cult and sometimes even impossible to
gain access especially by air to such
sites. Tourism development in many
island regions is therefore in many
cases more potential than real although.
At the same time, certain areas of some
islands are sustaining serious environ-
mental damage as a result of excessive
concentration of tourism in restricted
areas where the ecosystem is particu-
larly fragile.

Access by air and infrastructure for
land transport are therefore essential
conditions for the development of tour-
ism in small island. However, tourism
development often has to take the pro-
blem as to where the first investments
should be made in islands

- Should transport infrastructure be
  developed first? Opening up new air
  links with the main generating mar-
  kets and setting up land access to
  future areas for tourism develop-
  ment?
- Should tourism infrastructure basi-
  cally accommodation facilities, be
  created before transport?

The future of tourism development in
small island States depends to a large
extent on the answers to these ques-
tions.

THE IMPORTANCE OF AIR TRANSPORT FOR SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN ISLANDS

Air transport plays an essential role in
tourism development for small island
in that it is often only possible for tour-
ists to reach holiday locations by air.
However, the distance between gener-
ing countries and tourist destinations
in small island makes it necessary to
use air transport instead of or in addi-
tion to transport by sea, and for those
islands that are archipelagos, air trans-
port is indispensable.

Development of tourism and air trans-
port is especially closely linked in small
island and this gives rise to the prob-
lem of access by air and the strategies
of the airline companies which should
aim to answer not only the demands
of tourism but also, and perhaps espe-
cially. The needs of many small island
to open up to the outside world.

Air transport in small island in most
cases is the main determining factor for
the development of international tour-
ism. Air transport in islands is domi-
nated by international traffic, even in
the case of island made up of archi-
pelagos.

Most island with high levels of pas-
senger air traffic basically have inter-
national traffic rather than domestic
traffic:

ISLANDS TOTAL
AND INTERNATIONAL
AIR TRAFFIC IN 1996

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Air services</th>
<th>International services</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad and Tobago</td>
<td>4,848</td>
<td>4,816</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>3,816</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>3,403</td>
<td>3,574</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iceland</td>
<td>2,872</td>
<td>2,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brunei</td>
<td>2,715</td>
<td>2,715</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dar es-Salaam</td>
<td>2,649</td>
<td>2,340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>2,561</td>
<td>2,561</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>2,131</td>
<td>2,121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malta</td>
<td>1,878</td>
<td>1,878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>1,409</td>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: ICAO - Revenue passenger-kilo-
metre in millions

* University of Toulouse

Reference:

Dean MacCannell, "Staged Authentic-
ty: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings," American Jour-
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tional Journal of Island Affairs,
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Hiroshi Kakazu, Sustainable Develop-
ment of Small Island Economies,

Robert King and Karin Sable, "His-
toric Preservation and Institution-
alist Economics," a paper presented
at the UNESCO Conference on
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Cultural Issues for the XX Century,

Jatidjaja, "Tourism and Culture: An
Inquiry into Paradoxes," a paper
presented at the UNESCO Confer-
ce on Culture, Tourism, Develop-
The internal air traffic, as for instance, between Trinidad and Tobago, between Mauritius and Rodrigues and between the islands of the Fiji archipelago account for less than 1% of the international air traffic. Even in the case of Cuba, domestic air traffic only represents 1.4% of international traffic in revenue passenger-kilometers.

The international air transport flows of small island States are mainly for tourism.

There are therefore certain flows that predominate with links between North America and the Caribbean, Europe and the islands of the Indian Ocean, and Japan and Australia with the Pacific islands.

**TOURISM ARRIVALS IN ISLANDS (1967)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of tourists (thousands)</th>
<th>%North America</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bahamas</td>
<td>1,592</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barbados</td>
<td>472</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cuba</td>
<td>1,152</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>1,103</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominican Republic</td>
<td>2,209</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Lucia</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Vincent and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the Grenadines</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad and Tobago</td>
<td>322</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antigua and Barbuda</td>
<td>231</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puerto Rico</td>
<td>3,332</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**INDIAN OCEAN**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of tourists from Europe</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comoros</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mauritius</td>
<td>536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seychelles</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madagascar</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sri Lanka</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maldives</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PACIFIC**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Number of tourists from North America and New Zealand</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fiji</td>
<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanuatu</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papua and New Guinea</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tonga</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samoa</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: WTO statistics

Analysis of these different flows of tourism towards islands shows the importance of regional tourism flows between industrialized countries which generate tourism and the islands receiving tourism. This leads to great concentration of demand for air transport along these main routes. The markets generating international tourism are often very distant from the island destinations. This is especially the case for European customers for islands in the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean and for American customers for the Pacific islands. This special feature makes air transport even more important for the development of tourism in these islands. The development of air transport in small islands may have a considerable impact on their environment. The creation and development of air links involves the construction of airports in the sites which are considered most suitable to meet the requirements of air transport especially with respect to safety. For this reason runways are often built close to the coast and this may affect the equilibrium of coastal ecosystems as in mangrove swamps or near natural beaches.

In addition to this type of damage is that resulting from the actual operation of air lines, mainly noise, CO2 emissions and the construction of facilities for passenger and freight processing as well as access roads to the airport. This type of nuisance is particularly problematic in the case of islands having few sites that are suitable for airport construction which must therefore choose between the option of developing air transport and that of protecting their natural resources and maintaining equilibrium for their local populations.

Some islands have shown that tourism can, however, be developed without the need for constructing large airports. An example are the islands of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines which have seen extensive development of tourism without building intercontinental airport structures. They concentrated on top-range tourism and use small runways. This is also the case for the island of Goomera in the Canaries which is mainly accessible by boat and which lies given priority to individual, discovery tourism over mass tourism. So air transport does not necessarily need to be considered essential for tourism development but usually has an important role to play.

**POLICIES FOR DEVELOPING AIR TRANSPORT AND TOURISM IN ISLANDS**

The specificity of tourism development in islands is broadly linked to the question of harmonisation between policies for developing air transport and those for tourism. For tourism development to be sustainable the demand for air transport for tourism purposes must tie in with the supply on offer from the airline companies. However, such adaptation is difficult to achieve because the interests of air transport and those of tourism tend to differ. Tourism professionals tend to call for increasingly low prices for increasingly large numbers of tourists. But air carriers need to take into account production costs which are generally higher in islands as well as the requirements with respect to flight regularity and frequency of the local island populations.

Thus it is especially difficult to determine a strategy for air transport for islands and there is a risk that the objectives of sustainable tourism development will not be met. A supply of mass air transport may bring with it the development of mass tourism which in turn may disrupt the fragile environmental and social equilibrium existing on islands. The choice between regular and charter air transport, as well as deregulation of air transport, are the major problems for the future of tourism in islands and its continuance.

Analysis of tourist arrivals at island destinations shows that the problem of distribution between charter and regular traffic is still one of the main topics involved in the development of tourism in islands.

For many island destinations there is a conflict as to whether to develop regular traffic or charter traffic:

- Charter traffic damaging for the development of regular companies because it competes with them during the tourism season and withdraws from the market during off-peak seasons?
- Are regular airlines alone capable of meeting, in terms of price and availability, the requirements of tourism professionals during high, medium and off-peak seasons?

These questions need to be seen in the light of an analysis of the island destinations for tourism in the Caribbean the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean in order to establish the respective roles of charter and regular companies and their impact on the development of tourism in islands.

**The example of Puerto Rico**

The case of Puerto Rico can be considered an example of one of the main successes of the strategy to create a tourism and air travel hub in island regions. The airport of San Juan is the entry point for most of the main North American airline companies in the Caribbean but at the same time, because of the policy adopted by American Airlines, lines act as a hub from which flights leave for the small islands to the north and south of Puerto Rico. American Airlines invested over one billion dollars in setting up its own airport facilities in Puerto Rico and in establishing a base for its subsidiaries. American Eagle, in order to offer several daily flights to most of the destinations in the Caribbean from Puerto Rico. This strategy allows American Airlines to lead the market between the United States and the Caribbean islands while Puerto Rico benefits from being the nerve centre and gateway for the Caribbean facilities.

In 1997 Puerto Rico was the main tourism destination in the Caribbean with 3.3 million arrivals followed by the Dominican Republic with 2.2 million and the Bahamas with 1.6 million. Puerto Rico has also become thanks to these air facilities, the main point of departure for many cruises to the other islands of the Caribbean.

**TRENDS IN TOURISM ARRIVALS IN PUERTO RICO**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of tourists (thousands)</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>2,631</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>2,652</td>
<td>2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1993</td>
<td>2,566</td>
<td>-6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1994</td>
<td>2,466</td>
<td>-3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995</td>
<td>2,436</td>
<td>-1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>2,391</td>
<td>-2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1997</td>
<td>2,375</td>
<td>-2%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*(in thousands) Source: WTO*

However, the growth in tourism arrives is still low with respect to other island destinations in the Caribbean and in other parts of the world.

**The example of the Maldives**

The Maldives offer another example of the development of island tourism and of a strategy for air transport. However, in the case of the Maldives, the policy for air transport that has been applied is completely different to that of Mauritius. Long-haul air transport is provided only by foreign companies that are free to set up regular or charter air links with the Maldives. This means that, whereas Mauritius receives less than ten airline companies, the Maldives are currently served by over
such as charter, regular, including Balair, LTU or Laudia Air companies from southern Asia such as Air Lanka or PIA, companies from south-east Asia such as Singapore or Eva Air and companies from the Middle East such as Emirates.

This policy for opening up air traffic has allowed tourism to develop as follows:

**TRENDS IN TOURIST ARRIVALS IN THE MALDIVES***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>206</td>
<td>254</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>366</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(* in thousands) Source: WTO

Growth has been similar to that in Mauritius as the flow of international tourist arrivals has practically doubled in seven years.

The example of Malta

Malta receives over one million tourists yearly. In ten years, tourist arrivals grew by 41%, from 745,943 in 1987 to 1,053,788 in 1996 national Tourism Administration).

The policy for air transport in Malta is characterised by the development of the national company, Air Malta, which carries out both regular and charter airlines to the main tourist markets. The regular and charter airlines of the countries that generate tourism for Malta also carry out regular and seasonal flights.

**TRENDS IN TOURIST ARRIVALS IN MALTA***

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1000</td>
<td>1,002</td>
<td>663</td>
<td>1,176</td>
<td>1,161</td>
<td>1,054</td>
<td>1,08</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(* in thousands) Source: WTO

In parallel with this growth in tourist flows and thanks to its new charter and regular air links, Malta has drawn up a policy aiming to extend the tourist season practically all year round. Breakdown of tourist arrivals according to season for 1996 shows that from that time it is the months of March, April, May, June and October which attract the largest number of tourists, in preference to the three months of the high period in the summer (July, August and September).

This result for the off-peak period is the result of adapting tourism demand to the non-summer months and of maintaining air links towards the main markets all year round. This year-round tourism demand shows that European customers, mostly from Britain and Germany but also from France, may be attracted by Mediterranean destinations even during off-peak month, provided that adaptations are made to tourism supply and the supply of air transport.

The Maltese tourism sector's main supporter is the Air Malta company which programmes regular and charter flights to Malta all year round. Air Malta has a fleet of eleven aircraft (two A320, three B737-300, two 737-200 and four A310) and serves 37 destinations in Europe, North Africa and the Middle East. In 1996, it carried 1.4 million passengers on regular and charter flights.

The importance of the role played by Air Malta can be seen in the development of charter flights which account for 40% of air traffic.

In Malta, the charter traffic between Malta and the UK is more than double the regular traffic, especially during off-peak months such as October or March. This shows that regular and charter traffic do not conflict with each other but that in fact they complement each other.

**NEW STRATEGIES FOR JOINT DEVELOPMENT OF AIR TRANSPORT AND SUSTAINABLE TOURISM FOR ISLANDS**

Strategies for the joint development of air transport and sustainable tourism in islands must be appropriate for today's context of world-wide deregulation of air transport. This move towards liberalisation of air transport which symbolises the open skies policies mainly concerns North America and Europe. But all countries, especially small island, are equally concerned to the extent at they are directly related to one or the other of these two regions. The stakes are very high for islands because two regions account for over two-thirds of the world-wide market for air travel and are the bases for the world's largest airline companies.

However, companies in such problems in dealing with their tourism development, especially with respect to the conservation of their natural resources. The proposals for deregulation in the open skies policies should therefore be examined in detail by small island because they may affect air transport strategies and companies in such countries may be at serious risk. In fact, the new strategies of the large airline companies may mean that vertical integration will make way for a new focus on activities that are directly linked to air transport to the detriment of small companies which are likely to be left behind by the globalisation strategies of the large airlines.

There are several possible strategies that can be adopted such strategies involve business associations tourism and air travel hubs and access to and use of GDSs.

**Strategies for business associations**

Deregulation of air transport has exerted a great effect on the strategies of airlines which are now endeavouring to gain greater market access by setting up business links. These new strategies constitute a serious risk for the airlines of small island. Free competition for airlines leads the main airline companies to abandon policies for internal development and the purchase of minority holdings in secondary companies in favour of associations with their main competitors. This leads to a situation where regional transport companies, especially in islands.

However, such business associations may bring with them new opportunities for small transport companies if they are able to participate in them. This new strategy has started with the setting up of a code sharing system so that it is possible to offer and announce a single flight number on connecting flights, even if two different companies are involved. This allows for a good position in announcements on computerised booking networks. These agreements also cover common management of lines and guarantee connections between the two networks. This allows for large savings in fleet management.

With such world-wide strategies for associations between airlines, the airline companies in small island may have a new role to play by participating in such associations by offering complementary regional services. This is the case with BWIA and LIAT in the Caribbean which offer many connections for flights by the main US companies especially American Airlines.

Such associations between the large airlines not only make it difficult for small island to maintain their air services but also place at risk their tourism development as they may be forced to accept types of development that go against their objectives of sustainability, especially in terms of mass tourism exceeding the carrying capacity of their tourist sites.

**Strategies for tourism and air travel hubs**

The setting up of narrow centres in airports - the so-called hubs - allows airlines to take advantage of the possibilities offered them by deregulation to restructure their networks by giving up direct flights and focusing their traffic on central points. By reducing the number of segments under operation within a network it is possible to make economies of scale on each route while increasing occupation coefficients. Participation in such hubs by the airline companies of small island may help to strengthen tourism development by offering a larger number of connections with the markets generating international tourism. The use of hubs makes travel time longer than with direct links but allows for greater frequency and increases the number of destinations.

In addition, the success of a hub depends on a great extent on the organisation of connections. In order to obtain maximum synergism, special conditions must be set up for arriving and departing travellers on routes of connecting flights. However, it may be preferable for certain island States to have a national airline company to create their own region hub in order to attract international air traffic from other countries in the same region. Such hub strategies can be widely set up in a certain number of small island States that have air transport infrastructure. For example, the island of Mauritius receives inter-continental connections with most of the European countries as well as Asia and Australia thanks to its company, Air Mauritius. With this network and the complementarity with regional lines to Africa and the Indian Ocean, the island of Mauritius may become a tourism and air travel hub towards other islands of the Indian Ocean and the SADC countries of southern Africa.

In addition, hub strategies lead to the appearance of new barriers to entry, especially because of insufficient availability of new time slots in airports that have become overloaded because of increased frequency and this can damage tourism development in small islands.

**Strategies for participation in Global Distribution Systems**

Strategies for participating in GDSs may offer a great opportunity for island to put an end to their isolation and to gain direct access to different tourist markets, even very distant markets. The creation of computerised booking and distribution systems is an essential part of the strategy of airlines, especially as the alternative for the open skies policies is not widely available.
GDSs can offer a very great advantage for selling the tourism and air travel products of islands. Through them tour and airline operators in small islands can participate directly in these worldwide networks with direct access to travel agencies and through Internet to end consumers in principle makes it possible to limit dependence on the large tour operator networks and the large airlines.

Analysis of the role of air transport in the tourism development of small island gives rise to two main conclusions, namely that the airlines strategies for diversification give a new chance for islands and that co-ordinated strategies now need to be set up between air transport, land transport and tourism development.

to the extent that they allow for circulation and processing of information that is much more efficient than traditional methods when each company had its own system or when printed timetables or price lists had to be used. Unlike the traditional systems of the airlines, the GDSs allow travel agencies to gain access, from a single terminal and in real time, to all the airlines and all the service companies that have chosen to sell their services through these networks.

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No other piece of land in the world is more isolated in space than Easter Island, distant practically 4,000 kilometers from all other inhabited lands. No other small population has been more isolated in time (some 1,400 years) than that of Easter Island, practically from the early Polynesian colonization about 300-380 A.D. (600-650 A.D. according to some archeologists) up to its discovery by the Dutch Jacob Roggeveen on Easter Sunday of 1722 - in any case more than a millennium of isolation. No other so isolated and so small population (probably not much more than some 500 inhabitants) has been able to develop such an advanced Stone-Age civilization. This is testified not only by the some 1,000 giant statues (Moai) found in the island, but also by a myriad of petroglyphs, rock paintings and wood sculptures, the some 300 megalithic shrines and altars (Ahu), the sacred village (at Orongo) for the Birdman cult, the solar observatories, the numerous tapa (tower-shaped stone structures, destined probably to star watching), the so many inhabited and human-decorated caves (Ahu) and, above all, the existence of the intriguing rongo rongo script, the «talking» wooden tablets, whether they represent a real written language or simply a very elaborated mnemonic tool of religious significance, whether they were ancient works or invented only after the first contact with Spaniards in 1770.

Cattle grazing near Tongariki and Peake.
Easter Island is considered to be the Isla de Pascua by the native peoples. The island also represents a perfect case study. Concepts and actions as those of favoring the three diversities - of the environment, of local people and of tourists - in order to avoid the so common self-destructive cycle of tourism, and of promoting the attachment to a really living culture, can be tested in the practice under a situation where inputs and outputs of all kind (people, goods and capital, informations) can be easily measured.

From the point of view of tourism development, Easter Island also represents a perfect case study. Concepts and actions as those of favoring the three diversities - of the environment, of local people and of tourists - in order to avoid the so common self-destructive cycle of tourism, and of promoting the attachment to a really living culture, can be tested in the practice under a situation where inputs and outputs of all kind (people, goods and capital, informations) can be easily measured.

The operational meaning of a sustainable development of tourism, over the long run, and the myths usually attached to this concept, can also be challenged in the field. Even from this angle, Easter Island can be considered a representative microcosm of the trends prevailing in the rest of the world, with the emergence of a global information society.

Native people call the island Rapa Nui, and Rapanui their language, their culture and themselves. From now on, this will also be the denomination given in this article. This is by no way the pristine name of the island. Probably, the island remained long unnamed as a whole. Before 1863, the name of Rapa Nui was unknown. It emerged when contacts with other parts of Polynesia increased. Some Tahitian sailors were struck by the similarities with another island, Rapa (belonging to the region of the Polynesian or Austral Islands). Rapa Nui means simply a larger Rapa, while the original Rapa is also called since then Rapa Iti (a smaller one). At least, the name of Rapa Nui reflects the ethnic, cultural and language links with the overall Polynesia, in its vast triangle going from Hawaii to New Zealand up to Easter Island. Almost at the same time, people from Mangareva referred to Rapa Nui as Mata ki te rangi, the eyes towards the heavens, whether these eyes were those of moai (made of corals with ossipinated pupils) or those of the volcano craters. If a pristine name ever existed for the overall island and not only for localized sites - this is a debated point - it was Te Pito Toa Henua, the center of the world, again a very symbolic denomination evoking, as Father Englert said, an 'island at the center of the world'.

**PAST AND PRESENT OF RAPA NUI**

Rapa Nui (see map) is a volcanic island that from the air may look like the moon, or a more prosaic Emmental cheese, because of as many as 80 cones and crater holes. It may be envisaged as a triangle shaped by the three main founding volcanoes, Terevaka (the younger, 360,000 years old) at the top, Rano Kao (two million years) and Poike (the older, 3 million years) at the base angles. The maximum length, at the base of the triangle, is 22 kilometers; the widest part, at the height of the triangle, is 11 kilometers. Other notable volcanoes are Rano Rakau, the 'nursery' where most moai of the island have been carved and extracted from (and where 397 moai can still be found in different stages of carving), Puna Pao, the nursery of the red topknots of moai (pukao), and Orongo, the obsidian quarry that provided most tools and weapons. However, there are not recent volcanic or earthquake phenomena; the word for them does not even exist in Rapanui.

Rapa Nui stands right at the point of contact or crossroads among the four main tectonic plates of the South Pacific; the Cocos plate at the North, the Antarctic plate at the South, the Nazca plate at the East and the Pacific (Polynesian) plate at the West. The surface of Rapa Nui is some 166 square kilometers, 16,000 hectares. This is just the size of a large Chilean hilly hacienda. As compared with more familiar islands, Rapa Nui is about 30% smaller than the Mediterranean Capri, nine times smaller than Guadeloupe, almost five times smaller than Madeira, only 30% larger than the much less isolated St.-Helena, Napoleon's island, more than six times smaller than the Polynesian Tahiti, of about the same size as Raiatea, the holy island for all Polynesia, and only 25% larger than the trident-like Moorea, the small island facing Tahiti. It is almost inconceivable than an independent advanced civilization has been able to develop in such a reduced space. Comparing it with some islands where a local civilization and a strong cultural identity have developed, Rapa Nui is 52 times smaller than Crete, 53 times than Corsica and 145 times than Sardinia. It is not at all the same order of magnitude.

However, the fragmentation of the landscape of Rapa Nui, because of so many volcanic hills and the different characteristics of the three side of the triangle (the western, northern and southern coasts), has facilitated the differentiation of human settlement in as many as 36 family groups (10 clans in 16 main settlements, according to most students), belonging to two main confederations, the Tu'i Ato (Mito) in the western side (with a larger proportion of fishermen), the Tu'a Hoto Iti in the eastern side (mostly agriculturists).

The climate of Rapa Nui is an oceanic tropical one. As evidenced by di Castri in the early 1960's, the bioclimatic favorable period extends to all twelve months, as an average, as regards human habitability and plant production. There are no months too dry, too warm, too cold, or too rainy from a bioclimatic viewpoint. Limiting factors for plant growth are rather wind (with great evapo-transpiration) and soil permeability.

The original landscape of Rapa Nui, as shown by palynological and fossil records, was a forested one, with an Acacia-like tree (Sophora toromiro) and an extinct giant palm, close to the present Jatua chilensis, as the main components. This forested landscape lasted probably up to 1,400-1,600 A.D., when the decline of the Rapanui civilization became more apparent. When the European voyagers first arrived, the landscape was similar to the present one, grassy and not woody, but with a much greater extension than now of well-cultivated agricultural lands (sweet potato, taro, yam, sugarcane, gourds, bananas).

More recent agents of environmental change are two-fold: first, the overgrazing with severe erosion (Rapa Nui has been practically for more than...
The phase of cultural expansion (A.D. 800-1500) is that of the characteristic giant statues bearing shrines, and of a political organization based on a hereditary paramount chief (ariki manu). The largest moai, still joined to the volcanic substrate at Rano Raraku, has a height of 21 meters and an estimated weight of 300 tons. The largest moai that has been transported and erected (Moai Paro from Ahu Te Pito Kura) has a height of 10 meters and a weight of 85 tons; its large topknot (pukao) has an estimated weight of some 12 tons.

The next phase of cultural decline (A.D. 1500-1722 and later) was characterized by social collapse, chronic intertribal warfare, destruction of crops, burning of woodland remnants, and cannibalism. Ceremonial platforms (ahu) were alternately attacked by the ones or the others, and moai deliberately thrown down. However, the bloody fight of the Short-ears (Hananu Momoko) against the Long-ears (Hananu Epe) in the Pohke ditch is likely to be merely a legend. In addition, from a correct semantic standpoint, these Rapanui denominations do not refer to the length of the ears, but to differences in the body corpulence. Finally, rather than a civil war, this period can be envisaged as a kind of religious revolution. With the collapse of previous beliefs and the loss of faith, there could have been a kind of popular revolt, a rebellion against a social and religious order that no longer seemed to work.

This is also the phase of the establishment or the strengthening of the Birdman cult, in replacement of the previous vanishing political order, when a new birdman was designated every year as the vehicle of god Makemake. This cult might also have exemplified the importance of marine birds and eggs as a main source of food for Rapanui. During all the prehistoric period, the only domestic animal for Rapanui was chicken, and to some extent the Polynesian rai, both carried by the Polynesian colonizers. With such a shortage of animal proteins, mostly from the terrestrial environment, and aggravated by a likely shortage of fishes and dolphins, it is not improbable that cannibalism had played at that time more than a ritual role in order to improve the diet.

Despite what is often written, there are no inherent mysteries about the prehistory of Rapa Nui, nor as regards the transport and erection of Moai. However, debated points still exist on whether or not there was only one or more waves of Polynesian settlers, whether Rapanui people influenced back some other Polynesian islands, and whether and to what extent there was some contact with South America.

The historic period starts in 1722 with the discovery by Roggeveen, followed by short and rather amicable visits of voyagers such as the Spaniard Felipe González y Arco (1770), the British Captain James Cook (1774) and the French Admiral La Pérouse (1786). This was the phase of exploration. In spite of the amicable attitude, particularly in the case of the three latter voyagers, it is probable that the sudden revelation to the Rapanui, after a millennium of isolation, of a very different culture, much more advanced and more powerful that their own culture from a technological viewpoint, would have further undermined their fate on their gods and on their mana (a kind of vital spiritual force and supernatural power), thus accelerating the decline. When the first Europeans arrived, most moai were still standing. After a few decades, all of them were fallen.

An intriguing theory of Fischer is that the Rapanui would have invented the rongo-rongo script during this part of the historic period, as a kind of European inspiration. The Rapanui priests would have considered the writings observed during the Spanish claim in 1770 as a way to revive their previous elevated role, by inscribing mana in a local writing. On the base of their existing rock art as a starting point, the Rapanui would have invented then a glyphic system of writing and incorporated it on wooden tablets. This script would have lasted only up to 1862, when a Peruvian slaver raid with eight ships took place, and some 350 Rapanui, including all priests and savants (maoai), were kidnapped.

The 19th century, that of exploitation, was full of distress events for Rapa Nui: kidnapping of islanders by whalers, intense and repeated Peruvian slaver, spread out of European-born, European-carried and tropical diseases (smallpox, tuberculosis, syphilis, leprosy), exploitation by large farmers and ranchers based in Tahiti, massive migrations of Rapanui people towards Tahiti and other Polynesian islands (as a kind of escape response to the gloomy island situation), forced concentration of the population from the overall island in a single place in the south-west (Hanga Roa) and even the ephemeral kingship of a French adventurer, Jean Baptiste Onésime Dutrou-Bornier. At that time, stones from ahu and altars were removed to make fences of the sheep ranch.

Population of Rapa Nui went down to 111 (or 110 persons in 1877), and they were willing to emigrate to Tahiti, all of them, if an opportunity would have been given to them. This is also the
period of the Catholic evangelisation of Rapa Nui with missionaries coming from Tahiti (1864), of intense Tahitian influence on culture, language and land use, and finally of the annexation of Rapa Nui by Chile on the 9 September of 1888. Whether or not this annexation implied a recognition for islanders to keep their ownership on lands with no restriction, this is a debated point that has had and will have enormous repercussions on the life of Rapa Nui people. According to the Rapanui version, the king (Arī) Atanu Tēkera exemplified his own meaning of the annexation by offering to the Chilean Navy Captain Polcarpo Toro the grass of a clo' (the usufuct of the island), but keeping for himself the land (the continued possession of the land). The official act of annexation is very short, and leaves ambiguities in this respect.

The modern period covers the present century. Up to 1953, Rapa Nui continued to be just a sheep ranch rented by the Chilean government to a foreign company (Williamson, Bafour and Company), with discontinuous and scarce communication by ship, a small leper-house, a missionary Catholic priest, and several Rapanui population clusters walled by fences in the village of Hangaroa with no right to leave it without permission. From 1953 to 1965, Rapa Nui was ruled by the Chilean Navy, that administered the ranch and the people, and the situation remained largely unchanged. From 1944 to 1958, 41 Rapanui tried to escape their island prison in open fishing boats in the direction of Tahiti and the Tuamotus. At least half of them disappeared at sea.

Only in 1965 (with a law published on March 1 1966), Rapa Nui was declared an administrative department of Chile with Chilean citizenship for its inhabitants, and full civil rights were granted to them. Regular air flights by LAN Chile started in 1967. At present, the Mataveri airport has been modernized and enlarged to such an extent that even the Concorde aircraft has landed. It also constitutes an emergency landing site for the space shuttles of NASA. Finally, the National Park Rapa Nui has been included in the World Heritage List of UNESCO in 1995. This is also the period of intense archeological and ethnomological exploration, starting with Routledge (1914-1915), Métraux (1934-1935) and Heyerdahl (1955). The first large moai (Ahu Avere Huki at Akahanga) was erected by Heyerdahl, followed by restorations at Ahu Akivi and Tahai (both by Molloy in 1960 and 1966), Orogo, Anakena, Tongariki (the largest restoration of 15 moai, carried out from 1992 to 1995 with Japanese private funding) and several other places. Out of the 288 moai that have been successfully trans- planted and erected in their respective ahu, in prehistoric times, and then thrown down by Rapanui people, only 49 (some 17%) have been recently restored and re-erected, almost all of them since 1955. However, priority is not on the re-erection of new moai, but rather on the preservation, consolidation and stabilization of the already restored ones. The volcanic rocks of moai is crumbling, and free. Without appropriate protection, it strongly decays because of weather variations.

Along all the vicissitudes described above, there have been severe cultural and social discontinuities, as well as a loss of memory on Rapanui history and tradition (more than in any other part of Polynesia), including as regards the meaning and the interpretation of the rongo rongo tablets, but not yet a total rupture. A Rapanui culture is still alive, largely maintained by the persistence of the local language (of Austroasiatic and Protopolynesian origin, while this is seriously threatened by present trends. Rapanui people seem to have a remarkable property of adaptation to change and of recovery from catastrophes and disasters. Most early voyagers, and more recently the French sailor and writer Pierre Loti in 1872 and Alfred Métraux in 1934, predicted an impending inevitable extinction of the Rapanui culture and ethnic group.

Still, there is now a cultural revival, and many Rapanui people even show an outstanding aptitude to develop a market economy and to insert them in an information society. It is not known how large was the population of Rapa Nui in the period of cultural expansion. Most students evaluate it to 5,000 to 8,000 persons. Others advance higher figures of 12,000 up to 70,000 persons, but there is no evidence supporting them. The carrying capacity of Rapa Nui as regards terrestrial and marine food resources, estimated in a very cautious and conservative way, could easily support a population of over 8,000-10,000 persons. It is improbable that the cause of the cultural and demographic break-down was not so much overpopulation, but an inherent impossibility of important technological innovations, and even more a severe technological retardation. After deforestation, Rapanui lacked the raw material (trees) needed to make sailing canoes, and they were accordingly prevented from fishing and hunting dolphins offshore. They were also prevented from catching marine bird eggs and shells in the uninhabited rocky island of Sala y Gomez, some 400 kilometers from Rapa Nui. This sailing failure would have implied a strong decrease of the carrying capacity of the island.

In general terms, the problem of carrying capacity - and Rapa Nui is particularly suited to address it as a microcosm in an unbiased way - should be faced in a non-linear dynamic terms (and not as simple projections of a previous situation) and considering that technological innovation is the main adaptive feature of humans when facing demographic and environmental change. For instance, in Rapa Nui there is a kind of discontinuous time stratification of different food utilization: coastal shellfish, marine birds and eggs, chicken, fishes and dolphins from offshore, agricultural products. Among the prehistoric technological innovations of Rapa Nui, mention should be made of improved sailing techniques (up to the destruction of all forestry resources), improved use of totora, better water management and agricultural setting, plant breeding and crop selection based on genetic plant diversity, use of obsidian tools, construction of manvai (stone walled, sometimes sunken, garden enclosures) to protect plants against wind effects and excessive evapo-transpiration, agricultural terracing in the slopes of Rano Kao.

After the demographic collapse of the past century, there has been a gradual recovery, and present population is of about 3,000 persons, 2,000 of them being native Rapanui and 1,000 Chilean from the mainland, the latter being called Conti or Chileans. The population recovered also thanks to an intense interbreeding of native people with Chilean. Polynesians mostly from Tahiti and Tuamotu, and European people. Only a few native people could claim now to be of a solely Rapanui origin. Nevertheless, there is still persistence in most native population of distinctive Polynesian anthropological features, as well as of a Polynesian culture. A peculiar pattern in Rapa Nui, in sharp contrast to Polynesian islands of comparable size, is that population is urban at a level of 59%, being concentrated in only one site (Hangaroa and the adjacent Mataveri and Tahai), because of the historical reasons mentioned above. Migration is still an important pattern, and some 1,000 Rapanui live abroad, a large number of them in the Pampati quarter of Fiau (Tahiti), still keeping close contacts with the home island.

TOURISM IN RAPA NUI

Tourism activities initiated in Rapa Nui with the establishment in 1967 of regular flights from Santiago (Chile), and later on also from Papeete (Tahiti) with connecting flights from Australia, New Zealand and Japan. It started in a very modest way with a few camping tents for tourists, and soon after with a State-owned hotel (Hangaroa of the Chilean Honsa chain). Tourism development is recent. If in

Ahu Tongariki and its 15 moai, the most important restoration carried out in Rapa Nui, from 1992 to 1995, with Japanese private funding. In the background, the Polki peninsula.

The giant ancient ahu Uau (Tahai) in the foreground, and the recent village of Hangaroa in the background.

1988 only 4,058 tourists visited Rapa Nui, they were five times more numerous in 1998 (20.613), with an increase of 53% of tourists from 1996 to 1997, and of 28% from 1997 to 1998.

Even if a cause-effect relation cannot be established, it should be singled out a comparable increase of connections with Internet in Rapa Nui: there were 20 Internet connections in 1998, 50 in 1999, and they are likely to raise up to 100 or
more by the year 2000. Several dozens of web sites dealing with Rapa Nui, of a rigorously scientific, cultural and business scope (including an unofficial Easter Island Home Page, comprehensive and well constructed) or with a completely fanciful approach, can be now retrieved across the world in different languages, with hundreds of pages and photographs available on the most different topics. Connection via Internet greatly helps small local entrepreneurs, all of them native Rapanui, to promote and accept direct hotel reservations, out of the channels of large tourism firms.

The number of available beds for tourists is at present of 929 in 487 rooms, distributed among very small to medium-size Residenciales and larger hotels with an international standard. They are all situated in the restricted area of Hanga Roa, Mataveri and Tahai, and are owned and managed exclusively by native Rapanui people. The current trend, mostly determined by European tourists, is to give some preference to Residenciales, due to their lower prices and to an easier possibility of contact with the Rapanui culture. The above figure on available beds means that the total number of tourists in any given month cannot exceed, as a maximum, a third of the resident population. This proportion is still much lower than in other Polynesian islands (as for instance Bora Bora). In fact, there is no feeling of being crowded in Rapa Nui (with exception of Hanga Roa and the Akahau beechn during the summer), and one can spend a full day at Terevaka without meeting a single person, but only horses.

It should be stressed that, while archaeology is the main attraction (all Rapa Nui is a kind of open-air museum), the island is amazingly beautiful and diversified, and that there are many other attractions for tourists: swimming in the sandy beaches or in crater lakes, diving, fishing, surfing, yachting, visiting mysterious caves, exploring the island by hiking and trekking, horse-back riding, renting a mountain bike, a motorbike or a four-wheels traction car, making photo safaris, shopping for wooden and stone handicrafts, or watching native dances at night. By default, archaeology should not become a monoculture for tourism, and tourists can easily exceed the average four-days permanence in Rapa Nui. A usual routine archeological visit of Rapa Nui, disconnected from the cultural and natural environment, with no sense of fascination and adventure, could be easily and inexpensively replaced - after all - by a virtual visit through Internet.

At present, 68% of tourists are foreigners and 32% are from Chile. Among foreign tourists, 51% are from Europe, 27% from the Americas (mostly US and Canadian citizens, while the closer South-Americans are very few) and 22% from New Zealand, Australia and Japan. Among Europeans, French citizens are about 50%, followed by Germans, Italian, Spanish and British citizens. French tourists are the first in absolute terms among foreigners, and represent more than 25% of the total foreign tourism. Many of them come from Tahiti and French Polynesia, because there are especially advantageous air fares from Papeete and, above all, because there is a greater and closer interest in the Rapanui civilization. For instance, one can find many more books on Rapa Nui in the small bookshops of Papeete that in the much larger ones of Santiago.

A very interesting trend, with strong implications for the progressive increase of Chilean tourists, in percentage and in absolute terms. They represented only 10% of the total tourist flow in 1991, but Chilean tourists rose to 20% in 1994 and they represent now 32% of the total. From 1988 to 1998, they are ten times more numerous (from 662 to 6,660 Chilean tourists), while the same period total tourism has increased five times and foreign tourist 3.8 times. However, a Chilean tourist spends in the island, as an average, 25-30% less than a foreign tourist.

Finally, the paramount impact of information flow and availability on tourism should be stressed, not only as regards the electronically-carried information (as for the Internet facilities mentioned above), but also the cultural and artistic happenings and the media coverage. For instance, the television serial forum, a soup opera on a love story in Rapa Nui, diffused by the Chilean television in March 1998, is largely at the origin of a larger flow of Chilean tourists to Rapa Nui the following months, estimated at a 70% increase. Similarly, the movie Rapa Nui, produced by Kevin Costner in 1993 and released by Warner Bros on 9 September 1994 (the anniversary of the annexation by Chile), is partly responsible of a 50% increase of foreign tourism in 1995.

Admittedly, this movie contains a number of historical inexactitudes. Tourism is thus becoming a most peculiar and dynamic economic sector of the information society.

THE FUTURE OF RAPA NUI

In exploring the future of Rapa Nui, four main considerations should be kept in mind.

First, tourism represents the only viable economic sector for the island. A subsistence economy would be out of the current context and far from local aspirations. In addition, Rapa Nui lacks other resources for an exchange market economy, as for instance the blossoming production of black pearls in French Polynesia, in this case because of the absence of coral reefs in Rapa Nui. Only tourism could revitalize the almost dying agricultural activities in the islands, and hopefully help promoting some export of tropical fruits and flowers. By the way, it is only thanks to tourism that the Rapanui culture has shown a revival, after the previous stage of resignation and passiveness, and has developed towards active involvement and entrepreneurial activities.

Second, main forthcoming obstacles to tourism are the lack of infrastructures and good facilities provided by the Rapanui themselves, the concentration of holdings and capital in a few Rapanui hands, thus threatening the local traditions of social equality, and the impending emergence of social classes and gaps within Rapanui society, with foreseeable social disruptions. These points will be further elaborated in relation to the scenarios of tourism development.

Third, the major task facing now the Rapanui society is that of the reconciliation of the abandoned lands (fiscal lands of Chile since 1933) and the resettlement of the overall island. This is an understandable and worthy aspiration of Rapanui people, and also a necessity from economic, social, cultural and psychological points of view. However, due to the large diversity of settlement conditions in the island, this can only be achieved through a wise master plan of orientation and guide, including the urbanization of the rather unpleasant and disordered Hanga Roa.

In this respect, one should not escape from the embarrassing consideration that, for obvious and inherent reasons, the best lands and places for resettlement are, in absolute terms, precisely those that have been already settled by the Rapanui people in the past. These lands are inevitably very close to the best archeological sites with ahu and moai. Some incompatibility between a resettlement based on real ancestral rights and the development of a cultural tourism (and also of representations of monuments) could arise, unless all this matter is handled with pragmatism, serenity and wisdom.

Furthermore, a wild and hasty settlement, with occupation also of lands void of economic potential, with an urbanization through ugly bidonville-like houses having no facilities for electricity, potable water and waste disposal, could end to a disaster for the life conditions of the islanders and to the vanishing of the tourist and economic potential of Rapa Nui.

However, in spite of the large accumulation of knowledge concerning Rapa Nui (but most of it belongs to the so-called non-useful knowledge, insufficient for decision-making), it is not clear who will be responsible for, and capable to elaborate and apply such a master plan for resettlement. In addition, opinions on how to achieve such resettlement vary in an amazingly contrasted way, even among Rapanui groups, representative organizations and individuals.

Fourth, and this is related to the point above, there is now in Rapa Nui a very serious decision-making crisis. The Chilean administrative bodies, that even in the mainland tend to be strongly compartmentalized, represent the reduced and cut space of Rapa Nui a kind of caricature, a magnification of the imaginable reality, of sector-isolated and ever-conflicting institutions. Mistrust and mutual denigration are the most peculiar features of Rapa Nui. This mistrust applied to the Chilean bodies among them, to the relations between Chilean and Rapanui people, as well as to the relations between different Rapanui groups and individuals. For
instance, there are two harshly conflict- ing local bodies, Consejo de Ancianos (Council of the Elders) number 1 and number 2. This mistrust is even un- pleasantly perceived by attentive tour- ists.

In addition, the situation is politically touchy, and the Chilean administration is particularly reluctant vis-à-vis the involvement in Rapa Nui of foreign or- ganizations, including the international ones, or even of foreign scientists work- ing in the island. It is true that a few of them, in the past, have been politically committed and have naively promoted some sense of independence of the native population up to an unlikely political reactualism of all Polynesian identities. It is also true that the Indig- enous Rights Movement in the Pacific and the Polynesian is flourishing, as well as many indigenous American move- ments, including the Movimiento Mapache in Chile, and that they all are vio- rously always present in Internet. The Chilean authorities may feel that for- eign organizations manipulate and fi- nance small groups of native Rapanui.

As a consequence of this decision- making crisis, there is no vision nor framework on how to face the future of Rapa Nui. The simplest questions re- main with no answer. What kind of re- settlement is foreseen in time, space and quality? What kind of landscape should constitute the future environ- ment of Rapa Nui? Like a central Chile landscape with livestock grazing and eucalyptus plantations, like the original Rapanui landscape with a fine mix- up of agricultural and forested lands, or like the Tahitian one with coconut palms, frangipanis and pandanus?

**SCENARIOS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT**

The following three scenarios for tourism development are presented to help stimulating debate in this direc- tion. Scenarios do not constitute prevision nor plans, but only frame- works for discussion and moving tar- gets to be constantly redefined. Sce- narios are not rigidly bounded, but with interpenetration from the one to the others. In spite of the denomination of two of them, these scenarios do not contemplate at all a change of the Chil- ean sovereignty on Rapa Nui. They are strictly cultural scenarios.

There should be no inherent incom- putability or contradiction between a Chilean citizenship and a strong Rapanui and Polynesian identity. By the way, only a minority of islanders hope or envisage a break-down of the connection with Chile. The capital and goods balance with the continental Chile is largely in favor of Rapa Nui. The indigenous law of Chile (Ley Indigena), while understandably resisted by a number of Rapanui people, is very gen- erous with them, as compared with other Polynesian islands. Nobody can own land nor house in Rapa Nui out of the native people of a Rapanui origin. This right cannot even be acquired through marriage. No taxes are paid by Rapanui people, whatever be the profit made by the local entrepreneurs.

**THE CHILEAN SCENARIO**

This scenario implies a progressive cultural homogenization and «chilenization» of Rapa Nui, with large increase of both residents and tourists coming from Chile, the loss of Rapanui as a liv- ing language in favor of Spanish, and the full acceptance by local people of the value system governing the Chil- ean society. This is a kind of linear sce- nario and projection, that will material- ize if present trends continue. The main driving forces leading to this scenario are as follows.

1. Practically all media available in Rapa Nui are in Spanish and coming from Chile. Only the Chilean television is received, and there is no local television nor radio. A local newspaper (Te Rapa Nui, The Gazette of Easter Island) is published occasion- ally. Particularly young people, and in spite of their claimed formal rejection, seem already to be culturally-dependent from Chile. After school, when leaving their class-room where also Rapanui is taught, they interact among them almost exclusively in Spanish. Only 5% of schoolchildren speak now Rapanui as the first, most commonly used language, down from 70% in 1977.

2. The Chilean authorities in the island, although they may be well intentioned in favor of a Rapanui culture, and that there are many competent persons among the Chilean civil servants, tend - almost inevitably and understandably - to apply principles, norms, knowledge, approaches and ac- tions that have proved to be successful in the mainland, not realizing how big the differences are in the case of a small Polynesian island with completely different environ- ment, culture and traditions.

3. Modulation and control of the tourist flow are exerted by the prevailing monopoly of LAN Chile on air flights. For instance, more advantageous rates are made for the residents in the Chilean mainland as compared for- eigners who pay about twice as much for a normal flight from Santiago.

4. The particularly favorable conditions for Rapanui local people because of the indigenous law make, as a per- verse effect, that salaried employees come in much more increased flow from the Chilean mainland, to such an extent that they may double in a not distant future the size of the Rapanui population (at present, the «conti- nental» Chilean people in the island are half of the Rapanui, including a very large representation of the Chilean administration).

Rapanui people are now unwilling to cover subordinate positions in the business activities or to accept jobs for insuring infrastructure and services for island development, or even to continue agricultural activities. Most of them would only like to be their own entrepreneur in tourism busi- ness, often in a non-professional way, either as hotels and shop owners or as handicraft producers, or both of them. Conversely, workers from the Chilean mainland have a better know-how on services and accept a lower salary.

The resulting social conditions of uncontrolled migration from the mainland could become even more explosive, due to the fact a sizable part of the Rapanui population feels excluded from the benefits of tourism, resents both the «continental invasion» and the opening of social gaps among Rapanui, has lost its family and cultural marks, and behaves already in a marginalized way, Alcoholism and drug consumption (and even marihuana production) are widely spread-out, particularly among rather organized bands of Rapanui young people, and hippies from the mainland of Chile.

Some expectable consequences of these driving forces are a lack of social cohesion up to a social collapse with no security conditions, the loss of quality and of cultural specificity as the tourism hospitality, and there- fore a decreasing capacity of attracting foreign tourists. Ongoing tourism would progressively decrease tourism potential with its typical self-destructive cycle. Not only the economic value of the island would rapidly vanish, but the ultimate result of such scenario would be the end of a living Rapanui culture.

**THE POLYNESIAN SCENARIO**

This scenario implies the maintenance and the enhance- ment of the original Polynesian culture, as a living culture, and a diversification of economic activities taking advan- tage of the opportunities provided by a Polynesian envi-
Bishop Museum and the East-West Center of Honolulu. Along this line, very successful international congress on Easter Island and East Polynesia has been already held in Rapa Nui in 1984. Finally, the population size of native Rapanui is too small to permit a dynamic evolution of their Polynesian culture in total isolation, within the context of the present global information society. A closer vision on Hiva, their ancestral homeland, should be developed. Therefore, many more linkages have to be established with the rich and vast Polynesian civilizations of French Polynesia (Tahiti, Marquesas Islands, Huahine, Raiatea, Hawaii and New Zealand. In spite of some differences, the language has the same base. With closer contacts with the Polynesian circle, it would also be possible to drain towards Rapa Nui a number of international tourists performing Polynesian tours.

The Global Scenario

This scenario contemplates the possibility that the Rapanui tourism be aligned to a standardized and not culturally-specific international tourism, whose main goals are stigmatized by the symbol SSSI (standing for Sun, Sand and Surf). It also implies the involvement of the large multinational firms for tourism, as it happens in many other Polynesian islands such as Bora Bora or Moorea.

It appears that Rapa Nui is not particularly suited for that. Rainfall can be frequent and persistent in the island. There are only three small sandy beaches (one of them being the wonderful Ovahe, with its pink sand) and, although Rapanui young persons are often very attractive, tourism based on sex has nowhere been sustainable. Above all, the indigenous law ruling Rapanui prevents any foreigner to own land or buildings.

Nevertheless, attempts have already been made in the late 1980's to implant an international hotel at the Anakena beach, not far from auh and moai. It is not excluded that some kind of arrangement or partnership be made in the future by native owners with international firms.

By the way, nothing is bad about global tourism, and some lessons have to be learned in the case of Rapa Nui, as for instance a greater concern for the promotion of infrastructures and particularly of the capacity-building, a wider use and acceptance of credit cards, the quality-control and the price normalization of services and products (including for handicraft products, without the present painful bargaining), as well as a more professional and accountable attitude vis-à-vis of tourists, a better marketing and benchmarking, and the preparation of more appealing publicity material on the island.

Conclusions

Cultural tourism is the only viable economic sector in Rapa Nui, but it should lead to a greater diversification of tourism activities and to a more accurate and accountable quality control. Tourism should also become the driving force for the promotion of other economic and cultural activities, such as a site-specific agriculture of tropical fruits, vegetable and flowers (with some export potential), high-quality handicraft, cultural and artistic happenings, and commitment to be a focus and a core of some international scientific endeavors.

Sustainability of tourism in Rapa Nui also implies the preservation and the enhancement of the archeological heritage, the diversification of the present environment and landscapes to better reflect the Rapanui and Polynesian identity, the survival and the further development of the local Polynesian language and culture, as a living culture, and a paramount concern for in-creasing a greater social cohesion, so preventing the shift towards an increased lack of security.

In general terms, the maintenance and the promotion of a cultural diversity is the key factor for permitting the sustainability of tourism. As exemplified by the scenarios for Rapa Nui, present trends of the information network can lead either to a cultural homogenization and uniformity or to a cultural enhancement and diversification, according to the adaptive response of local populations. The development of a cultural tourism implies an incessant confrontation between the roots of a historical identity and the wings of worldwide transfers of information in real time.

Re-erected and restored moai at Anakena (ohn Nau Nau), with red topknots (pukao) of different shapes. According to local tradition, the legendary first king Hene Nuku's would have landed in the Anakena beach, coming from a Polynesian Hiva, the ancestral homeland.
Sustainable Tourism in Small Island Developing States

by PIOLA DEI

TOURISM AND SMALL ISLAND DEVELOPING STATES (SIDS): PROMISE AND PROBLEMS.

As the Charter for Sustainable Development recognises, tourism is double-edged, "it can contribute positively to socio-economic and cultural achievement," while at the same time it can contribute to the degradation of the environment and the loss of local identity. SIDS are a good example of this ambiguity. Tourism is an important and growing source of income and employment for many island states; it offers one of the few opportunities for economic diversification and it contributes to the growth of related activities. Although economic benefits derived from tourism are diverse, tourism has become a major contributor to gross domestic product in the Caribbean region and in the Mediterranean. Even in regions where tourism is still relatively underdeveloped, it has been given increasing importance as a way of attracting foreign exchange earnings. Klaus Töpfer, Executive Director of UNEP recently noted that tourism basically involves marketing the environment. Indeed, biological and physical resources are the assets that attract tourists. However, the stress imposed by tourism activities on those resources directly reduces the carrying capacity of small island developing states, accelerating and aggravating the depletion and destruction of natural resources. The risks and negative effects of mass tourism are already evident in many SIDS. Ironically by overloading carrying capacity, tourism not only dramatically exploits the environment but at the same time reduces the islands' attractiveness to tourists, the very commodity that tourism has to offer.

In this context, an integrated and balanced approach to tourism development and environmental management is the key to achieving sustainable development in small island states.

FROM BARBADOS TO THE PRESENT

The Earth Summit in Rio was the first step leading to the adoption of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States (BPoA), subsequently agreed in Barbados in 1994. This Programme, endorsed by over 100 countries, called for Island Nations and the International Community to tackle island problems in partnership. The BPoA remains the "milestone" document for the sustainable development of SIDS, since it clearly defines actions and policies that enhance the understanding of sustainable development issues and promotes an integrated approach to environmental management. The extension of this holistic approach to tourism is strongly supported in the BPoA, which considers "imperatives" the careful planning of tourism development in relation to compatible land uses, water management, coastal zone management and the creation of parks and protected areas.

The BPoA emphasizes the need for environmental impact assessment for all tourism projects and the continuous monitoring of the environmental impact of tourism activities. The document advocates the development of guidelines and standards for design and construction taking into account energy and water consumption, the generation and disposal of wastes and land degradation. Eco-tourism is seen as a sustainable activity when attractions are properly managed and protected, and involves local populations in the identification and management of natural protected areas. The protection of the environment is considered an important pre-condition for the preservation of fragile but distinct local cultures.

The progress in implementing the Programme of Action is under ongoing review. Every year the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD), among other activities, monitors and reports on the implementation of sustainable development policies in Small Island Developing States. A recent report prepared by the Department of Economic and Social Affairs of the UN Secretariat with the assistance of the World Tourism Organisation and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) evaluates progress achieved, identifies remaining problems and sets future priorities in the field of sustainable tourism. The findings and recommendations of the report have been taken into consideration while negotiating the "State of progress and initiatives for the future implementation of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States."
the prevention of pollution from small ships in Caribbean islands. In the Pacific, a joint Tourism Master Plan largely focused on sustainable development strategies and environmental protection addresses all policies and actions on tourism in the region.

Major efforts have led also to the introduction of economic instruments for environmental protection such as charges and user fees. In several cases economic instruments have been adapted to respond to local needs: in the case of Maldives, for example, a partial moratorium has been placed on tourist accommodations to control the rapid development of the sector and contain the environmental impact caused by tourism. To minimize the impact of scuba diving on the coral reefs the Bonaire Marine Park in the Netherlands Antilles has imposed admission fees for scuba diving to allow for the generation of revenue to support the ongoing active management of the park’s natural ecosystems, including educational activities for divers. A plan to introduce a US $90 tax on travelers in Seychelles is aimed at the generation of revenue to preserve the environment and improve tourism facilities.

Many small island developing states have formulated national action plans that refer to or include tourism and its environmental dimension. Among many success stories is the case of Mauritius and some islands in the South Pacific. In Mauritius, the growth of the tourism industry, while contributing to the diversification of the island’s economy and the creation of new jobs, has produced severe environmental impacts, especially along the coastal areas. To address the issue, a Master Tourism Plan has been put in place for the northern section of the island that includes a series of legislative measures for the environmental conservation of tourist areas. The island States of Niue, Kiribati, Vanuatu, the Cook Islands and Tonga in the South Pacific have designed a tourism development strategy based on their natural resources. Since manufacturing and export activities are very limited the strategy is aimed at maximizing benefits for local communities while maintaining indigenous activities and self-supporting local agriculture. This avoids over dependence on the tourism sector. Sustainable tourism will thus be achieved through the establishment of balance among the islands’ infrastructures, values, cultures, resources and natural assets. In this context, sustainable tourism will also be achieved through the active involvement of the local business sector.

The establishment of frameworks that allow local communities to participate and have a greater control over tourism development has generated a series of important initiatives. This includes the involvement of a locally based NGO in the management of the Soufrière marine management area in St. Lucia and the participation of the local community in the local advisory committee in the Jamaican Blue and John Crow national parks.

**CONSTRAINTS ENCOUNTERED AND ADVERSE IMPACTS**

SIDS face environmental, economic and institutional constraints to the sustainable development of tourism. Vulnerability to climate change and climate variability seriously affects Islands, creating widespread damage and making their future uncertain. Potential sea-level rise and natural disasters have a strong impact on local economies and consequently diminish islands’ desirability as tourist destinations. The inadequacy of physical infrastructure, including transportation facilities, road networks, telecommunication links, energy and water supply systems limit the development of the sector.

Small islands lack the human resources to support a number of economic sectors that can benefit from linkages with the tourism sector and have therefore to rely on imports to meet the demands of tourism. The absence of a significant local entrepreneurial class limits local investments in the tourism sector, which is largely financed through foreign investment.

Regional projections and studies predict a continuous growth in international tourism. SIDS can certainly benefit from the global growth of this sector. Rapid development of the tourism sector, however, can cause significant social disruptions and adverse impacts when not adapted to local characteristics or when exceeding islands’ carrying capacity. Tourism is viewed by many islanders as a fast route to social and economic development but its Janus-like nature can easily and rapidly transform benefits into negatives if it is overemphasized to the detriment of other important economic activities. Furthermore, in the long run, a reduction in the living standards and limited access to land resources will affect local populations: pressure will be exerted on households and communities by the rise of land and commodity prices. This is not to mention the environmental damage caused by tourism-related activities, such as pollution due to waste disposal, both from land sources such as hotels or other facilities and ship-generated waste, overexploitation of the already scarce island freshwater resources, and loss of valuable marine life and the destruction of coral reefs often attributable to the improper conduct of tourists.

**POLICIES AND MEASURES**

- Diversification of the tourist product and tourism market
- Strengthening of linkages to other economic sectors
- Increasing of community participation
- Encouragement of use of local materials in resort construction
- Increasing of investments in training local people
- Educational programs
- Establishment of standards for approval of projects
- Use of economic investments to internalize environmental costs
- Use of appropriate user-fees
- Implementation of a sustainable marketing strategy
- Encouragement of voluntary activities

**ESSENTIAL FACTORS**

- ATTRACTIVENESS (of natural and cultural resources)
- ACCESSIBILITY
- INFRASTRUCTURAL CAPACITY
- INVESTMENT CAPITAL
- HUMAN RESOURCES
- POLITICAL AND OPERATIONAL PREPAREDNESS

**GOALS**

- Conservation of the main ecosystem
- Preservation of historical-cultural heritage
- Strengthening of the local economic sectors
- Support local employment

**PRIORITIES AND POLICY NEEDS**

Integrating international tourism development with sustainable island development requires the ability to bring into play many essential factors and new criteria, instruments and policies in a coherent manner. The following table sums up the major elements to be considered while shaping a sustainable tourism strategy for SIDS.
A positive interaction between tourism and environment, socio-cultural and economic factors requires integrated sustainable development strategies, where measures for coping with the adverse social and cultural impacts of tourism are joined with measures for coping with environmental impacts and economic vulnerability.

OUTCOME OF THE 22ND SPECIAL SESSION ON TOURISM IN SIDS

The promotion of sustainable tourism requires efforts by SIDS at the regional and national level with international support and cooperation. Specific actions have been identified by the decisions of the CSD at its seventh session. Furthermore, the State of progress and initiatives for the future implementation of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States, approved through a Resolution at the United Nations Special Session of the General Assembly in September 1999, emphasized the need for:

- Establishment of assessment programs to evaluate the implications of tourism development and the improvement of collection and use of tourism data;
- Strengthening capacity-building in the tourism sector and the promotion of local community awareness and participation;
- Establishment of partnerships for sustainable development to conserve and protect natural and cultural resources and the further development of human resources at all levels;
- Adoption of appropriate regulations, a voluntary code of conduct and criteria for best practices and other innovative measures;
- Further mobilization of resources to assist islands’ transition towards sustainable tourism;
- The improvement of SIDS capacity to implement related treaty requirements (ICAO, IMO).

The connection between sustainable tourism, energy and transport is also considered of considerable importance in the light of the preparation of the agenda on energy and transport of the ninth session of the Commission on Sustainable Development.

In conclusion, tourism can play an essential role in fostering the sustainable development of Small Islands developing States. However, the economic promise of tourism can only be realized if Island States and the international community work together to orient tourism activities towards balanced economic, social and environmental development. Whether as tourists or islanders, we should all have a common goal - to support efforts to preserve the pristine beauty of small islands.

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Sustainable development and ecotourism have become key words in our new global ecological consciousness and hopefu kitschimotivs in face of disappearing wilderness. They relate no longer to a fragmented vision of the world but imply a planetary responsibility for the preservation of nature in which individual actions -of whatever nationality and geographical situation- will have an effect on the whole of our environment. When therefore, a natural setting under localized control is missed or menaces the planet’s ecology, it becomes reason for concern to environmentalists.

Some indigenous people may question however the judgement of scientists and environmentalists regarding their own country and wonder if those views are not biased or artificial.

The doctrine of sustainability increasingly accepted as a legitimate departure from notions industrialization in the west, can seem ironic in parts of the world where adaptation to nature was traditionally felicitous. If there is reason for the view that such societies would revert to sustainability if given a chance, they may even then be prevented by the bitter reaction to their colonial history or by fidelity to custom, or again by social change. The unlikeliness, furthermore, that indigenous societies introduced to western ways could or would, in a parrot fashion, reject completely the amenities of modernity is increased in some cases by rapid population growth, only relieved by emigration. Irony turns into tragedy when these past sustainable societies realize that even with the will to do so and despite continuity of some traditions, they cannot go back to self-sufficiency but must adapt, willy-nilly, to their relentless integration into a modern economy. The history of Polynesia is riddled with such tragedy: the balmy climate, the natural luxuriance of high islands such as Samoa, Tahiti or the Marquesas, the sparsely clad beauty of the islanders and their hospitality, all contributed more or less to the downfall of their cultural and economic autonomy.
American Samoa typifies the Polynesian dilemma. The group is composed of the main island of Tutuila with the capital of Pago Pago; the Manu’a group of Ofu, Olosega and Ta’u, rendered famous by Margaret Mead’s book Coming of Age in Samoa, the small island of Aunu’u and the diminutive Rose atoll. By 1839 the British and the Americans had established regular trade in Samoa, followed by official representation of the British Empire with a consulate in 1847, an American consulate in 1853 and later in 1861, there was a Hamburg representation. While the British withdrew from Samoa in 1900, the Germans and the Americans established their sovereignty, the former in Western Samoa, the latter in what became American Samoa.

With only 5000 inhabitants until a half a century ago, American Samoa has now one of the fastest growing populations in the world at a rate of 3.7% yearly increase, mainly concentrated on Tutuila. In contrast, Western Samoa, its cultural twin, but since 1961, independent neighbor, has a population growth of only 0.5% for a larger land surface of 1,130 square miles. American Samoa faces the prospect of doubling its 52,860 population (statistic of 1993) just after the year 2010 for a land surface of 76 square miles. The situation of American Samoa is however by no means exceptional in the South Pacific where population growth generally averages 2.3% which for small land masses is considerable. This is an unexpected departure from previous tendencies since first contact with the west, when Polynesian populations in some cases dwindled to near extinction.

In preparation for a Washington DC conference on travel and tourism in 1995, the Governor of American Samoa stated the economic importance of tourism for the archipelago and appealed for the improvement of existing infrastructures, development and diversification. In addition, emphasis was put on the important role that local cultures should play in the successful development of tourism.

Tourists are extraordinarily few on American Samoa. One source gave 729 tourists for the whole of 1994. Indeed as a tourist, I was assailed by mixed feelings of delight and urgency as my taxi driver drove along the shore road. In the balmy darkness, I received contrasting impressions of untouched Polynesian beauty and of clumsy modern development. Later, leaning over the cement ridge of my balcony at the Rainmaker hotel, in order to see the bay, I had to overlook what appeared to be a small sized concentration camp with glaring neon light and barbed wire; in fact, a dock for large ships unfortunately placed under the windows of a modern hotel of American Samoa. Though large and relatively expensive, the Rainmaker is neither luxurious nor clean nor very attractive. One cannot, furthermore benefit from its proximity to the bay since severe pollution makes it unwise to swim. The pasture of herring is in my view an attractive feature of the archipelago. Unlike in Western Samoa, where there are several comfortable hotels, the quality of service of the existing ones in Pago Pago makes me wonder if the average tourist is well-advised to stay away.

If controlled development and improved infrastructure are important to the growth of tourism, the vitality and preservation of local culture are even more so, as stressed at a Washington DC conference. Traditional Polynesian culture relies heavily on its natural environment. Take the plants away and traditional local medicine cannot thrive; deplete fale land and taro plantations which need virgin or next to virgin soil must be fewer. Damage the reef and lagoon, fishing is impaired; destroy the forest, wood sculpture, boat and house building must rely on imported material; violate the traditional sacredness of certain areas and the aito or spirits, which are such a vital part of Samoan culture have no fit place to congregate.

Clearly, American Samoa, like its independent neighbor and most of the rest of Polynesia, is looking towards the tourist industry to boost its unhealthy economy, currently based essentially on external aid and the production of canned tuna. Both sources of income allowing American Samoans to supply itself with almost 200 million dollars worth of imports per year.

In broad daylight and at first glance, the whole Samoan group is a diminutive patch of Polynesian perfection. Upon closer inspection, the beauty is there but sadly degraded. The capital of Pago Pago has nothing of the sanitary skyscraper look of Hawaii’s Waikiki, but rather, the dubious and insanitary charm of its decaying colonial structures and of the premature aging of its ill-maintained modern buildings and streets. Somewhat the setting of a Polynesian Heart of Darkness. Far worse however than just a look of tropical laissez aller which has after all its seduction, are environmental problems which are many in both Samoa but particularly noticeable in American Samoa because of restricted space and g顾客lipping demography, mainly on Tutuila. The damage of ugliness: streams draped in disregarded rags or paper and diapers, doted with used soda cans and so on; a good part of

the coast has been disfigured by unattractive commercial buildings; the waters of the bay of Pago Pago are murky and pollution has made it dangerous. Even near manicured villages such as Vaita on the northern coast, in Tutuila’s National Park (officially launched in September 1993), unlitely piles of trash can be seen. In other areas of the Park, remote from any village, garbage has been dumped, relying on the lush vegetation to camouflage it adequately. Vegetation does in fact cover such blemishes quite rapidly but the idea of a lush ridges nature park remains mind boggling. In the lagoon of Ofu which is also partly of the National Park, I司oked right into a great blue plastic sheet stuck to the coral and found other unorganic residues of westernized living on the beach. Neither was I spared during my brief drive on the island of Olosega the blantant sight of a village dump. Admittedly, the same thing and worse can be seen in parts of the west as, for example, on the highly touristic and mostly unprotected Mediterranean coast of France. Nonetheless, in a previously sustainable society where in the past, used containers and wrappings could return undetected to the nature they came from, the effects of westernization are far more shocking and dreadful.

Less obvious aspects of environmental degradation originate largely from man made activities. These environmental issues have been aired in reports by government agencies such as the Department of Marine and Wildlife Resources or the Environmental Protection Agency, publicized in pamphlets and television ads or street billboards. They report damage to the coral reef, near extinction of some natural species, severe pollution of coastal waters, ground water contamination, polluted run-off, leaching from cesspools or badly constructed septic tanks, gradual disappearance of wetlands and lowland rainforest, increased erosion...The gruesome list is by no means exhaustive.

The development of tourism in American Samoa thus faces perhaps greater handicaps than in other parts of Polynesia. The establishment of a National Park on land leased from the Samoans for a period of fifty years, will not favor the development of mass tourism and resort complexes. The nearly 9000 acre National Park is expected to help promote a more responsible behavior towards the environment and attract more visitors to the archipelago.

Many Samoans have greeted the initiative with open arms, if only because of the financial advantages it offers them. The alternative to mass tourism is ecotourism, supposedly a more discreet but expensive formula in which the traveler, in a fascinating contradiction, pays to see what was once free of charge, for the very reason that nature’s beauty is declared priceless. In Western Samoa, the process has begun with sometimes surprising results such as in the village of Leilaga where a village reclining under a thatched fale I told me to pay one talaka be to allowed to walk on a beach. The latter was appropriately nicknamed Return to Paradise after a film bearing that title had been made there. In a land where beaches are ubiquitous, I could not help annoy
Sand mining is another issue in which Samoan priorities are clearly different from those of environmentalists: sand is needed for Samoan funerals and, though, consequently, beaches disappear, tradition must be satisfied. In the same manner, rapid population growth becomes an unrelented abstraction as soon as an individual wishes to have a family or again, when the western religion to which he has adhered fords birth control. There is between the Samoan villager and the ecologically concerned a different understanding of the passage of time. If the environment continues to be immediately useful to the Samoan, nothing in his way of living needs in his opinion to be changed. But for the westerner, evidence of environmental damage is already overwhelming and promises long-term damage.

How therefore will these different notions of priority and time affect the development of sustainable economy and ecotourism? Is ecotourism really a solution for 'return to paradise' when some among American Samoa's chiefs consider environmentalism as essentially a western gimmick rather than as their own reality? A recent study on deforestation in Western Samoa noted that protection of the forest could only succeed if strong local political authority supported cooperative efforts for that purpose. Similarly, in American Samoa, instead of increased environmental education, a return to traditional respect for the sacredness of nature may be more effective in the protection of its biodiversity. Given the importance of the chiefly system, this change of attitude towards the environment can be successfully achieved if the chiefs adopt an environmentalist point of view.

It is a change that all Polynesians must ineluctably reflect upon and decide about now that their populations are growing fast, that most of their islands have already succumbed to crucial transformations. With environmental reality closing in on them, the economic usefulness of the natural beauty of their islands becomes obvious.

An unfortunate aspect of a willful return to paradise and its exploitation through ecotourism is however, the unnatural self-consciousness about nature which it breeds in both indigenous people and visitors and the consequent commercialization. Though the urbanized Palagi, in his eagerness, almost desperate search for uncluttered, pristine nature may not judge such self-consciousness so harshly and accept it more readily, it is jarring to the Samoan and all Polynesians whose relations with their natural surroundings through hunting, fishing and agriculture have been so intimate and instinctive before western contact. The very idea of paradise after all is something effortless, boundless and eternal. A solution to this artificiality may lie in the intangible or spiritual value which can be given to nature's beauty. And for this, Samoans and all Polynesians need only to look toward their own traditions.

The Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly for the review and appraisal of the implementation of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States was held in New York on 27-28 September.

Five years after the Barbados Conference the need to consolidate a more efficient and based insularity policy was made clear. The Small Island State as a whole agrees in the basic objectives of the island sustainable development strategy, and in the fact that said objectives have been renewed in the revision of the Barbados Plan of Action. In spite of that, the lack of co-operation of the rest of the countries and the lack of explicit recognition of island needs were the basic issues of many island government representatives' contributions. The need arose to urge political actions of some magnitude that will allow the passage of the ethical commitment to practice.

INSULA, represented by its President Dr. Ronald Parris and its Vice Secretary-General, Mr. Cipriano Martin, was present at this UN Special Session and organised a Side-Event. Issues related to energy, tourism and telecommunications took up among the new possibilities of co-operation with the SIDS initiative opened by the organisation.
Climate change

Small island developing States are among those countries most at risk from the adverse effects of climate change. The capacities and means of these countries should be strengthened so that they can fully respond to these challenges. Without such measures, the adverse effects of climate change will have an adverse impact on sustainable development in small island developing States.

Improvement of work on capabilities for natural disaster reduction and early warning systems, including in-depth assessment and consideration of effective means of natural disaster reduction;

Development of partnerships between small island developing States and the private sector consistent with responsible business practices to implement schemes that spread risks, reduce insurance premiums, expand insurance coverage and thereby increase financing for post-disaster reconstruction and rehabilitation.

Coastal and marine resources

- The health, protection and preservation of coastal and marine resources are fundamental to sustainable development of small island developing States. Improved coastal and ocean management as well as conservation of the coasts, oceans and seas and the sustainable use of coastal and marine resources and arrangements and initiatives, including efforts aimed at reducing land and sea-based pollution, are critical both in support of regional fisheries organizations and in maintaining the oceans as a source of food and a principal factor in tourism development.

- In the context of actions being undertaken to address these issues and on the basis of a strong and committed partnership between small island developing States and the international community, the international community and small island developing States should pursue and support the following goals, objectives, and activities, including through specific modalities, to assist in the continued implementation of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States:

- Establishment and/or strengthening of programmes to build capacity, assess and manage the vast economic resources of small island developing States, and establish and/or strengthen specific regional or sub-regional arrangements for oceans and small island developing States issues;

- Implementation of Commission on Sustainable Development decision 6/1, relating to its work programme on freshwater resources in the context of small island developing States;

- Improvement of assessment, planning and integrated management of freshwater resources in the special context of small island developing States;

- Coordination and refocusing of aid and other programmes and projects designed to assist small island developing States, as and where appropriate, in developing or implementing national policies, strategies and legal frameworks, as well as coherent plans and actions, within an integrated water resources management approach.

Freshwater resources

- The issue of freshwater availability is crucial for small island developing States in all regions. Surface water and groundwater resources are limited by the small watershed and aquifer recharge areas, and urban expansion has further exacerbated the availability and quality of water resources. The geophysical characteristics of many small islands leave them vulnerable to extremes climatological, seismic and volcanic events, and more critical to periods of drought, low recharge and adverse environmental impacts, including pollution, saline intrusion and soil salinization, and high water tables and increased risks of coastal and marine pollution.

- In the context of actions being undertaken to address these issues and on the basis of a strong and committed partnership between small island developing States and the international community, the international community and small island developing States should pursue and support the following goals, objectives and activities, including through specific modalities, to assist in the continued implementation of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States:

- Improvement of the capacity of small island developing States to adequately respond and adapt to climate change, and to quickly identify and implement the necessary linkages with other international activities, such as the study of climate variability; rehabilitation.

Natural and environmental disasters and climate variability

Small island developing States are prone to extremely damaging events, such as heavy storms, frequently in the form of cyclones, volcanic eruptions and earthquakes, and are subject to effects of climate variability. In some islands, the range of these disasters and phenomena include storm surges, landslides, extended droughts and extensive floods. During 1997–1998, the El Niño phenomenon had its strongest impact on those on the sustainable development of many small island developing States.

In the context of actions being undertaken to address these issues and on the basis of a strong and committed partnership between small island developing States and the international community, the international community and small island developing States should pursue and support the following goals, objectives and activities, including through specific modalities, to assist in the continued implementation of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States:

- Greater effort to improve the scientific understanding of severe weather events, such as those associated with the El Niño Southern Oscillation phenomenon, and the development of long-term strategies for prediction and reduction of their impacts;
Energy

- Taking into account the dependency of small island developing States on conventional energy sources, there is a need for mobilization of resources from all sources, including from the private sector, for the provision of technical, financial and technological assistance, as appropriate, to small island developing States, to encourage energy efficiency, and to accelerate and maximize the development and utilization of environmentally sound renewable energy sources.

- In the context of actions being undertaken to address these issues and on the basis of a strong and committed partnership between small island developing States and the international community, the international community and small island developing States should pursue and support the following goals, objectives, and activities, including through specific modalities, to assist in the continued implementation of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States:
  - Establishment of renewable energy initiatives at the regional level so as to avoid duplication of efforts and to achieve economies of scale;
  - Development of human resources for the planning and sustainable management needs of a renewable energy sector;
  - Promotion of research and development and private sector investments in priority renewable energy projects;
  - Financing of renewable energy applications, including standards and guidelines for energy efficiency and conservation;
  - Implementation in small island developing States of best practices in achieving clean, sustainable energy resources and encouraging private sector involvement in the utilization of renewable energy resources and innovative financing schemes with a view to longer-term self-sufficiency in energy resources.

Tourism

- The development and promotion of sustainable tourism will require efforts undertaken by small island developing States at the national and regional levels. In this regard, there is a need for continued international support and cooperation. Particular attention will be required to coordinate eco-tourism ventures at the regional level, and to facilitate the sharing of information and experiences and the integration of the private sector within official development assistance supported eco-tourism projects. Specific actions have been identified in the report of the United Nations Environment Programme/World Trade Organization (WTO) on sustainable tourism development for small island developing States.

- In the context of actions being undertaken to address these issues and on the basis of a strong and committed partnership between small island developing States and the international community, the international community and small island developing States should pursue and support the following goals, objectives, and activities, including through specific modalities, to assist in the continued implementation of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States:
  - Establishment of regional and national environmental assessment programmes to address the carrying capacity of natural resources, including the social, economic and cultural implications of tourism development;
  - Strengthening of institutional capacity-building in the tourism sector, and promoting environmental protection and the preservation of cultural heritage through local community awareness and participation;
  - Encouragement of the use of modern technologies and communications systems that effectively maximize the use of global, regional and national information in support of sustainable tourism development;
  - Improvement of the collection and use of tourism data as a means to facilitate the development of sustainable tourism;
  - Establishment of partnerships for sustainable tourism to effectively conserve and utilize limited resources, based on consumer and market demand and the development of community-based initiatives. Destination marketing should preserve local culture and a healthy environment;
  - Building of institutional capacity, further develop human resources at all levels of the tourism industry, with particular emphasis on small and medium-sized enterprises and improve the capacity to utilize modern technologies.

- In the context of actions being undertaken to address these issues and on the basis of a strong and committed partnership between small island developing States and the international community, the international community and small island developing States should pursue and support the following goals, objectives, and activities, including through specific modalities, to assist in the continued implementation of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States:
  - Enhancement of sustainable tourism and sustainable managed tourism operations through the adoption of appropriate regulations, a voluntary code of conduct, criteria for best practices, and other innovative measures;
  - Mobilization of adequate resources from all sources to assist small island developing States in strengthening institutional capacity, human resources and environmental protection;
  - Improvement of small island developing States capacity to implement treaty requirements of the International Civil Aviation Organization and the International Maritime Organization.

- The linkages between sustainable tourism, energy and transport are of considerable importance in developing countries, in particular the least developed countries and small island developing States amongst them. This should be borne in mind in the preparation for the agenda item on energy and transport at the thirtieth session of the Commission.

UNCTAD's work in favour of Small Island Developing States

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF INTEREST


The UNITAR study was followed by a request for a specific study on IDCs during the Third Session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) in Santiago (Chile) in 1972, and in the same year, a resolution in the United Nations General Assembly. In the proceedings of the Santiago Conference, the Secretary-General of UNCTAD was requested to "convene a small panel of experts...to identify and study the particular problems of...[island developing] countries and territories...and to make recommendations thereon, giving special attention to the developing island countries which are facing major difficulties in respect of transport and communications with neighbouring countries as well as structural difficulties, and which are remote from major market centres, and also taking into account overall..."
prospects for, as well as existing levels of, development. In 1974, UNCTAD's first report on IDCs examined the situation of 51 IDCs and discussed their characteristics and problems, as well as issues of transport, natural disasters and control of marine resources, and regional policies. The report included statistical data and recommended, inter alia, that a study on the viability of small island countries be undertaken. A study by the United Nations Economic and Social Council, in 1975, examined in detail the special economic problems and development needs of geographically more disadvantaged IDCs. This study gave special attention to the issue of external dependence and economic vulnerability, and discussed the objective of sectoral diversification in the light of a classification of the specialization of island economies.

In the context of several mandates from the United Nations General Assembly to analyse and monitor the development problems of IDCs, the UNCTAD secretariat has conducted numerous studies to sensitize the international community to the particular needs of these countries and territories. These studies relate to general development aspects such as island-specific disadvantages, vulnerability, viability, or migrations, or sectoral aspects such as commodities, exclusive economic zones, transport, technology. Findings from these studies have generally been incorporated by UNCTAD in issue papers prepared for expert group meetings, reports to the General Assembly or to UNCTAD sessions, and other reports of expert groups. Three regional studies were also prepared by UNCTAD. More recent works on general issues regarding island States included studies on development strategies for IDCs; the impact of trade liberalization and globalization on IDCs; and island-specific vulnerability.

In 1994, a United Nations General Assembly resolution on island developing countries invited UNCTAD to organize a high-level panel meeting to discuss the challenges faced by IDCs in the area of external trade. In the same year, UNCTAD was also mandated to carry out a research and analysis in support of the implementation of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States, which had resulted from the Global Conferences on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States (Barbados, April-May 1994). In this capacity, since 1994, UNCTAD has been dealing with trade-related issues relevant to small island developing States, and other economic aspects of the Programme of Action (including issues of economic vulnerability), through cross-country work and direct assistance at individual country level, as summarized below.

The notion of Small Island Developing States (SIDS) now appears to have superseded that of island developing countries in the consideration of the category by the United Nations.

**UNCTAD's current work in favour of SIDS**

**Global support to SIDS**

- Reports of the Secretary-General to the United Nations General Assembly and Commission on Sustainable Development on the implementation of the Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States, with particular reference to trade-related and other economic issues, including the question of measuring the economic vulnerability of SIDS, as well as maritime transport in SIDS.

**Technical cooperation with SIDS at national and regional levels**

- Direct assistance to SIDS in their preparation of Round Table meetings under the Integrated Framework resulting from the High-Level Meeting on Integrated Initiatives for Least Developed Countries Trade Development.
not an official note by the UNCTAD secretariat
5 A study of a small island States under physical, demographic, cultural, economic and political angles was later undertaken by UNCTAD: cf. UNCTAD, Viability of small island States (a descriptive study), report by F. Dourmente, TD/B/950, 22 July 1983, 37 p.
6 cf. UNCTAD, Special economic problems and development needs of geographically more disadvantaged developing island countries: Note by the Secretary-General, New York, 1975.
7 Studies of issues relevant to IDCs were also carried out by, inter alia, the World Bank, the Commonwealth Secretariat, U.N. regional economic commissions and other U.N. agencies. A study of global interest was commissioned by the International Monetary Fund in 1985: d. Legarda, B., Small tropical island countries: an overview, IMF, EBD/B/32/5, 16 December 1983, 79 p.
9 Romer, M.D., Improving public sector performance in island developing countries through modern information technology, UNCTAD/RDP/LDC/33, 16 May 1990, 62 p.
16 GA resolution 49/122 of 19 December 1994; Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States.
18 cf. United Nations, Report of the Global Conference on the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States: Programme of Action for the Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States, Bridgetown, Barbados, 26 April-8 May 1994, pp. 8-56; It must be noted that UNCTAD’s interest in the sustainable development of island developing countries began well before the Global Conference: in November 1988, UNCTAD co-sponsored an Interoceanic Workshop on Sustainable Development and Environmental Management of Small Islands, which was hosted by the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.
The Development of Services in Reunion Island: The Original Evolution of a Service Economy

Jean-Yves Molchoux

A DIVERSIFIED WORLD PHENOMENON

The development of service industries is recognized as a long-standing world phenomenon. Between the turn of the century and 1980, the proportion of active population in the tertiary sector rose from just above 25% to about 60% or more:

- In France from 26 to 57%.
- In the United States from 28 to 67%.
- In Switzerland from 26 to 53%.

Such evolution has continued in the recent years. According to the Nation's Accounts, over 70% of French jobs were in the tertiary sector in March 1997, while in the U.S. the same proportion was reached over ten years ago and has been surpassed since. However, job structure transition in favour of services must not be regarded as homogeneous in all countries: various technological levels, interdependence of economies, culture differences and the hazards of history will logically produce strong heterogeneity. There is not one single transition pattern towards a post-industrial society that is the same for all, but rather a multiplicity of situations and evolutions.

Thus in the developed world, some countries tend towards the service economy model, with a quickly declining number of jobs in industrial companies and heavily outsourced tertiary activities: this seems to be the case in the U.S. and Canada. Other countries like Japan or Germany rather tend towards the info-industrial model with services more integrated into their processing industries, so that a relatively high number of jobs are preserved (about one fourth of active population). France is half-way between these two models.

REUNION ISLAND: A VERY STRONG TERTIARY SECTOR

One can wonder, then, what specific development of the French model is to be found in Reunion Island. It would seem at first that as Reunion’s insertion into world economy, institutional and economic history, development policies, cultures, geographical and economical environment, etc., are vastly different from those of France, the island’s model must be fairly specific and, at any rate, far from the one followed by metropolitan France.

Indeed, comparison between France’s and Reunion’s GDP and tertiary employment figures in the medium and long terms shows that evolutions and levels are actually quite different (Table 1). Over the last quarter of the century the proportion of services in the gross domestic product (GDP) has risen significantly both in metropolitan France and Reunion but the initial level was quite higher in Reunion than in France. Concerning the relative proportion of tertiary employment over 50 years, the rise is much quicker in Reunion. In both cases tertiary sector evolution is different in Reunion, whether because of its higher level or its quicker development.

Today, Reunion thus seems to be more a tertiary than metropolitan France. But comparing two economic entities that are so dissimilar—even though they are part of the same country—has serious limitations. It seems preferable to use other elements of comparison.

INSULAR SPECIFICITY?

Other, more natural comparisons between small island states can be made. In principle development of services is logical in small insular economies due to:

- Difficult conditions for manufacturing development, with no raw materials and small markets.
- Systematic decline, in the late 20th century, of a formerly dominant agricultural sector.
- Public administration reduced to the necessary minimum.
- Inevitable sea and air transport costs for small isolated spaces.
- Importance of the trade sector when, as often, the islands benefit from public and private money flows.
- Tourism as a sometimes essential industry, etc.

An article on services in the economy of various small states published in the early 80's shows that the proportion of services in GDP is clearly higher there (nearly 70% as early as 1983) than in other world countries, especially developing countries. That is considerably high; yet such percentage is inferior to that of Reunion-75% in the early 80's.

The fact that Reunion has a particularly strong tertiary economy is therefore confirmed, and even reinforced in the sense that if one compares average and relative tertiary employment of small insular economies with that of Reunion, variation is wider still: 50% in 1983 for other islands and 69% in 1982 for Reunion. However comparing independent island states to one region of a country may result in distortions.

It is also possible to compare Reunion with other regional European islands, which are closer in terms of institutional systems. In Reunion 73% of employed active population worked in the tertiary sector in 1990. In the Greek, Italian or Portuguese islands, relative level of tertiary employment is much lower due to the existence of a still important agricultural sector. In the Spanish Balearic Islands and even more so in the Canaries, employment breakdown between the three sectors (respectively 68% and 70% relative tertiary employment) is fairly similar to that of Reunion. As for French islands, Reunion is comparable to Corsica or Guadeloupe; only Martinique has a slightly higher percentage.

So the service sector is expanding in Reunion like everywhere else in the world, only on a higher level and exceptionally high like in the Seychelles, where the service industry contributed about 80% to GDP in the early 90's as a result of the all-important tourism industry (110,000 tourists for a population of 80,000). Tourism is often a developing factor for tertiary employment through hotels, catering, shops, transport, etc. In any case, whether compared to metropolitan France, small island states or other European islands, Reunion’s economy always ranks among those with the most important service sector. We must now go into such relative specificity in the light of the island’s particular history.

Table 1: COMPARING TERTIARY SECTOR EVOLUTION IN REUNION AND METROPOLITAN FRANCE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Services in GDP</th>
<th>Reunion Island</th>
<th>Metropolitan France</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1970 to 1995</td>
<td>From 61% to over 77%</td>
<td>From under 50% to 67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employment in services</td>
<td>From 23% to over 80%</td>
<td>From 40% to 70%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: INSEE - National Accounts, Regional Economic Accounts and Census.

Table 2: EMPLOYMENT BY ACTIVITY SECTOR (per cent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, forestry &amp; fishing</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>54.9</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>29.6</td>
<td>21.9</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>6.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>23.1</td>
<td>35.8</td>
<td>48.5</td>
<td>59.7</td>
<td>68.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>26.5</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-merchant</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>33.2</td>
<td>37.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: INSEE - Census.
ties «administration» positions accounted for more than one third of total employment and went up to nearly 38% in 1982, while 1990 figures seem to indicate a slight drop.

To some extent, the evolution of 'public service tertiary' exemplifies the different stages of department status implementation:

- the first stage-up to the mid-sixties is characterized by the small importance of public services; the 'departmentalization' process is still more judicial and political than economic,
- the second stage-up to the early 80s is marked both by public service explosion and actual, physical and economic development of local authority agencies,
- the third stage-present day-apparently shows relative stabilization, or maybe consolidation.

In 1990 merchant services, after a more moderate long-term growth than merchant services, were practically on a par with the latter; but unlike them they seem to have been growing relatively more over the most recent years. Even if their evolution depends less on public service development than economic reality, merchant services also benefit from department status, only less directly (for instance through salaries paid to civil servants and social benefits given to families). Indeed such an external financing of final household consumption has a twofold positive effect on tertiary sector development:

- on the one hand, as such additional household consumption demand cannot be met by locally produced goods for want of an adequate manufacturing sector, imports develop, fostering an import-substitution activity which is good for distribution services such as trade or transport,
- on the other hand, heavier consumers partly conform to those of developed countries, the local population initiating French habits while numerous households of metropolitan origin keep up theirs. This is an ever-growing, immaterial component of consumption.

In addition, setting up the infrastructures brought about by department status—whether administration proper, public services (health, education, housing, etc.), or utilities (transport, telephone, electricity, water, etc.)—entails development of the building industry. Also in line with the abovementioned merchant services, more specialized services in the real estate sector and related infrastructure activities (design, maintenance, etc.) contribute to tertiary sector expansion in Reunion.

In consequence department status, generating direct expansion of non-merchant services and indirect expansion of merchant services, has been a very dynamic vehicle of service development in Reunion, reinforcing the natural tendency to expansion of services that is found in small, isolated islands. Thus Reunion Island's strong service sector expansion is due to two main factors: are the result of history and geography; department status and small insular economic situation. However the case of Reunion seems to be somewhat special: the service sector has developed directly to the detriment of the primary sector while the manufacturing sector, whose size was reduced on account of the island being a former sugar colony, was not significantly affected.

Table 3: BREAKDOWN OF ACTIVE POPULATION BY SECTOR

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture, forestry &amp; fishing</td>
<td>17,570</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>11,141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manufacturing</td>
<td>8,147</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>6,129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>11,292</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>11,563</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERVICES</td>
<td>81,844</td>
<td>68.8</td>
<td>107,254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant services</td>
<td>36,852</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>52,992</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution</td>
<td>14,468</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>17,902</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport &amp; telecommunications</td>
<td>5,931</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>7,250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Automobile distribution &amp; repairs</td>
<td>2,735</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>4,107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotels and catering</td>
<td>1,391</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2,974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services to companies</td>
<td>2,775</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>5,363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services to individuals</td>
<td>7,778</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>12,391</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Real estate, insurance &amp; finance</td>
<td>1,753</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>3,005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-merchant services</td>
<td>44,992</td>
<td>37.9</td>
<td>54,262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>118,853</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>146,253</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: INSEE - Census.

Evolution of employment structure between 1982 and 1990 reveals a number of distinctive features, among which the following three (Table 3):

1. employment in the manufacturing sector increased more than industrial employment as a whole,
2. employment in hotels and catering went up dramatically,
3. so did employment in merchant services to companies.

Employment rise in the manufacturing sector runs counter to French trend but this doesn't mean Reunion is becoming a newly industrialized country! Most manufacturing is in fact light processing industry producing food-stuffs for the domestic market: progress is real but started practically from scratch. However such manufacturing development is probably one of the causes for the dramatic rise of employment in merchant services to companies: Reunion companies are small and very naturally outsource a number of service activities.

The outsourcing trend is common to (and in) economies of developed countries like the U.S.A or to a lesser extent, France, which are service economies. In those big countries outsourcing of services to companies comes after a long industrial development. In Reunion outsourcing should rather be considered as supporting the industrial development of small, fairly recent production units. Naturally such tertiary sector expansion is strengthened by the development of tourism-a heavy consumer of services: in the recent years, employment rate in the hotel and catering industries has gone up tremendously.

Available data for the 90's come from a different source (Table 4). Firstly, employment count includes only wage earners and excludes non-merchant sector 'aided employment' (i.e. government-sponsored work contracts). Also sector grouping is different, which makes systematic comparisons with the preceding data more difficult.

Reunion has no doubt a service economy, but the question is what services? There are of course public services for the satisfaction of individuals, so that Reunion could be called a 'public service economy'. However that definition is probably inadequate, as the proportion of merchant services is practically the same.

Table 4: EMPLOYEES IN EMPLOYMENT AS AT 31 DECEMBER

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>2,600</td>
<td>2,000</td>
<td>-600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food-processing industries</td>
<td>3,950</td>
<td>4,700</td>
<td>+750</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other industries</td>
<td>5,150</td>
<td>6,800</td>
<td>+1,650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Energy</td>
<td>1,300</td>
<td>1,600</td>
<td>+300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Construction</td>
<td>13,600</td>
<td>9,900</td>
<td>-3,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SERVICES</td>
<td>96,950</td>
<td>113,500</td>
<td>+16,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merchant services</td>
<td>35,550</td>
<td>44,600</td>
<td>+9,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distribution</td>
<td>17,700</td>
<td>19,900</td>
<td>+2,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>3,950</td>
<td>4,600</td>
<td>+650</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance &amp; real estate</td>
<td>4,750</td>
<td>5,255</td>
<td>+500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services to companies</td>
<td>3,700</td>
<td>3,950</td>
<td>+250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Services to individuals</td>
<td>6,450</td>
<td>9,500</td>
<td>+3,050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-merchant services</td>
<td>60,400</td>
<td>70,700</td>
<td>+10,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>125,550</td>
<td>140,300</td>
<td>+14,750</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: INSEE - Annual Employment Estimates.
Certain trends of the 1982-1990 period are confirmed between 1990 and 1996:

- like between 1982 and 1990, employment in services rises more quickly than in the other sectors,
- manufacturing has a very strong employment growth rate in companies that are outside the foodprocessing sector,
- employment in services to companies rises more quickly than in any other sector (closely followed by services to individuals).

One can then conclude that factors which have been at play for 15 or 20 years now are still in the process of transforming Réunion's economy. This is true of employment in services to companies: it is an important fact that during the 90s' employment developed in consultant and assistance-especially strategy consultant-services. This is undoubtedly a positive sign for future development: Réunion producers increasingly turn to suppliers of sophisticated services, who will increase their competitiveness in the long run.

Finally one can observe that since 1990 employment in non-merchant services has again been growing at a quicker pace than the average industrial rate.

That evolution is to be considered in a longer, more general perspective. It may have to be compared to the clear drop of employment share in industry, a sector with a jerky record because it is highly dependent on public commissions or funding. Hence interpretations of the 1980-1990 period must be taken carefully.

**ORIGINE EVOLUTION-TOWARDS WHAT DEVELOPMENT?**

Since the Second World War Réunion has known a succession of different events: political, institutional, social or economic. Their concatenation and sometimes coexistence have progressively developed a service economy, but with a rather specific evolution. Between 1946 and the 50s' department status implemented in the former colony led to a service economy with predominant public administration employment. Only in the 80s did an industrial sector (apart from the sugar industry) bring about other production activities, especially merchant services to companies: this was the period of industry-oriented tertiary sector expansion. In the recent years, to meet the needs of companies and individuals (tourists and residents) the number of available services and related employment is still on the rise!

Réunion's economy today is a service economy, even if its evolution is rather specific. The economic development of the island will most probably result in more and more employment in the services. The question is whether this can enable Réunion companies to establish themselves on foreign markets or, on the contrary, it is simply a structure with little efficiency, linked to the natural protection of services that cannot be traded off on the same foreign markets. The issue is all the more urgent as new information technologies are available and the rise of tertiary sector today! There is hardly any naturally isolated economic space left; this is both an opportunity and a danger for Réunion and other scenes alike!

**Notes**

1. In the 3rd level activity and employment division the tertiary sector is the service sector.
5. Eurostat, 1994, Portrait des îles [Island Profile], Commission européenne, Office statistique des Communautés européennes et Direction générale des politiques régionales, Luxembourg.

**The Tonnara - Mattanza and Cultural Identity in Favignana**

Unlike most cultures that have been studied and reported in the literature in which people take their way of life as «normal» and are quite unconscious of the cultural themes that govern their lives, the people of Favignana are fully aware of the importance of the Tonnara- Mattanza to their social and economic identity. «Tonnara» is the Italian word for the entire operation involved in hunting the Giant Blue Fin tuna and processing the meat. «Mattanza» is the final act in the hunt - the massacre of the tuna.

If the broadest, almost stereotypical labels, Israel is a «Judaic» culture, Italy a «Catholic» culture, India a «Hindu» culture, then Favignana is a «Tonnara- Mattanza» culture. The Tonnara-Mattanza was brought to Favignana one of the Egadi Islands off the coast of Sicily - in the nineteenth century by North Africans.

As for the tuna, or Thunnus thynnus, Greek for the «bluestripe of the rushing», they have been measured moving at 50 miles an hour in water, which is 800 times denser than air. They migrate to the area seeking their birthplace to deposit their eggs and sperm.

For the «tonnarei», who are the island's elite fishermen, the cultural epiphany takes place in the «Camera della Morte» (Chamber of Death). The «Chamber» is the seventh room of the Favignana tuna net trap. Among themselves, the tonnarei call it «Il Luogo», the Place

Throughout the preparation work time, and well before, the dominant talk on the island is about the weather — (good for the tuna migration, or problematic), the winds, the likely size of the catch, whether the tourists will come for the final Mattanza spectacle, the tensions among the fishermen, the rivalries as to who among the island's fishermen will join the elite tonnarei, etc.

Embedded in the entire process are rituals as significant to the culture and people of Favignana, as the ritual of the mass is for Italian worshipers. It is the magic cloak of cultural identity with supernatural authority. The Tonnara-Mattanza is work, ritual, religion and finally identity for Favignana. At the end of the months of work, and moments before the final Mattanza is about to begin, the tonnarei — fishermen stand in the boats that form a
square above the «Caméra della Morte» and sing the death chant which is also their work song: «Alla mola». As they pull up the net floor of the Chamber of Death, the bluefin tuna rises thrashing to the surface and the Mattanza—the massacre, begins. Personal identity and island identity merge with he sperm, eggs, blood and flesh.

When the Mattanza for that day is over, the prayer to Jesus slaveted, the work-ritual cultural communion is finished for the day.

As of now, the preparation for the making and setting of the nets for the Mattanza begins in April and takes over a month of dawn to dusk, concentrated labor by a crew of 60-100 men. There is about another month of waiting and working and then in June and July the Mattanza—the killing of the tuna, and finally a moth of work to pull up the nets, the massive anchors and cables, make repairs and stow everything away for the next year. Today, there are only two Tonnara remaining in the Egadi, one at Bonagio, the other at Favignana. The net-trap itself is enormous. One part is an underwater net cage; the other consists of two long barrier nets that lead to the cage. There are about five miles of undersea highway harrier nets that funnel the migrating tuna into «The Place», a cage about 1,200 feet long, 200 feet across, with net «walls» a hundred feet tall. In total, there are about 1,900 pieces of net sewn together and held firm against the sea currents by about 3,500 rope and «tufa» anchors, miles of heavy chain, about 400 metal anchors, each about six feet tall. The anchors are not simply anchors—they have names— «Levante», «The East», weighing about two tons, «Sunset», «Santa Catarina», and «Marsala». As Teresa Maggio has written: «A culture has grown up around the tuna hunt, a way of life that will disappear with it... The Tonnara will last only as long as there are Blue Fin enough to keep it profitable, but the catches are dwindling. In 1959, Favignana took a record of 14,020 tuna; now the annual total rarely exceeds a thousand».

The Tonnara-Mattanza, historically and today, touches almost every part of the daily life of persons living on the island. Without the Tonnara-Mattanza, its history, tourism, belief, technology, art, rules, economy, in short, its culture, it is safe to predict that the island of Favignana as it is still perceived today by its 3,000 inhabitants and 5,000 summer tourists, will not exist in the future. Just how deeply the culture and identity of the Tonnara-Mattanza goes, can be seen in the outdoor altar constructed of the Virgin Mary holding a tuna in her arms. This is a ritual place where women gather daily to pray for the success of the Mattanza.

With the changing economy of the Tonnara-Mattanza, there is already evidence that what it has transmitted in the past—its values, influence, work ethic, and ideals—is already changing. Although the tuna fishermen have always worked the tomnara for a patron—kings, nobles, church officials, or rich individuals—their identity with the work and the tuna is so close, that they, and the people of Favignana have come to regard it as theirs.

This identification began to seriously deteriorate in 1996, when the fishermen organized themselves into a «Cooperative». Under economic pressure to raise capital and the stress of economic risk-taking, cultural and institutional identity began to break down. The 1997 Mattanza was the first under the Cooperative system.

In a series of interviews conducted after the 1997 Mattanza by Francesca Rinaudo, with the Tonnara fishermen, and other inhabitants, it is clear that a great disquiet and anxiety as to the future of Favignana exists. As the newly elected «Rais», Gioacchino Cataldo noted:

«There is a fight between Favignana and I, not between me and the Cooperative. I am in this fight because the Favignana Mattanza is a national, regional, provincial cultural heritage and some in Favignana don't understand it or don't want to understand it. I don't want my nephews to leave Favignana because of no work. I think Favignana can offer work to keep the young people here. I also think the tuna industry must be born again. If the Mattanza ends, not only the fishermen will suffer but also the economic operators of Favignana won't be able to continue their activities.»

Rocco Donzica, a Tonnara fisherman for about 14 years observed:

«If there is no more Mattanza I will pack my bags and leave because without the Tonnara, the Mattanza, there is no future in Favignana. There is nothing. For me it's the most that life has to offer. We risk our lives killing the gir... ant tuna. The blood of the tuna makes me feel monstrously strong. Also for the tourists we represent mythical characters. We are important. I feel useful and proud of my work. For me it's a big satisfaction because the Tonnara is not only our livelihood, but it's also the center of the economy of the island.»

As for the implications of the Cooperative system for the fishermen, he observes:

«I think the Cooperative system will die. There isn't money, so there isn't hope for us. Our minds are in conflict. I think there will be a future for the Tonnara only if we return to the old owner dictatorial system.»

A retired former Rais, Gioacchino Ernando, commented on the changes that have taken place among the Tonnara fishermen during his time, about 20 years ago, and today:

«Today fishermen don't know how to do their work. There are only three or four good tuna fishermen. Now fishermen are fishermen because it's convenient. They can retire early. Also, they receive 40 days of 'Fermo Biologico' during which time they are paid. (Fermo Biologico refers to the fact that Favignana has been designated as a maritime reserve. No fishing is allowed for 40 days during which period the fishermen are compensated. However the tuna fishermen do not receive this subsidy. The old Rais dryly observes in Sicilian: 'Sì piccioni annunzio—these boys try to go on').

The former Rais further observes:

«The fishermen today don't feel a love for their work, for the Mattanza. Before it was a cultural fact, it was a tradition. But it was also an 'amusement', even if the work was done by hand. Now everything is mechanized. I think the Tonnara will not continue much longer.»

As for the implications of the Cooperative system, he notes:

«If the tuna fishermen's cooperative has money then they can do what they want. It was better under the old system because under the owner the fishermen were paid their salary every month. The fishermen were tied to the old system.»

Another experienced tuna fisherman, Salvatore Spataro, spoke with sorrow about the changing work ethic of the fishermen, and the apparent indifference of the island's commercial persons:
Today there aren't any more tonnazoi (tuna fishermen), now there are only persons who work in the Tonnara because they want to earn 3-6-7 million lira in 100 days. At the time of my father and grandfather there was friendly competition among tuna fishermen. Now when a tuna fisherman sees a fellow worker about to finish a task, he slows down so the other fisherman will do more work. They work without diligence.

From a social viewpoint, the owner-managed Mattanza functioned better than the 'Cooperative' system. It isn't the cooperative system that failed, but individuals who weren't prepared to manage a cooperative system. Since they did not understand what they were doing, it was easy to cheat. When the Cooperative had to choose to be on the side of the fishermen, or to be on the side of the owner, important persons in the Cooperative chose to side with the owner. At the beginning we were happy, because we thought that through the Cooperative we were in charge. When we understood that to manage the Tonnara by ourselves was a risky venture, at that point our happiness went down. The Cooperative was formed by illiterate persons. Concerning the Cooperative and help from the Sicilian Region, I know that the Region is passing laws to financially help traditional activities, such as the Tonnara. But as we know in Sicily, the laws are always 'terroristic' laws. This means that the laws don't go further than a 'terroristic' culture to benefit the privileged few.

As for the 'cooperative' system, Spataro echoes the feelings of most of the fishermen when he says:

'I prefer the old system with an owner. That way, I get paid a salary and I know how much I earn.'

He adds:

'I will work for the Tonnara even if there is a cooperative system. Why shouldn't I? If they pay me, I will work.'

A fisherman and prime organizer-supporter for the 'Cooperative' Vincenzo Zabbaro, wryly observes about the 1997 experience:

'This year for the first time we were linked in a cooperative system which could have played a primary role in the management of the Tonnara. Unfortunately we still gave management to the owner and served his interest.'

In 1998, there was a successful Mattanza under Rius Cataldo and the Cooperative. The commune and the Region made significant financial contributions. Four Mattanzas were held, with more than 700 tourists attending each one. There were more young fishermen than in previous years. It is possible that declining world-wide stocks of the giant bluefin tuna, due to overfishing ranging from sport fishing to factory trawlers, will one day result in the 'Last Mattanza' for Favignana.

The Tonnara-Mattanza is not just a 'piece' of Favignana culture, like fish, language, or the fish market, but it is Favignana. Is it possible that with the foreseeable death of the Tonnara-Mattanza, that the culture of Favignana, the learned and shared behavior, will die? If fortunate, there will be a museum in Favignana to hold the artifacts, archives and photos of the Tonnara-Mattanza, but the values of daily living will not be there.

The Tonnara - Mattanza - Favignana culture will be displaced, then replaced, by tourism, emigration, and possibly will be absorbed by the new Euro-Society of global market, global fishing, global entertainment and global 'civitization'.

Favignana culture will not die with the 'Last Mattanza' or the lost skilled fishermen, but it will die, and is dying by loss and absorption into the global culture of fishing, marketing and tourism. The Tonnara will be replaced with new activities, new patterns, the Piazza will give way to the movie theater, boys practicing their knots will, and already have, given way to playing pinball and computer games of violence more brutal than the Mattanza, and Favignana will welcome you on their Web site www.sicladi.com where the Tonnara is just one of many attractions for future tourists, and at least some tuna fishermen have their own web 'home page.' As tourism succeeds, the Madonna training.

1 Teresa Maggio is an American scholar and journalist who has studied the Favignana tonnara every year since 1986. I am indebted to Ms. Maggio for making her work-in-progress manuscript available and for permission to freely cite from her research. Her manuscript is entitled 'Mattanza - A Sicilian Tuna Trap.'

2 Ms. Rinaudo is a Favignese and a doctoral candidate in anthropology at the University of Palermo, Sicily.
INTRODUCTION
Small island countries are typically constrained in their development by factors such as small domestic markets, high costs of transporting their exports to overseas markets, limited mineral and other natural resources, and ecological fragility. In a era of trade liberalization, they are threatened with the loss of long-standing preferential access arrangements to their major markets for their traditional commodities such as sugar and bananas, as well as for some products of their relatively recent light industry, such as clothing. Many islands have been able to achieve success in a number of service activities, in particular tourism and offshore business services. It seems likely that the future prospects of many small islands will to a significant extent on finding innovative niches, notably in the services sector.

The music industry would seem to be a promising activity in this context. It is a huge business world-wide, and is one of the fastest growing in terms of output and trade. It is an area in which many developing countries, and in particular islands, have a recognized comparative advantage and considerable potential, especially as regards creation and supply of the "product." The music industry does possess the desirable characteristics of being environmentally friendly and of not being subject to costly transport costs to international markets. In addition, it is an activity, which has positive income distribution effects (given the grass roots background of most artists). Yet, not many island authorities take this sector with the seriousness it would deserve, and almost no island country is close to deriving the full benefit from its music-related resources.

This article first recalls typical illustrations of "island music." It goes on to describe succinctly the technical, process, market structure of the world music industry. It then examines the challenges and constraints faced by the music sector in developing island countries, and finally presents some suggestions of interventions or policy measures that could increase the participation of these countries in the global industry and their share in the revenues generated from commercial use of music originating in islands.

THE MUSICS OF ISLANDS
Music is an important part of culture and of life in almost all countries. However, in tropical islands the very image of the country, particularly in the eyes of foreigners and visitors, is actually defined by music, alongside sandy beaches and palm trees. Can one imagine Trinidad or Barbados without the melody of steel drums, or a Hawaiian island without the "slack" tunes?

"Island-in-the-sun" music is well known in most parts of the world; examples of the main musical genres are provided below.

A few sounds from the Caribbean.
Calypso music from the West Indies, with its spicy humorous lyrics, can be heard in motion pictures and tourist settings around the world. Another musical genre from the Caribbean is "reggae," which dates from the 1960's and brings together soul, rock-'n'-roll and elements of calypso and "skiffle." Originating from deep popular roots in Jamaica, reggae was brought to world-wide recognition in the 1970's by the charismatic Bob Marley, and a host of other renowned Caribbean artists. "Zouk" is another popular form from the Creole-speaking Caribbean, with a particularly lively rhythm that invites dancing. Groups such as Kassav have introduced zouk to Europe, North America and Africa, where local variants have emerged in countries like Angola, Côte d'Ivoire and Cape Verde. Cuban music, and its African rhythms need no introduction. This country has been a major source of musical creation and inspiration for generations world-wide, from the rumba and the mambo of the 1920's and 1930's, through the cha cha cha to the more recent salsa.

A new diva from an Atlantic island country. Cesária Évora has been named to be Cape Verde's best ambassador. Indeed, the "barefoot diva," as she is affectionately called, has brought great recognition to this erstwhile little known island country, through her recordings and participation in international musical events. She is the African woman who has sold most records, and was nominated for a Grammy Award in 1995. Mrs. Évora sings mainly "morna," a mellow genre which has been described as a typical expression of Cape Verdean nationality and individuality. It is a poetic, rhythmic Creole folk song that draws much from Africa, with some elements of Iberia. Other Cape Verdean music forms with export potential are the up-beat "funanã" and the "kola-zouk," which combines the "zouk" with a traditional local style, the "collader," which are sung by a host of other local artists (Bau, Hermina, Vasco Martins, Roy Gé Mendes, Ildo Lobo, Simonera).

Indian Ocean islands. Madagascar has a rich and unique musical heritage which has yet to be presented more widely outside that country. Mauritius, Reunion, Rodrigues and Seychelles have a common musical culture based on the "sega" rhythm and sung in the Creole idiom. Adaptations have been successful in the francophone world. Other variants such as the "segaeu" (combining sega with reggae) and styles introducing Indian rhythms and the Indo-Mauritian dialect, bhojpuri, have been developed. It is also relevant to note that Mauritius has become a favourite and significant location for the filming of motion pictures from Mumbai, India, where cinema is a major industry. Seychelles has taken the initiative of organizing a yearly Creole Festival, where music from various island countries is performed.

THE WORLD MUSIC INDUSTRY
As already noted, the music business is one of the fastest growing sectors of the world economy. Global sales of recorded music alone grew from USD 12 billion in 1982 to USD 40 billion in 1996 (IFPI, 1997). Projections for 2003 exceed USD 50 billion (EC, 1997). Yet these figures vastly underestimate the total economic contribution of the music sector as a whole. The latter includes,
apart from recorded music itself: live performances such as concerts and entertainment in hotels, sale of music related-merchandise, public performance through various media channels (there are more than 10,000 commercial radio and television stations in the United States and more than half this number in the United Kingdom; and music is central to these; thus, probably the most popular television station worldwide among the youth is MTV, which is devoted exclusively to music), festivals, advertising jingles, and motion picture sound tracks. However, national and international statistics do not identify separately the contributions of these various activities.

In the sphere of pre-recorded music, CDs have known a spectacular increase: during the 1994-1996 period, the real value of CD sales averaged 17 per cent annual growth. Singles grew by 7 per cent annually, while, through substitution, the sale of cassette tapes fell by 1 per cent a year.

Although recorded music, being a discretionary purchase, is subject to some short-term fluctuations, a continued growth trend is expected well into the 21st century, in line with increased income and leisure time. Such growth is likely to be slower in the mature markets of Western Europe and North America, but, assuming that piracy can be contained, prospects for increased sales in Latin America, Asia and Eastern Europe are very bright. It is also likely that, in view of the growing tastes for «world music» - of which island tunes are a significant component - island-type music will grow faster than other segments of the music sector.

**The production and distribution of music**

It may be useful to provide some basic information on the production and distribution process of recorded music, although in this time of globalization and digital transmission this is a sector in perpetual change. Some of the literature on the subject appears in the bibliography at the end of this article.

A Production. A first requirement is obviously the «raw materials» or the content of the music. This is the initial phase of creation involving interaction between song writers, composers, musicians, and singers, implying some sort of coordination among them. The live product must be recorded for dissemination to the general public.

b Recording. This takes place in a recording studio, manned by a sound engineer, where the performers assemble, under the coordination of a producer. The output is a master recording.

c Manufacturing. The producer arranges with a manufacturer to mass produce the finished product from the master in the form of vinyl records, CDs, cassettes, or mini-disks. There are in fact two distinct operations: the manufacturing of the CD or cassette proper and its engraving. These two operations are usually done at a manufacturing facility, such as a CD manufacturing plant, which, in the case of many islands, is not on the island itself. This phase is the least costly part of the process, on a per unit basis, but there are large economies of scale due to high (though falling) initial capital costs.

d Marketing and distribution. This process consists of bringing the product to the final consumer and to carry out the necessary promotion and advertising to sell it. This is a capital intensive phase, with very high upfront costs, which, not unsurprisingly, is dominated worldwide by a few large multinational corporations (see «the majors» below). An important global marketplace where professionals from the international music industry can negotiate rights, sign distribution or publishing deals, sell or buy licenses, promote artists or recordings and discover new talent is the MIDEM, which takes place annually in January in Cannes, France. As is the case for most distribution networks, there are large and small retailers. Examples of large retail chains are Sam Goody's and Tower Records in the United States, HMV in the United Kingdom. Being close to the final consumers, retailers are sensitive to the changing market patterns and can exert an influence on all the preceding upstream activities. They normally command a high mark-up for their services. Retailing practices are changing fast with increasing joint Books/Video/Music outlets, like FNAC, in France, and with direct sales through Internet.

**Sharing of risks and benefits**

The recording studio cumb sound engineer(s), the musicians, and the CD cassette manufacturer are paid for their work. The main risk-takers in the process is the record producer, who finances the cost of the recording and CD manufacturing/engraving process and coordinates the activities of the songwriter, singers, musicians, and recording engineers. It is of course possible for the same person to exercise more than one function (e.g. famous singers often have their own production companies). The producer is usually the owner of the master recording (but not of the song itself, which remains the property of the creators under the most common application of the law of copyright). Royalties generated from the exploitation of the recording are shared amongst the producer and the artists, while royalties from the exploitation of the song are shared between the creator (songwriter) and the publishers. The publisher, by virtue of song-writing agreements, secures rights to administer the copyrights on behalf of songwriter. Publishers and songwriters usually have recourse to the services of music copyright collection agencies, such as ASCAP (American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers) in the United States, or SACEM (Société des Auteurs, Compositeurs et Editeurs de Musique) in France, to deal with the issuance of licenses and the distribution of royalties generated from the use of works.

**The majors**

An important fact of the global music business is that marketing and distribution is controlled by five media multinational corporations: the «majors». These are Polygram (until recently a subsidiary of Philips, of the Netherlands, but acquired in 1998 by Seagram, the Canadian conglomerate), Warner Electra Atlantic (WEA) (USA), Bertelsmann (BMG) (Germany), Sony (Japan) and EMI (UK). Their combined output, at the level of distribution represented almost 80 per cent of the global market in the mid 1990s. (Alexander, 1994, JAMPRO, 1996). However the power structure appears to be changing, with new players moving into the music business or about to do so. This includes the meteoric on-line bookseller Amazon.com, which carries physical stocks, through a particularly efficient web site, and is now expanding in music sales; and the large Reed/Elsevier group (merger in 1993), with traditions in paper and book publishing, but which owns the MIDEM organization, as well as smaller independent labels.

New technologies changing distribution channels

New technology is making it easier for new entrants, including small innovative ones, to enter the music and media business, and by-pass the majors. This seems to be happening in at least two ways:

- the main one is by going directly to retail via Internet, and subsequently arranging to send shipments to retail outlets, or even to customers. This is the method pioneered by Amazon.com, which only started operating in 1995, but is already a major player in bookselling worldwide, and is moving fast on the retailing of music. In this area, it was announced in October 1998 that two main US on-line music sellers, N2K and CD Now, both using the same wholesale distribution firm, Valley Records Distributors, had agreed to merge, and that Bertelsmann was joining Barnes & Noble, the largest United States bookseller, to create an ambitious multi-lingual books-cum-music on-line operation.

- the other, more controversial and less widespread, is by making use of the new «codes» (compression/de-compression software) such as MP - which makes it possible to send bulky streams of digital audio and video information, and to transmit the files over the Internet, while maintaining a high level of fidelity. The coming on the market in 1999 of such devices as the hand-held Rio, or the Empeg car player will make listening to Internet music easier to non-technical consumers. (This raises major copyright problems, a discussion of which would be outside the scope of this article.)

**Challenges and Constraints**

Given the acknowledged creative ability and performing skills of islanders in music, it is worth trying to understand why their participation in the global revenues generated by this sector is relatively limited. As in other areas, the situation of no two islands is the same, and the risk of over-generalizing is great. In addition, many of the constraints involved are not unique to islands, and many are shared by other developing countries, particularly the small countries. The following problems relating to domestic situations as well as the external environment affect small island developing countries:

- **Domestic issues**

  A first and basic problem is the insufficient recognition that the music sector is, or can be, an important contributor to the economy, to employment, and to exports. Many, if not most national and local policy makers, in line with conventional middle-class perceptions, have tended to regard popular music as its role as a second-rate, marginal activity. National account statisticians and economists in all countries have generally been at a loss on how to handle this elusive sector. Many island Technocrats, while accepting that popular music has its role as a expression of art and culture, that it supports tourism and has the positive side effect of channeling the energies of disadvantaged youth into relatively harmless pursuits, might be surprised to learn, for instance, that a Mambo or J astrid Berglund, export earnings from the music sector exceed those of the steel industry. This image of pop music as a rather marginal activity is unlikely to be effectively re-reversed by musical practitioners themselves, who tend to be individualistic creative artists, notoriously impatient with the area of business or of organized lobbying. To complicate matters, several local music groups may have come to the attention of politicians or decision makers through their pungent and su-
by world standards that few major international music copyright holders find it worthwhile to intervene to stop piracy. This means that local buyers of tapes and CDs are inevitably invited to choose cheap (pirated) versions of international hits, in preference to the more expensive law and royalty-abiding local outputs. Thus are local artists often undermined in their own home market by lower-priced competition. There are of course exceptions where island countries are particularly attuned to copyright issues. For instance, in Trinidad and Tobago, the Ministry of Legal Affairs, which has an Intellectual Property Office, organized in January 1998 a national Copyright Week, in cooperation with WIPO, in which topics such as pirating of recordings, and protection of folklore were discussed. In that country, the national copyright organization is so pro-active that it attempted to collect fees from taxi drivers for playing music in their vehicles. But a more prevalent case among island states is that of arrears, or even non-payment of royalties by radio stations, even publicly owned.

The combination of the above factors means that, in most island developing countries, the music industry tends not to be viewed as an industry - or even a handicraft - by the Ministry of Industry, or by the national structures - often inspired by UNIDO - supporting the development of small and medium-sized enterprises; nor regarded as an off-shore business service by the Ministry of Finance, or as a trade item to be promoted by Ministry of Trade or the trade promotion organization. Customs Departments for their part often tend to liken recording studio equipment and electronic musical instruments to luxury hi-fi listening equipment: an item usually subject to heavy duties. Typically, the music sector is left to Ministries of Culture, Youth and Sports - or even of Religious Affairs, which are not equipped to deal with a large and technologically complex global industry. Such Ministries might exert considerable efforts to have the country represented in the preliminary heats of a variety of international sports events, while paying scant attention to the world-class musical talent available locally. The end result is often that the local island talents, barring some notable exceptions, are often left to wither on the vine, or, when successful, are destined to have the product of their work benefitting foreign interests in the music industry chain, or simply emigrate.

b. External problems

The problems noted above at the national level are mirrored to a large extent at the international level. The music industry is not considered an "industry" as such by UNIDO, nor is it among the "products" which the International Trade Centre currently assists in developing countries to promote. The regulatory bodies which are the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO), lack the development focus in developing countries. In any event, small islands- small countries generally - do not have the diplomatic capacity to intervene and defend their interests in these, or other international forums, assuming that their over-extended representatives would have a good understanding of what these interests are. In fact, whenever the problems of small islands come up for attention at the world level (e.g the 1994 Barbados Global Conference on Sustainable Development of Small Island Developing States) there is as yet no reference to any problem or opportunity linked to music or entertainment, although, as already noted, this sector is a good example of an environmentally friendly industry, and is one of the few where the socially disadvantaged groups appear to have a comparative advantage. UNCTAD, much as it well includes a degree of "internationalization of certain operations, so that their interests may coincide with those of islanders. A success like that of Chris Blackwell's Island Records (Jamaica) which played a key role in launching Bob Marley, shows that it is not beyond the reach of islands to aspire to carve a niche for themselves. But at a time of fierce global competition, success is unlikely to happen by itself.

WHAT CAN BE DONE?

In spite of the diversity of country-specific situations, the following suggestions on the policy measures and interventions may be helpful to those who seek to promote the musical resources of islands.

a) National authorities or regional bodies (CARICOM, OECD, Indian Ocean Commission, South Pacific Forum) should document the direct and indirect contribution of the music industry to the economy, employment and export earnings, including the supporting role vis-à-vis the tourism industry. Studying this sector should include analysing the implications of technological innovation such as the use of Internet and digital transmission. National or regional universities or research institutes could contribute to this better understanding. As already noted, this question has been addressed in some of the larger islands such as Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago, as well as Cuba, but much more attention would be needed in other islands. International cooperation, through technical assistance, should be sought, whenever appropriate, and relevant findings should be widely disseminated.

b) Promotion of locally created music should be actively pursued. The task of promoting, or coordinating the promotion of, this sector at the national level should be specifically assigned to an appropriate entity. This is the case, for instance, in Jamaica, where JAMPRO has a film, music and tourism section. A parallel example is the existence of a Film Commissioner in Government of the British Virgin Islands to facilitate the foreign film makers' use of that Caribbean territory.

c) National leaders should give personal signals that they are proud of the music industry and of their country/region. Such signals could include having local artists perform on official occasions at home or abroad, and include CDs among the gifts presented to honoured visitors or hosts.

d) National copyright agencies should be strengthened and made more proactive in this sector. Royalties should be diligently collected and paid to local creators/editors, including from radio and television stations. Particular attention should be given to providing information and assistance to local artists and producers in the field of intelectual property rights. (Heartbreaking cases abound of old artists and their families living in abject poverty, while their unprotected intellectual property has been used lucratively world-wide by others).

e) Festival events should be encouraged. Examples are the Carnival in Trinidad and Tobago and several other Caribbean islands, and the Festival Creole in Seychelles. These events are tourist attractions in their own right, but are also fertile occa-
sions for stimulating budding island talents, and making them more widely known.

d) The development or upgrading of recording studios and rehearsal facilities should be encouraged. Such encouragement should include exemptions from customs and other duties of the relevant equipment.

e) Work permits for foreigners to supplement and enrich the local creative and technical skills should be viewed favourably.

f) The presence of international musical companies should be favourably considered, for instance as joint venture partners with local interests, or through sub-contracting of certain functions. These companies may be expected to contribute to the selection of talents, to the improvement or «packaging» of musical offerings in the sense of making them more saleable internationally, to the upgrading of recording facilities, to the promotion of artists, and to the international distribution of resulting outputs.

g) Emerging local groups, after an objective selection process, should be subsidized to participate in international tours and festivals, as is done for trade fairs for exporters of goods. Subsidies may be from public funds, or external aid programmes. Sponsorship from major non-musical interests which seek to link their brand names to musical events or products is also a distinct possibility.

h) The promotion of local facilities and skills, such as recording, studios, backing vocals, background voiceovers, musicians, designers and printers of record cases and promotional material, should be undertaken to entice visiting international artists to record in an island setting, possibly combining this with their holidays. Such activities can be complemented by the encouragement of services to support filming of video clips and film-making, using the favourable «island light» and glorious settings, thereby contributing to tourism promotion and image-building. («the Spice Girls were here»).

i) Support should be given to local editors/producers in their access to international distribution channels, either with international companies, including the majors, or through developing their own distribution networks (e.g., CDs should be distributed by OXFAM along with other handcraft). Attendance of specialized fairs, in particular MIDEM, should be facilitated. Special attention should be given to opportunities for new distribution approaches or channels made possible by the new digital transmission techniques and by Internet.

j) The problems and opportunities faced by islands and other musically inclined developing countries in the music business should be given much more attention at the international level. Music-related issues could be taken up, for example through AOSIS (the Alliance of Small Island States) in economic and trade fora. International organizations, such as UNCTAD, ITC, ILO, WIPO, WTO, UNIDO, UNESCO, the World Tourism Organization and the Commonwealth Secretariat, should be requested to do more research on the developmental dimension of the music industry, and to provide technical assistance in this hitherto insufficiently recognized field.

m) In line with the tourist/music image of islands, it would be worthwhile organizing a World Island Festival, where various events would take place, and prizes awarded, and where music would figure prominently.

n) Finally, and going beyond the world of islands, is it not high time that a major prestigious international prize, comparable to the Oscars, Booker or Goncourt, or even Nobel, prizes be awarded to the world’s best creative music artists? Thus may Saint Lucia (population: 150,000) be in line to obtain its third Nobel Prize!

Bibliography


Trinidad and Cuba

The town of Trinidad, on the south coast of Cuba, was one of the first to be founded on the island. In 1514, Diego Velázquez decided to build the town on a ridge close to the river Tabayal, as it was a strategic site near some gold mines. The gold mines never really turned out to be very productive and until the end of the XVII century the history of Trinidad could easily have gone unnoticed. It was the sugar boom of the beginning of the XIX century that brought life to the town and completely transformed it to the point where it could compete with La Havana itself in luxury and refinement. Everything changed and the fertile lands that stretched east of the town, the San Luis Valley, became the site for several of the most important sugar mills in Cuba and, indeed, in the world.

The city, that rapidly took on the appearance that now characterises it, with cobbled streets, colonial house and magnificent palaces, withered as quickly as it had bloomed. Sugar production fell sharply after the crisis of 1857, the mansions and palaces were abandoned and the population was submerged in devastating poverty. The enormous mills became a caricature of the era of splendour. The recession, that lasted more than a century, made a decisive contribution to its current patrimonial legacy that defines and explains both its economic rise and its decadence.

The fact that poverty, lasting more than a century, managed to curb the process of evolution and transformation of the architectural and urban heritage of the city is really contradictory. We now have one of the best conserved colonial cities in Cuba and the whole of Latin America. The same can not be said for the San Luis Valley, where the countryside has been conserved, but the buildings that constituted the mills have been destroyed and ravaged, as they served no use whatsoever. The fact that Trinidad had maintained the signs of its past intact was the main argument that led to Trinidad and the Valle de los Ingenios being declared a Mankind Heritage Site by UNESCO in 1988 and that it has become of the leading tourist destinations of the Caribbean.

The Trinidad House

Trinidad’s architectural heritage reflects the history of the XVIII and XIX centuries. Characterised by a colonial urban layout and its traditional buildings, it gives us a close up of an important attempt at reconciling different styles, ranging from baroque forms with

Grilles and colour are essential features of the Trinidad architecture.

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In XAVIER CASANOVAS*
characteristic Mudéjar constructs, to full, neo-classical styles. It also enables us to appraise a locally built style as a whole. Simple and occasional elements like the composition of the façade, the material used for the grilles, the kind of roof and the floor plan all identify it for us at a glance.

Up until the XVIII century, the typical house of Trinidad had its own well-defined style. The layout is characteristic of a farming economy: a centralline running parallel to the street, followed by a hanging gallery at the back, giving access to the back yard. In the first centreline, there is a central hall with bedrooms on either side and the gallery is left for services. By this time, we can find the typical Trinidad windows opening onto the street allowing a very direct relation with the street. The roofs are pitched on four sides and the grilles over the windows made of wood. By the XVIII century, the rear gallery was closed in to increase living space, occupying the second centreline. This stage is characterised by austere decoration, where the most elaborate elements are the wooden bow structures.

The early XIX century was characterised by rapid growth in the sugar industry, which had a direct influence on building systems and the need for space. This led to a further spread toward the rear of the site, creating a third centreline on which to locate the service areas. In the second third of the century, the traditional Creole tile roofs were replaced with flat terrace roofs and the wooden roof tiles and banisters were replaced with wrought iron. Architectural and ornamental forms took on a neo-classical air. There are pilasters with continuous entablature on façades, followed by parapets with pedestals. We can see classical mouldings, on both the inside and outside of doors and windows.

Special mention must be given to the palaces built by mill owners, with their own characteristics and a style that is far closer to neo-classical than to the traditional Trinidad architecture. Some of these, such as the Borrell, Iznaga and Castero palaces, stand out as singular elements in the uniform style of the city, becoming landmarks in the sugar aristocracy of Trinidad.

**INDUSTRY, SLAVERY AND LANDSCAPE**

The Valle de San Luis, or Valle de los Ingenios, was the powerhouse of the Trinidad economy for almost two centuries, due to the fact that there were more than 50 mills operating there, with the most notorious form of slavery.

The mill, or agro-industrial complex was made up of a large extension of land, a plantation house for the owner, quarters for the slaves, a bell-tower and the whole sugar processing system, consisting basically of the sugar mill, the boiler house and a drain house.

The owner's plantation house was always built on a rise in the ground to emphasise the image of financial power and to control the whole operation. Significant examples of this are: Manaca, Guáimaro, Buenavista, Magan and Monserrate-Altagracia. The layout of these houses is similar to the traditional Trinidad house: a central centreline containing a lounge and bedrooms, a second centreline for the service areas, followed by an overhang in the rear and a porch along the front. In some cases there are also overhangs on the sides. The roof follows the structure of the four-sided pitched angle rafters in the first centreline and the overhangs in the rear and side centrelines. The decoration of the plantation houses is a long way from the austerity of XVIII Trinidad. There are murals painted by European artists like Daniele Dal’Aglio, an Italian architect who painted the murals of the Guaimaro Mill, which show landscapes that are inspired in Central Europe.

The bell-tower set the working rhythm of the mill, as well as acting as a watch-tower. The Manaca-Iznaga tower is an outstanding example of this. Very few complete remains of the sugar processing system can be seen nowadays, either due to uncontrolled destruction or because they have been overgrown with bush after being abandoned, as in the case of San Isidro de los Destiladeros. The slave quarters deserve a special mention. They were built as very simple housing for the slaves, demonstrating the social organisation of plantation. The characteristics and state of conservation make Manaca-Iznaga slave quarters unique.

And who better than Alejandro Carpenter to transport us back to life on a sugar plantation. In his novel «The century of lights», he describes the atmosphere of the time with great delicacy and precision.

Surrounded by palm and coffee bushes, the house was a sort of Roman palace, whose tall Doric columns ran in straight lines along exterior galleries adorned with porcelain plates, ancient glasses, Talavera mosaics and gardens overflowing with begonias. The rooms, the supports of the central courtyard, the dining rooms could have accommodated a hundred people with ease. The kitchen fires burned day and night, and the days passed between breakfasts, servings of inexhaustible feasts (...). A bell, hanging in the high tower, marked the rhythm of everyday life, calling people to dinner, or to meetings attended by anyone who wanted to be present. After the great evening meal that ended with the cool night air of ten o'clock, strings of lamps were lit in the broad esplanade behind the house and the concert of an orchestra of thirty black musicians would start. They were in-
A PROMISING FUTURE

The results of preceding actions have led us to consider the need for a clear policy of rehabilitation that, at the same time, is capable of improving the living conditions of the inhabitants of the town centre, by carrying out a reconnaissance and revaluing of traditional buildings, conserving and protecting them. The task requires active and integral protection that recognises and values the historic, artistic, architectural, environmental and social aspects that have given it the status of Mankind Heritage Site. Without ignoring the change in customs and life style of the population, the aesthetic and compositional harmony must be respected and traditional building skills must be recovered.

Life is changing in Trinidad. The young Conservation Office and its enthusiastic team have been given a leading role in this field. They have been given some of the financial, legal and practical instruments they need to develop a new heritage conservation policy from a global stance, considering the entire historic centre as a whole, the entire population and the development of tourism, something that is an important key factor for Trinidad, a positive one if appropriately managed and a negative one if quality is sacrificed in its interests.

Awareness of the different aspects that have been mentioned, has increased among the authorities and their objectives now include global planning and the use of some of the income generated by tourism to invest in improving things for all the area’s inhabitants. Discussion among the staff of the Conservation Office and all the different parties and international experts involved in the five workshops that have been organised has provided a theoretical and practical foundation. Some members of the Conservation Office have made different visits and taken part in international courses, which has also brought their know-how up to date. All of this will be useful for meeting the challenge involved.

The objectives and priorities of the new approach can be summarised in three basic aspects, in which the involvement of the local population in the decision making process will be an essential factor:

a) To draw up and implement a Management Plan based on an approach aimed at preserving the architectural, historic and environmental heritage from pressure to change, considering the essential balance between tourist development and the need to improve the living conditions and progress of the population.

b) To recover traditional building skills and techniques for the restoration work to be carried out.

c) To extend the tourist supply to cover the entire Historic Centre and the Valle de los Ingenios, with a diversified approach that will gradually impregnate all sectors of the population. In other words, pursue sustainable tourist development in balance with the resources of the city and the valley, respecting local values.
Several experiences are already in course. By the 15th of December 1999, the two first rehabilitation works are scheduled to open. These projects are international co-operation projects aimed at improving the living conditions of the local population, that are the result of the Rehabilitation of Trinidad International Workshops, of which the fifth has just been held. More specifically, the projects consist of completely rehabilitating more than 50 dwellings in Calle Anargura, in the district of Tres Cruces, the most depressed area of the Historic City Centre, and the rehabilitation of the Eduardo-Gracia school in the same neighbourhood. Work on the plantation house of the Guimaro mill has also started. This will soon form the central base of a museum that deals with the Valle de los Ingenios as a single, whole unit. The Conservation Office now has a newly opened vocational training school, aimed at providing training in traditional building skills.

Mention should also be made of the fact that one of the alternatives approved in Cuba in recent years, with regard to tourist accommodation, has been to authorise private houses for this purpose. The measure has been welcomed among the population of Trinidad (more than 400 houses), thus making it possible to spend the night in the Historic Centre without sacrifice to the resident population and respecting their social characteristics. This is an important and decisive option because of its integration in the natural environment and because it promotes sustainable tourism that is compatible with the characteristics and the carrying capacity of the city's social and urban fabric.

We are, therefore, highly confident that the destiny of the Historic Centre can be changed, from becoming merely a tertiary cog in the economy, to make it more human, maintaining and promoting its fundamental and constant traits and its commitment to the Valle de los Ingenios that was the catalyst of its past splendour. All this is possible without having to renounce any of the positive trends that the tourism of the twenty-first century can bring to a city that has so far had a very chequered career and that needs to continue to evolve in peace.

View of the Tres Cruces quarter, in the Trinidad historic centre. The Valle de los Ingenios in the background. Photographs of the author.
The Island Solar Summit faced up to an extremely important challenge: to agglutinate islands’ actions round the energy sustainability and to promote the necessary co-operation actions in order to shape an International Action Programme in favour of renewables in insular areas.

We know that the island world encompasses territories that are characterised by their extreme diversity and complexity. Remote archipelagos or islands that lie close to the mainland, some with just a few dozen square kilometres of land to the largest islands, but all with one common denominator. In the course of this Summit, we could see once again that, in the area of energy, and indeed in many other areas, islands have an enormous variety of circumstances. Their extreme diversity and singular nature are what differentiate them in a worldwide context.

In this context, the Island Solar Summit is a major milestone for reinforcing a common policy to promote energy sustainability in island regions. We talk of reinforcing as the path to be followed has been gradually consolidated for some time. In fact, we have already seen many different initiatives, such as the Barbados Action Plan that emerged from the United Nations Conference for the Development of Small Island States or, for example, the Island Agenda approved in the European Sustainable Island Development Conference organised by UNESCO and INSULA. These are just two examples of the intense activity carried out in recent years by the islands, in which the new challenges of energy policies account for a large proportion of island strategy.

Two years ago, in the Minorca Conference, island representatives stated unequivocally that «All energy sources, other than renewable energies, should be considered as provisional solutions for solving the energy problems of the islands in the long term». No other regional or world-wide forum has ever mooted such a daring alternative as this. And that is precisely what the island factor is: we have different conditions and resources, our problems are very different and, therefore, we need specific strategies to tackle them.

The option of using renewable energy sources to the maximum is presently a real objective for islands. But, what is even more important is that there is a clear determination to put the theory into practise. Sustainable energy in the islands already has well defined strategies and actions. That is, we are in a position to work together to promote a clean and distinct energy strategy, based on the features that distinguish us from the mainland and our real potential for change.

**DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF THE ISLAND ENERGY FACTOR**

The external dependence of islands in energy matters, is a factor that determines the basic aspects of their development. In most cases, especially in small and medium-sized islands, energy products account for over 15% of all island imports.

The cost of electricity production in islands can soar above the same cost in other regions. Small and medium-sized islands encounter costs that are between four and twenty times greater than on the mainland, in cases where there is no cable or gas pipe line connections with the mainland. But it is not just electricity production that is excessively expensive, in many places, energy consumption by the transport sector alone can account for over 60% of the energy balance. These figures in themselves explain shortages of supplies in many small islands, or the fact that they have to bear an unacceptable financial burden to survive.

At best, excessive specialisation of most island economies often forces them to install over-sized energy capacity, as there are other determining factors like acute seasonal peaks and troughs in consumption, abrupt changes in demand or greater territorial fragmentation than in other regions. We should not forget that islands are currently the world's leading tourist destination after historic cities, and, moreover, it is the area in which the greatest growth in the industry is forecast.

The environmental impacts produced by conventional energy sources and technologies are more far reaching than on the mainland, due to the fragile and vulnerable nature of island regions. A good example of this fragility and of just how important the island heritage is, lies in the fact that the area of islands under protection is generally far greater in proportion than on the mainland. So, energy solutions must adapt very carefully to these conditions.

Concerning energy efficiency, the systematic import of rigid mainland models of production and consumption generally adapt very poorly to the energy sources used. Islands cannot support conventional energy models in either physical or economic terms, and we should not forget that this kind of mistake has caused really serious problems in the past. In fact part of the work we face in the next few years is to solve these problems.

**PUTTING THE THEORY INTO PRACTICE: ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF ISLAND ENERGY SUSTAINABILITY**

Most islands have excellent renewable energy resources available in sufficient abundance to guarantee very often, a large degree of self-sufficiency in energy terms. These are currently under exploited in comparison with their real potential.

Much of the energy forecasting and planning work done in recent years in
of energy saving and rationalisation. Specific frameworks that create favourable conditions for overcoming these short-ages must also be promoted. In this work, the international agencies involved can make a powerful contribution toward this essential change.

It is also surprising to see the enormous deficit that exists in differentiated market strategies and initiatives, making it impossible to convert the islands into one of the greatest real niches in the renewable market. Individually, islands generally do not achieve an acceptable critical mass, but as a whole, they are the largest current gateways to the great renewables market of the XXI century. This situation could be negatively affected by a poorly established technical support and the lack of services capable of laying a sound foundation for a clean energy industry.

But, in this case, we do have the immediate instruments for changing the course of events. These instruments facilitate access to specialized information and training. Island networks and good mainland connections for promoting a maximum level of transfer of the technologies that interest the islands. What is vital for us too, is to use all the means at our disposal to foster an interchange of experiences. The special conditions in which we operate mean that we have to learn from the mistakes of other islanders and to imitate successful solutions.

So, these are some of the principal challenges that we must tackle in practical terms. We need to consolidate the Island Solar Council as an instrument for understanding and as a platform for promoting sustainable energy agreements. This will lay the foundations for a network of specialized island training centres and information, and developing good practice guides and systems for reaching a consensus in the process of turning ideas into reality. All these actions promote, recommendations and specific experiences are contained in the Island Solar Agenda, which will almost certainly form a solid base and an initial point of reference for the powerful island renewable energy movement.

The ISS secretariat, in co-operation with UNESCO, the World Solar Programme and INSULA, with the support of the organisations and institutions that have backed this Summit, have addressed the task of guaranteeing a follow-up to the main accords and are starting to build an effective system of co-ordination and participation among islands, based on the recommendations and proposals contained in first Island Solar Agenda.

The most important points of the Agenda are:

- Strengthening an information and education island network on renewables.
- Consolidating regional service centres that will operate as focal elements of the whole strategy.
- Promoting the appropriate legal frameworks and international instruments.
- Favouring market's conditions.
- Promoting demonstration actions.
- Launching the campaign «Island 100% renewables»

The consolidation of ITEP, in the Canary Islands stands out in the framework of the regional centres’ consolidation strategy. This centre will be working in co-operation with INSULA and the UNESCO has declared it first Centre of Excellence to this effect.

Finally, it's necessary to remind the words of the representative of the Solomon Islands during the ISS, when he stated that the technical discourse must never forget the human dimension of energy. In the end, the essential role of renewable energies is focused on their contribution to a fair and balanced development of island societies and to safeguarding their future.
This important encounter that will have special relevance for islands, was held in October on the island of Hydra. The most striking aspect of this initiative is that the participants represented the true social partners involved in the transition toward more sustainable forms of tourism: hotel chains, tourism associations, governmental environmental and energy agencies, engineers, universities.

ADEME (France), ICAEN (Spain), AREAM (Madeira-Portugal) and SOFTECH (Italy) were the organisations behind this initiative, with the support of the European Commission. INSULA, represented by Mr. Cipriano Marin, chaired one of the meeting sessions, and was able to contribute island experience and to present to the meeting the European Commission's new Organisation for the Promotion of Energy Technologies: European Island OPET.

Hydra was a beautiful place for bringing the past and the future together, an island that witnessed the first shipwreck recorded in history, an island that used its commercial influence for many years on sea traffic and its windmills that supplied Athens with flour, an island that is harnessing new technologies for taking the first steps into the XXI century. The Hydra conference is a reflection of the leap forward that is being taken in the area of sustainable tourism since the World Conference of Lanzarote: the transition from theory to practise.

The Hydra accord is based on a long series of experiences, particularly in the field of energy:

- Implementation of eco-labels
- Development of environmental management systems: ISO 14001-EMAS
- Dozens of solar installations in Mediterranean hotels
- Spectacular advances in control and monitoring systems
- Bio-climatic buildings, passive solar energy and the integration of traditional architecture
- Alternative transport
- Training and skill-building actions

That is why the principle recommendations include the consolidation of an eminently practical Forum, in which INSULA plays an important role, to operate under the slogan of 'Sustainable Hotels for Sustainable Destinations'. The most outstanding and interesting follow-up actions include creating and identifying a network of demonstration projects to act as an active point of reference for the hotel sector. These would be centres that harness technological innovation in the field of renewable energies, the rational use of energy and with facilities that are highly integrated in the environment. These centres can be monitored and will host training and skill-building courses for top-management technicians from the hotel industry.

The island of Hydra was an exceptional setting for these accord. It is a surprising island tourist destination. Cars have been eliminated and all the singular houses and buildings, including the famous windmills, have been rehabilitated with great sensitivity. Hydra has started to introduce energy-saving measures and bio-climatic building solutions, based on traditional architectural style, in the accommodation sector. An excellent image of the present for these accord of the future.

The Fifth Framework Programme of the UE, adopted on December 22nd, 1998, defines the Community actions in the field of research, technological development and demonstration during the years 1998-2002. In the field of Energy and the Environment, the creation of the OPET network stands out within the accompanying measures chapter.

OPET stands for Organisation for the Promotion of Energy Technologies. The organisations involved in the OPET Network already have a public mandate to work in the energy field, promoting new technologies in the renewable energy, rational use of energy or fossil fuel sectors. They also have the local market knowledge and technical expertise to allow them to do this.

The rationale behind a transnational Network for the promotion of new energy technologies is firmly rooted in the European policies relating to competitiveness, cohesion and market transparency. By being members of the Network, the OPETs immediately have access to a much broader base of technologies and markets. Furthermore, when advising on technology selection they can draw on Best Practice across the, so ensuring that their clients use the most cost-effective and/or environment-friendly option. Finally, the transnationality of the Network also helps them to identify and open up new markets for their local suppliers in technology areas where they have particular strengths.

The range of activities carried out by OPETs is extremely broad, but typically includes:

- Networking and Assisting Market Actors: linking with local networks, one-to-one meetings with SMEs and industry, open days and technology
transfer days, site visits and training.
- Evaluating Technology and Markets studies, preparation of technical fiches...
- Events: seminars, workshops, conferences, exhibitions...
- Publications: newsletters, reports, brochures, CD-ROMs...

The ITER (Institute of Technology and Renewable Energy - Canary Islands), NTUA (National Technical University of Athens - Greek Islands), AREAM (Regional Agency for Energy and the Environment - Madeira), ANCIM (Small Italian islands' Municipalities Association) and Saareemaa (Estonia) participate together with IN- SULA in the creation of this first OPET of the islands.

Next years' actions of the island will be focused on two important transnational actions:
- Launching of the Island 100% RES campaign, oriented to the promotion of actual projects in islands able to achieve the total energy supply from renewable energy sources.
- Launching of the campaign sustainable hotels for sustainable destinations, where the creation of a network of accessible hotels that are in the process of implementing new energy technologies and Rational Use of Energy measures. These hotels will be at the base of a training operation and will be considered demonstration projects, acting as focal points for the promotion of RES and RUE in the hotel sector.

Among the local actions promoted by the OPET, the following fields of work stand out:
- Counselling system for island local authorities
- The island city of tomorrow. Municipal level energy solutions.
- Application of zero and ultra-low emission technologies to urban transport.

Further information can be obtained from:
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4th Conference of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry of the EU insular regions
«The islands of the European Union after Amsterdam. For a better representative of the EU islands' enterprises»
Basse-Terre (Guadeloupe), 8-9 November 1999
Organised by:
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Sea and the Islands
In the City of Barcelona the World Environment Day (1999) has been devoted to the Sea and the Islands.

The photo shows the guest reception by the Barcelona authorities, Ms Marie-Thérèse Danielsson (Fahiti - Right Livelihood Award in 1991) is in the centre. At her left Mr Thor Heyerdahl, organiser of the Kon-Tiki expedition. At her right Cipriano Marin of INSULA.
Tourism in the Regional and Local Development

Cuba and other Latin American countries are searching for solutions to their development problems. Tourism is of course an attracting one. This is the reason why the international meeting «El Turismo en el Desarrollo Regional e Local» (Tourism in the Regional and Local Development) organised in Havana by the Faculty of Geography of the Havana University on 27-30 September 1999, was a success.

Participants from South and North America together with several Europeans shared in a lively debate their ideas, projects and their hopes. Cuba, our hosting country, was obviously at stake. In the words of the Minister of Tourism Mr Ibrahim Ferraz the present political situation and the still enforced U.S. embargo, obliges us presently to address ourselves towards tourism development strategies which, we hope, might compensate the lack of resources transfer from sister countries. The issue is a short term, and urgent one, because our Government is engaged, as previously, to dedicate the maximum of resources to the social development of our people: education, health and better quality of life. All our efforts, however, are directed to avoid Cuba's pre-revolution experience of having the island considered as the «tropical gambling and prostitution paradise of the Caribbeans». Realistic and bitter words indeed! This is presently Cuba's challenge. The Havana's University Rector Prof. Juan Vela Valdes who opened the meeting stated on his side that Cuba's tourism should aim at a satisfactory degree of sustainability through a wise and scientifically correct management of its undisputed wealth in terms of natural and cultural heritage. His University was of course engaged in supporting all relevant public policies.

During the debates however the very meaning of the sustainable development concept was critically examined together with the satellite definition of sustainable tourism. In fact any development requires energy and resources and in addition a change in their use patterns. At what point in time can such a process be considered as sustainable, a decade or more decades later? Forever is obviously of no practical use in human affairs.

The meeting went on exploring some promising catchwords such as ecotourism, nature oriented tourism, cultural tourism and so on as possible solutions to the sustainability dilemma. Here again, it was observed that these, so to speak innovative touristic products, were already largely commercialised worldwide by the tour-operators and that there is no substantial difference from conventional tourism in terms of sustainability, including harsh competition among destinations offering similar products. It was finally admitted that to be bestowed with a considerable unexplored cultural and natural heritage as it is the case in Cuba and other Latin American countries, is not enough to enter successfully in the world-wide competition. A competition which at the loom of the third millennium is based more than ever on capital investment, human skills and imagination. Capital is presently lacking in Cuba, not so human skills and imagination. "This is the winning card we are playing", confirms Dra. Sonia Montiel, Dean of the Faculty of Geography of the Havana University. "Cuba is not only sun and beaches, our cultural territory is large and diversified as well as our natural and political history, these are the elements which will allow us to solve in our favour the iron hurt equation: quality versus prices, which is at the very basis of any successful tourism activity. Eduado Salinas Chavez, member of the Faculty's group of geocology, landscapes and tourism, stresses on his side that the work brought forward since years by his team shows clearly that to engage in local and regional tourism development means among others, to confront the social and environmental rationality to the globalised economic rationality of our times. No one can attempt to challenge such a hegemonic fact without involving deeply the local population especially the younger generations to whom after all belongs the future. Insula's message to the Conference stressed further the above considerations. Planning with the citizen and participation as a tool were the strategic keywords together with the challenges offered by the upcoming information society to be turned into knowledge based society in order to fully realise its promises. Networking and share to compete were consequent keywords, showing the strategic advantages for islands and countries to enter together at the regional level into the world tourism market struggle, adopting common policies while showing the highly diversified wealth of their heritage.
Environment and development in coastal regions and in small islands

The Coastal Regions and Small Islands platform is operationalising UNESCO's primary comparative advantage: its capacity for integrated action involving Natural and Social Sciences, Culture, Education and Communication. Over 20 intersectoral pilot projects have been established involving some 50 countries, uniting decision-makers, local communities, cultural heritage experts and scientists. UNESCO Chairs in Integrated Coastal Management and Sustainable Development provide interdisciplinary training and capacity-building for environmentally sustainable, socially equitable and culturally appropriate development in coasts and small islands. From project and chair activities, a first set of example wise practices has been generated and discussed via the Virtual Forum.

In Africa and the western Indian Ocean Islands, UNESCO Chairs, communication and education strategies for sustainable coastal development, are the major focus. A strategy for the above has been developed through the PACSiCOM process and implementation began through new pilot projects. The Dakar Chair (Senegal) enlarged its geographical coverage to include students from West Africa and established co-operation on eco-tourism with the UNESCO Chair at the University of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (Spain).

In the Arab States and Mediterranean regions, intersectoral pilot projects concerning sustainable human development in historic coastal cities/towns are the major focus. Within the Urban Development and Freshwater Resources: Small Coastal Cities project, co-operation has been fostered among a network of some 20 historic coastal towns in order to develop integrated solutions to shared problems such as chronic freshwater shortage, degradation of cultural heritage and rapid socio-economic transformation.

In the Asian region, the impact of globalisation on coastal communities and assessments of natural and human environments are pursued. To reconcile environment conservation and human development objectives, partnership and dialogue have been strengthened between government agencies and indigenous Moken communities living within National Park and Future World Heritage Site boundaries (Thailand). An ecologist and an anthropologist, jointly occupy the interdisciplinary UNESCO Chair recently established in the Philippines. The Chairholders and their students have developed, with UNDP support, coastal resource monitoring and impact assessment protocols, as well as socio-economic profiles for the Ugandan Bay pilot project site. In the framework of the Jakarta Bay pilot project, alternative income generating activities and environmental education campaigns were undertaken in the Seribu Islands, and a community-based waste management centre was established in the Kapuk Muara coastal area (Indonesia).

In the Small Island Developing States (SIDS) of the Caribbean and Pacific Regions, human development of sustainable island living, poverty alleviation, planning for changing coasts and freshwater security are the major focus. In the Caribbean, two new pilot activities were launched; on creating environmentally and on coastal observation and clean-up campaigns. The ongoing regional project for national planning agencies and stakeholders, «Planning for Coastal Change», operated in Antigua-Barbuda, British Virgin Is., Dominica, Grenada, Montserrat, St. Kitts-Nevis, St. Lucia, St. Vincent & the Grenadines, Turks & Caicos Is, and has received financial supported from the Caribbean Development Bank. In the Gulf of Gonaive pilot project (Haiti), a collection of local fisher ecological knowledge has provided the basis for a Creole guidebook on sustainable resource use. In Jamaica, data collected on fisher harvesting strategies and socio-economic baselines are contributing to the elaboration of a management plan for the recently declared Portland Bight protected area. Local fisher associations in both Haiti and Jamaica have been involved in the project, highlighting the importance of building a shared environment and social concern. Pilot projects have now been launched with the University of Papua New Guinea, on the social and environmental dilemma facing Motu Keila villages increasingly impacted by the rapidly-growing Port Moreton urban area and on gathering key social, cultural and ecological baselines required for community-based development in the Moripi Cultural Area. In the Sanaapu-Sataoa pilot projects (Sanamu), activities have been launched to integrate indigenous and scientific knowledge into local environmental management practice, and to enhance environmental education curricula in local Associated Schools. At the global level, example wise practices for sustainable coastal development have been formulated and compiled on the basis of lessons learned from intersectoral pilot projects and associated UNESCO Chairs. Further conceptual development is ongoing at local, regional and global levels through Web-based discussion groups, as well as face-to-face workshops. Through a thematic session on 'traditional ecological knowledge', CSI provided a strongly intersectoral component to the World Conference on Science. Information on pilot project and Chair activities is accessible on the CSI website: http://www.unesco.org/csi or http://mirror-us.unesco.org/csi.

The UNESCO World Conference on Science: «Science for the twenty-first century: a new commitment» has taken place in Budapest late June 1999. Federico Mayor, Director General of UNESCO has proposed there a new contract between science and society. An action plan addressed to all stakeholders in the public or private sector to be implemented with creative imagination, to make peace and progress a reality for all.

Many up to date important issues were introduced and discussed in Budapest, leaving however the feeling that the game was played mainly by large institutional actors with apparently scarce participation of the best organizations representing after all the beneficiaries of the proposed action plan.

Islands and islanders while representing a high variety of cultural and territorial specificities were not mentioned. Their educational needs, their need to get as a priority the best support from science and technology advances were neglected as well as their ambition to equitably compete for progress.

Climate change of course is a major threat for many islands. The Conference addressed its consequences on undetermined coastal eco-systems while neglecting the impacts on island people, why?

Federico Mayor rightly summoned the scientific community to pass understandable messages to people, «without such an effort», he said «when elections are at stake they will vote on the basis of rumors, generated by current events, catastrophes or love stories... a noise preventing them from behaving as responsible citizens...»

Did UNESCO do everything to avoid that «noise» prevents Islanders from behaving as citizen?
Small Historic Coastal Cities
An inter-sectorial UNESCO project

The seminar entitled 'Sustainable Urban Development in Coastal Zones' was held in June, in Mahdia (Tunis). This is an initiative that comes within the inter-sector project and that has managed to establish a new co-operation platform for coastal regions and small islands.

UNESCO has been promoting a network for co-operation among small coastal cities of the Mediterranean with a historical and environmental interest since 1996. UNESCO has brought together a team of experts whose task it is to put forward ideas and share experiences capable of controlling the deterioration of the historic districts of these cities on the coast. The underlying idea behind this action has grown out a need to create windows that will shed some light on the complex problems these sites face, based on pilot projects.

Mismanagement of water resources and the degradation of the marine environment have a pernicious effect on the economic and social development of coastal cities, mortgaging their real chances of maintaining and protecting the socio-cultural quality of these old population centres.

The first field studies and projects have focussed on the cities of Essaouira in Morocco, formerly Mogador, Saida in Lebanon, formerly Sidon, and Mahdia in Tunis, the first capital of the Fatimid era.

In all these cases, as in other similar situations in the Mediterranean, we find that the problems derived from the management of water and coastal resources are only the beginning: they also face new problems generated by tourism and the dilemmas faced by town planning.

Mahdia in particular, is a genuine paradigm in the face of the new challenges posed by the option of sustainable tourism. Mahdia is a convergence point for all the different possibilities. On the one hand, they have developed a conventional, sea-side tourist industry along the coastal strip, with the possibility of developing cultural tourism based on the medina. There is an active city and a whole rural world nearby that is rich in ethnographical and cultural colour. They also have one of the most beautiful and richest marine environments of the North African coast, sea-beds that Cousteau claimed were one of the few places in the world where artificial light was not necessary for filming. But, above all, what stands out about Mahdia is the Presqu’ile, with its medina and Spanish fort, an exceptional window over the sea set in the rock that has a surprisingly well conserved Punic port and one of the most beautiful marine cemeteries in the world. The white of the tombs, surrounding a port that breathes ancient feats, shows us the eternal marine gate of these islands tied to the mainland. Thus, Mahdia is a space that is presently open to all options, a place in which the same mistakes can be made, or a rough diamond that can be polished with imagination based on an efficient partnership between tourism and the local population, aimed at safeguarding their heritage and consolidating lasting and harmonious development.

The incalculable value of this project launched by UNESCO, lies in the possibility of achieving the longed for encounter between the needs of the present, the pride of the past and the enrichment of the future.

South Pacific phrasebook
Speak the languages of paradise

Full of cultural tips and hints on local protocol, the South Pacific phrasebook will help you through situations ranging from visiting New Zealand marae or enjoying Tonga’s Heilala celebrations, to joining in a Samaun kava ceremony or checking out a Hawaiian hula competition. Open up communication with local greetings and conversation starters, and discover the culture through traditional dance, legend and song.

This book covers the languages of the Cook Islands, Easter Island, Fiji, Hawaii, New Caledonia, New Zealand, Niue, Norfolk and Pitcairn Islands, Samoa, Tahiti and Tonga.

Japan’s aid diplomacy and the Pacific Islands
by Sandra Tarte

In the 1980s Japan rose to prominence as a leading aid donor to the Pacific island countries. In this study the factors that have motivated and shaped Japan’s official development assistance towards the Pacific islands are explored. The unique characteristics of this region and Japan’s interests—primarily as a fishing power—are shown to have profoundly influenced and politicised Japan’s role as an aid donor. Access to the region’s rich resource of tuna has been the most enduring of reasons for Japan’s steadily growing aid program. But over time new and competing agendas have emerged. The need to demonstrate allegiance to the United States in its containment of the Soviet Union in the mid-1980s introduced a fundamental realignment in Japan’s aid policies. More recently, the Japanese government has been compelled to address criticisms of its aid program from both donor and recipients, and to demonstrate leadership in the field of development assistance.

This Policy Paper reveals how Japan has responded to these criticisms and challenges, and examines the impact of competing interests and objectives on Japan’s aid policies. It provides insights that are important not only to understanding Japan’s interests and role in the Pacific islands region, but also sheds new perspectives on what drives Japan’s aid program, how its aid policies are formulated and the political outcomes of Japan’s aid diplomacy.

Sandra Tarte is a lecturer in politics at the University of the South Pacific in Fiji. She has also worked as a journalist for the Fiji Times and Islands Business Pacific. She is a graduate of the University of Melbourne and the Australian National University, where she completed her PhD in 1995.

Samoan: mapping the diversity
by R. Gerard Ward & Paul Ashcroft

"In maps and related texts this book provides a basis for building and understanding of the Samoan environment and the uses made of it by Samoans. It stresses the great variations within the country in environment, population characteristics, agriculture, fishing and other activities. The authors argue that recognition of these variations is one key to successful planning and social policies."
The International Scientific Council for Island Development (INSULA) was formally created in November 1989 as an international non-governmental organisation whose aim is to contribute to the shaping of island awareness and development of islands' common future, supporting necessary co-operation and information actions in the scientific and technological fields.

The aims of INSULA are to contribute to the economic, social and cultural progress of islands throughout the world, as to the protection of island environment and the sustainable development of their resources. Within such a context, INSULA cooperates with UNESCO and other international organisations, as well as institutions at the national or regional level sharing the same goals and interests. Through its international and multidisciplinary network of experts and researchers, INSULA contributes towards balanced, sustainable development initiatives undertaken by island authorities.

Through its initiatives, INSULA seeks to facilitate or favour:
- Technical co-operation in all fields relating to sustainable island development with a special interest in island cultures and human resources development.
- The exchange of information and experience through the publication and diffusion of periodical journals, books and reports, using the international and multidisciplinary network represented by INSULA members.
- Inter-island agreements directed towards the defence of islands' common interests in the framework of sustainable development, at level of governments and public administrations as well as technical and scientific institutions.

For the attainment of its aims, INSULA promotes international co-operation projects, assists islands directly, organises seminars and conferences at national, regional and international levels and promotes a direct dialogue with and between the authorities and the populations of different islands and island groups. It also promotes co-operation and exchange of experience and expertise between islands of a given region as well as at the inter-regional level.

INSULA's task is to favour the passage from theory to practice, supporting the actions which contribute to a sustainable and fair development of every island of the world.

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